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"Habladme por escrito": Reception and Recent Critical Approaches to Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga's *La Araucana* (1569-2019)

> "Tan austero fue en ella el prudente y gran Rey el señor don Felipe II, que hablándole algunas veces don Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, siendo muy discreto caballero (que compuso el Poema de *La Araucana*) se perdió siempre sin acertar en lo que le quería decir, hasta que conociendo el Rey, por la noticia que dél tenía que su turbación procedía del respeto con que ponía los ojos en la Majestad, le dijo un día: 'Don Alonso, *habladme por escrito*.' Así lo puso por obra y el Rey le despachó y le hizo merced."[1]

> "Ercilla also knows how to subordinate the Araucanians and to transform horror into an object of art."
> —José Rabasa, *Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier*

Published in three separate installments in 1569, 1578, and 1589, Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana*, ranks as the most influential epic poem produced in Spain in the sixteenth century. The poem deals with Spanish endeavors in Chile but also addresses momentous European events such as the Battle of Saint Quentin (1557) and the Battle of Lepanto (1571). It also engages in current debates around the justification of war alongside technological and military transformations brought about by the increasing reliance on gunpowder.[2] The thirty-year time span over which the complete poem was published coincided with the development of crucial innovations in theater, prose fiction, and poetry as well as shifts in political theory and actual government practices in the global Hispanic monarchy. *La Araucana* was a

powerful agent in these developments. It testifies to the ways in which the epic genre adapted to diverse contextual changes, serving as a laboratory for the representation of history, political theory, and colonial praxis.[3] The quality of its stanzas combined with the poise of the indigenous heroes and local geography represented in the poem have made *La Araucana* a necessary cultural referent in Latin America, particularly in Chile, not only in the field of literary studies, but also in relation to conflicting cultural politics, such as post-Independence national discourses or twenty-first century indigenous rights.

Ercilla's own experiences as a soldier and eyewitness bring into his narration of warfare a complexity that cannot be easily captured within the rigid dichotomy of winners and losers. To put it succinctly, in its portrayal of Europe's encounter with the New World, *La Araucana* redraws the boundaries of what a heroic poem can offer and addresses issues pertaining to exploration, war, violence, government, and poetry. These same issues remain relevant today. After 450 years, *La Araucana* continues to draw the attention of new generations of readers, both in its original format and through new renditions. In the context of the bicentenary of Chile's independence (2010), Luis Ángela Martínez and Jaime Huenún compiled the volume *Memoria poética. Reescrituras de La Araucana*, in which poets, literary critics, and visual artists participated in workshops to reconsider and recreate Ercilla's poem.[4] In addition, only few years ago, the poet Elicura Chihuailaf translated portions of *La Araucana* into Mapudungun, the ancestral language spoken by the Mapuche people. Additionally, as Mercedes Blanco points out, if over one hundred years ago it was the Republic of Chile that commissioned the five-volume edition of *La Araucana* prepared by José Toribio Medina, it is now the *Real Academia Española* that confirms *La Araucana* as a classic with a new edition prepared by Professor Luis Gómez Canseco (Blanco "Afterword"), one of the contributors to this volume.[5]

It must have been a demanding challenge for a poet to distinguish himself during a time in which Spain also produced writers as versatile as Miguel de Cervantes, as learned as Bernardo de Balbuena, or as prolific as Lope de Vega. Yet Ercilla achieved widespread recognition and he did it essentially with one poem. When they praised the merits of *La Araucana*, Cervantes, Balbuena, and Lope de Vega acknowledged Ercilla's innovative solution to the task of writing an epic about recent historical events, as well as his response to the challenge of producing a poem that would encompass a world that kept expanding. Very few other literary texts from the sixteenth century triggered a response as strong as the one afforded to *La Araucana*. Following its publication, *La Araucana* was heavily used as a historical

source; it also emerged as the model for subsequent narrative heroic poems from Spain and Spanish America. Seminal works in Colonial Spanish American literature, such as Juan de Castellanos's *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* (1589) and Pedro de Oña's *Arauco domado* (1596), were written partially in response to Ercilla's aestheticized depiction of the wars in the Arauco region.[6] Accordingly, upon successfully introducing European readers to memorable characters like Caupolicán, Lautaro, Rengo, Tucapel, Galvarino, Tegualda, Guacolda, or Glaura, some of the characters from *La Araucana* began to reappear in dramas performed on the stage or to circulate in *romances*, almost taking on lives of their own. Diego de Santisteban Osorio even went on to produce a sequel – *Quarta y quinta parte de la Araucana* (1597) – in order "to capitalize on the celebrity of the original" (Choi 340), while at the same time giving prominence within the register of the epic to a topic neglected by Ercilla: piracy.[7] The playwright Andrés de Claramonte produced a religious drama based on one of the episodes of *La Araucana*. Claramonte's *auto sacramental* was most likely performed in Seville in 1621 during the celebrations of the *Corpus Christi* (Faúndez Carreño 496).[8] For their part, by publishing sonnets titled "Caupolicán" at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, poets like Rubén Darío (1867 – 1916) and José Santos Chocano (1875 – 1934) signaled a distinctive American thrust for their ambitious literary projects. The list does not end with them. Others continued on this trajectory well into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with references to *La Araucana* included in the works of prominent writers such as Gabriela Mistral, Pablo Neruda, Fernando Alegría, and Elvira Hernández.[9]

That *La Araucana* made a multifaceted impact on other writers should be no surprise. Throughout his poem Ercilla engages in a bold dialogue with both his contemporaries and his literary predecessors. He introduces innovative strategies to set his poem apart from other esteemed works, including Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Luís de Camões's *Os Lusíadas* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, among others. Certainly, the poignant interludes of Lautaro and Guacolda (13.43-57, 14.1-3, 13-18), Tegualda and Crepino (20.28 - 21.12), and Glaura and Cariolán (27.61 - 28.53) are quite different from the sensual and erotically charged love stories found in *Orlando furioso*. The geographic description of the planet that Ercilla offers through Fitón's "poma milagrosa" does not follow an identical itinerary or display the exact same content, as the prophetic world map the nymph Thethys shows Vasco da Gama towards the conclusion of *Os Lusíadas*.[10] Finally, one of the high points of the third installment of *La Araucana* includes Ercilla's rebuttal to the tragic story of Queen Dido as it is narrated in book fourth of Virgil's *Aeneid*.[11]

