

“Un episodio trágico en *La Araucana*: la traición de Andresillo (cantos XXX-XXXII)”

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Se han comentado a menudo las diferencias de estructura y planteamiento entre las tres partes que componen *La Araucana*; la segunda, que contiene episodios proféticos y se desplaza a escenarios distantes de Chile, es distinta de la primera, más lineal y en apariencia más similar a una crónica. La tercera es más breve que las dos primeras, y contiene líneas argumentales muy distintas: final sin final de la guerra en Chile, exploración de Ercilla a zonas desconocidas muy al sur del teatro de la guerra, asunto de la incorporación de Portugal a la corona hispánica. Todo lo cual contribuye a alimentar la impresión de un texto abierto, que se va haciendo a lo largo de veinte años y evoluciona al tiempo que lo hace su creador y al compás del cambio histórico y de las novedades en el campo cultural y literario. De hecho, la tonalidad y los efectos estéticos también varían entre las tres partes, siendo la tercera bastante más sombría que las dos anteriores. De los materiales que la componen puede desgajarse una parte esencial para la lógica narrativa y el efecto del conjunto: el episodio de la traición de Andresillo contado a lo largo de tres cantos. Nos proponemos mostrar que fue estructurado como una tragedia engastada en la epopeya, tal vez por influencia de Aristóteles y de sus comentaristas, episodio cuya concepción y desarrollo deriva de las dos principales tradiciones de las que se nutre la *Araucana*, la materia caballeresca reflejada en Ariosto y la epopeya clásica.

“*La Araucana* and Drama”

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Renaissance epic poetry is, as has often been observed, a patchwork of many voices. In the Spanish poetic theory of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it occupied a somewhat ambivalent position, part-way between the poet who speaks in his own voice, as in lyric, and through the voice of others, as in comedy and tragedy. Particularly when one comes to the complexities of the colonial epic, this makes the ideological stance and intended impact of the poems peculiarly hard to pin down. *La Araucana* stands out for the large proportion of direct speech it incorporates, and for the fact that much of this speech is accorded to the indigenous protagonists of the poem. In this paper, I would like to relate this observation more specifically to two aspects of the dramatic innovations of the Hispanic theatre of this period. Firstly, I shall demonstrate Alonso de Ercilla’s inspiration in the dramaturgy of his day – a point which seems to have escaped the extensive criticism the poem has elicited – and particularly in those playwrights Stefano Arata termed the ‘generation of 1580’. These poets composed dramas often neoclassical in inspiration, but experimental in form and challenging in their approach to antiquity, many of which appeared on stage in their day but were later eclipsed by the phenomenally popular formula of the *comedia nueva* pioneered by Lope de Vega. Two of these dramas in particular loom large in the *Tercera parte* of Ercilla’s epic (1589), Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega’s 1587 *Tragedia de la honra de Dido restaurada*, and *La conquista de Jerusalén por Godofre de Bullón* (c. 1586), tentatively attributed to Cervantes. These intersect with two of the stranger novelties of this part of the epic: the repeated allusions to Torquato Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata* (1580), mediated by its reception in the Peninsula, and the much-disputed ‘verdadera historia de Dido’ which constitutes one of three significant digressions from the theatre of war in Chile. Finally, I will briefly consider how, in turn, *La Araucana*, along with Pedro de Oña’s rewriting in his *Arauco domado*, enjoyed a theatrical afterlife in a number of plays dating from the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries,

and how these plays give us a distinctive insight into the elusive question of the contemporary reception of Ercilla's daring and surprising poem.

