

The Conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion
in Colonial Chile (1545-1787)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	1
A Introduction	4
B Context and theory	14
1. Europeans and others: Tendencies in the colonial Mapuche Spanish encounter	15
2. The postcolonial frame	30
2.1 Postcolonialism, Orientalism and colonial discourse analysis	30
2.2 Towards a postcolonial religious studies	38
3. Towards a colonial discourse analysis of Mapuche Religion	49
3.1 Foucault's four principles of discourse analysis	49
3.2 Defining discourse and discourse analysis	53
3.3 Analysing Mapuche Religion as a colonial discourse	55
3.4 Second thoughts on authors, audiences and texts	60
C The conceptualisation of Chilean Mapuche Religion	66
4. Alonso de Ercilla's <i>La Araucana</i> and its aftermath	67
4.1 Ercilla and the Mapuche Spanish Conflict	67
4.2 Ercilla's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion	72
4.3 <i>La Araucana</i> tamed: Pedro de Oña and Arias de Saavedra	83
4.3.1 The conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in Oña's <i>Arauco domado</i>	83
4.3.2 The conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in Arias' <i>Purén indómito</i>	88
5. Towards and beyond Defensive War: Luis de Valdivia and Alonso de Ovalle	91
5.1 Valdivia and Defensive War in Chile	91
5.2 The conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in Valdivia's <i>Arte</i> and <i>Sermón</i>	100
5.3 Ovalle and the divine miracles of the conquista	110
5.4 Ovalle's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the <i>Historica relacion</i>	112
6. Dutch sailors and a German botanist: Georg Markgraf and his epigones	119
6.1 The Brouwer expedition to Chile	119
6.2 Markgraf's <i>Historia</i>	121
6.2.1 A botanist's view on Mapuche culture	121
6.2.2 Markgraf's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion	123
6.3 Caspar van Baerle's <i>Rerum</i> and Caspar Schmalkalden's <i>Wundersame Reisen</i> ...	127
7. Changing perspectives: Rosales' <i>Historia</i> and Bascuñan's <i>Cautiverio</i>	131
7.1 Diego de Rosales on (un)just war	131
7.2 Rosales' conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion	135
7.3 Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, the happy captive	147
7.4 Bascuñan's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the <i>Cautiverio</i>	150

8. Miguel de Olivares and the Jesuit legacy to Chile	156
8.1 The expulsion of the Jesuits	156
8.2 Olivares' conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion	157
8.3 The hour of the Franciscans	168
8.4 Espiñeira's and Sors' conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion	169
9. Two Jesuits in exile: Andrés Febrés and Bernhard Havestadt	174
9.1 Mapudùngun for beginners.....	174
9.2 Febrés' conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the <i>Arte</i>	175
9.3 Havestadt's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the <i>Chilidúgú</i>	183
10. Reintroducing Mapuche Religion to the world: Juan Ignacio Molina	188
10.1 The 'last' of the Jesuits.....	188
10.2 Molina's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion.....	191
11. The discourse beyond Molina	202
D Conclusion.....	205
E Bibliography.....	227
Primary sources	228
Secondary sources	240
F Appendices	262
Appendix 1: Chronological list of authors and texts in the Mapuche Religion discourse, 1545 to 1787.....	i
Appendix 2: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche supernatural beings.....	v
Appendix 3: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche religious specialists.	vi
Appendix 4: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche postmortality.	vii
Appendix 5: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche folk religious beliefs.....	viii
Appendix 6: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche mythology.	ix
Summary	x

A Introduction

Or, je trouve, pour revenir à mon propos, qu'il n'y a rien de barbare et de sauvage en cette nation, à ce qu'on m'en a rapporté, sinon que chacun appelle barbarie ce qui n'est pas de son usage; comme de vray il semble que nous n'avons autre mire de la verité et de la raison que l'exemple et idée des opinions et usances du païs où nous sommes. Là est tousjours la parfaite religion, la parfaite police, perfect et accomply usage de toutes choses.

(Michel de Montaigne, *Des cannibales*)¹

This study presents an analysis of the colonial discourse on Mapuche Religion in Chile. Focusing on the changes (i.e. breaks or ruptures) in the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion, it is the first study that seriously attempts to consider the texts of colonial writers as fabricates that do not simply provide reliable information about Mapuche Religion at their time and place. Instead, we claim that it is unlikely to understand today what a particular author meant (or did not mean) with his description of Mapuche Religion if the socio-biographical context, in which the writing took place, and the discursive elements employed by the author are not considered in depth. Mapuche Religion, as a field of study, is historically located in the complex context of Spanish colonialism. Thus, we consider it necessary for any scientific endeavour in the field to be aware of the fact that a lack of reflection on that colonial context and its mechanisms could lead to misunderstanding and misrepresenting the interreligious relations in that area of investigation. Adopting from King, we thus analyse the discourse on Mapuche Religion as a complex "... field in which power relations operate ..."². Nonetheless, we do not mean to reduce the Mapuche Religion discourse to mere (colonial) power relations. Conducting a case study that focuses on the very details of the Mapuche Religion discourse, we consider force or power as one – but not the only – relevant aspect of the discourse.

¹ Montaigne, M.E. de: Les essais. - 3 vols. - vol. 1. - Paris: University of France Press, 1992, p. 205. "I find (from what had been told me) that there is nothing savage or barbarous about those peoples, but that every man calls barbarous anything he is not accustomed to; it is indeed the case that we have no other criterion of truth or right-reason than the example and form of the opinions and customs of our own country. There we always find the perfect religion, the perfect polity, the most developed and perfect way of doing anything!": Montaigne, M.E. de: The Complete Essays. - London: Penguin, 1991, p. 231.

² King, R.: Orientalism and Religion. Postcolonial Theory, India and the 'Mystic East'. - London: Routledge, 2005, p. 1.

Moreover, we understand our study rather to be an empirical case study than a theoretical work on colonial discourse, following Lincoln's pledge "... to leave theory embedded in practice whenever possible, so that generalizations may gradually emerge from the detailed analysis of specific materials."³ Thus, this primarily is a regional study in the Foucaultian sense of the word, which means a problem based work not fixed on a chronological scheme but an investigation focusing on specific questions or problems⁴. Additionally, there are two general objectives of the study: (1) By introducing Mapuche Religion to religious studies, we mean to provide a basis for future research in that area of investigation. Thus, we open up that field for the scientific community, often presenting the first English translation of text passages from the Castilian, Dutch, German, French, Italian and Latin. (2) The study presents a model for the further study of indigenous religions in other colonial contexts around the globe. Accordingly, with this book we mean to invite the scientific community to postcolonial research, by providing a point of reference for scholars of religious studies⁵, as well as anthropologists, historians and other scientists working or intending to work on religion in colonial contexts.

Furthermore, the study attempts to contribute to overcoming the discrepancy

"... between the indisputably central and inclusive role played by indigenous cultures in the development of theory in the social and cultural sciences on the one hand, and, on the other, the systematic exclusion, marginalization, and invisibility of living indigenous peoples in those same sciences."⁶

Thus, we claim with Kohl that an investigative fixation on Christianity and the other 'world religions'⁷ still blocks the view on indigenous religions today⁸, which renders us not very far

³ Lincoln, B.: *Discourse and the Construction of Society. Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification*. - Oxford: University Press, 1989, p. 172. And the author adds to that in another study: "As I see it, know-how comes not from reading and writing about methodology, but from practical engagement with concrete data and honest reflection on the inadequacies of one's prior understanding that grows out of such engagement.": Lincoln, B.: *Reflections on 'Theses on Method'*. - in: *Secular Theories of Religion. Current Perspectives/ T. Jensen; M. Rothstein (eds.)*. - Kopenhagen: Tusculanum. - 2000. - 117-122, p. 117.

⁴ Foucault, M.: *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. - London: Routledge, 2002, p. x.

⁵ In our study we employ the term "religious studies" for our discipline, understood in the sense of "Religionswissenschaft" in the German academy.

⁶ Geertz, A.W.: *Can We Move Beyond Primitivism? On Recovering the Indigenes of Indigenous Religions in the Academic Study of Religion*. - in: *Beyond Primitivism. Indigenous Religious Traditions and Modernity/ J.K. Olupona (ed.)*. - New York: Routledge. - 2004. - 37-70, p. 37.

⁷ For the course of this study, a word or word group in single quotation marks points out to the reader that the term is either (1) overinclusive or approximate in character (e.g. 'Hinduism', 'European society') or (2) pejoratively connotated in the particular context (e.g. 'barbarian', 'false religion').

from a 19th century mindset that pictured ‘primitive religions’ as static and never-changing phenomena – in opposition to the complex dynamics asserted in the history of Christianity⁹ – dominated by fear, terror and dread¹⁰. Especially South American indigenous religions, we have to say unfortunately, are not only underrepresented in the contemporary discipline of religious studies but are practically not present there at all (i.e. left to the discipline of anthropology). By introducing Mapuche Religion for the first time to our discipline, our study thus attempts to make a contribution towards the recognition of South American indigenous religions, which, in fact, is a challenging field of investigation for religious studies. By conducting case studies all over the world – including ‘world religions’ as well as (indigenous) ‘minor religions’ – religious studies could meet the challenges and demands of a globalised world. Therefore, we mean to show with this book that taking a deeper look at a particular ‘colonised periphery’ certainly is of interest to our discipline that, basically, is still fixed to the ‘European center’¹¹.

Nevertheless, our study is not the first investigative endeavour that analyses colonial sources on Chilean Mapuche Religion, as there are six previous studies. (1) The first is by the anthropologist Elisabeth Gerds-Rupp, who published parts of her doctoral thesis in 1937 under the title *Magische Vorstellungen und Bräuche der Araukaner im Spiegel der spanischen*

⁸ Kohl, K.-H.: Ein verlorener Gegenstand? Zur Widerstandsfähigkeit autochtoner Religionen gegenüber dem Vordringen der Weltreligionen. - in: *Religionswissenschaft. Eine Einführung*/ H. Zinser (ed.). - Berlin: Reimer. - 1988. - 252-273, p. 254. This research situation is poignantly summarised by Smith: “A World Religion is a religion like ours; but it is, above all, a tradition which has achieved sufficient power and numbers to enter our history, either to form it, interact with it, or to thwart it. All other religions are invisible. We recognize both the unity within and the diversity between the ‘great’ World Religions because they correspond to important geo-political entities with which we must deal. All ‘primitives,’ by way of contrast, may be simply lumped together as may be so-called ‘minor religions’ because they do not confront our history in any direct fashion. They are invisible.”: Smith, J.Z.: *Map is Not Territory*. - in: *Map Is Not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions*/ J.Z. Smith (ed.). - Chicago: University Press. - 1993. - 289-310, p. 295.

⁹ Kohl, *Gegenstand*, p. 254.

¹⁰ Douglas, M.: *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. - London: Routledge, 2002, p. 1. Nonetheless, there are various works of scholars of religion dealing with the conceptualisation of non-European (‘world-’)religions by Europeans (see for example: Bergunder, M. (ed.): *Missionsberichte aus Indien im 18. Jahrhundert. Ihre Bedeutung für die europäische Geistesgeschichte und ihr wissenschaftlicher Quellenwert für die Indienkunde*. - Halle: Franckesche Stiftungen, 1999; Dharampal-Frick, G.: *Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit*. - Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994; King, *Orientalism*; Kollmar-Paulenz, K.: *Zur europäischen Rezeption der mongolischen autochtonen Religion und des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*. - in: *Religion im Spiegelkabinett. Asiatische Religionsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus*/ P. Schalk (ed.). - Uppsala: University Press. - 2003. - 243-288; Sindemann, K.: *Der japanische Buddhismus in den Jesuitenbriefen im 16. Jahrhundert. Auf den Spuren frühneuzeitlicher Buddhismusrezeption in Europa*. - in: *Religion im Spiegelkabinett. Asiatische Religionsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus*/ P. Schalk (ed.). - Uppsala: University Press. - 2003. - 115-144). Exceptional, as it does not focus on a ‘world religion’ but analyses the conceptualisation of indigenous religions in South Africa, is Chidester’s *Savage Systems*: Chidester, D.: *Savage Systems. Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa*. - Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

*Quellen seit der Conquista*¹². The book – probably due to the language barrier – did not receive much attention in Chile. Aiming at giving an account of the “magical understanding” and “magical customs” of ‘the Araucanians’ by paraphrasing a selection of sources from the beginnings of the conquista to the 1930s, it is completely outdated. But the biggest problem probably is the author’s tendency to force the complexity of sources on Mapuche Religion into one direction of reasoning – that is that Mapuche Religion is dominated by magic – to demonstrate a continuity in the descriptions of Mapuche Religion from the earliest sources to the 1930s.

(2) The influential study *Los aborígenes chilenos a través de cronistas y viajeros* of the historian Horacio Zapater was published in 1973. It paraphrases the descriptions of chronicles and travel accounts on all indigenous people of Chile from the beginning of the conquista in Chile to the pacification (1883 approximately)¹³. Because of the extensiveness of the material – due to the long period of time and the great variety of indigenous peoples – Zapater is forced to highly reduce the complexity of the descriptions. This is achieved by a complicated and often arbitrary systematisation, which structures the book to a level that makes a fruitful analysis of the descriptions impossible. Thus, we find information on Mapuche Religion in the region “central south”, under the people “Mapuches”, under the chapter headline “social life”¹⁴. The paragraphs of that chapter, which are of interest to us here, are called “beliefs”, “animism”, “shamanism” (etc.). Being overreductive and problematical in its arbitrariness, the study provides a blurred mode of categorisation¹⁵, as the author does not make any attempt to analyse the interrelations of the aspects brought up in the paragraphs. Thus, Zapater’s book appears to be more like a (highly selective) bibliography on Mapuche Religion.