While it is likely that the poet Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536) carried a copy of *Orlando furioso* while he participated in the campaign in Tunis,[12] some travelers apparently carried a copy of *La Araucana* while traversing Chile. Traveling with a copy was possible because *La Araucana*, like other epic poems from the period, was printed in a smaller, more easily portable format. Miguel Martínez explains that the first edition of *La Araucana* "reproducirá y contribuirá a estandarizar un formato y una paratextualidad, que además de identificar la novedad del producto respecto al romanzo, seguramente implicaría nuevos modos y espacios de distribución – por el abaratamiento del libro y por su transportabilidad – y nuevas prácticas de lectura" ("Género, imprenta y espacio social" 180-81). The portability of subsequent editions of *La Araucana* is particularly salient in the slim, light, and compact edition of the three parts of poem published in Barcelona in 1592, which can easily fit in the palm of one hand (see Appendix). Fray Diego de Ocaña may have been one of those travelers carrying a copy of *La Araucana* (or at least keeping the verses from Ercilla's poem in mind). Ocaña crossed the Atlantic and traveled through South America between 1599 and 1607 to collect funds for the Royal Monastery of Santa María in Extremadura. Ocaña's pseudo-ethnographic travel narrative includes illustrations that depict some of the characters from *La Araucana*, particularly Caupolicán, Lautaro, and "la bella Guacolda." According to Beatriz Peña, "también los textos explicativos de otras tres ilustraciones y algunos episodios de contenido histórico de la sección del recorrido de Fray Diego por la gobernación chilena muestran conexiones con [*La Araucana*]" (41). In fact, Peña argues, "la interpretación de la realidad chilena en el relato de Fray Diego procede de este texto épico más que de sus propias observaciones" (43).[13] On the other hand, in his record of his journey through the Arauco region in the nineteenth century, scientist Ignacio Domeyko "corrobora cada una de las descripciones del paisaje natural y geográfico que hace Ercilla" (Brintrup 49).[14] In his *Araucanía y sus habitantes* (1845), Domeyko writes, "saqué del bolsillo *La Araucana* de Ercilla, leí como canta el triunfo de los indios independientes. Primero que nada, me extrañaba la precisión con que pintó esta cuesta el poeta invasor" (156; qtd in Brintrup 49). Domeyko then cites the following lines from the fourth canto of *La Araucana*:

la subida no es mala del camino,
mas todo es lo demás despeñadero;
tiene al poniente al bravo mar vecino,
que bate al pie de un gran derrumbadero,
y en la cumbre y más alto de la cuesta
se allana cuanto un tiro de ballesta. (4.92.3-8)

Celia López-Chávez contends that references to rivers (including the Biobío and the Itata) appear so often in *La Araucana* that they "become protagonists in the [historical] events [narrated in the poem]" (193). Focusing on the roles played by bodies of water in the organization of Araucanian society, López-Chávez argues that the references to rivers in *La Araucana* recall "the ancient link that existed between the natives and their rivers in southern Chile," and that "life beside the river was possibly the first element of Indian social organization" long before they became seen as "divisions or frontiers" after the campaigns of conquest (193-95). The pertinence of López-Chávez's observation is confirmed when we examine the folded map included in the edition of *La Araucana* published in Madrid in 1776. Titled "Mapa de una parte de Chile que comprende el terreno donde pasaron los famosos hechos entre españoles y Araucanos" (figure 5), this map uses a mode of representation that conflates colonial history with geography. Offering an unobstructed vantage point from above, the map conditions viewers to glance at a vast region distinguished by mountain ranges and rivers running towards the "Mar del Sur." If the cartographer highlights the importance and abundance of rivers with names and visual makers, in the "Tabla de cosas notables" that appears at the end of Part I of *La Araucana*, the poet achieves an analogous effect by assigning individual entries to the "Biobío, río Famoso," "Itata, río caudaloso," "Maule, río Famoso," and the "río Andalién" (Ercilla 849-50). Likewise, a quick perusal of the "Tabla de cosas notables" attests to Ercilla's interest in underscoring that the confrontation between Spaniards and the inhabitants of the Arauco region took place in a territory in which the main natural features were valleys ("valle de Arauco," "valle de Mataquito," "valle de Itata," "valle de Tucapel," "valle de Ongolmo"), mountains ("cerro de Penco," "cuesta de Andalicán"), and swamps ("pantano de Andalicán") (Ercilla 849-55). Similarly, in the "Declaración de algunas dudas que se pueden ofrecer en esta obra," Ercilla stresses the connection between the inhabitants of the region and specific topographical features by pointing out that local indigenous chieftains or *caciques*, "toman el nombre de los *valles* en donde son señores" (Ercilla 846 emphasis added).

In the long history of *La Araucana*'s readership, the reception of the poem during the colonial period by the local indigenous population remains a field in need of exploration. However, as more texts and archival documentation become accessible, evidence suggests that members of the indigenous elite, educated and fluent in Spanish, were familiar with Ercilla's text. In the Andean region, the indigenous writer and artist Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala included, in one of his drawings in his *Nueva corónica y buen*

gobierno (c. 1615), a depiction of himself and his son on the road, accompanied by the author's dog "Amigo" and his son's dog "Lautaro," a reference to the remarkable Indian character in the first part of the poem.[15] In 1644 in one of the few known colonial libraries owned by *caciques*, don Rodrigo Flores Caja Malqui, son of the main chieftain of Ocros in the province of Cajatambo and a graduate from the El Principe Jesuit school in Lima, owned a copy of *La Araucana* (Guibovich 184-85).

Untangling the historical contingencies and the symbolic continuities behind the metaphor "Flandes indiano," Miguel Martínez retraces how copies of *La Araucana* also circulated in the Low Countries and contends that "soldiers on both sides of the Eighty-Years' War seem to have read Ercilla's poem" as keenly as those concerned with the outcome of the Arauco War, including military strategists like Bernardo Vargas Machuca, author of *Milicia y descripción de las Indias* (1599). Martínez builds his analysis on the insight that the logistical networks that enabled Early Modern military campaigns often overlapped with the channels that expedited the dissemination of recently printed books. He goes on to claim that "universally famous in the soldiers' republic of letters [*La Araucana*] will remain an inescapable model for war writing back in the rebellious provinces of the Netherlands" (Martínez, *Front Lines* 159).

Far from the Andes or the battle fields in the Low Countries, Ercilla's poem was also esteemed by individuals closer to the upper echelons of administration in the court of Philip II, including state officials like Juan López de Velasco (ca. 1530-1598).[16] In 1581, López de Velasco recommended that Mateo Vázquez de Leca (ca.1542-1591) acquire a copy *La Araucana* for Vázquez's personal library in Madrid.[17] López de Velasco's endorsement is revealing since he was serving as *Cronista-cosmógrafo Mayor de Indias* (1571-1591). In addition, he had been responsible for overseeing the publication of the works of Cristóbal de Castillejo, and for publishing expunged editions of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and Bartolomé de Torres Naharro's *Propaladia*. As a high-ranking state official, López de Velasco was familiar with the inner workings of imperial administration and the link between print culture and the selective dissemination of knowledge. He also understood the proper channels for the promotion of literary works within the state bureaucratic apparatus (Ruan 1251-66). The works of Cristóbal de Castillejo, and the volume containing *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Propaladia* (1573) recommended by Velasco, were all printed in the shop of Pierres Cosin in Madrid, the same publisher responsible for printing the first installment of *La Araucana* in 1569 and the combined *Primera y segunda parte de La Araucana* in 1578. It was most likely the 1578 edition of *La Araucana* that López de Velasco had in mind when he recommended the poem to Vázquez de Leca. As noted earlier,

part two of *La Araucana* includes the narration of the Battle of Saint Quentin (1557), the military engagement that inspired the construction of the monastery-palace of Saint Lorenzo El Escorial and also provided the subject of one of the monumental frescoes adorning its Hall of Battles. Incidentally, Mateo Vázquez de Leca, patron of Juan López de Velasco and private secretary to Philip II, was one of the individuals who supervised the design of El Escorial's splendid library. In the prophetic description of the world offered by the Amerindian wizard Fitón in canto 27,[18] Ercilla devotes two stanzas to the description of the site where the construction of El Escorial will take place, referring to its architectural design as a crowning achievement of a pious and awe-inspiring monarch. The stanzas below are in alignment with Philip II's messianic mindset and share some of the messianic undertones with which some of Ercilla's contemporaries wrote about their monarch.[19] The description of El Escorial as a "católico trofeo" and the emphasis on the king's "religioso celo" situate Philip II's architectural feat and Ercilla's poem in the post-Tridentine context of the Counter-Reformation.[20] Placing *La Araucana* within the global framework of the Counter-Reformation allows us to bypass a divide between a New World periphery and a European metropolitan center and to situate Ercilla's support for the Spanish presence in Chile and the conversion of Amerindians in line with the Catholic Church's effort to recruit neophytes worldwide:

Mira aquel sitio inculto, montuoso,
al pie del alto puerto algo apartado,
que aunque le ves desierto y pedregoso,
ha de venir en breve a ser poblado;
allí el Rey don Felipe vitorioso,
habiendo al franco en San Quintín domado,
en testimonio de su buen deseo,
levantará un católico trofeo.

Será un famoso templo incomparable,
de suntuosa fábrica y grandeza,
la máquina del cual hará notable
su religioso celo y gran riqueza;
Será edificio eterno y memorable,
de inmensa majestad y gran belleza,
obra, al fin, de un tal rey, tan gran cristiano
y de tan larga y poderosa mano. (27.33-34)

The reference to El Escorial as "edificio eterno y memorable" is a privileged window into Ercilla's core ideological position (despite his awareness of the

transient nature of military victories or his apprehensions about the manner in which the enterprise of conquest had been conducted) in support of Philip II's policies. A similar position resurfaces throughout the poem in Ercilla's construction of his own subjectivity in relation to an idealized monarch, the validation of Philip II's incorporation of the kingdom of Portugal, as well as Ercilla's recollection almost three decades after he had left America of his eagerness to join a group sent to pursue and punish rebel Lope de Aguirre.[21] To this we should add the prominent display of the coat of arms of Spain during the reign of Philip II in the frontispieces of two editions of the poem whose publication Ercilla directly supervised.

The information included thus far charts a schematic but vivid picture of the reception of *La Araucana* among poets, playwrights, novelists, soldiers, travelers, clerics, indigenous nobles, military strategists, and state officials on both sides of the Atlantic.[22] To this list, we could add fictional characters like Alonso Quijano (or Quixada or Quexada) and his friend the priest who saves *La Araucana* from the fire in chapter six of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. The priest praises *La Araucana* as one "of the best books written in heroic verse in the Castilian language" and suggests it should be kept among "the richest gems of poetry that Spain has" (Cervantes 52). Like every other statement in Cervantes's novel, the priest's words do not lack irony. However, many contemporary readers would have agreed with that assessment, particularly the *cronista-cosmógrafo* Juan López de Velasco who included *La Araucana* among a group of works that "son excelentes en lengua castellana" (qtd. in Ruan 1262; Sánchez-Molero 305) when he recommended it to his patron Mateo Vázquez de Leca.[23] Moreover, besides parodying nationalistic aggrandizing, the priest's words can also be read as an apology for reading poems such as *La Araucana* for their sheer literary value, or as a confirmation that, at the turn of the seventeenth century, there was still avid interest among all types of readers in the Iberian Peninsula for the uncertain outcome of the affairs taking place in Chile. That was particularly true after the recent Mapuche uprising in 1598, only seven years prior to the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote* (1605).[24]

Building on the work by Juan Méndez Herrera while paying close attention to the "frontier as a chronotope and as a locus of enunciation" (135), in a recent article Miguel Martínez examines Ercilla's description of the first Spanish expedition to Ancud (Chiloé), as well as Ercilla's meticulous editorial practices. Martínez's analysis focuses on the conclusion of a poem and a literary career that presumably started with jotting down verses in the midst of military campaigns and that included the fictional gesture of Ercilla carving an octave into the bark of a tree trunk. For Martínez, the retelling of the expedition to Ancud (34.45-36.43) "constitutes the most

significant textual and bibliographic problem in the history of *La Araucana*" because, without these 115 stanzas, "arguments about the poem's criticism of Spain's imperial practices and policies would likely have to be revised. Ercilla's self-portrait would certainly be incomplete and the authoritative claim to have reached the remotest place on earth, to have personally signed the empire's frontier with a knife, would have never been made" ("Writing on the Edge" 139). By directing our attention to the changes that were made to some copies of the 1589 and 1590 editions of the poem, Méndez Herrera and Martínez add to our understanding of Ercilla as a soldier, poet, courtier, diplomat, and businessman; they reveal Ercilla to be an author deeply familiar with the book trade of his time and a writer crafting or revising verses "among the tables, presses, and boxes of a printing shop" (Martínez, "Writing on the Edge" 145). While certainly a rigorous contribution to textual critical scholarship, this insight has additional ramifications. For example, if, at strategic moments in *La Araucana*, Ercilla fashions his own poetic persona as poet-soldier following the lead of Garcilaso de la Vega, his close involvement in the material production of his poem allows us to grasp precisely the distance that separates them as authors. As is well known, the works of Garcilaso were never published during his lifetime, and his sonnets, eclogues, and elegies reached their initial audience as manuscripts in private or semi-private circulation. Incidentally, José Toribio Medina (*Vida de Ercilla* 202) and Felipe Valencia (76) remind us that it was Ercilla as censor who gave the final approval for the publication of the annotated edition of the works of Garcilaso de la Vega prepared by Fernando de Herrera, the same edition that contributed to consolidating Garcilaso's status as the prince of Spanish poets. In his endorsement, Ercilla buttresses Garcilaso's reputation by stating, "y no siendo necesario que yo apruebe lo que Garci Lasso escribió, pues de todos es tan recibido y aprobado" (qtd. In Medina, *Vida de Ercilla* 202). However, paying acute attention to early modern theories of the lyric, Felipe Valencia's work confirms that the link between *La Araucana* and Garcilaso's oeuvre is anything but straightforward, and far more ambitious than the deference displayed on Ercilla's approval. For Valencia, the "canciones amorosas" uttered by Guacolda, Tegulada, and Glaura were recognized as lyric by Ercilla's contemporaries and aimed to accomplish at least three separate goals: "the poetic one of claiming Garcilaso's Didonian and lyric voice, the political one of proposing a smarter way to subjugate the Araucanians, and the ethical one of exemplifying chivalric behavior" (81).