**“Domestic Bliss and Strife:
Fresia and Caupolicán in Ercilla's *Araucana* and Oña's *Arauco domado*”**

Nicole Delia Legnani, Princeton University

If the virility of the victor is traditionally encoded in the preference for war and public spaces, whereas the femininity of the vanquished is encoded in a preference for love and private spaces, Fresia's public disavowal of Caupolicán with the *furia*, usually ascribed to male warriors, has proved troublesome for many critics of the *Araucana* in that the many inversions of the traditional contrapositions (victor/vanquished, war/love, public/private) in this epic poem, especially in the third part, do not seem to follow the ideological program of the Habsburg empire coherently. This paper focuses on the description of Fresia and Caupolicán's marriage as a reversal of Book 6 in the *Iliad* and Book 4 in the *Aeneid*, which, in light of post-Tridentine reforms and their application in Spain's global empire, perform a poetic violence, both troubled and troubling, against the possibilities of genealogical succession among native elites in Chile. I conclude with the possibilities of reading the *Araucana* in light of Oña's *Arauco domado*, as Quint and Nicolopolous have done before me but to other ends. My interpretation of Oña agrees with Pittarello's appraisal of *Arauco Domado*; though clearly an inferior poem, it tames the Araucanians through an erotic means of conquest. In this sense, the fifth canto of the *Arauco Domado*, which allows readers to view Fresia and Caupolicán sharing a bath in the forest, resurrects the married couple in an erotic scene that serves a proto-criollo sensibility. This sensibility is itself contradictory as *criollos* identify with the land of their birth, the civilizing mission of Hispanic Christianity, but also with abstract notions of indigeneity and indigenous victimization. In this way, Oña shall attempt to erase the horrors of the death of Caupolicán and the eradication of his lineage meted out, in part by Fresia, in the gender-troubling canto 33 of the third part of Ercilla's *Araucana*.

“The idea of Empire in Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana*”

Raúl Marrero-Fente, University of Minnesota

Although the main focus of *La Araucana* is the conquest of Chile, the poem includes three independent sections that narrate military and political events that take place on the other side of the Atlantic: The Battle of Lepanto, the Battle of Saint Quentin and the annexation of Portugal by Philip II. In recent years, scholars have started to pay increased attention to these sections, but there is still considerable work to be done to understand their significance within the overall plan of the poem. This paper offers a fresh interpretation of the idea of empire in *La Araucana* by examining the connections between the different discursive formations in relation to its cultural context. More specifically, this paper illuminates the innovations offered by Alonso de Ercilla in regards to the idea of empire by situating *La Araucana* within sixteenth century Spanish political theory, theological and judicial doctrines, and the classical and renaissance literary tradition. In addition, this paper applies contemporary critical theory to offer a revisionist assessment of the theoretical debates that inform *La Araucana*.

**“How Alonso de Ercilla Invented Himself as a Poet and Witness
Throughout the Three Parts of *La Araucana*”**

Auge Plagnard, Université Paul-Valéry de Montpellier

Ercilla published his only poem *La Araucana* in three parts, each at the distance of a decade: 1569, 1578 and 1589. Throughout these years, Ercilla’s position evolved considerably: in life, from young man to old; in social condition, from soldier to businessman and courtier; in the republic of letters, from unknown poet to respected examiner of the poetry books published in Castile. In my paper, I intend to reread the poem through a diachronic lens, focusing specific attention on the diverse roles played by Ercilla throughout his literary career and in his own text. I suggest that during those twenty years, the young poet discovered and developed the extraordinary abilities of a very specific authorial posture, that of the witness. In my view, Ercilla differs from other historical and poetic testimonies and he did not depict himself as a spectator and actor merely due to his participation in the *guerras de Arauco*. Long after leaving Chile and his military career, he invented a poetic pattern capable of promoting, in poetic terms, a specific kind of involvement in war narration. Examples of the tools used for this operation include the progressive alterations of the text by Ercilla himself, an emphasis on movement through *enargeia*, the rising presence of Ercilla as a character and leader of the plot, and his figuration as an author. These can all be used to explain the coherence of each part of the poem and the three steps in Ercilla’s epic composition.

“Empathy, Indigeneity, and Empire in Ercilla’s *Araucana* and Cervantes’ *Numancia*”

Cory Reed, The University of Texas at Austin

A major point of comparison between *La Araucana* and *Numancia* is both works’ depiction of indigenous populations beset by imperial conquest, which creates sympathy, or at least identification, in the reading public or theatrical audience. In this paper, I analyze the ways in which Ercilla and Cervantes use heroic forms of verse and drama in order to generate empathetic responses in their respective publics, employing recent approaches from the interdisciplinary field of cognitive studies that envision empathy as an evolving process of affective and intellectual response to literary texts and theatrical performance. In particular, the empathy-altruism hypothesis, which posits a clear connection between empathetic response and the potential for contemplating or taking action, is a valuable framework for studying these works in the political contexts of the *New Laws*, Bartolome de las Casas and the Valladolid debates, and the political/economic crisis of empire in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