(3) The theologian Ewald Böning, a member of the Society of the Divine Word, published his doctoral thesis *Der Pillánbegriff der Mapuche* in 1974¹⁶. The study focuses on one Mapuche supernatural being: “Pillán”. In the first – for our work the most relevant – part of the book¹⁷, the author discusses descriptions of Pillán from a selection of sources ranging

¹² Gerds-Rupp, E.: *Magische Vorstellungen und Bräuche der Araukaner im Spiegel der spanischen Quellen seit der Conquista*. - Hamburg: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, 1937.

¹³ Zapater, H.: *Los aborígenes chilenos a través de cronistas y viajeros*. - 1st ed. - Santiago: Bello, 1973. Re-edited as an augmented edition: Zapater, H.: *Los aborígenes chilenos a través de cronistas y viajeros*. - 2nd ed. - Santiago: Bello, 1978.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-90.

¹⁵ Thus, for example, the paragraphs “fortune-tellers”, “sorcerers”, “wizards” are marked as clearly isolated paragraphs but it does not become clear for the reader, what the differences between those concepts exactly are.

¹⁶ Böning, Pillánbegriff. Similar to Gerds-Rupp’s book, the study did not receive much attention in Chile until the German anthropologist Schindler introduced Böning’s work to the Chilean scientific community in 1989: Schindler, H.: Pillán 3. - in: *Actas de Lengua y Literatura Mapuche*, 3 (1989), 183-204, pp. 183-192.

¹⁷ Böning, E.: *Der Pillánbegriff der Mapuche*. - San Augustin: Steyler, 1974, p. 13-74.

from the 16th century to the 1970s. In the following parts, Böning presents his own observations gathered in the field and develops a definition of Pillán. The chapter about the descriptions of Pillán is chronologically structured by authors, their biographies are sketched and the parts thought relevant on Pillán are extracted and analysed. Although Böning's contextual approach is interesting to us, we need to criticise two aspects of his study. First, the book is far too selective and the descriptions of the various socio-biographical contexts too sketchy. Second, the chapter analysing the colonial sources appears to be a prestudy to Böning's definition of Pillán provided in the second part of the book. Similar to Gerds-Rupp, the sources seem to be selected and interpreted to meet with Böning's own final conclusions on Pillán. That approach finds its peak in the last (rather paternalistic) chapter of the book titled "Ignorance, uncertainty and confusion of the Mapuche concerning the term Pillán"¹⁸, in which the author explains why today's Mapuche have a 'false understanding' of their own religion.

(4) Chronologically next is the unpublished anthropology licence thesis *Visión etnohistórica de la cultura mapuche* written by the anthropologist Erika Zuñiga in 1976¹⁹. It is a thematically structured analysis of a selection of sources from the 16th and 17th centuries, while the focus is laid on the material aspects of Mapuche culture. Thus, religious topics are subordinated and appear in a highly reduced form in one chapter, which is programmatically called "Aspects of the subjective life"²⁰.

(5) The anthropologist Ana Mariella Bacigalupo's unpublished history licence thesis *Definición, evolución e interrelaciones de tres conceptos mapuches, pillan, nguenechen y wekufe* was written in 1988²¹. It attempts to analyse the history of descriptions of three Mapuche supernatural beings (i.e. "Pillan", "negenechen", "wekufe") from the beginning of the conquista to the 1980s. The problem with Bacigalupo's approach is that, although she focuses on three characters only, the set period of time is too long. Thus, the analysis – furthermore pressed into a problematic topical system – is presented in a selective and highly simplified form.

(6) The study *Introducción a la religiosidad mapuche* published by the anthropologist Rolf Foerster in 1993 is – together with Böning's book – the most complex work on the topic to

¹⁸ "Unkenntnis, Unsicherheit und Verwirrung der Mapuche bezüglich des Pillánbegriffs": Ibid., pp. 169-176.

¹⁹ Zuñiga, E.: *Visión etnohistórica de la cultura mapuche*. - unpublished anthropology licence thesis at the Universidad de Concepción. - 1976.

²⁰ "Aspectos de la vida subjetiva": Ibid., pp. 213-277.

²¹ Bacigalupo, A.M.: *Definición, evolución e interrelaciones de tres conceptos mapuches. Pillan, nguenechen y wekufe*. - unpublished history licence thesis at the Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago. - 1988.

date²². The first two chapters provide a chronological analysis of descriptions of Mapuche Religion from the beginning of the conquista to the present²³. Although Foerster discusses aspects of the influence of those texts on other authors' writing, similar to Böning the analysis of Mapuche Religion descriptions seems to be a prelude to the following chapters that discuss the present *status quo* of Mapuche Religion from an anthropological perspective. Thus, like Böning before him, Foerster's results on this matter are rather sketchy.

Conclusively, previous studies do either not focus particularly on Mapuche Religion or if they do, are mainly designed in a highly schematical and reduced form as some kind of 'prologue' to the author's own interpretation of Mapuche Religion. Our study will thus be the first to focus on the colonial conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion as a self-sufficient goal; nonetheless, we can learn from those six predeceasing models about the difficulties and the dangers that condition our endeavour.

Our study is subdivided into two parts. In the first part we provide a general overview on tendencies of interpretation in the Mapuche Spanish colonial context (chapter 1); we discuss current results of the postcolonial, as well as the Orientalism debates and then argue for taking the postcolonial turn in religious studies (chapter 2); finally, we debate the application of discourse analytical methods to the context of Mapuche Religion (chapter 3). The results of that first part are then applied in the second part of the study, which provides a detailed colonial discourse analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse. Considering the 'weaknesses' of the six preceding studies, for this part of our study we had to face a dilemma that Said pictured vividly for his book *Orientalism*:

"There still remained the problem of cutting down a very fat archive to manageable dimensions, and more important, outlining something in the nature of an intellectual order within that group of texts without at the same time following a mindlessly chronological order."²⁴

Thus, we pragmatically decided to limit our study on four levels: (1) Ethno-geographically, focusing exclusively on the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in Chile; (2) on the time level, focusing on the core colonial period, beginning with the first conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in 1545 and ending with Molina's influential description of Mapuche religiosity in 1787. (3) Furthermore, we limited the study by a selection of sources, that is

²² Foerster, R.: *Introducción a la religiosidad mapuche*. - 2nd ed. - Santiago: Universitaria, 1995.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-54.

²⁴ Said, E.W.: *Orientalism. Western Representations of the Orient*. - Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003, p. 16.

seven cluster-groups of authors in that time period²⁵; moreover, the analysis focuses on texts of eyewitnesses, while polyhistoric sources are widely omitted²⁶. (4) We will limit the study to the doctrinal dimension of Mapuche Religion discourse, while widely omitting the dimension of religious practice. Moreover, we divide the doctrinal conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion into five (selective!) dimensions or strands of discourse (as we will call them below): (a) Supernatural beings, (b) religious specialists, (c) postmortality, (d) folk religious beliefs and (e) mythology²⁷. Nonetheless, we need to keep in mind that this distinction is made for purely heuristical reasons as the five strands of discourse are no natural categories that would permit a sharp differentiation. Instead, the borders are rather blurry as the strands are often tightly knitted to and entangled with each other in the Mapuche Religion discourse.

Before we can conclude this introduction, we need to generally introduce the Mapuche to the reader. On the pan-American level, Chile is one of the countries besides Mexico and Peru with the largest amount of chronicles and travel accounts describing indigenous cultures²⁸. Furthermore, the Mapuche are not just ‘any Indian tribe’ in South America, as with their special colonial history they are the ethnic group assigned with the most extensive bibliography of sources of all indigenous people of past and present Chile²⁹. Nonetheless, for the present situation we still have to affirm a conclusive remark made by the anthropologist Titiev almost 60 years ago:

“[The, S.E.] [s]election of the Araucanians as subjects for research in the field was by no means a matter of chance. On the contrary, they were chosen because they represent a large and important tribe of South American Indians about whom there is a surprising lack of up-to-date information.”³⁰

The “Mapuche” (i.e. Mapudùngun³¹ for “people of the land”³²) are the third largest ethnic group in South America³³. With a number of approximately 600.000 people (2002)³⁴, they are

²⁵ For an overview of the discussed and the omitted authors in this study see appendix 1, which provides a chronological list of authors and texts participating in the Mapuche Religion discourse from 1545 to 1787.

²⁶ A general exception is the discussion of Markgraf’s epigones in chapter six of this study.

²⁷ We pragmatically focus on main traits of the Mapuche Religion discourse in our study. Thus, the strand mythology, for example, is limited to the conceptualisation of Mapuche creation mythology. For an overview of main traits in the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the five strands of discourse see appendices 2 to 6.

²⁸ Zapater, *Chilenos 1*, p. 9.

²⁹ Zapater, *Chilenos 2*, p. 50.

³⁰ Titiev, M.: *Araucanian Culture in Transition*. - Michigan: University Press, 1951, p. 1.

³¹ Mapudùngun is the language of the Mapuche.

³² Erize, E.: *Diccionario comentado mapuche*. - Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional del Sur, 1960, p. 254.

the largest of eight indigenous peoples in present Chile³⁵, as well as of present Argentina with a number of approximately 114.000 (2004) people there³⁶. It is a scientific consensus today that there is not one singular or monolithic Mapuche culture but that there are and were several distinct peoples with elementary cultural differences³⁷. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that those different groups widely speak and spoke Mapudungun and therefore constitute(d) one linguistic unity³⁸. There are several scientific attempts to differentiate the Mapuche geographically into six sub-groups³⁹: (1) A core-group in the middle of the “Araucanía”⁴⁰ called the “Mapuche”; (2) a group in the north called the “Pikunche”; (3) a group to the east called the “Pehuenche” or “Puelche”; (4) a group to the south called the “Huilliche”; (5) a group to the west (at the coast) called the “Lafkenche”; and (6) a group further to the south called the “Cuncos”⁴¹.

The Mapuche gained worldwide attention under the name “Araucanians” [Araucanos], a term popularised by Alonso de Ercilla in 1569 in his influential epos *La Araucana*, referring to the inhabitants near the township Arauco (approximately 37° latitude)⁴². The term was

³³ After the Quechua and Aymara: Grebe, M.E.: *Culturas indígenas de Chile. Un estudio preliminar.* - Santiago: Pehuén, 1998, p. 55.

³⁴ Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas: *Censo 2002. Síntesis de resultados.* - Santiago: La Nación, 2003, p. 23. Today, the majority of the Chilean Mapuche people live in the Chilean capital region and in the southern provinces 8, 9 and 13: *Ibid.*

³⁵ The other seven ethnic groups are: The Alacalufe, Atacameños, Aymara, Colla, Quechua, Rapanui and Yámana: *Ibid.*

³⁶ Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos: *Resultados de la encuesta complementaria de pueblos indígenas 2004-2005.* - accessed 04-01-2010: <http://www.indec.gov.ar>, p. 1. The majority of the Argentinian Mapuche live in the Neuquén region. As we focus on the Chilean Mapuche, Argentina will be faded out here. For further information on the Argentinian Mapuche people see: Canals Frau, S.: *Expansion of the Araucanians in Argentina.* - in: *Handbook of South American Indians/ J.H. Steward (ed.).* - 7 vols. - Washington: Smithsonian Institute. - vol. 2. - 1946. - 761-766; Cooper, J.M.: *The Araucanians.* - in: *Handbook of South American Indians/ J.H. Steward (ed.).* - 7 vols. - Washington: Smithsonian Institute. - vol. 2. - 1947. - 687-760, pp. 699-697; Hajduk, A. et al.: *Cultura mapuche en la Argentina.* - Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Antropología, 1981; Menghin, O.: *Estudios de la prehistoria araucana.* - Buenos Aires: Centro Argentino de Estudios Prehistóricos, 1962.

³⁷ Aldunate del Solar, C.: *Cultura mapuche.* - Santiago: Departamento de la Extension Cultural, 1978, pp. 111-113; Dillehay, T.D.: *Araucanía. Presente y pasado.* - Santiago: Bello, 1990, pp. 126-138; Dannemann, M.: *Grupos aborígenes chilenos. Su situación actual y distribución territorial.* - Santiago: University Press, 1989, p. 20.

³⁸ Gerdts-Rupp, Magische, p. 13.

³⁹ Which vary from author to author, see: Berdichewsky, B.: *The Araucanian Indian in Chile.* - Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1975, pp. 1-6; Cooper, *Araucanians*, pp. 688-694; Dannemann, *Grupos*, pp. 20-22; Gerdts-Rupp, *Magische*, p. 12; Grebe, *Culturas*, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁰ A localisation of the Araucanía region follows below.

⁴¹ On the development and interrelations of these groups (i.e. the “Araucanisation” or expansion of the Mapuche to other territories) see: Dannemann, *Grupos*; Menghin, *Estudios*; Zapater, H.: *La expansión araucana en los siglos XVIII y XIX.* - in: *Relaciones fronterizas en la Araucanía/ S. Villalobos et al. (eds.)* - Santiago: Universidad Católica de Chile. - 1982. - 87-106.

⁴² Zapater, *Chilenos 2*, p. 177.

popular from then on until far into the second half of the 20th century⁴³. It is highly improbable to assume that authors of the 16th century (for example) had a correct understanding of the complex linguistic and cultural differences between the various indigenous groups in Chile at their time. To give a certain name to an indigenous people was rather a strategy to draw a definite geographical boundary around otherwise distinct human groupings. Since these outsider-terms were colonial constructions – which often followed the particular author’s interests – we cannot naively assume that they refer to natural groupings. Instead, we have to acknowledge that – although there were probably people there at the time of the particular description – the specifics of the cultural boundaries drawn were certainly (to some degree) European inventions⁴⁴.