Returning to the narration of the expedition to Ancud, Paul Firbas maintains that it is "one of the most poetically complex and elusive episodes of *La Araucana*" (196), one that "functions in a similar way to the episode of

Belona or Fitón (in the second part), that is, as flights from the historiographical register" (200). For Firbas, the expedition towards the elusive Strait of Magellan "is also a testimony to the limit of a field of experimentation in the poetics of the epic, where the exercise of both narrating and walking as a soldier had reached their end: geography and poetry were touching their boundaries" (200). Firbas arrives at these conclusions after carefully examining the relative frequency as well as the spatial and moral overtones of the word *término*, which resurfaces throughout the poem and carries with it heavy ethical connotations that can be associated with notions of decorum, transgression, and with what he terms the "moral geography" of the poem. On the other hand, in a recent essay titled "Eyewitness, Hero, and Poet," Aude Plagnard reveals Ercilla's adeptness with the type of *entrelacement* popularized by Ariosto, as well as Ercilla's recognition of the *literary* potential of the genre of *relación de méritos y servicios,* a type of autobiographical writing that proved to be a defining rubric of the period.[25] Plagnard looks closely into the evolution of Ercilla's inventive strategies of self-representation, from the prologue to Part One to the famous octave that Ercilla claims to have carved on the trunk of a tree in southern Chile. As Plagnard scrutinizes Ercilla's stance as eyewitness, military hero, historian, and poet, she reveals the intersections between the high points in Ercilla's personal circumstances and literary career.

While their authors adopt different methodologies, the contributions summarized above help us appreciate *La Araucana* for what it is – a rich, complex, and ambitious literary artifact that vividly captures a crucial (and at times brutal) phase of Spain's expansionist project. The observations made thus far should also justify the relevance of this special issue of *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, whose dual purpose is to fill a lacuna in the critical literature about *La Araucana* and to spark further research. The special issue *La Araucana (1569 – 2019)* is composed of nine essays by established and emerging scholars who apply innovative methodologies to re-contextualize *La Araucana* beyond Ercilla's career as soldier and poet, and the contours of the Renaissance practice of poetic imitation. The contributors to this issue explore topics that deepen our understanding of the relationship between epic poetry and tragedy, and between *La Araucana* and the vibrant theater culture of Ercilla's time (Blanco; Choi / Valencia). In addition, the essays use *La Araucana* as a case study to interrogate the factors that determined the price of books within the book market at the turn of the XVII century (Gómez Canseco), as well as to understand the practice of translation in the context of the imperial rivalry between Spain and England (Ríos Taboada). By and large, if discussions in

academic circles in North America about Ercilla's descriptions of the landscape have assigned preeminence to his reliance on literary conventions such as the *locus amoenus*, this issue opens new lines of inquiry by looking more closely at Ercilla's depictions of the territory, particularly references to rivers, swamps, and mountains that appear at crucial junctures in the poem (Subercaseaux Sommerhoff). Similarly, while previous scholarship has emphasized the literary provenance of female characters like Guacolda, Tegualda, Glaura, and Lauca, the essays gathered here draw critical attention to the anonymous indigenous women who are referenced in the poem for accompanying their husbands to battle and resisting the Spanish invasion (Legnani). The issue also includes a revision of core philosophical concepts related to the poetic representation of violence, war, and heroism, studied in a set of exemplary scenes in *La Araucana*, and compared to other classic poems (Restrepo). Finally, we include an essay that explores one of the directions taken by epic poetry after Ercilla (Segas) and brings the discussion of the reception of the poem to our current time by examining Elvira Hernández's *Seudoaraucana* (Correa-Díaz).

This special issue opens with Mercedes Blanco's analysis of the episode of the betrayal of Andresillo and the subsequent massacre of indigenous warriors at the battle at the fort of Tucapel. Paying close attention to its formal aspects and the profound emotional response it triggers, in "Un episodio trágico en *La Araucana*: la traición de Andresillo" Blanco argues that Ercilla organizes the opening episode of Part III as a tragedy in three acts (or three consecutive *jornadas*) that foreshadows the ending of the poem and symbolically expresses a political failure. In her reading, Blanco highlights the antithetic parallelism between the shrewd and nefarious Andresillo and the heroic patriotism of Lautaro earlier in the poem; and Pran's death in relation to the motif of suicide in the works of Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca, and Lucan. For their part, in "The Tragedy of Women in Power: *La Araucana* and Sixteenth-Century Neo-Senecan Theatre," Imogen Choi and Felipe Valencia delve deeper into the relationship of *La Araucana* and dramatic productions staged during the reign of Philip II. More precisely, they examine the connection between Ercilla's account of the story of Queen Dido and two plays that exemplify the type of drama that were outshone by the rise of the *comedia nueva*: Cristóbal de Virués's *Elisa Dido* and Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega's *La honra de Dido restaurada*. Choi and Valencia aptly take as their point of departure the principle that epic and tragedy "developed as parallel forms in practice in this period," and that in some significant cases the same authors who wrote for the theatre also wrote epics. They then go on to argue that, in terms of the relationship

between Renaissance Spanish epic poetry and commercial tragedies, a new approach to reception must be considered; next, they carefully show the link between the representation of women on the stage and monarchical power in the early modern Iberian Peninsula. When read together, Blanco's and Choi and Valencia's contributions illustrate that the fragmented nature of the third installment of *La Araucana* need not be considered a flaw. Rather, the inclusion of the episode of Andresillo, and the retelling of the story of Dido, could be cited as evidence of a writer up-to-date with the theater productions performed during his own time, and indeed one who is willing to experiment and to challenge the expectations of his readers.

There is ample evidence to indicate that Ercilla was acutely aware of the publishing success of *La Araucana* and, in fact, that he invested a great deal of effort into making it happen. *La Araucana's* publishing success seems remarkable if we take into account the protracted production history of superb epic poems like Bernardo de Balbuena's *El Bernardo o victoria de Roncesvalles* (1624), which goes to show that literary merit and the favor of powerful patrons alone were not sufficient to assure publication. Equally illuminating is the fact that the first edition of *Arauco domado*, published in Lima in 1596, was censored *a posteriori*, and that the reading of Oña's poem was forbidden "so pena de excomunión" by Pedro Muñiz, dean of the cathedral in Lima and Vicar General of Peru (Carneiro, "Introducción" 11). In the case of Oña's poem, Viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza "había proporcionado las fuentes (orales y escritas) que guiaron la narración de pasajes como la rebelión de las alcabalas, había tramitado con urgencia las licencias necesarias para la impresión del libro, y llevado sesenta ejemplares del poema cuando salió del virreinato" (Carneiro, "Introducción" 18). On the other hand, the publication of Jerónimo Corte-Real's *Segundo Cerco de Diu* (1574) was delayed for several years most likely owing to the technical limitations to print the color images carefully prepared by the poet (Alves, "Corte-Real" 298). As pointed out by Hélio Alves, "given the small world of Portuguese typography and its difficulties in handling large numbers of original images, Corte-Real found the endeavor of printing his earlier 21-canto illustrated epic costly and problematic ("Design Ingeniously Corrected").[26] In addition, at least one volume of heroic poems whose publication Ercilla authorized in the 1590s only achieved publication in 1847.[27] Moreover, in her comparison of the literary careers of Ercilla and Torquato Tasso, Blanco recalls that more than ten unauthorized editions of *Gerusalemme liberata* circulated in Italy while Tasso was still revising his poem (Blanco, "Lyric as Temptation"). All of this simply underscores that it would be misleading to consider retrospectively the success of *La Araucana* as something that was inevitably bound to happen, or to see the favorable