“Epic Suffering: *La Araucana*, Humanism and the Meaning of Wounded Bodies”

Luis Fernando Restrepo, University of Arkansas

A disfigured Amerindian warrior grieved by his surviving lover, a mutilated native, wailing women pulling out their hair, and an impaled hero, these are some of the representations of wounded and ailing bodies in Alonso de Ercilla’s epic poem *La araucana*. A rich iconography of suffering bodies gives the epic the material support to construct its aesthetic project, endowing with meaning death, war, and colonial violence. Although the human body has been a key symbolic element of the epic tradition from the song of Ilium to the American war movies, this

presentation pays attention to the notion of the body and soul in Renaissance humanist thought, based primarily on Juan Luis Vives' *De anima et vita* (1538). Without seeking to establish a direct textual filiation between *De anima* and *La Araucana*, the main focus of this study is to examine how the Renaissance epic exploits the symbolic potential of the *mise-en-scène* of suffering bodies. Paradoxically, it is through the suffering of distant others that early modern Europeans come to understand their own humanity. However, these are not universal truths but historically determined and rhetorically designed perspectives. The epic, a highly-esteemed genre in the period, allows us to explore the visual and narrative forms mediating the "Real" experience of colonial violence and the precariousness of human existence.

**"Reading Beyond the Margins:
The First English Translation of Ercilla's *La Araucana* and the Anglo-Spanish War"**
María Gracia Ríos, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

A partial English translation of Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga's epic poem *Araucana* (1569, 1578, 1589), titled *The Historie of Araucana*, is located at the Lambeth Palace Library in London (MS. 688). Attributed to Sir George Carew, who served under Elizabeth I during the Tudor conquest of Ireland and who was later appointed President of Munster, this prose version of Ercilla's poem shows how English writers turned to Spanish literature in their attempt to build their own historiography of colonization. It also demonstrates that those Spanish translations that appeared in the sixteenth century prior to English overseas expansion shaped English expectations of what they would encounter in America. In this essay, I will study *The Historie of Araucana* in light of the Anglo-Spanish conflict that took place during the last decades of the sixteenth century. I will demonstrate that, besides revealing how English writers imitated the rhetoric of their European foes; this translation also shows that Englishmen were interested in acquiring information on the territories located at the far south of America. In addition, I will show that precisely because of its epic origin, *The Historie of Araucana* reveals the series of complications that resulted from trying to portray the frontiers of possession. A comparative approach that includes this text as well as other English narratives and cartographic materials that explored both these territories and their populations will shed light on the ways in which European nations were trying to re-establish the limits of the Spanish overseas empire.

**"A Diminishing Perspective:
First-Person Narrative in *La Araucana* and "The Captive's Tale" of Cervantes"**
Stephen Rupp, University of Toronto

Criticism of classical epic has emphasized the distanced and impersonal perspective from which its events are narrated. Its actions take place in a remote past, and its heroes are superior to other human beings in their skillful exercise of force and their commitment to the practices and values of war. In contrast, early modern texts in the epic tradition often describe recent conflicts from the perspective of a soldier who has participated in them. In such works the narrator can claim the authority of a direct witness and speak of the violence that he has both exercised and suffered. This subjective and immediate viewpoint contrasts with the established epic convention of temporal and ethical distance. The uses and consequences of first-person narration can be studied in *La*

Araucana and in “The Captive’s Tale” in *Don Quixote* (I. 39-42). In the case of *La Araucana*, Ercilla begins his narrative with events that preceded his arrival in Chile and so describes early battles and skirmishes in which he did not participate. His account of the destruction of Villagrán’s forces at Andalicán (Cantos V-VI) can be contrasted to his narrative of the Araucan assault on the Spanish at Purén (Canto XXVIII). In each of these episodes Spanish soldiers experience a sudden and forceful assault in an enclosed place. The first, in which Ercilla is not present, draws on techniques of classical epic to celebrate the force and valor of the combatants on both sides: animal similes, battle speeches, encounters at arms that stress the excellence of specific warriors. The second, in which Ercilla participates as a combatant, records his experience of entrapment in the narrow pass at Purén. Ercilla’s eyewitness narrative and a simile of a storm describe the density of the Araucan assault and the dispersal of the Spanish troops into small defensive groups. The focus here is on the trials of common soldiers, rather than the virtues of epic warriors. A similar perspective shapes “The Captive’s Tale,” in which Cervantes’s narrator records his isolation from his fellow soldiers at Lepanto and the trials of a failed defense against superior numbers of Ottoman troops at Tunis and La Goleta. In both Ercilla and Cervantes, first-person narration displaces the distanced perspective of the received epic tradition.