Following that ‘invention of the Araucanians’, the home region in the south that they inhabited was necessarily called the Araucanía⁴⁵. As that word described the enemy territory behind the last border of the Spanish empire in South America, it was closely related to the military term “The Frontier” [La Frontera]⁴⁶. The idea of the Araucanian frontier was formed by Spanish conquistadors in the 16th century⁴⁷ and generally referred to the territory south of the Bio-Bio river (approximately 37° latitude) until far into the 19th century⁴⁸. Thus, the Araucanía core land can be defined as a region stretching approximately from below that river to the island of Chiloé (43° latitude)⁴⁹. Nonetheless, the exact extension of the pre-Spanish Mapuche territory cannot be localised with precision. While most authors identify its southern end with the island of Chiloé, there is much disagreement on its northern border. Gerdts-Rupp assumes the largest territorial expansion, beginning near Copiapó (approximately 23°

⁴³ For a detailed discussion of the use of the synonymous terms Araucanian, Mapuche and “Reche” (i.e. “pure Indian”: Erize, Diccionario, 364) in the literature see: Boccara, G.: Los vencedores. Historia del pueblo mapuche en la época colonial. - Santiago: Iiam, 2007, pp. 13-27.

⁴⁴ Similar to what Chidester described for the South African context: Chidester, Savage, p. 22.

⁴⁵ Titiev, Araucanian, p. 1. Still today, the ninth province of Chile is called the “Araucanía region” [Región de la Araucanía].

⁴⁶ Faron, L.C.: Mapuche Social Structure. - Urbana: University Press, 1961, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Nonetheless, in 1485 approximately – that is fifty years before the Spaniards set first foot on Chilean soil – the Mapuche (successfully) defended their land already against the invading troops of the Inca Túpac Yupanqui (*1440; †1493). The Maule river (approximately 35° latitude) was thus set as a border line, marking the southern end of the Inca empire: Barros, D.J.A.: Historia jeneral de Chile. - 16 vols. - Santiago: Jover, 1884-1902, I, pp. 53-64; Bengoa, J.: Historia de los antiguos mapuches del sur. Desde antes de la llegada de los españoles hasta las paces de Quilín. - Santiago: Catalonia, 2003, pp. 37-40; Bonilla, T.: La gran guerra mapuche, 1541-1883. Análisis crítico histórico militar de la Araucanía. - 2 vols. - Santiago: Instituto Geográfica Militar, 1988, I, pp. 24-26; León, L.: Expansión inca y resistencia indígena en Chile. - in: Chúngara, 10 (1983), 95-115.

⁴⁸ Pinto, J.: Presentación. - in: Misioneros en la Araucanía, 1600-1900/ J. Pinto et al (eds.). - Temuco: University of La Frontera Press. - 1988. - 9-15, p. 11; Pinto, J.: Frontera misiones y misioneros en Chile y Araucanía, 1600-1900. - in: Misioneros en la Araucanía, 1600-1900/ J. Pinto et al. (eds.). - Temuco: University of La Frontera Press. - 1988. - 17-120, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁹ Aldunate, Mapuche, p. 111; Faron, Structure, p. 5; Grebe, Culturas, p. 55.

latitude)⁵⁰, while Böning estimates it to be further down near Coquimbo (approximately 30° latitude)⁵¹. Cooper and Villalobos locate the northern border further south, near the river Choapa (approximately 32° latitude)⁵², while Dannemann assumes it to merely stretch from Cañete (38° latitude) down to the island of Chiloé⁵³.

Conclusively, in our study we will pragmatically include the sub-groups introduced above under the (self-terminative) roof term Mapuche. Furthermore, speaking of the Araucanía as the ‘homeland of the Mapuche’ in our study, we refer to a region that approximately comprises the territory from the Bio-Bio to the island of Chiloé.

⁵⁰ Gerds-Rupp, *Magische*, p. 13.

⁵¹ Böning, *Pillánbegriff*, p. 9.

⁵² Cooper, *Araucanians*, p. 688; Villalobos, *Vida*, p. 212.

⁵³ Dannemann, *Grupos*, p. 20. As we will not locate all Chilean places that appear in the course of our study beyond this introduction by latitude, the reader may refer to the extensive book of Chilean maps edited by the Chilean Military Geographic Institute: Instituto Geográfico Militar: *Atlas geográfico de Chile para la educación*. - Santiago: Instituto Geográfico Militar, 2005.

B Context and theory

The things to look at are style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, not the correctness of the representation nor its fidelity to some great original.

(Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*)⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 21.

1. Europeans and others: Tendencies in the colonial Mapuche Spanish encounter⁵⁵

Más allá, más allá, lejos del piojo,
del látigo feudal, del calabozo,
de las galeras llenas de excremento.

(Pablo Neruda, *Canto general*)⁵⁶

What motivated the individual Spanish conquistador to leave his home country and world of knowledge behind, travelling across the sea for months, setting foot on unknown territory to finally enter a new world of danger and hardships? We can only speculate on those reasons: It certainly is true that, for one, he may have searched for a new perspective in life, seeing the ‘New World’ as an exploitable resource for the ‘Old World’⁵⁷. There were the “Eldorado spirit”⁵⁸, that is the quest for material wealth⁵⁹ and the “adventure spirit”⁶⁰, the search for things unseen in lands unknown.

Accordingly, after entering novel territory, the conquistadors were very interested to find out about the so-called “secrets of the land” [secretos de la tierra], that is the whereabouts of precious metals, gems, temples and tombs filled with treasures (etc.)⁶¹. Consequently, the land had to be surveyed and its particularities recorded – information that later helped boosting the conquering process⁶². After the decision was made to enter the particular country, a process began officially termed the “pacification” [pacificación]. Practically, this meant the

⁵⁵ This chapter attempts to show general tendencies or trends in the colonial relations between Europeans (focusing on the Spaniards respectively) and American indigenous people (focusing on the Mapuche respectively). Meant as introductory remarks, the chapter is not and cannot be a complete account of the complex and dynamical colonial interrelations in the Americas.

⁵⁶ Neruda, P.: *Canto general*. - in: *Obras/ P. Neruda (auth.)*. - 5th ed. - 3 vols. - Buenos Aires: Losada. - vol. 1. - 1993. - 315-722, p. 348. “Onward, onward, far from the louse, the feudal whip, the dungeon, the galleys full of excrement.”: Neruda, P.: *Canto General*. - Schmitt edition. - Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, p. 46.

⁵⁷ Kuppermann, K.O.: Introduction. - in: *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750/ K.O. Kuppermann (ed.)* - London: University of North Carolina Press. - 1995. - 1-29, p. 1.

⁵⁸ Friederici, G.: *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer*. - 3 vols. - Stuttgart: Perthes, 1925; 1936, I, p. 401.

⁵⁹ Bitterli, U.: *Die ‘Wilden’ und die ‘Zivilisierten’*. Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung. - 2nd ed. - München: Beck, 1991, p. 5.

⁶⁰ Friederici, *Charakter*, I, p. 406.

⁶¹ Friederici, *Charakter*, I, p. 547. Following Friederici, the Spanish coincidentally knew so much about the particular indigenous burial customs (for example) because it was part of the quest for wealth of the conquista to break open graves for the furnishings: Friederici, *Charakter*, I, pp. 300; 564.

⁶² Strosetzki, C.: Einführung. - in: *Der Griff nach der Neuen Welt. Der Untergang der indianischen Kulturen im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Texte/ C. Strosetzki (ed.)*. - Frankfurt (M.): Fischer. - 1991. - 9-40, p. 29.

overcoming of all obstacles in the way that could hinder the expansion of the Spanish empire⁶³. One of those obstacles, obviously, were the American indigenous people, who – with their claim to land and autonomy – often became the greatest barrier to Spanish colonial interests.

Thus, there was one moment in the history of any indigenous territory in South America colonised by Spain, when the intruding Spaniards for the first time encountered the original inhabitants of the land they came to pacify. Usually, in that moment a strange ceremony took place called the “requirement” [requerimiento]⁶⁴. Written in 1513 by the Spanish lawyer Palacios Rubios (*1450; †1524), it was a short Castilian text designed to be officially read aloud by the Spanish conquistadors to an Indian group on first meeting. Its argument develops along three lines: (1) The Indians should discontinue their sinful lives and (2) voluntarily submit under the Christian rule of the Spanish crown – and thus become rightful servants of the Spanish empire. (3) If they may choose not to comply, they risk being submitted under that rule by force and become enslaved together with their whole families⁶⁵. To summarise that (rather grotesque⁶⁶) episode of Spanish colonial history: The intruding Spaniards inform the original inhabitants of a territory in an unintelligible language (i.e. Castilian) that they have the choice between freewillingly becoming servants of the Spanish crown or being forcibly submitted to become its slaves.

The requirement scenario shows that even before the first particular Spanish American encounter a line is established between an “us” (i.e. the Spaniards) and a “them” (i.e. the Indians). “They” are the others, those, who differ from “us” as the ego’s own group and, thus, are outsiders to it⁶⁷. An “Other”⁶⁸ in colonial settings becomes “... the conceived Other, as

⁶³ Friederici, *Charakter*, I, p. 548.

⁶⁴ Palacios Rubios, J.L. de: *Notificación y requerimiento que se ha dado de hacer a los moradores de las islas en tierra firme del Mar Océano que aún no están sujetos a nuestro señor*. - in: *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía/ Archivo General de Indias* (ed.). - 43 vols. - Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias. - vol. 20. - 1873. - 311-314. For a detailed discussion of the requirement see Seed (Seed, P.: *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. - Cambridge: University Press, 1995, pp. 69-99) and Todorov (Todorov, T.: *The Conquest of America. The Question of the Other*. - New York: HarperPerennial, 1992, pp. 146-149). Seed also depicts other elements of the Spanish repertoire of taking possession over indigenous land: “[P]lanting crosses, standards, banners, and the coats of arms – marching in procession, picking up dirt, measuring the stars, drawing maps, speaking certain words, or remaining silent.”: Seed, *Ceremonies*, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Palacios, *Requerimiento*, pp. 311-314.

⁶⁶ Friederici, *Charakter*, I, p. 555.

⁶⁷ Waldenfels, B.: *Das Eigene und das Fremde*. - in: *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 43 (1995), 611-620, p. 614.

⁶⁸ In the course of this study we will employ the following terminology: (1) “The Other”, corresponding to the German “das Fremde”/ “das Andere”/ “das Fremdartige”; (2) “the Opposite” corresponding to “das Gegenteil”/ “das Gegenstück”. We will use the majuscule forms of those words to underline their distinctiveness from the everyday use.

interpretative model of otherness and difference.”⁶⁹ Accordingly, Other means one of two⁷⁰, as the ego works as the model from which the Other – necessarily to be an Other – differs⁷¹. Consequently, the Other has no “... absolute state of being ...”⁷² but is a variable dependant on the ego’s – also relative – state of being⁷³. Especially in colonial contexts an ego’s experience with an Other is ambivalent, tempting and threatening at the same time⁷⁴. On the one hand, an Other – with its newness and alterity – ‘lures’ the ego with new opportunities; but, on the other hand, an Other is competitive to the sphere of the ego⁷⁵ and threatens to destabilise the balance of that sphere⁷⁶. As we see from the requirement, the ego is not only

⁶⁹ “... das aufgefaßte Andere, als Interpretament der Andersheit und Differenz ...“: Wierlacher, A.: Ausgangslage, Leitbegriffe und Problemfelder. - in: Kulturthema Fremdheit. Leitbegriffe und Problemfelder kulturwissenschaftlicher Fremdeitsforschung/ A. Wierlacher (ed.). - München: Iudicum. - 1993. - 19-112, p. 62.

⁷⁰ Smith, J.Z.: Differential Equations. On Constructing the Other. - in: Relating Religion. Essays in the Study of Religion/ J.Z. Smith (ed.). - Chicago: University Press. - 2004 - 230-250, p. 241.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Smith, J.Z.: What a Difference a Difference Makes. - in: Relating Religion. Essays in the Study of Religion/ J.Z. Smith (ed.). - Chicago: University Press. - 2004. - 251-302, p. 275.

⁷³ “Whether understood politically or linguistically, ‘otherness’ is a situational category. Despite its apparent taxonomic exclusivity, ‘otherness’ is a transactional matter, an affair of the ‘between.’” (Ibid.) Although we employ the term ‘the ego’ in our study, we do not claim that there is or ever was one uniform European identity in colonialism. It is obvious that ‘the European society’ is an (artificial) term expressing cultural unity by diminishing the differences between the various European peoples (Kohl, K.-H.: Abwehr und Verlangen. Das Problem des Eurozentrismus und die Geschichte der Ethnologie. - in: Abwehr und Verlangen. Zur Geschichte der Ethnologie/ K.-H. Kohl (ed.). - Frankfurt: Campus. - 1987. - 123-142, p. 125). Considering the Mapuche Religion discourse, we thus assume that the ego also is a dependant variable, strongly knitted to its Opposite, the Other. We furthermore use the (overinclusive) terms European/ Europe and Westerner/ West interchangeably in this study, meaning to include societies outside the European continent that (to some degree) base on European values (e.g. the United States of America, Australia). As “... [e]ach age and society recreates its ‘Others’ ...” (Said, Orientalism, p. 332), we are not saying that Eurocentrism is the only form of ethnocentrism or that the perception of another culture made by the Mapuche, Chinese, Japanese (etc.) are of no interest to a postcolonial study of religion. Nonetheless, we need to limit the discussion to our context, the European confrontation with the Mapuche as an Other. Therefore, we will focus on two aspects: (1) The perception of an indigenous culture (i.e. the Chilean Mapuche) from the European point of view (that may be termed ‘Mapuche Orientalism’) and (2) a subordinated side-focus will be the self-perception of the Europeans (i.e. ‘auto-Occidentalism’). Thus, the discussion of two other aspects can only be touched on in this study: (a) The perception of Europeans by the Mapuche; and (b) the self-perception of the Mapuche. A discussion of the Orientalism problematic is provided in the following chapter. A discussion of the complexities and problems of ‘the European mentality’ assumption and a discussion of the different types of authors in the Mapuche Religion discourse will be provided in sub-chapters 3.3 and 3.4 of this study. Moreover, exceptions and aberrations from the tendencies discussed in this chapter for the Mapuche Religion discourse will be discussed in detail in the case study.