outcome of Ercilla's close involvement in the dissemination of his work as the norm. Taking into account the habits and expectations of different portions of the reading public targeted by Ercilla, there is still a lot that needs to be unpacked to grasp fully the key to the success of *La Araucana*.[28] In "Ercilla y el precio de *La Araucana* (1569-1632)," Luis Gómez Canseco looks closely at Ercilla's role as editor and publisher, and uses the production history of *La Araucana* to retrace the process that determined the price of the work. In his study, Gómez Canseco takes a multilayered approach that considers the *tasa* assigned to the editions of *La Araucana* printed in Castile, the format of different editions of the poem, the legal contracts signed by Ercilla for the publication or distribution of his poem, and the average price for other epic poems available in the contemporary book market. One conclusion that we can draw from Ercilla's determined efforts to guarantee the wide distribution of his poem is that, as a marketable commodity, Renaissance Iberian epic poetry was not intended to be the exclusive domain of the nobility.

In "*La Araucana*: imaginario literario y vivencia del territorio," Bernardo Subercaseaux Sommerhoff takes a fresh look at Ercilla's description of the Araucanía, not as an idealized literary construct, but in connection with Ercilla's lived experienced in South America. Without disputing the literary and ideological elements present in Ercilla's poem, Subercaseaux Sommerhoff focuses on sections of *La Araucana* that speak of the type of environment Ercilla confronted in the Nahuelbuta mountain range, and his interactions with the rough terrain of the southern Andes during the Spanish expedition to the Chiloé archipelago. Subercaseaux Sommerhoff shows Ercilla's skill in producing a narrative anchored in factual characteristics of the landscape, some of which gave military advantages to Spaniards or Natives, and had a direct impact, not only on the manner in which exploration and warfare were conducted, but also on the way in which the poem was written.

The remarkable political and theological debates of sixteenth-century Spain on the justice and morality of the wars profoundly resonated in the language, verses, and narrative scenes of *La Araucana*. As a courtier, Ercilla was undoubtedly aware of the repercussions of the intellectual confrontation of Father Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sapúlveda in 1550; as a soldier, he had personally witnessed the excessive violence of the war of conquest in Chile; and, as poet-humanist, he was involved in the imitation and transformation of the long tradition of representing violence framed as patriotic heroism. Considering this intellectual and political context, Luis Fernando Restrepo's article "La *pietas* clásica, las emociones y la moral de la guerra en *La Araucana*" approaches the poem as a textual space of

contradictory positions regarding the war, which is, according to the author, what makes the poem more relevant for readers today. Based on Collin Burrow's and James D. Garrison's studies on the epic genre, Restrepo traces the uses of the concept of *pietas* in Greco-Roman epics (related to sacrifice and obedience) and explains its transformation in Christian humanist treatises and Renaissance poetry. The article focuses on *La Araucana* as an extraordinary set of narrative cases, such as the irate fight between the Araucanian warriors Rengo and Tucapel; the non-compassionate narration of the death of the conquistador Pedro de Valdivia; or the story of the indigenous widow Tegualda in search of her husband Crepino, a scene that involves the compassionate testimony of the poet. In terms of method, the textual analysis of these key scenes organizes a comparative revision of the philosophical and legal concepts implied in the poem, and also opens a space for current ethical concerns while broadening our reflections on war, colonialism, and imperialism.

In dialogue with feminist theory, Nicole Legnani's "La minoría insurgente: Secuelas de las madres guerreras en *La Araucana*" explores the intersection between colonialism and motherhood as it emerges in the references (or lack thereof) to anonymous pregnant indigenous women who fiercely resist the Spanish invasion. Legnani shows how, as mothers and warriors, these women refuse incorporation into a patriarchal and paternalistic regime of colonization that sought the bodies and labor of tribute-paying subjects and the souls of indigenous neophytes. For Legnani, both the disappearance of anonymous female insurgents from Parts II and III of the poem and the greater attention devoted to more docile female indigenous characters who encounter Ercilla as a chivalrous conquistador are crucial aspects of Ercilla's writing practice; indeed, they are aligned with the push to implement alternative methods to squelch indigenous insurgency. Similarly, Legnani argues, the discursive violence imbued in Ercilla's poem culminates in the episode of Fresia's dissolution of her union to Caupolicán and her disavowal of her own son.

La Araucana stands out as a powerful cultural artifact that played a significant role in a web of political discourses of competing empires, especially after first the English, and then the Dutch, viewed the territory of Southern Chile as beyond Spanish control and considered the local indigenous population as potential allies. The transnational relevance of Ercilla's poem has received some critical attention, but still requires more comparative studies to document and assess non-Iberian readings of the poem. María Gracia Ríos Taboada's "Lecturas al margen del imperio: la primera traducción al inglés de *La Araucana* y el conflicto anglo-hispano en América" contributes to that discussion by examining the partial

manuscript translation of the poem produced in the context of the Anglo-Spanish rivalry for control of the Strait of Magellan. Ríos Taboada's analysis of the techniques of translation and historic contextualization indicates that the English adaptation of the poem, which was completed by an Irish gentleman in the service of Elizabeth I a few years after Francis Drake's circumnavigation, responded to a set of concrete political and economic interests for England. Indeed, stripped of its poetic form and rendered in prose, Part I of the poem was transformed into a documentary source of information and a colonial route map aimed at serving English ambitions in South America.

In the prologue to his edited collection of segments from *La Araucana*, the Mapuche poet Elicura Chihuailaf Nahuelpan (Chile, b.1952) recalls a conversation he had with his parents about the origins of the term *araucano* and Ercilla's role as mythmaker:

> ¿de dónde vislumbró Ercilla la idea de llamarnos araucanos? Recuerdo que hace más de tres décadas tuvimos una charla acerca de ello con mi padre, Carlos Chihuailaf Railef, y con mi madre, Laura Nahuelpan Nahuelpan. Llegamos a la conclusión de que podría venir de la palabra *awkan* / *rebelde*. Pensamos que nuestra gente al ver invadido nuestro territorio y en la tierna obligación de defenderlo se largaban al combate gritando *awkan ta iñche, awkan ta iñchiñ / soy rebelde, somos rebeldes*, y al ser escuchados por los españoles -en particular por Ercilla- fueron colectivizados como *aucanos*. Son *aucán*, dijeron quizás; son *aucanos* dijeron -seguramente- luego. Y, como suele suceder en el diálogo idiomático, terminó instalándose en la sonoridad del idioma castellano el término *araucanos*. (Chihuailaf 7; emphasis added)