“Ercilla’s Ambivalent Reception of Virgil”

Shaun Ross, University of Toronto

This paper will consider *La Araucana*’s complex and conflicted response to Virgil’s *Aeneid*, arguing that Ercilla’s ambivalent attitude to his poetic predecessor reflects a recognition of the tension between two different roles the author hopes to occupy through his poem: on the one hand an epic poet composing a celebration of the Spanish monarchy and empire, and on the other hand a soldier presenting a personal account of the messy realities of warfare. Focussing on the Dido episode in Cantos 32-33 of *La Araucana*, this paper will borrow concepts from theorist Rita Felski, a major figure in the recent post-critical turn in literary studies, to reconsider the familiar debate about whether Ercilla’s poem takes a fundamentally pro-imperial or anti-imperial stance.

“Ercilla and the Rise of Lyric Theory in Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Poetry”

Felipe Valencia, Utah State University

The episodes in which indigenous women sing their tales of love and loss constitute, as several critics have noted, lyric digressions from the historiographical and epic project of the poet-protagonist of *La Araucana*. In this paper, I would like to revisit this topic by paying closer attention to two problems: the gendering of epic as masculine and lyric as feminine that these episodes suggest, and how Ercilla’s take on lyric fit into and affected Spanish poetry and poetics, particularly lyric practice and theory, in subsequent years. What does the ventriloquization of feminine voices, as Elizabeth Harvey would call it, mean for the masculinity of Ercilla’s poetic persona? How does Ercilla’s gendering of the lyric voice as feminine compare to other statements on the lyric, particularly Herrera’s double poetics of the lyric in *Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con anotaciones* (1580) and *Algunas obras* (1582)? None other than Ercilla, after all, wrote the *aprobaciones* for these two works. I also propose to examine the rest of Ercilla’s concise and often insightful *aprobaciones* to some of the most notable collections of lyric or theoretical discussions of poetics at the time, including *Tesoro de varias poesías* (1580) by Pedro de Padilla, *Cancionero*

(1586) by Gabriel López Maldonado, *Diversas rimas* (1591) by Vicente Espinel, and *Arte poética española* (1592) by Díaz Rengifo, plus two works that went through the bureaucratic process but in the end were not printed: the *Versos líricos y adónicos y la Bucólica* (1588) by Francisco de la Torre, and the *Digresionario poético* (c. 1585-92) by Mesa del Olmeda.

“Eastward Bound from Lepanto: Race and the Ethics of Empire Building”

Elizabeth R. Wright, University of Georgia at Athens

In the euphoria unleashed by Spain’s victory in the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), Juan Latino, a former slave who gained fame as a Latin professor, crafted an elegy for king Philip II. My talk explores how literary and topical allusions within Latino’s poem scrutinize Spanish imperialism. Specifically, the elegy warns that mistreatment of blacks in Spain will undercut Philip II’s manifest ambitions to harness momentum from the decisive victory at sea to power new eastward expansion. Fashioning himself a black bard from the Orient, Juan Latino evokes distant realms ruled by black kings and courtiers. To wield power in these lands, the poet avers, Spain’s elites must embrace blacks as equals. It is poignant to consider Latino’s assertion of black equality in light of the era’s arc of injustice: in the sixteenth century, the spreading tentacles of the Atlantic slave trade fomented new discourses of color prejudice and naturalized the depravities of slave holding. After pondering this divergence between the poet-and-educator’s vision of a multiracial imperial polity and the realpolitik of early modern racism, I consider the trans-Atlantic implications of his ethical scrutiny of *imperium*. As we know from Alonso de Ercilla’s *Araucana*, the euphoria that Lepanto unleashed informed visions of Spanish power and its limits in the American borderlands.