⁷⁴ Ambivalence, characterised as a “... complex mix of attraction and repulsion ...” (Ashcroft, B.; Griffiths, G.; Tiffin, H. (eds.): Post-colonial Studies. The Key Concepts. - 2nd ed. - London: Routledge, 2007, p. 10) is central to the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised; because as coloniser and colonised are never completely opposed to each other (Ibid., 10), the colonising ego maintains “... a trace of ambivalence or anxiety about its own authority.”: Burton, G.C.: Ambivalence and the Postcolonial Subject. - New York: Lang, 2004, p. 8.

⁷⁵ Waldenfels, Eigene, p. 618.

⁷⁶ Coronil, F.: Beyond Occidentalism. Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories. - in: Cultural Anthropology, 11 (1996), 51-87, p. 68. Simmel points out that as an Other does not belong to the environment of the ego originally, it implements elements into that environment that do not and cannot belong there: Simmel, G.: Exkurs über den Fremden. - in: Georg Simmel Gesamtausgabe, Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergemeinschaftung/ O. Rammstedt (ed.). - 24 vols. - Frankfurt (M.): Suhrkamp. - vol. 11. - 1992. - 764-771, p. 765.

confronting the Other but is also confronted by it (e.g. the presupposed resistance to pacification makes the requirement necessary, in the first place). Moreover, the ego is never safe of the presence of the Other's alterity, which generates a "fear of the Other" [horror alieni]⁷⁷ and with that, the wish to ward off the Other's otherness⁷⁸.

If we follow Waldenfels, there is just one⁷⁹ effective way for the ego to take away that threatening "spike of otherness" [Stachel des Fremden]⁸⁰: Incorporation⁸¹, that is the absorption of the Other into the ego's own sphere⁸². Following Waldenfels, incorporation most commonly is achieved by retrieving the Other to the known⁸³, which can take two forms⁸⁴: Analogising or mirroring the Other⁸⁵. Both strategies incorporate the Other by an implicit comparison with an "absent model"⁸⁶; the specifics of an Other are thus described by depicting the details of its aberration from that absent model⁸⁷. A newly encountered Other is unknown, unnamed and not understood and, first of all, needs to be converted into a familiar framework⁸⁸. In other words, its spike is handled by putting its otherness into the frame of the ego's own conventions⁸⁹. Thus, the ego forms images of the Other⁹⁰, which heavily depend on

⁷⁷ Waldenfels, *Eigene*, pp. 612-614.

⁷⁸ Waldenfels, B.: *Phänomenologie des Eigenen und des Fremden*. - in: *Furcht und Faszination. Facetten der Fremdheit*/ H. Münkler; B. Ladwig (eds.) - Berlin: Akademie Verlag. - 1997. - 65-84, p. 75.

⁷⁹ JanMohammed claims that confronted with an Other the ego has two choices: Either to conceptualise the Other as identical with its self, or to claim an unbridgeable difference: JanMohammed, A.R.: *The Economy of Manichean Allegory. The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature*. - in: *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 59-87, pp. 64-65.

⁸⁰ Waldenfels, B.: *Der Stachel des Fremden*. - Frankfurt (M.): Suhrkamp, 1990, pp. 60-62. A literal translation would be "spike of the Other"; nonetheless, we prefer the English term "otherness" (the German translation would be "Fremdartigkeit", "Andersartigkeit"), as it implies a more general meaning (which we understand Waldenfels to imply here) than spike of the Other.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

⁸² Waldenfels, *Phänomenologie*, p. 75.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ For the case of comparative religion, Chidester distinguishes two types of incorporative strategies, which are quite similar to those of Waldenfels: (1) Genealogy finds the religion of the Other to be derived from ancient sources and (2) morphology establishes analogies between the Other and the familiar: Chidester, *Savage*, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁵ Hall presents another interesting (but less clearly structured and thus less convincing) model of incorporative strategies: (1) Idealisation; (2) the projection of fantasies of desire and degradation; (3) the denial to recognise and respect difference; and (4) the tendency to impose European categories and norms: Hall, S.: *The West and the Rest. Discourse and Power*. - in: *Formations of Modernity*/ S. Hall; B. Gieben (eds.). - Cambridge: Polity Press. - 1992. - 275-332, p. 308.

⁸⁶ Hartog, F.: *The Mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*. - Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The comparing narrator thus refers to the knowledge shared with his addressee on the absent model so that the knowledge of the ingroup (i.e. the narrator and the reader) is implicitly or explicitly present in the narrative: *Ibid.*, pp. 10; 375.

⁸⁸ MacCormack, S.: *Limits of Understanding. Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian Paganism in Early Modern Europe*. - in: *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*/ K.O. Kuppermann (ed.) - London: University of North Carolina Press. - 1995. - 79-129, p. 86.

⁸⁹ Rodenberg, H.-P.: *Der imaginierte Indianer. Zur Dynamik von Kulturkonflikt und Vergesellschaftung des Fremden*. - Frankfurt (M.): Suhrkamp, 1994, p. 18.

the personal scope of experience of the ego⁹¹. Therefore, the perception of an Other necessarily means a “seing as”, as it is related back to a scheme of interpretation known to the ego⁹². In the case of America, the first conquistadors “... tended to describe things which looked alike as if they were, in fact, identical ...”⁹³. Thus, ‘the Indians’ are depicted by the imagery generated for other foreign or antique people⁹⁴; a popular analogy in the American context, then, is Græco-Roman antiquity⁹⁵. The mirroring strategy works similarly, with one central difference: It inverts otherness as an anti-sameness⁹⁶, defining it in opposition to the ego’s own culture as analogous absent model⁹⁷.

Incorporation, as an answering strategy to the challenges of otherness, translates “... what was in fact new and previously unknown ... into what was old and well-known.”⁹⁸ As a consequence, something different is sensed but does not gain an own distinctive voice⁹⁹. In the encountering process, the Other is denied to keep its original alterity¹⁰⁰, for as soon as its otherness is discovered, it is enclosed in the self and thus forcibly made the same¹⁰¹. In other words, the ego tries to ward off the ambivalence appearing in its relation to the Other, which is continuously created by the spike of otherness. Thus, the ego follows a tendency to reduce otherness to a minimum of difference¹⁰². There is a specific term for the complex process of

⁹⁰ Osterhammel, J.: Distanzerfahrung. Darstellungsweisen des Fremden im 18. Jahrhundert. - in: Der europäische Beobachter außereuropäischer Kulturen. Zur Problematik der Wirklichkeitswahrnehmung/ H.-J. König (ed.). - Berlin: Duncker und Humblot. - 1989. - 9-42, p. 10.

⁹¹ Rodenberg, Indianer, p. 11. Consequently, Rodenberg adds, the perception of the Other is directed by highly ritualised manners and pre-linguistic signals that the ego has learned in the process of its individual socialisation (ibid.). Thus, the Spanish ego encountering an American Other approaches that otherness by its own means and intentions of knowledge: Osterhammel, Distanzerfahrung, p. 41.

⁹² Rauscher, J.: Das Gesetz der Beschreibung. Conquista als historisches Faktum und allgemeine Beschreibungsstruktur. - accessed 04-01-2010: <http://www.josef-rauscher.de/Gesetz%20der%20BeschreibungVar.pdf>, p. 2.

⁹³ Pagden, A.: The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology. - Cambridge: University Press, 1982, p. 11.

⁹⁴ Todorov, Conquest, p. 13. Similar MacCormack: “The first Europeans to reach America expected to find there things that they already knew.”: MacCormack, Limits, p. 79.

⁹⁵ Especially classical texts provided the colonisers with historical facts, methods of descriptions and “... stereotypes about other races on the periphery of the world.”: Grafton, A.: New Worlds, Ancient Texts. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery. - Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1992, p. 254.

⁹⁶ Hartog, Mirror, p. 213.

⁹⁷ Grafton, World, p. 37. Moreover, that inversion makes it easier for the narrator to depict and, furthermore, for the reader to comprehend the object of narration. The Other thus becomes just the same as the well-known ego culture but turned upside down (i.e. inverted): Hartog, Mirror, pp. 213-214.

⁹⁸ Smith, Difference, p. 265.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 269.

¹⁰⁰ That can be asserted for the case of Columbus, who does not seek to depict the originality of the American Other but, instead, seeks for approval for his assumed model (Todorov, Conquest, p. 29). That led Todorov to say that Columbus discovered America but not the Americans: Ibid., pp. 65-66.

¹⁰¹ Dussel, E.: El encubrimiento del otro. Hacia el origen del mito de la modernidad. - Quito: Abya-Yala, 1994, pp. 9-11; 46-47; 50-52.

¹⁰² Münkler, H.; Ladwig, B.: Dimensionen der Fremdheit. - in: Furcht und Faszination. Facetten der Fremdheit/ H. Münkler; B. Ladwig (eds.) - Berlin: Akademie Verlag. - 1997. - 11-44, p. 25. Following Smith, difference in

recurrence to the known when describing the unknown in intercultural settings: Ethnocentrism. We can define that term as a basic insider attitude of a particular society (i.e. us) towards its outside social environment (i.e. them)¹⁰³. Consequently, Eurocentrism can be understood as a special form of ethnocentrism concerning ‘the European society’. Considering the points already discussed in this chapter, we postulate a definition of Eurocentrism as a position of retreat for the European ego that it recurs to each time the ambivalent spike of otherness ‘stings again’. As the Eurocentric attitude claims an exclusivity that neglects the plausibility of any other ethnocentrism that there might be, it is asserted that Europe is the pinnacle of humanity, the aesthetic and ethical standard of the world¹⁰⁴. As the all-encompassing place of true belief and progress, as well as the stronghold of universal rationality¹⁰⁵, Europe’s own way of life becomes the superior model of the world, while deviating lifestyles are judged inferior¹⁰⁶. Thus, the West becomes the active area of the world, the visible center of history, while anything out of that focus is relegated to the status of invisible and passive periphery¹⁰⁷. The agents of Eurocentrism, then, developed certain

colonial settings becomes a political matter (Smith, *Difference*, p. 252), as it “... most frequently entails a hierarchy of prestige and the concomitant political ranking of superordinate and subordinate.”: *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹⁰³ Kohl, *Abwehr*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁴ Colombres, A.: *La colonización cultural de la América indígena*. - Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Sol, 1991, p. 208.

¹⁰⁵ Waldenfels, *Phänomenologie*, p. 75. Eurocentric universalism – in the context of postcolonial studies – can be defined as the “... belief that the principles of reason and science could be applied outside of the European context, and that there were certain rational procedures, logical rules and scientific laws that were applicable to all human societies, and perhaps even to the entire universe.”: King, *Orientalism*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁶ Bitterli, *Wilden*, p. 84. Similarly argues Said, saying that Eurocentrism creates the “... idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures.” (Said, *Orientalism*, p. 7) For a general discussion of the influence that the experiences of the conquista might have had on European thought see: Bitterli, *Wilden*; Brunotte, U.: *Kolonialismus und Religion*. - in: *Europäische Religionsgeschichte. Ein mehrfacher Pluralismus/ H.G. Kippenberg; J. Rüpkke; K. von Stuckrad (eds.)*. - 2 vols. - Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. - vol. 1. - 2009. - 339-369; Elliot, J.H.: *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*. - Cambridge: University Press, 1970; Fink-Eitel, H.: *Die Philosophie und die Wilden*. - Hamburg: Junius, 1994; Greenblatt, S.: *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World*. - Chicago: University Press, 1992; Kiening, C.: *Das wilde Subjekt. Kleine Poetik der Neuen Welt*. - Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006; Wolf, E.: *Europe and the People without History*. - Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *Map*, p. 295. Various scholars emphasise that the discovery of the ‘New World’ was of utter importance for the evolvement of Eurocentric ideas. Todorov then argues that the year 1492 was a central date in the process of building up a European identity (Todorov, *Conquest*, p. 5). Dussel claims that 1492, seen as the point of differentiation between a European ego and a non-European Other, was the hour of birth of the ‘myth of modernity’ (Dussel, *Encubrimiento*, pp. 9-10; 29; 39-42). At the core of that myth, then, is the assumption that “... the phenomenon of modernity ... [is, S.E.] exclusively European, developing in the Middle Ages and later on diffusing itself throughout the entire world.” (Dussel, E.: *Beyond Eurocentrism. The World-System and the Limits of Modernity*. - in: *The Cultures of Globalization/ F. Jameson; M. Miyoshi (eds.)*. - Durham: Duke University Press. - 1998. - 3-31, p. 3) From 1492 on, the author continues, other cultures are banned from the geographic centre to the periphery: “Modernity appears when Europe affirms itself as the ‘center’ of a World History that it inaugurates; the ‘periphery’ that surrounds this center is consequently part of its self-definition.” (Dussel, E.: *Eurocentrism and Modernity. Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures*. - in: *Boundary 2*, 20 (1993), 65-76, p. 65) Chidester claims that indigenous people were especially seen as objects for conquest, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as subjects for representation; this approach helped to constitute the notion of the

mechanisms to address the ambivalence of colonial situations caused by the Other's "... incomprehensible and multifaceted alterity ..." ¹⁰⁸ (i.e. its spike of otherness). Most dominantly, a mechanism of reduction and simplification of difference to its minimum was employed, which (willingly) blocked the possibility to immerse in other cultures ¹⁰⁹. In other words, reductionist mechanisms are continuously applied to draw cutting lines between ego and Other, that is the realms of controllable order and uncontrollable chaos.