Chihualaf then comments "¿Y qué matria / patria le correspondería a los araucanos, en la imaginación de Ercilla, sino Arauco? Por eso mi padre decía, validando la obra de don Alonso: -Somos Mapuche y araucanos / Somos Gente de la Tierra y rebeldes; lo decía como una renovada manera de reafirmar nuestra identidad. Aunque al llamarnos araucanos, el gran poeta español se transformó, sin quererlo, en el mitificador del pueblo" (Chihuailaf 7-8). For her part, the poet Elvira Hernández (Chile b.1951) considers that *La Araucana* "[está] situada como el soplo creador del país, su primera piedra y fermento mítico de nuestra poesía pero que no ha podido, no ascender desde ahí, sino descender hacia lo que tiene que ser la base granítica de una sociedad: la justicia" (57). Hernández was one of the artists invited to participate in the project "Memoria poética. Reescrituras de *La Araucana*" sponsored by the Universidad de Chile as part of the celebrations of the bicentenary of Chile's independence. In "Elvira Hernández y su *Seudoaraucana*: una re-escritura insurrecta de *La Araucana,*" Luis Correa-

Díaz examines Hernández's irreverent re-writing of *La Araucana* from the perspective afforded by the symbolism of the Chilean flag in Hernández's previous works and her strategy to write "bajo la impronta de uno de los más reconocibles signos de la vida urbana moderna, el semáforo que regula el tráfico citadino." For Correa-Díaz, Hernández is the Chilean poet "quien ha dado espacio en su poesía 'no-mapuche' al conflicto nacional respecto al pueblo mapuche." Accordingly, Hernandez's *Seudoaraucana* "se presenta a un tiempo como serie de textos que hablan desde una individualidad histórica y desde una colectividad ancestral precisas, y cuyo rito poético finaliza en un *eluwün*, en un canto funeral en solitario."

Since Ercilla's life and writing were intricately related to the reign of Philip II, the poetic imitations of *La Araucana* under Philip III would express changes to the concepts of war and power, particularly in contexts of continuous and unsuccessful wars, such as the Chilean frontier. Taking into consideration the heavy political imagination that informs the epic genre, Lise Segas's article, "'Conquistar, quietar y defender este reino': Resignificación de *Armas antárticas* en los inicios del gobierno del virrey Montesclaros," creates a new framework through which to read the epic poem *Armas antárticas*. This poem, never published in its day, was written by a Spanish soldier and regular officer in the Armada del Mar del Sur, a local navy formed to protect Spanish interests against English piracy in Peruvian shores. The poem's dedication to the new Peruvian viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros alongside internal textual analysis suggest that it was finished around 1608, and most likely composed over a span of twenty years. Segas's new framework is based on the assumption that the first two cantos were late additions to the poem – as suggested in Firbas's critical edition of 2006 – and therefore were conceived by Miramontes to reframe the political significance of *Armas antárticas* in light of the new policies of the Razón de Estado. These first two cantos, which include two discourses that denounce the unjust violence executed by Spanish conquistadors in Peru, are reinterpreted by Segas as references to the situation in Chile at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In this sense, Segas reads *Armas antárticas* as a transformative imitation of *La Araucana* where the wars against the Mapuches disappear from the narrative matter, yet they are implied in the ideas about indigenous peoples' right to defend themselves, and ultimately in the Defensive War theory developed by the Jesuit father Luis de Valdivia, active in Lima when the new viceroy arrived in 1607. The viceroy Marquis of Montesclaros, a member of the Duke of Lerma's circle of power, was an enthusiastic supporter of this new defensive tactic for the Arauco. Segas's article finally argues that *Armas antárticas*, whose main narrative line deals with the sudden attacks of the "heretic" pirates in South

America, was also a bold statement against the economic policies of the Razón de Estado that would underfund the maritime defense of the viceroyalty, affecting not only the monetary interests of the Monarchy, but also its Catholic values.

Some of the articles included in this special issue were first presented at the symposium "*Epic New Worlds: Alonso de Ercilla's La Araucana 1569 – 2019*" held in October 2019 at the Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies at the University of Toronto and sponsored by York University. Emiro Martínez-Osorio would like to express his gratitude to the scholars who participated in that event: Mercedes Blanco, Imogen Choi, Nicole Delia Legnani, Jason McCloskey, Matthew da Mota, Aude Plagnard, Cory Reed, Luis Fernando Restrepo, María Gracia Ríos, Shaun Ross, Felipe Valencia, and Elizabeth R. Wright; and to David Fernandez, Miguel Torrens, the Canadian Association of Hispanists, and Odile Cisneros, editor in chief of *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, for their generous support for the symposium. We also would like to express our gratitude to the Faculty of Liberal Arts & Professional Studies at York University for their financial support for this publication.

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NOTES

1 This anecdote appears in a manuscript titled "Maximas para el Palazio por D.D.A.G" at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (manuscript 6150, folios 114-134v). Emphasis added.

2 By using epic poetry to denounce the detrimental effects of gunpowder, Ercilla follows the lead of Ariosto. See *Orlando furioso* (canto 11.23). It is also important to recognize that portions of *La Araucana* document the remarkable adeptness and determination of the local indigenous population to confront the types of weapons, resources, technologies, and military strategies brought over by Spaniards. For an analysis of the differences between Ercilla and Ariosto in regards to military technology see Murrin's *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic.*

3 For a reading of Part I of *La Araucana* that takes into consideration sixteenth century European republicanism see Choi "Republicanism and Empire."

4 See also http://www.reescrituradelaaraucana.uchile.cl/

5 For our essay we have used as a reference the edition of *La Araucana* prepared by Luis Gómez Canseco and published by the Real Academia Española in 2022. This new critical edition includes a study of almost two hundred pages and

provides a comprehensive updated bibliography. The edition also includes over 150 pages of additional annotations to complement the footnotes to the poem, a chronology of Ercilla's life, maps, and an index of annotated words.

6 On the reception of *La Araucana* in Spanish-America, see Nicolopulos (1998) and Martínez-Osorio (2016). For a comparatist analysis of the different approaches to the topic of mourning and the suffering caused by war in Oña and Ercilla see Carneiro (2022).

7 For Marrero-Fente, "al localizar en los bordes del imperio el tema de la piratería, Santisteban renueva la visión tradicional de la épica hispánica incorporando nuevos sujetos coloniales, por medio de los usos retóricos de los eventos de piratería articulados a través de la figura de un 'héroe colectivo' y la formulación narrativa de una 'comunidad unida,' que sirven para crear la ficción poética de la hegemonía del imperio español" (490). Santisteban's poem was reedited in Madrid in 1735 and included in Andrés González de Barcia's multi-volume editorial project on Spanish-American titles.

8 The auto sacramental *La Araucana* was originally attributed to Lope de Vega but Faúndez Carreño's work suggests otherwise. For the theological underpinnings of the indigenous songs included in the play see, see Quiroz Taub.

9 For the editorial history and the critical reception of *La Araucana*, see also Pierce, Subercaseaux, and Gómez Canseco.

10 The world map in *La Araucana* appears in canto 27 and has been studied by Nicolopulos (2000) and Plagnard (2016).

11 The story of Queen Dido takes up over 102 stanzas from canto 32.43 to 33.54.

12 Helgerson makes that suggestion. If that is the case, the poet Garcilaso de la Vega was probably carrying an edition of the *Orlando furioso* in Italian. The translations of the *Orlando furioso* by Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea and Hernando de Alcocer did not appear in print until 1549 and 1550, respectively.

13 Similarly, as late as 1628, while narrating the exploits of his friend Pedro Ordóñez de Ceballos in defeating an indigenous uprising near Santa Marta (in the New Kingdom of Granada), Bartolomé Jiménez Patón establishes a connection between the episode that narrates Caupolicán's election as military leader in part I of *La Araucana* and the manner in which an indigenous tribe thousands of miles away from the Arauco region selected a warrior as its representative. See Zugasti.

14 We are grateful to Professor Bernardo Subercaseaux Sommerhoff for bringing the work by Ignacio Domeyko to our attention.

15 See "Camina el autor" in Guaman Poma 2006: 1009. The name *Lautaro*, a Spanish adaptation of the indigenous name *Leftraru*, was not historically used in the extended Andean region where Guaman Poma lived in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

16 References to *La Araucana* also surface on the list of books and manuscripts loaned and borrowed in 1605 by Juan Vázquez del Mármol who served as *corrector general de libros* for the Council of Castile. Vázquez del Mármol signed the *fe de erratas* of *Primera y segunda parte de La Araucana* published in Madrid by Pierres Cossin in 1578 and the edition of the poem published by the widow of Alonso Gómez in 1585. The list of books loaned and borrowed suggests Vázquez del Mármol owned at least two copies of the 1590 edition of the poem. See Bouza.

17 López de Velasco also recommended to Vázquez de Leca the acquisition of the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega, *Propaladia* by Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, and the works of Cristobal de Castillejo. We are indebted to Felipe Ruan for sharing this information. López de Velasco was probably referring to the annotated edition of the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega prepared by Fernando de Herrera. See also Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero "Mateo Vázquez de Leca: un secretario entre libros."

18 Fitón's name probably derives from Phyton, the classic Greek oracular serpent. See Nicolopulos (*The Poetics of Empire in the Indies*, 284).

19 For an analysis of Philip II's religious habits, see the chapter titled "The King and God" in Parker (80-99).

20 Counter-Reformation policies and unified evangelization methods were implemented in South America after the Third Council of Lima (1582-1583), in which the Jesuit order played a leading role. On the impact of the Counter Reformation on epic poetry, see Leah Middlebrook's analysis of the openings of part I and part II of *La Araucana* in *Imperial Lyric* (147-49).

21 As noted by José Toribio Medina, while Ercilla resided in Lima prior to returning Spain, he was named by the viceroy of Peru as a member of the group of "gentiles-hombres de lanzas." This military group, "estaba formado por los hombres que más se hubiesen distinguido en el ejercicio de las armas y cuya conducta anterior diese completas garantías de fidelidad al Real servicio" (Medina, *Vida de Ercilla* 86).

22 Ercilla's poem was also read by natural philosophers like the Jesuit scholar José de Acosta (1540-1600) and influential historians like Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca (1539-1616). At least two references to *La Araucana* appear in Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*. Acosta refutes Ercilla in the section of his book discussing the Strait of Magellan (124), and then references him again while discussing the possibility of using dried leaves as a substitute for paper (209). For his part, Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca corrects Ercilla in his explanation of the meaning of the term *Palla* (64) and then references him again in his discussion of different accounts of the death of governor Pedro de Valdivia (457).

23 Not all appraisals of Ercilla's poem were as positive as the endorsement from Miguel de Cervantes and Juan López de Velasco, but that should be expected, particularly with literary works that break the norm. Not even the erudite and revolutionary poetry of Luis de Góngora escaped criticism or ridicule.

24 The 1598 rebellion resulted in the destruction of several Spanish settlements south of the Biobío River. See López-Chávez (192).

25 On the genre of *relaciones de méritos y servicios* in Colonial Spanish America and its connection to the economy of *mercedes* (royal rewards), see Folger, *Writing as Poaching.*

26 The said images were excluded from the first edition of *Segundo Cerco de Diu* published in Lisbon in 1574 and from the Spanish translation of the poem whose publication Ercilla authorized in 1594.

27 Ercilla signed the approval for the publication of the second volume of Juan de Castellanos's *Elegías*, but that section of the *Elegías* did not appear in print until 1847 when the fourth volume of *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* was dedicated to Castellanos's writings (see also Medina, *Vida de Ercilla* 229-31). The relevance of the comparison between the fate of Ercilla's and Castellanos's poems is enhanced when we consider that María Ruiz, widow of Alonso Gómez, published both a second edition of the first installment of *La Araucana* in 1585 and the first volume of the *Elegías* four years later.

28 In our view, Ercilla's accomplishments as a publisher were nurtured by an overlap between his financial acumen as an entrepreneur, his awareness of the transformations brought about by Europe's encounter with the New World, his privileges as a courtier, and his experience as a censor of books for the Consejo de Castilla.

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APPENDIX

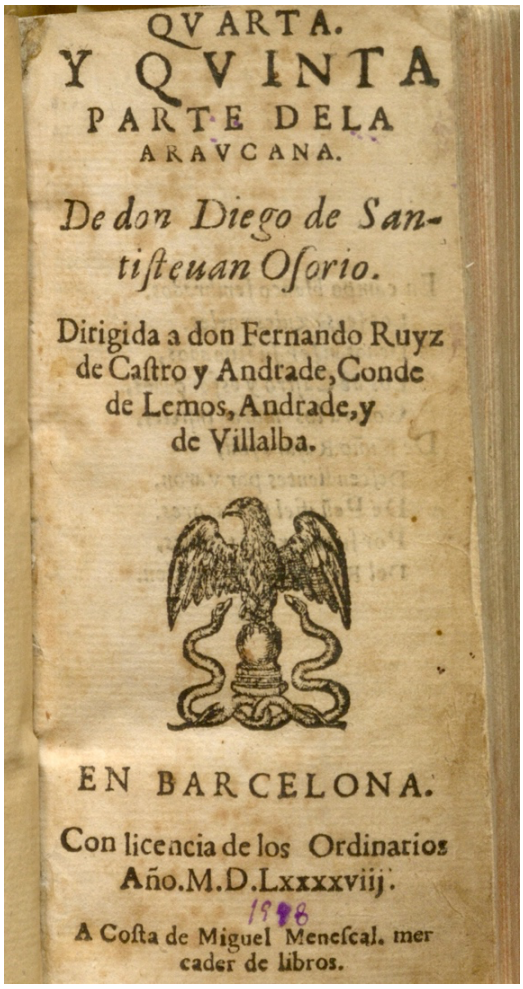

PRIMERA
SEGVNDA, Y TER
CERA PARTES DE LA
Araucana de don Alonso de Ercilla y çu
ñiga, Cauallero dela orden de Santiago
gentil hombre dela camara de la
Magestad del Empe-
rador,
DIRIGIDAS AL REY
don Felippe nuestro Señor.
Con licéçia del ordinario en Barcelona
en casa Sebastiá de Cormellas
al Call. Ano. 1592.
Esta conforme el original.
Vendense en casa de Gabriel Llobe-
ras librero.