An important part of Eurocentric mechanisms is homogenisation, that is the smothering down of differing complex cultural patterns of the Other into one image, predictable cliché or stereotype ¹¹⁰. Common general procedures of homogenisation in our context are then: (1) The reduction of the different Native American peoples to one Indian culture by speaking of one tribe as exemplary for all ¹¹¹. (2) The use of a language of defect, which conceives the Indians in terms of their deficiencies according to standard European ideals ¹¹². A dominant homogenisation strategy in our context is exoticising the Other ¹¹³. As a form of (voyeuristic) perception that renders the Other as peculiar or strange ¹¹⁴, exoticisms focus on exciting and/or desirable differences "... with which the domestic could be (safely) spiced ..." ¹¹⁵. Thus, exoticising descriptions do not attempt to uncover the original otherness of the Other but mystify its cultural differences, instead ¹¹⁶. Additionally, the threatening otherness is only superficially embraced by the (narrating and reading) ego and thus is concealed by its

European center surrounded by a "strange periphery" (Chidester, Savage, p. 6). Similar argues Chakrabarty, saying that Europe announces itself as the sovereign and theoretical subject of all histories in the center, while all other non-European histories become peripheral variations of a master narrative called the 'history of Europe': Chakrabarty, D.: *Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History. Who Speaks for 'Indian Pasts'?* - in: *Representations*, 37 (1992), 1-26, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ JanMohammed, *Economy*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁹ That resistance to otherness, following Bitterli, prevented an understanding of the Other in the end and kept the European mind imprisoned inside its own culture: Bitterli, Wilden, p. 179.

¹¹⁰ A stereotype can be defined with Allport as an "... exaggerated belief associated with a category ..." (Allport, G.W.: *The Nature of Prejudice*. - 5th ed. - Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 191) that functions "... to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category." (Ibid.) As Bhabha adds, a stereotype "... vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated.": Bhabha, H.K.: *The Other Question. Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism*. - in: *The Location of Culture*/ H.K. Bhabha (ed.). - London: Routledge. - 1994. - 66-84, p. 66.

¹¹¹ Berkhofer, R.F.: *The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. - New York: Vintage Books, 1978, pp. 25-26. With that strategy the specifics of the people are lumped together and their differences are suppressed: Hall, West, p. 304.

¹¹² Berkhofer, *Indian*, pp. 13; 25-26.

¹¹³ Célestin, R.: *From Cannibals to Radicals. Figures and Limits of Exoticism*. - London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Huggan, G.: *The Postcolonial Exotic. Marketing the Margins*. - London: Routledge, 2001, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ Ashcroft/ Griffiths/ Tiffin, *Key*, p. 87.

¹¹⁶ Huggan, *Exotic*, p. 17.

assimilation into the familiar¹¹⁷, so that the Other's otherness does not question nor interrupt the institutions of the Eurocentric mindset¹¹⁸. Reappearing themes in the description of the positively exoticised American Other as 'noble savage' are a simple and innocent life (i.e. pure state of nature) in an earthly paradise with unrestricted sexuality and without any social organisation (i.e. no civil society)¹¹⁹. This rather positive European fantasy finds its inversion in the frequent negative conception of the 'sexually perverse Indian' (e.g. incest, sodomy themes)¹²⁰ and in the anthropophagy theme, for example.

Regardless of its existence in reality¹²¹, anthropophagy is the recurring pinnacle theme (or even 'trademark') of the exoticised American Other in colonial literature¹²². As a "... projection of modern dreams and fears ..." ¹²³ that "... sum[s] up all that was perceived as grotesquely different about the Indian ..." ¹²⁴, it is located beyond the border of the understandable¹²⁵. Cannibalism breaks with the essential Christian understanding of the integrity of the human body and, furthermore, blurs the borders between the human and the animal sphere¹²⁶. Therefore, cannibalism was often understood as a clear indicator for the serious defect of 'Indian mentality'¹²⁷ and, after being diagnosed among a particular American indigenous people, turned the pacification mechanically into a beneficial act of humanity. Europeans thus still had another reason for submitting a particular 'barbarian people', while congratulating themselves for putting an end to the 'perverse excesses' of cannibalism¹²⁸.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 14. The author adds: "As a technology of representation, exoticism is self-empowering; self-referential even, insofar as the objects of its gaze are not supposed to look back ... For this reason, among others, exoticism has proved over time to be a highly effective instrument of imperial power.": Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Célestin, *Cannibals*, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Hall, West, pp. 301-302.

¹²⁰ Friederici, *Charakter*, I, p. 260.

¹²¹ Peter-Röcher, H.: *Mythos Menschenfresser. Ein Blick in die Kochtöpfe der Kannibalen*. - München: Beck, 1998, pp. 120-121.

¹²² The binary distinction between the 'normal Indian' (who respects the integrity of the human body) and the 'abnormal cannibal' (who does not) is established right from the beginning of the European-American encounter, already starting with Columbus: Motohashi, T.: *The Discourse of Cannibalism in Early Modern Travel Writing*. - in: *Travel Writing and Empire. Postcolonial Theory in Transit/ S. Clark (ed.)*. - London: Zed. - 1999. - 83-99, p. 88.

¹²³ Kilgour, M.: *The Function of Cannibalism at the Present Time*. - in: *Cannibalism and the Colonial World/ F. Barker; P. Hulme; M. Iversen (eds.)*. - Cambridge: University Press. - 1998. - 238-259, p. 244.

¹²⁴ Taussig, M.: *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man*. - Chicago: University Press, 1987, p. 105.

¹²⁵ Frank, E.: 'Sie fressen Menschen, wie ihr scheußliches Aussehen beweist ...'. *Kritische Überlegungen zu Zeugen und Quellen der Menschenfresserei*. - in: *Authenzität und Betrug in der Ethnologie/ H.P. Duerr (ed.)*. - Frankfurt (M.): Suhrkamp. - 1987. -199-224, p. 203.

¹²⁶ Kiening, *Subjekt*, p. 116.

¹²⁷ Pagden, *Fall*, p. 90.

¹²⁸ Arens, W.: *Rethinking Anthropophagy*. - in: *Cannibalism and the Colonial World/ F. Barker; P. Hulme; M. Iversen (eds.)*. - Cambridge: University Press. - 1998. - 39-62, p. 41.

Besides those mechanisms of homogenisation there is another dominant strategy employed by the ego to reduce otherness to a controllable minimum¹²⁹: Binaries. A binary oversimplifies and essentialises by categorising the world into diametrical subject versus object categories¹³⁰. As in binary logic there is no ambiguous or overlapping space inbetween the two opposing poles¹³¹, binaries are highly unrepresentative as they fail to “... relate to the complexities of material reality ...”¹³². Instead, they create an artificial stability¹³³ or “... violent hierarchy, in which one term of the opposition is always dominant ...”¹³⁴. Adding to that asymmetry is a tendency to assign the object category with pejorative attributes¹³⁵. By simplifying a complexity like homogenisations, binary categories assure that the normative position (i.e. Eurocentrism) stays unreflected and thus unquestionably in place¹³⁶. The meaning of binaries depends on the particular progress made in the encountering process of an ego with an Other; thus, binary categories are not fixed to one meaning but can change or even flip to the contrary meaning, if the situation requires¹³⁷. At the core of ethnocentrism lies the binary insider/ outsider¹³⁸, which for the special Eurocentrism case constitutes the very

¹²⁹ In Chidester’s words: “The conceptual organization of human diversity into rigid, static categories was one strategy for simplifying, and thereby achieving some cognitive control ...”: Chidester, Savage, p. 22.

¹³⁰ Russell, L.: Introduction. - in: *Boundary Writing. An Exploration of Race, Culture, and Gender Binaries in Contemporary Australia*/ L. Russell (ed.). - Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press. - 2006. - 1-17, pp. 2; 7.

¹³¹ Ashcroft/ Griffiths/ Tiffin, Key, p. 18.

¹³² King, *Orientalism*, p. 209.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Ashcroft/ Griffiths/ Tiffin, Key, p. 19.

¹³⁵ Koselleck, R.: *Zur historischen Semantik asymmetrischer Gegenbegriffe*. - in: *Vergangene Zukunft*/ R. Koselleck (ed.). - Frankfurt. - 1979. - 211-259, p. 211.

¹³⁶ Russell, Introduction, p. 7.

¹³⁷ Todorov, *Conquest*, pp. 36; 38. That becomes clear from two examples of imagery change in the course of the conquista: (1) The positive picture of the ‘good Indian’ (i.e. as ‘noble savage’) held at the beginning of culture contact changes to the negative imagery of the ‘bad savage’ with contact intensification (Rodenberg, *Indianer*, p. 19). (2) The initial erotisation of the nakedness of the Indian body is submitted for a lack of culture interpretation as soon as the culture contact is intensified: Mason, P.: *Deconstructing America. Representations of the Other*. - London: Routledge, 1990, p. 170.

¹³⁸ Smith, *Equations*, p. 230.

basis of other interconnected binaries, such as the civilised/ barbarian¹³⁹ or – very relevant to our context – the Christian/ heathen¹⁴⁰ binaries.

In the conquista of America the indigenous people were described as barbarians – that is basically by inverting the Eurocentric conception of civilisation¹⁴¹ – as they were somewhat perceived as differing from the organisational fundamentals of European civilisation (e.g. government, law, king)¹⁴². The rich details provided by Europeans concerning the civilised/ barbarian binary – especially by employing collocations (e.g. wild barbarian, cruel barbarian) – obscures the fact that especially this dichotomous categorisation is a moral sanction rather than an objective distinction¹⁴³. In other words, its prime function seems to be to irrefutably distinguish between insiders and outsiders¹⁴⁴, it is a weapon of attack rather than a standard of measurement¹⁴⁵. Accordingly, the civilised/ barbarian binary assures Europeans once more that they are not doing anything wrong with their conquista project but are performing a noble deed by bringing the improvements of civilisation to the ‘babblers’¹⁴⁶.

¹³⁹ In Hellenist Greece strangers who could not speak Greek were called barbarians, that is babblers or mutterers (Pagden, Fall, p. 16). That distinction between a speaking ego and a speechless (i.e. unintelligible) babbler admits no ambivalence but renders the Other opaque (Smith, Equations, pp. 237-239). Following the associative assumption that an unintelligible language and a brutish character cogently belonged together (Jones, A.: Zur Quellenproblematik der Geschichte Westafrikas, 1450-1900. - Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990, p. 65), the barbarian was furthermore assigned with negative attributes, such as artless, cowardish, voracious and cruel (Koselleck, Gegenbegriffe, p. 218). That assumed lack of language in the barbarians – as a symbol of superiority of the actively speaking Europeans over the passively listening Indians (Todorov, Conquest, p. 148) – had the ‘side-effect’ that the colonisers could claim to know the colonised better than the colonised themselves: Chidester, D.: Primitive Texts, Savage Contexts. Contextualizing the Study of Religion in Colonial Situations. - in: MTSR, 15 (2003), 272-283, p. 277.

¹⁴⁰ Those colonial binaries introduced here could be extended to a long list or formula with the coloniser on the upper (subject) and the colonised on the lower (object) side of the equation. A selective example listing is provided by Todorov: Todorov, Conquest, p. 153.

¹⁴¹ Jahoda, G.: Images of Savages. Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture. - New York: Routledge, 1999, p. 113. With Jennings we can thus briefly sketch the details of the civilisation argument: Assumption 1: Only people with a European civil government are civilised. Assumption 2: The Indians do not have a European kind of government. Conclusion: The Indians live in wild anarchy and do not have any government at all and thus are not civilised (Jennings, F.: The Invasion of America. Indians, Colonialism, and the Chant of Conquest. - New York: Norton, 1976, p. 127). Generalising this, Eurocentric logic seems to say: As the Indians do not have this or that cultural element in a similar form as we do, they do not have that element at all. A similar point is made by Hall concerning the economical aspects: As the Indians do not have an economic system similar to the European one, it is assumed by the colonisers that they do not have any at all: Hall, West, p. 305.

¹⁴² Kohl, Abwehr, p. 126.

¹⁴³ Jennings, Invasion, p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ Pagden, Fall, p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Jennings, Invasion, p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 127. Closely related to the civilised/ barbarian binary is the binary distinction between the “tame and reasonable Indian” [taño indio de razón] and the “Indian of war” [indio de guerra] (Céspedes, G.: La conquista. - in: Historia de América Latina/ N. Sánchez-Albornoz (ed.). - Madrid: Alianza. - vol. 1. - 1985. - 269-371, p. 308). While the former is judged to act rational by submitting under European power, the latter is unreasonable as he ‘stubbornly’ resists (i.e. makes war on) the progresses of European civilisation. Similar to that is the binary

At the basis of the civilisation concept certainly lies Christianity as one central element that can be said to have helped maintaining European cultural unity in the history of the European continent¹⁴⁷. As an essential component of Eurocentrism, the Christian religion was judged superior to all other religions and was equated with the idea of progress itself, while other religions were interpreted as degraded forms or simpler drafts of it¹⁴⁸. Thus, the binary Christian/ heathen was employed, which served to mark the assumed abyss in progress between Christians and all aberrant others. Christianity, therefore, became the ideal of civilised order, while all other religiosities were declassified as uncivilised heathendom¹⁴⁹. In extense, the European way of life was interpreted as the entelechy that the divine will wants to see unfold and be implanted onto all non-European cultures¹⁵⁰. Certainly, American indigenous religiosities were rather novel, differing from the models for heathens already known to Renaissance Christians from their contact with other polytheistic (e.g. Greek, Roman) or monotheistic religions (e.g. Islam¹⁵¹, Judaism)¹⁵². Moreover, it was generally assumed that no society could be stable or enduring without having been founded on the sanctions of the ‘true faith’¹⁵³. As Eurocentrism was crucially related to – or even embedded in – the Christian doctrines, it necessarily was considered self-evident that Christianity is superior to any other religion on earth and that the Other inevitably needed to adapt to it¹⁵⁴.

mechanism that JanMohammed describes as the “Manichean allegory” (JanMohammed, *Economy*, p. 65), that is a dualistic distinction of the coloniser and the colonised into the diametric opposites of good and evil: *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Amin, S.: *Eurocentrism*. - New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989, p. 90.