Figure 1. Frontispiece of the 1592 edition of the three parts of *La Araucana* published by Sebastián de Cormellas in Barcelona. The first edition of the combined three parts was published in Madrid in 1590 by Pedro Madrigal. The

engraving of the serpent coiled around an anchor at the center is a distinguishing symbol of the publisher; it appears in other publications by Sebastián de Cormellas. The phrase "est[á] conforme el original" printed in italics in the lower section of the frontispiece is probably the result of an astute marketing scheme by the publisher. The research conducted by Juan Alberto Méndez Herrera (1976) and Miguel Martínez (2017) indicates that "de todos los ejemplares conocidos de 1589 o 1590 no hay dos idénticos" (Méndez Herrera 213). According to Luis Gómez Canseco, the 1592 Barcelona edition of the three parts of *La Araucana* was produced "teniendo a la vista un ejemplar de… la edición antuerpiense de 1586, pues el texto de los seis primeros cantos sigue de cerca su pauta. Hubo entonces de llegar a manos de la viuda [María Velasco] un ejemplar de la reciente edición en 8 lanzada por [Pedro] Madrigal en 1590, con la que se pudo revisar lo impreso hasta ese momento y que sirvió de modelo para el resto del libro. De hecho, fue un ejemplar de esta edición madrileña lo que se presentó para conseguir la licencia de impresión, pues así consta en el documento otorgado por las autoridades eclesiásticas: 'alias Madriti impressi anno 1590'" (1031). The 1592 Barcelona edition contains only thirty-five cantos and does not include the sections of the poem added to some copies of the 1589 and 1590 editions. The slim, light, and compact format of the 1592 Barcelona edition of *La Araucana* was replicated in the second edition of Diego de Santisteban Osorio's *Quarta y quinta parte de La Araucana* published in Barcelona in 1598 (figure 3). Image courtesy of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Figure 2. Frontispiece of the 1610 edition of *La Araucana* published in Madrid by Juan de la Cuesta. Unlike the edition of the three parts published in Barcelona in 1592 (figure 1), this edition displays prominently the Spanish coat of arms during

the reign of Philip II. A similar layout and the same coat of arms appeared in the frontispiece of the editions of the poem published in Madrid by Pedro Madrigal in 1589 and 1590, which were directly supervised by Alonso de Ercilla, as well as in the 1597 posthumous edition prepared by Licenciado Várez de Castro. The 1578 edition of part two of the poem published in Zaragoza displays the coat of arms of Charles V. Castile developed strong control mechanisms for publication, some of which did not exist in Barcelona. Ercilla was commissioned by the Council of Castile to examine and approve several literary works, including the second installment on Juan de Castellanos's *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias.* In his endorsement of Castellanos's work, Ercilla wrote "Yo he visto este libro y en él no hallo cosa mal sonante ni contra buenas costumbres; *y en lo que toca a la historia, la tengo por verdadera, por ver fielmente escritas muchas cosas y particularidades que yo vi y entendí en aquella tierra, al tiempo que pasé y estuve en ella*" (Medina, *Vida de Ercilla* 229 emphasis added). Ercilla's concern for historical referentiality while conducting his work as censor, and the multiple *truth* claims he makes throughout his poem, have far more serious implications than the publisher Sebastián de Cormellas's concern for *authenticity* as expressed in his phrase "est[á] conforme el original" (figure 1). However, the editorial history of *La Araucana*, and the poet's and the publishers' priorities, strategies, and choices make palpable broader epistemic transformations that can be linked to Europe's encounter with the New World. These transformations involved, for example, an increasing difficulty in establishing certainty and new parameters to write history, as well as new authorial strategies for self-fashioning. Image courtesy of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.



QVARTA.
Y QVINTA
PARTE DELA
ARAVCANA.

De don Diego de Santiſteuan Oſorio.

Dirigida a don Fernando Ruyz de Caſtro y Andrade, Conde de Lemos, Andrade, y de Villalba.

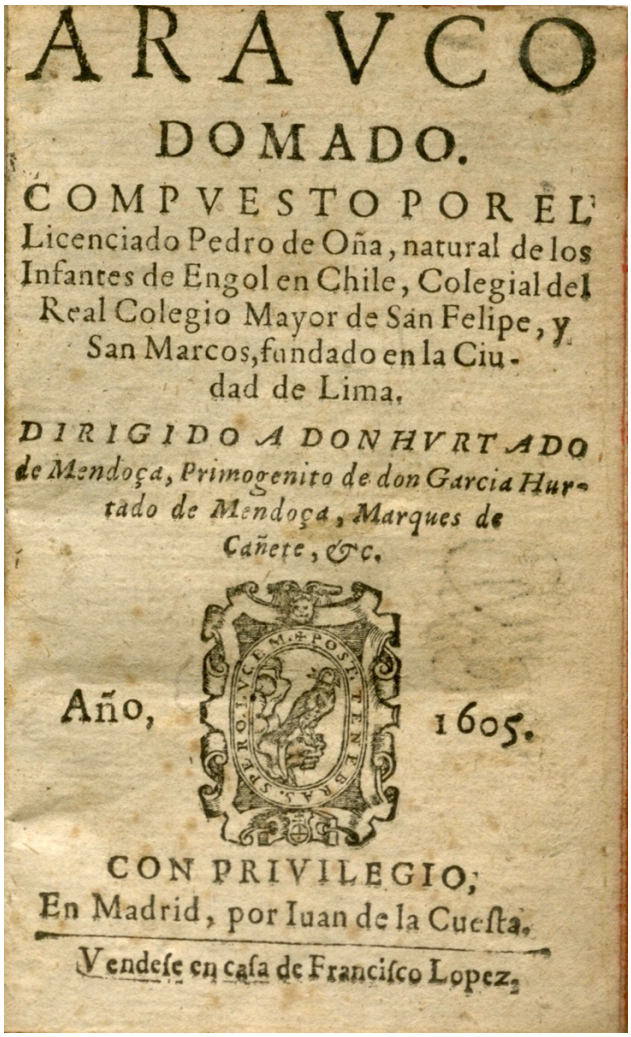
EN BARCELONA.

Con licencia de los Ordinarios
Año. M. D. Lxxxviij.

1598

A Coſta de Miguel Meneſcal. mercader de libros.

Figure 3. Frontispiece of the second edition of Diego de Santisteban Osorio's *Quarta y quinta parte de La Araucana* published in Barcelona in 1598. Image courtesy of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.



ARAVCO
DOMADO.
COMPVESTO POR EL
Licenciado Pedro de Oña, natural de los
Infantes de Engol en Chile, Colegial del
Real Colegio Mayor de San Felipe, y
San Marcos, fundado en la Ciu-
dad de Lima.
DIRIGIDO A DON HVRTADO
de Mendoça, Primogenito de don Garcia Hur-
tado de Mendoça, Marques de
Cañete, &c.
Año, 1605.
CON PRIVILEGIO;
En Madrid, por Iuan de la Cuesta.
Vendese en casa de Francisco Lopez,

Figure 4. Frontispiece of the second edition of Pedro de Oña's *Arauco domado* published in Madrid in 1605 by Juan de la Cuesta. Image courtesy of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Figure 5. "Mapa de una parte de Chile que comprende el terreno donde pasaron los famosos hechos entre españoles y Araucanos." Folded map included in the edition of *La Araucana* published in Madrid in 1777. Image courtesy of The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.