¹⁴⁸ Dubuisson, D.: *The Western Construction of Religion*. - Baltimore: Hopkins University Press, 2003, p. 114.

¹⁴⁹ Jennings, *Invasion*, p. 43. As Césaire poignantly formulated it: “Christian pedantry ... laid down the dishonest equations Christian = civilization, paganism = savagery, from which there could not but ensue abominable colonialist and racist consequences ...”: Césaire, A.: *Discourse on Colonialism*. - New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000, p. 33.

¹⁵⁰ O’Gorman, E.: *La invención de América. Investigación acerca de la estructura histórica del Nuevo Mundo y el sentido de su devenir*. - 3rd ed. - México: Lecturas Mexicanas, 1992, pp. 153-154.

¹⁵¹ There certainly is some continuity in the Spanish approach to conquer America and the reconquista in Spain (Todorov, *Conquest*, p. 50). The reconquista, seen as a reconstitution and re-emancipation of Christian Spain from Muslim domination (Gründer, H.: *Welteroberung und Christentum. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*. - Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1992, p. 74), may be interpreted as a proto-battlefield for the Spaniards to practise the things ahead in the American conquista (Friederici, *Charakter*, I, p. 311). But it would certainly be an oversimplification to claim that the Spanish conquista of the Americas was the mere continuation of the Christian crusade on the Muslim heathens for the expansion of the Christian faith in the sense of Friederici’s “*Caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*” (*ibid.*) For a further (though unexhaustive) discussion of the relations between reconquista and conquista see: Daniel, N.: *Islam and the West*. - Oxford: One World, 1993; Kedar, B.Z.: *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims*. - New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

¹⁵² Reinhard, W.: *Missionaries, Humanists and Natives in the Sixteenth-century Spanish Indies*. - in: *Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1992), 360-376, p. 361.

¹⁵³ Jennings, *Invasion*, p. 43.

¹⁵⁴ Todorov, *Conquest*, p. 43.

Following that Eurocentric logic somewhat farther, an adaptation gave the Indians the chance to change their status from mere ‘beastlike mannikles’ to ‘full human beings’¹⁵⁵.

One basic means to catalyse that adaptation was Christian mission activity, that is the spreading of the Gospel among the infidels. Consequently, no matter how empathetic missionaries were towards the culture of American indigenous people, the liberation of the heathens from their fate as barbarians and their rise to the level of (Christian) humanity¹⁵⁶ marked an indisputable mission goal, as there was the strong “... belief in the certainty of eternal damnation of all those not baptised, and in the consequences arising from this.”¹⁵⁷ That mission impulse as a general limit of and a barrier to intercultural tolerance made an important contribution to the efficiency of colonial expansion¹⁵⁸, as it gave still another self-evident justification for making war on the Indians¹⁵⁹. Thus, mission activity often helped disciplining the Indians to become subjects of the empire¹⁶⁰, serving as “... an unsubstitutable key of power in the hands of the conquistadors ...”¹⁶¹. Although, we do not claim that missionaries always were in total agreement with the particular agendas of political colonial administrations, like other European actors in colonial situations they certainly identified with the colonial order to some degree¹⁶². The interrelations between the conquista and mission in the Americas, nonetheless, is not simply a binary question of identity (as anti-missionists claim) or opposition (as mission apologists claim) but is far more complex¹⁶³, as we attempt to show in our case study.

Taking a further look at the meaning of the Christian/ heathen binary – which is used descriptively as well as pejoratively in the mission process¹⁶⁴ – we find it to be a strong negation of the Other (i.e. the heathen), as it finally implies the elimination of that binary opposition by suspending the object category¹⁶⁵. Aiming at acculturating indigenous religions

¹⁵⁵ Colombres, *Colonización*, p. 38.

¹⁵⁶ Escobar, T.: *La conquista espiritual*. - in: 1492-1992. A los 500 años del choque de dos mundos, balance y prospectiva/ A. Colombres (ed.). - Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Sol. - 1989. - 153-161, p. 153.

¹⁵⁷ Reinhard, *Missionaries*, p. 364.

¹⁵⁸ Gründer, *Welteroberung*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ Colombres, *Colonización*, pp. 37-36.

¹⁶⁰ Gründer, *Welteroberung*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶¹ “... una insustituible llave de poder en manos de los conquistadores ...”: Colombres, *Colonización*, p. 132.

¹⁶² “With few exceptions, colonial power went hand in glove with the theological authority claimed by the missionaries.”: Rieger, J.: *Theology and Mission between Neocolonialism and Postcolonialism*. - in: *Mission Studies*, 21 (2004), 201-227, p. 203.

¹⁶³ Reinhard, W.: *Christliche Mission und Dialektik des Kolonialismus*. - in: *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 109 (1989), 353-370, p. 353.

¹⁶⁴ Nehring, A.: *Orientalismus und Mission. Die Repräsentation der tamilischen Gesellschaft und Religion durch Leipziger Missionare, 1840-1940*. - Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, p. 244.

¹⁶⁵ Koselleck, *Gegenbegriffe*, p. 217.

to Christianity¹⁶⁶, missionaries demanded the neglect of fundamental elements of the particular indigenous culture, while at the same time attempting to coerce their substitution by Christian ones¹⁶⁷. Seen from a postcolonial perspective, having to abjure forcibly from their religion and immerse in Christianity¹⁶⁸, mission activity for the Indians often became a question of power¹⁶⁹. In consequence of the universalist claim of Christianity, proofs for the universality of the ‘world-encompassing’ Christian religion were found everywhere in the world¹⁷⁰: The Christian symbols, cult, ethics (etc.) were expected (and finally found) to be prominent among people anywhere in the world¹⁷¹.

Nonetheless, if it was the case that no obvious signs of Christianity were spotted among a particular people, a prominent scheme of interpretation was the “... discovery of an absence of religion...”¹⁷² that is very similar to the civilisation argument discussed above, as this inversive strategy was diagnosed on the basis of the absence of anything similar to the Christian religion¹⁷³. Consequently, calling into question the having of religion in the American context would often imply calling into question the full human status of the American Other¹⁷⁴, which would have (practical) consequences on the general treatment of that particular indigenous people¹⁷⁵. Moreover, once declared *tabulae rasae* in religious matters, the Indians were often described in the colonial literature as people predestined for

¹⁶⁶ Colombres, Colonización, pp. 47-48; 88.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 254-255.

¹⁶⁸ Escobar, Conquista, p. 154.

¹⁶⁹ Reinhard, Missionaries, p. 374.

¹⁷⁰ Dubuisson, Western, p. 114. Some popular examples found in colonial texts are: (1) A pre-Columbian evangelist (or proto-missionary) who came to the Americas to missionise the Indians. Starting from Columbus’ first voyage on (Vigneras, L.-A.: Saint Thomas, Apostle of America. - in: Hispanic American Historical Review, 57 (1977), 82-90, p. 82), he is interpreted as one of Christ’s original apostles (Thomas or Bartholomew respectively) (MacCormack, Limits, p. 96). (2) Holy crosses were found everywhere in the Americas (ibid.). (3) The descentance of the Native Americans was traced back to the biblical creation (Noah respectively): Ibid.

¹⁷¹ In a way, we could speak of a reversed argument from design for the existence of god, as the quest for finding the proof for the universality of Christianity led to the conviction that the Christian god is existing, as his religion – or at least some traits of it – were found to even have been spread to the most isolated corners of the world. A recent interesting discussion of the (Humean) argument from design can be found in McLaughlin: McLaughlin, P.: Lehren was man selber nicht weiß. - in: Homo Sapiens und Homo Faber. Festschrift für Jürgen Mittelstraß/ M. Carrier; G. Wolters (eds.). - Berlin: De Gruyter. - 2005. - 157-169, pp. 159-169.

¹⁷² Chidester, Savage, p. 266; Chidester, D.: Colonialism. - in: Guide to the Study of Religion/ W. Braun; R.T. McCutcheon (eds.). - New York: Cassell. - 2000. - 423-437, p. 428.

¹⁷³ “Obviously, the discovery of an absence of religion implied that European commentators in colonial situations were operating with an implicit definition of religion, a definition that was certainly informed by Christian assumptions about what counted as religion.”: Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Chidester, Savage, p. 11. There in the context of South Africa.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 14. The author continues: “Because they supposedly lacked such a defining human characteristic as religion, indigenous people had no human rights to life, land, livestock or control over their own labor that had to be respected by European colonizers. In this respect, the denial of the existence of any indigenous religion ... reinforced colonial projects of conquest, domination and dispossession.”: Chidester, Colonialism, p. 428.

conversion to the Christian faith¹⁷⁶, showing a natural predisposition for receiving the Gospel¹⁷⁷. On the other hand, if an existence of religion could not be categorically denied, American indigenous religions could alternatively be classified as somewhat aberrating from the Christian standard. We can distinguish three binary models prevalent in our study context:

(1) Indian religiosity could be classified as superstition – that is defined as an inversion of the concept “religion”¹⁷⁸. The binary superstition/ religion then “... served the colonial project by representing indigenous people as living in a different world ...”¹⁷⁹, that is assigning to them the status of an unintelligible, absolute and opaque Other. Thus, as Chidester remarks (for the South African context), “... the military exercise of terror against them by a Christian government could be justified as an appropriate means for replacing superstition with religion.”¹⁸⁰

(2) Another strategy related to the latter is the classification of indigenous religion as diabolism (i.e. the worship of the devil), generally pictured as an inversion of the divine Christian cult¹⁸¹. As Satan was the enemy of Christianity, his devotees automatically turned into enemies of the Christians¹⁸². The ‘father of lies’ was believed to have an incorruptible mimetic desire¹⁸³, which caused him to demand of the Indians to imitate the divine cult¹⁸⁴ and worship him in place of the ‘true god’¹⁸⁵. But as there was the firm belief in the complete subordination of the devil under the will of the Christian god, there was still hope for the devil worshippers’ salvation: By converting to Christianity the American heathens could be freed from the ‘enemy of god and mankind’¹⁸⁶.

(3) Another binary model is the interpretation of indigenous religions as the veneration of ‘false’ gods or idols. Similar to diabolism, idolatry is interpreted as inversion of the divine cult. Following the urge to clean the Indians off their idolisms to fill them up with the new

¹⁷⁶ Todorov, *Conquest*, p. 44.

¹⁷⁷ Reinhard, *Missionaries*, p. 361.

¹⁷⁸ Chidester, *Savage*, p. 234.

¹⁷⁹ Chidester, *Colonialism*, p. 428.

¹⁸⁰ Chidester, *Savage*, p. 236.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁸² Brunotte, U.: *Puritanismus und Pioniergeist. Die Faszination der Wildnis im frühen Neu-England*. - Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000, p. 268. There in the North American context.

¹⁸³ Cervantes, F.: *The Devil in the New World. The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain*. - New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, p. 29.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Reinhard, *Missionaries*, p. 365. At times indigenous people were pitied for being victims or even prisoners of the devil’s hatred for mankind: *Ibid.*, p. 366.

¹⁸⁶ Cervantes, *Devil*, p. 18; Gareis, I.: *Repression and Cultural Change. The ‘Extirpation of Idolatry’ in Colonial Peru*. - Birmingham: University Press, 1999, p. 230. A special case concerning the diabolism of the Mapuche is the interpretation of Mapuche religious specialist as imposters and their supernatural healing powers as fraud. If the efficacy of healing could not be categorically denied, it was often judged to be facilitated by demonic intervention (i.e. religious specialists have a pact with the devil).

religion then¹⁸⁷, this strategy could be equally effective as the previous ones in providing reasons for repressing indigenous religiosities¹⁸⁸.

Concluding this chapter, we can say that in a way of reassurance and defense of European values¹⁸⁹ against the ‘barbarian chaos’, Europeans set out on a *mission civilisatrice*¹⁹⁰ to refine, save and civilise the heathens of the world¹⁹¹. The simplifying mechanisms developed to ward off the spike of otherness fuelled the discussion on the “just war” [guerra justa]¹⁹². A just war in the Eurocentric sense of the word thus is a war that ‘civilised Europeans’ fight against ‘uncivilised Others’, self-evidently aiming at the latter’s advancement and improvement¹⁹³, which converges with the Other’s adaptation to the European way of life.

¹⁸⁷ Pinto, J.: La fuerza de la palabra. Evangelización y resistencia indígena. - in: Nüttram, 28 (1992), 4-21, p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ Gareis, Repression, p. 230. Conclusively, we have to keep in mind that the terms employed to describe non-Christian religions like superstition, heresy, devil cult, sorcery (etc.) are judgements rather than words of fact: Stietencron, H. von: Der Begriff der Religion in der Religionswissenschaft. - in: Der Begriff der Religion/ W. Kerber (ed.). - München: Kindt. - 1993. - 111-137, p. 122.

¹⁸⁹ Waldenfals, Stachel, p. 62; Waldenfals, Eigene, p. 61; Waldenfals, Phänomenologie, p. 75.

¹⁹⁰ A *mission civilisatrice* can be characterised as a cultural engagement serving to establish or extend a civilisation into a (seemingly) uncivilised or improperly civilised socio-cultural setting: Schröder, W.M.: Mission impossible? Begriff, Modelle und Begründungen der ‘civilizing mission’ aus philosophischer Sicht. - in: Zivilisierungsmissionen. Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. - Konstanz: UVK. - 2005. - 13-32, p. 16.

¹⁹¹ Ashcroft/ Griffiths/ Tiffin, Key, p. 216.

¹⁹² For a detailed discussion of the just war debate in 16th century Spain and its consequences see: Hanke, L.: Aristotle and the American Indians. A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World. - Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975.

¹⁹³ Jennings, Invasion, p. 146.

2. The postcolonial frame

Que seul l'Occident sait penser; qu'aux limites du monde occidental commence le ténébreux royaume de la pensée primitive, laquelle, dominée par la notion de participation, incapable de logique, est le type même de la fausse pensée.

(Aimé Césaire, *Discours sur le colonialisme*)¹⁹⁴

2.1 Postcolonialism, Orientalism and colonial discourse analysis

Postcolonialism/ postcolonial studies¹⁹⁵ following Mishra and Hodge is "... not a homogeneous category either across all postcolonial societies or even within a single one."¹⁹⁶ It rather is a "... remarkably heterogeneous set of subject positions, professional fields, and critical enterprises."¹⁹⁷ With Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin we thus can retain that the expression postcolonial is meant to cover "... all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day."¹⁹⁸ Especially taking that wide historical frame

¹⁹⁴ Césaire, A.: *Discours sur le colonialisme*. - Paris: Présence Africaine, 1955, p. 33. "That the West alone knows how to think; that at the borders of the Western world there begins the shadowy realm of primitive thinking, which, dominated by the notion of participation, incapable of logic, is the very model of faulty thinking." Césaire, *Discourse*, p. 69.

¹⁹⁵ We will use the two terms synonymously here.

¹⁹⁶ Mishra, V.; Hodge, B.: What is Post(-)colonialism? - in: *Australian Cultural Studies Reader*/ J. Frow; M. Morris (eds.). - St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin. - 1993. - 30-45, p. 44.

¹⁹⁷ Slemon, S.: The Scramble for Post-colonialism. - in: *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*/ B. Ashcroft; G. Griffiths; H. Tiffin (eds.). - London: Routledge. - 1995. - 45-52, p. 45. Loomba et al. expatiate on the *status quo* of postcolonial studies in the academy: "Postcolonial studies thus finds itself in a peculiar situation, one somewhat analogous to that of theory. It means different things to different people; it is housed in different disciplines yet widely associated with a few; it is viewed either as enormously radical or as the latest ideological offspring of Western capitalism; it is firmly entrenched in Anglo-US universities, yet its disciplinary status remains in question; it seeks to address the non-Western world yet is often received with hostility there." Loomba, A. et al.: *Beyond What? An Introduction*. - in: *Postcolonialism and Beyond*/ A. Loomba et al. (eds.). - Durham: Duke University Press. - 2005. - 1-38, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ Ashcroft, B.; Griffiths, G.; Tiffin, H. (eds.): *The Empire Writes Back. Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*. - London: Routledge, 1989, p. 2. Thus the "post" in postcolonialism is not meant to imply "after" but rather "produced by" (Dirlik, A.: *The End of Colonialism. The Colonial Modern in the Making of Global Modernity*. - in: *Boundary 2*, 32 (2005), 1-31, p. 8). Dube reminds us that the "... political independence of former colonies did not mark the end of colonialism." (Dube, M.W.: *Postcoloniality, Feminist Spaces, and Religion*. - in: *Postcolonialism, Feminism and Religious Discourse*/ L.E. Donaldson; K. Pui-lan (eds.). - New York: Routledge. - 2002. - 100-122, p. 101) The author continues: "The post-independence native elites, revolutionaries, and leaders of the new nations emerged fully cloaked in the colonial garments and devoted to the structures and policies of their former colonizers." (Ibid.) Similar argues King: "In recent years we have witnessed an increasing tendency to think of colonialism as a period of history that is now behind us. Combined with this contemporary lauding of the 'postcolonial era', the 1990s have brought forth a number of works heralding the move 'beyond Orientalism'. We must remain sceptical of such claims if they are meant to imply that the period of domination of 'the rest' by the West has now come to an end and that scholars who have taken

into account, postcolonial studies' primary concern is the past and present "... form of political, economic, and discursive oppression whose name, first and last, is colonialism."¹⁹⁹ If we pragmatically define colonialism with Said as "... the implanting of settlements on distant territory ..."²⁰⁰, a postcolonial approach analyses the complex interrelations between the coloniser and the colonised. Identifying the "... new relations and dispositions of power ..."²⁰¹ caused by colonialism, it also penetrates into the academy, examining:

"How history, geography, anthropology ... and more concurred on proclaiming the superiority of the West ... [and] on converting the world to Western patterns of thought, religion, education, economy, and culture ..."²⁰².

Colonial discourse theory/ colonial discourse analysis²⁰³ can then be understood as a methodical attempt to address those (post-)colonial issues by re-reading past and present colonial interrelations²⁰⁴. The approach can be generally said to indicate "... a new way of thinking in which cultural, intellectual, economic or political processes are seen to work together in the formation, perpetuation and dismantling²⁰⁵ of colonialism."²⁰⁶ By analysing the intersections of ideas and institutions as well as those of knowledge and power²⁰⁷, a colonial discourse analysis focuses on "... how stereotypes, images, and 'knowledge' of colonial subjects and cultures tie in with institutions of economic, administrative, judicial, and bio-medical control."²⁰⁸ In other words, colonial discourse theory sets out to investigate the interrelations of cultural and economical processes of colonialism²⁰⁹ by "... revisiting,

the post-Saidian 'postcolonial turn' can now claim to be free from complicity with regimes of domination.": King, *Orientalism*, p. 187.

¹⁹⁹ Slemon, *Scramble*, p. 52.

²⁰⁰ Said, E.W.: *Culture and Imperialism*. - New York: Vintage Books, 1994, p. 9. Chidester defines colonialism as "... a complex intercultural encounter between alien intruders and indigenous people in ... 'contact zones'." (Chidester, *Colonialism*, p. 424) Following Pratt, contact zones are social spaces, where cultures encounter each other in asymmetrical relations of superordination and subordination: Pratt, M.L.: *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*. - London: Routledge, 1992, p. 48.

²⁰¹ Hall, S.: *When was the 'Postcolonial'? Thinking at the Limit*. - in: *The Postcolonial Question. Common Skies, Divided Horizons/ I. Chambers; L. Curti (eds.)*. - London: Routledge. - 1996. - 242-260, p. 246.

²⁰² Dube, *Postcoloniality*, p. 102.

²⁰³ We will use these two terms synonymously here.

²⁰⁴ Mar, M. do; Dhawan, N.: *Postkoloniale Theorie. Eine kritische Einführung*. - Bielefeld: Transcript, 2005, p. 24.

²⁰⁵ Another word for dismantling in the postcolonial context is decolonisation, which – as a "... process of revealing and dismantling colonial power in all its forms ..." (Ashcroft/ Griffiths/ Tiffin, *Key*, p. 56) – can be pointed out as one central goal of postcolonial studies.

²⁰⁶ Loomba, A.: *Colonialism, Postcolonialism*. - London: Routledge, 1998, p. 54.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Mar/ Dhawan, *Postkoloniale*, p. 24.

remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past.”²¹⁰ Accordingly, the claim is propagated that an understanding of colonial literature can only be approached when considering the context (e.g. history, politics, philosophy) of a focused period²¹¹. Practically, colonial discourse theory can thus be understood as:

“[A] more or less distinct set of reading practices ... preoccupied principally with [the, S.E.] analysis of cultural forms which mediate, challenge or reflect upon the relations of domination and subordination ... between (and often within) nations, races or cultures, which characteristically have their roots in the history of modern European colonialism and imperialism and which, equally characteristically, continue to be apparent in the present era of neo-colonialism.”²¹²

That new method of reading, as Moore-Gilbert continues, aims at

“... break[ing] down the formerly fixed boundaries between text and context in order to show the continuities between patterns of representation of subject peoples and the material practices of (neo-)colonial power.”²¹³

Hence, colonial discourse analysis intends “... to redirect contemporary critical reflections on colonialism (and its aftermath) towards the language used by the conquerors, imperial administrators, travelers, and missionaries.”²¹⁴ That focus on language is a crucial demand of colonial discourse theory as it was through language “... that Europeans have understood and governed themselves and the peoples they subjected overseas.”²¹⁵ As Hulme summarises poignantly:

“Underlying the idea of colonial discourse ... is the presumption that during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery, normally separated out into the discrete areas

²¹⁰ Gandhi, L.: *Postcolonial Theory. A Critical Introduction.* - Edinburgh: University Press, 1998, p. 4.

²¹¹ Mar/ Dhawan, *Postkoloniale*, pp. 24-25.

²¹² Moore-Gilbert, B.: *Postcolonial Theory. Contexts, Practices, Politics.* - London: Verso, 2000, p. 12.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 8

²¹⁴ Seed, P.: *Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse.* - in: *Latin American Research Review*, 26 (1991), 181-200, p. 183.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

of military strategy, political order, social reform, imaginative literature, personal memoir and so on.”²¹⁶

To recapitulate our argument so far, we may go back to Said’s definition of colonialism, that is the implantation of settlements on distant territory. Transforming that definition figuratively, we can define colonial discourse analysis as a critical re-reading of the implantations of European conceptual settlements or systems of thought on distant (i.e. non-European) colonial conceptual territory. Applied to our context then, our study aims at a critical re-reading of the European implantation of conceptual settlements on the Mapuche system(s) of thought, that is the conceptualisation of the Mapuche Other’s religion.

The hour of birth of colonial discourse theory can be fixed to the date of publication of Edward W. Said’s *Orientalism* in 1978. It is probably no exaggeration to say that this book “... inaugurate[d] a new area of academic inquiry...”²¹⁷, as it is the first extensive attempt to apply Michel Foucault’s thoughts on the interrelations between power and knowledge to a colonial situation²¹⁸. On first sight, with its focus on the perception of ‘the Orient’, *Orientalism* seems to be somewhat irrelevant to our study’s focus, as it concerns a different cultural area (i.e. ‘the East’), another frame of time (i.e. from the 19th century onwards) and but one differing type of actors of discourse (i.e. scientists). On second sight, nonetheless, Said’s extensive discussion of the problems of representation of an Other shows itself as crucially important to our study, as we will show in the course of this chapter.

First of all, Said attempts to show that concepts like Orient or Occident are no “... inert facts of nature ...”²¹⁹ with an ontological stability²²⁰. Instead, they are man-made ideas with “... a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary ...”²²¹. Thus, the European perception of the Orient as an Other is no truthful “... delivered presence of the Orient ...” but a representation of something that is perceived as Oriental; in fact, it covers up a *factum*, which

²¹⁶ Hulme, P.: *Colonial Encounters. Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797.* - London: Routledge, 1992, p. 2.

²¹⁷ Williams, P.; Chrisman, L. (eds.): *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory. An Introduction.* - in: *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory. A Reader/ P. Williams; L. Chrisman (eds.).* - New York: Columbia University Press. - 1994. - 1-20, p. 5.

²¹⁸ Gandhi, *Postcolonial*, p. 74.

²¹⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 1-2.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xii. Those concepts are not just there like historical, cultural or geographical entities (*ibid.*, pp. 4-5), there never was “... a pure, or unconditional, Orient ... never has there been a nonmaterial form of Orientalism, much less something so innocent as an ‘idea’ of the Orient.”: *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 5. The concept Orient in particular, as one of the most recurring images of an Other in European thought (*ibid.*, pp. 1-2), is “... made up of human effort, partly affirmation, partly identification of the Other.” (*Ibid.*, p. xii) Moreover, it is a “... created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment.”: *Ibid.*, p. 6.

is behind the imagery that Said calls Orientalism²²². Although the representation might have been provoked by the *factum* that is behind the imagery (i.e. the ‘real Orient’)²²³, those representations rather depend on the perceiver (i.e. the West)²²⁴, as they “... rely upon [Western, S.E.] institutions, traditions, conventions, [and, S.E.] agreed-upon codes of understanding for their effects ...”²²⁵. However, the Orientalism imagery is not a mere imaginative creation with no corresponding reality²²⁶ but a fact of reality itself that is produced by human beings²²⁷. Following Said, throughout the history of its employment, Orientalism had a very practical function: It was used as a “... Western will to govern over the Orient ...”²²⁸, that is a “... Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”²²⁹ Concepts like Orient or Occident thus never were “... raw, unmediated, or simply objective ...”²³⁰ but representations that fulfilled various tasks, interests, ambitions, claims and rhetorics²³¹. In consequence, the interrelations between Europe and the Orient as its Other have to be understood as “... a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony ...”²³². Therefore, a participant in the Orient discourse (i.e. the Orientalist) was to “... engage in the particularizing and dividing of things Oriental into manageable parts ...”²³³ to provide his (European) audience with a limited²³⁴ amount of images and representations of the Orient²³⁵.

By drawing a line between the powerful, articulate Europe and the weak, passive and distant Asia²³⁶, an imaginative geographical distinction between a familiar “us” (i.e. the

²²² Ibid., p. 21. As we will see below, by Orient Said does not only understand the imagery of the Oriental but also the conceptual process and restraints that create the imagery.

²²³ Ibid., p. 22.

²²⁴ The representations rather are “... indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, ‘there’ ...”: Ibid., p. 21-22.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

²²⁷ Said, E.W.: *Orientalism Reconsidered*. - in: *Cultural Critique*, 1 (1985), 89-107, p. 90. Accordingly, the Orient is not merely an “... airy European fantasy about the Orient ...” (Said, *Orientalism*, p. 6) or a “... necessity of the imagination ...” (ibid., pp. 1-2) but a *factum* that is misrepresented by the Orientalism imagery. Osterhammel, for example, does not take this into account and thus misapprehends the basic assumption of Said’s *Orientalism* as constructivist: Osterhammel, J.: *Wissen als Macht. Deutungen interkulturellen Nichtverstehens bei Tzvetan Todorov und Edward Said*. - in: ‘Barbaren’ und ‘Weiße Teufel’/ E.M. Auch; S. Förster (eds.). - Paderborn: Schöningh. - 1997. - 145-170, p. 160.

²²⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 95.

²²⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 273.

²³¹ Said, *Reconsidered*, pp. 92; 273.

²³² Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.

²³³ Ibid., p. 72.

²³⁴ That the imagery is very limited is of utter importance for the durability and strength of the Orient discourse, following Said: Ibid., p. 60.

²³⁵ Ibid., pp. 273-274.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 57.

Occident) and an unfamiliar “them” (i.e. the Orient) is provided²³⁷. As a consequence, the Orient discourse becomes a one-way monologue of Orientalists on the Oriental imagery as it is left to the West to play the active role of “... the spectator, the judge and jury, of every facet of Oriental behavior ...”²³⁸, while the Orient is limited to the role of Europe’s passive and speechless “silent Other”²³⁹. Subsequently, Orientalism can be defined with Said as “... a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different ... world ...”²⁴⁰.

All in all, according to Turner, Said’s *Orientalism* showed “... how discourses, values and patterns of knowledge actually constructed the ‘facts’ which scholars were attempting to study ...”²⁴¹. As Osterhammel emphasises, the book thus is a historic marker concluding an era, in which scholars could only partially criticise images, stereotypes and prejudices of the Other²⁴². Applied to our context, the lessons to be learned from *Orientalism* can be

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 54. As that line drawing “... is less a fact of nature than it is a fact of human production ...” (Said, *Reconsidered*, p. 90), Said later coined the term “imaginative geography” for it: Ibid.

²³⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 109.

²³⁹ Said, *Reconsidered*, p. 93. Nonetheless, Orientalism is not irrelevant to the Occident. As “competing alter ego” (Said, *Orientalism*, p. 332), Orientalism – and here is another main thesis in Said’s book – becomes an integral part of European culture that “... helped to define Europe ... as its contrasting image ...” (ibid., p. 1-2) and, in the end, gave “... reality and presence in and for the West.” (ibid., p. 5) This thesis also hints at a concept that was developed by scholars succeeding Said: Occidentalism. Being a reversal of Orientalism, it can be broadly defined as “... stylized images of the West ...” (Carrier, J.G.: Introduction. - in: *Occidentalism. Images of the West/ J.G. Carrier (ed.)*. - Oxford: University Press. - 1995. - 1-32, p. 1), produced by the non-European (Lindstrom, L.: *Cargoism and Occidentalism*. - in: *Occidentalism. Images of the West/ J.G. Carrier (ed.)*. - Oxford: University Press. - 1995. - 33-60, p. 35). A differentiation of that is the so-called auto-Occidentalism, that is the self-discourse of the Westerner (ibid.), which can be an equally partial or distorted perception as that of Orientalism (Carrier, Introduction, p. 29). Occidentalism and Orientalism are not only reversed to each other but stand in a causal and receptive interrelation (Deeg, M.: *Wer eine kennt, kennt keine. Zur Notwendigkeit der Unterscheidung von Orientalismen und Okzidentalismen in der asiatischen Religionsgeschichte*. - in: *Religion im Spiegelkabinett. Asiatische Religionsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus/ P. Schalk (ed.)*. - Uppsala: University Press. - 2003. - 27-62, p. 31). As King pointed out: “Orientalist essentialism has resulted in stereotypes about the West as well as the East ...” (King, *Orientalism*, p. 3), which can lead to a stereotypical misrepresentation of the European as a diametrical opposite of the Indian, for example (ibid., p. 112). The Westerner then idealises himself as “... modern, egalitarian, civilized, secular, rational and male ...” (ibid.), while the Indian is represented as an Opposite “... tied to tradition, primitive, hierarchical, uncivilized, religious, irrational and effeminate.” (Ibid.) For a further discussion of Occidentalism see Coronil (Coronil, *Beyond*) and the essays of Lindstrom, Reed-Danahay, Carrier, Creighton, Thornton and Spencer (in Carrier, J.G. (ed.): *Occidentalism. Images of the West*. - Oxford: University Press, 1995). On the importance of Occidentalism for religious studies in particular see the essays of Deeg, Freiburger and Prohl in: Schalk, P. (ed.): *Religion im Spiegelkabinett. Asiatische Religionsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus*. - Uppsala: University Press, 2003.

²⁴⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 12. Another poignant summary of what Said means by Orientalism is provided in the following passage: “Orientalism can thus be regarded as a manner of regularized ... writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient. The Orient is taught, researched, administered, and pronounced upon in certain discrete ways. (...) Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire.”: Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 202-203.

²⁴¹ Turner, B.S.: *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism*. - London: Routledge, 1994, p. 4.

²⁴² Osterhammel, J.: *Edward W. Said und die ‘Orientalismus’-Debatte. Ein Rückblick*. - in: *Asien afrika lateinamerika*, 25 (1997), 597-607, p. 604.

subsumed in four paragraphs: (1) Orientalism as the imagery of the Oriental Opposite is characterised by “... the tendency to dichotomize humanity into we-they contrasts and to essentialize the resultant ‘Other’.”²⁴³ This aspect is very relevant to us: An insider and outsider dichotomisation finds its realisation in the Mapuche Spanish confrontation via the dichotomies civilised/ savage and – more specifically for our study’s focus on Mapuche Religion – the Christian/ heathen binary. (2) The conceptualisation of that imagery has its basis in institutions and the motives or interests of actors (i.e. the Orientalists). The representations of the Other, then, build up to an imagery that serves as a style or will to govern over that Other. That point is of utter importance to the contextual approach we chose in our study, which finds an application in the focus we lay on the strategies and positions of discourse of the actors in the Mapuche Religion discourse²⁴⁴.

(3) The elements that constitute the content of the imagery of the Other is rather limited: Following Said, Orientalism is more like “... a set of constraints upon and limitations of thought than ... a positive doctrine.”²⁴⁵ A limited imagery of the Other, thus, can be a barrier to the understanding of otherness as it is employed to repetitively divide the world of otherness into manageable and controllable parts to integrate the threatening otherness into the familiar system (as we saw in the previous chapter of our study). Accordingly, a participant in discourse – as a necessary presupposition to participate in it – needs to limit himself to that reduced stock of imagery elements. This point is important for our understanding of the persistent imageries found in the Mapuche Religion discourse. (4) We can then recapitulate a fourth lesson from *Orientalism*, which will be subsequently set as one general goal of our study: To be aware of Oriental concepts so “... that no one today can use them without some attention to the formidable polemical mediations that screen the objects, if they exist at all, that the labels designate.”²⁴⁶ In short, for the field of Mapuche Religion, our study may contribute to ending what Said called

“... the short bursts of polemical, thought-stopping fury that so imprison us in labels and antagonistic debate whose goal is a belligerent collective identity rather than understanding and intellectual exchange.”²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Geertz, A.W.: On Reciprocity and Mutual Reflection in the Study of Native American Religions. - in: *Religion*, 24 (1994), 1-22, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ A discussion of those terms follows in chapter 3.3.

²⁴⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, p. 42.

²⁴⁶ Said, *Reconsidered*, p. 92.

²⁴⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, p. xvii.

Besides those four lessons to be learned from Said, there is a methodological point of critique of *Orientalism*²⁴⁸ that is crucial to our study. Various authors claim that Said's book is ahistorical and inconsistent, like Porter, who argues that:

“... unlike Foucault, who posits not a continuous discourse over time but epistemological breaks between different periods, Said asserts the unified character of Western discourse on the Orient over some two millenia, a unity derived from the East, of its irreducible otherness.”²⁴⁹

This point of critique is expanded by Slemon stating that “... Said ... ends up referring the whole structure of colonialist discourse back to a single and monolithic originating intention within colonialism, the intention of colonialist power to possess the terrain of its Others.”²⁵⁰ A better assumption, following Hallam and Street, would rather be to understand that “... [r]epresentations are ... rarely monolithic, with no space for alternative visions, and the processes involved in the reception and consumption of representations are complex.”²⁵¹ That

²⁴⁸ For an analysis of the voluminous debate on Orientalism see: Ahmad, A.: *Between Orientalism and Historicism. Anthropological Knowledge of India.* - in: *Studies in History*, 7 (1991), 135-163, pp. 137-149; Ahmad, A.: *Orientalism and After. Ambivalence and Metropolitan Location in the Work of Edward Said.* - in: *In Theory. Classes, Nations, Literatures/ A. Ahmad (ed.).* - London: Verso. - 2000. - pp. 159-220; Clifford, J.: *Review Edward Said, Orientalism.* - in: *History and Theory*, 19 (1980), 204-223; Irwin, J.R.: *For Lust of Knowing. The Orientalists and Their Enemies.* - London: Lane, 2006; MacKenzie, J.M.: *Orientalism, History, Theory and the Arts.* - Manchester: University Press, 1995; Osterhammel, J.: *Kulturelle Grenzen in der Expansion Europas.* - in: *Saeculum*, 46 (1995), 101-138, pp. 105-107; Sprinker, M. (ed.): *Edward Said. A Critical Reader.* - Oxford: Blackwell, 1992. The following studies focus on the significance of the debate for religious studies: Casadio, G.: *Studying Religious Traditions between the Orient and the Occident. Modernism vs. Post-modernism.* - in: *Unterwegs. Neue Pfade in der Religionswissenschaft, Festschrift für Michael Pye zum 65. Geburtstag/ C. Kleine; M. Schrimpf; K. Triplett (eds.).* - München: Biblion. - 2004. - pp. 119-136; Geertz, A.W.: *Global Perspective on Methodology in the Study of Religion.* - in: *Perspectives on Method and Theory in the Study of Religion. Adjunct Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Mexico City 1995/ A.W. Geertz; R.T. McCutcheon (eds.).* - Leiden: Brill. - 2000. - 49-73, pp. 52-58; King, *Orientalism*, pp. 84-90; McCutcheon, R.T.: *Manufacturing Religion. The Discourse on Sui Generis Religion and the Politics of Nostalgia.* - New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 187-191; Nehring, *Orientalismus*, pp. 29-53; Olson, C.: *Politics, Power, Discourse and Representation. A Critical Look at Said and Some of His Children.* - in: *MTSR*, 17 (2005), 317-336; Turner, *Orientalism*, pp. 3-53; Whaling, F.: *The Study of Religion in a Global Context.* - in: *Contemporary Approaches to the Study of Religion. Volume 1, the Humanities/ F. Whaling (ed.).* - Amsterdam: Mouton. - 1984. - 391-451, pp. 394-397.

²⁴⁹ Porter, D.: *Orientalism and Its Problems.* - in: *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory. A Reader/ P. Williams; L. Chrisman (eds.).* - New York: Columbia University Press. - 1994. - 150-161, p. 152.

²⁵⁰ Slemon, *Scramble*, p. 48.

²⁵¹ Hallam, E.; Street, B.V.: *Introduction. Cultural Encounters, Representing 'Otherness'.* - in: *Cultural Encounters. Representing Otherness/ E. Hallam; B.V. Street (eds.).* - 2000. - 1-10, p. 7. In the words of Turner: “[T]here were in fact many forms of Orientalism and it was inadequate to lump so many diverse traditions into a single Orientalist tradition.” (Turner, *Orientalism*, p. 5) Moore-Gilbert adds to that: “[I]t often seems that the continuities within colonial discourse are much stronger than these discontinuities so that in Said's account Orientalism at times has the unchanging consistency which the discourse itself allegedly projects onto the Orient. In this sense Said diverges markedly from Foucault's argument that changes in the Western regime of knowledge were violent and discontinuous.” (Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial*, p. 48) But in defence of Said we point out with Ashcroft that Orientalism was not intended to be “... an accurate and comprehensive account of

very problematic is seriously present in *Orientalism*, to our understanding: Said's approach does not escape from what Foucault criticised as the principle of continuity²⁵²; thus, there is a fifth lesson to be learned from Said's *Orientalism*: Stick to Foucault!

2.2 Towards a postcolonial religious studies

That religious studies has its roots in Enlightenment thought and in sciences evolving from the 19th century is fully acknowledged in the academy, while its roots in the history of colonialism have been widely ignored²⁵³. It is generally accepted, though, that the evolvement of anthropology as a discipline is related to unequal power relations in the encounters between the West and 'the rest'²⁵⁴. The same is true for religious studies, whose initial formative phasis coincides with that of European colonial expansion in the world²⁵⁵. Subsequently, it is obvious that the knowledge and theories of our discipline were influenced by or even formed on the experience of the encounter with other cultures to some degree²⁵⁶. Moreover, we claim

Orientalism ...” (Ashcroft, B.: Representation and Its Discontents. *Orientalism, Islam and the Palestinian Crisis*. - in: *Religion*, 34 (2004), 113-121, p. 114) but “... above all an account of the worldliness of representation, of the power of representers.”: Ibid.

²⁵² We discuss that in detail in chapter 3.1.

²⁵³ Chidester, D.: Responses and Rejoinders. - in: *JAAR*, 66 (1998), 369-376, p. 371; Chidester, *Colonialism*, p. 427. McCutcheon argues similarly, claiming that religious studies has “... as yet not fully disclosed or acknowledged inheritance from the age of European colonialism ...” (McCutcheon, R.T.: Introduction. *Richard King's Orientalism and Religion*. - in: *M TSR*, 14, (2002), 231-233, p. 231). Also in accordance with that is Joy, stating that the discipline “... remains largely innocent of a critical examination of the 'Eurocentric mindset' and its philosophic and methodological presuppositions ...”: Joy, M.M.: *Postcolonial Reflections. Challenges for Religious Studies*. - in: *M TSR*, 13 (2001), 177-195, p. 177.

²⁵⁴ Asad, T.: Introduction. - in: *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter/ T. Asad (ed.)*. - Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press. - 1973. - 9-19, p. 16. For an overview on the extensive debate on the intersections of anthropology with the history of colonialism see: Asad, T. (ed.): *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. - Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1973; Clifford, J.: *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. - Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002; Clifford, J.; Marcus, G.E (eds.): *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. - Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986; Duerr, H.P. (ed.): *Authentizität und Betrug in der Ethnologie*. - Frankfurt (M.): Suhrkamp, 1987; Geertz, Mutual; Geertz, C.: *Works and Lives. The Anthropologist as Author*. - Stanford: University Press, 1988; Fox, R. (ed.): *Recapturing Anthropology. Working in the Present*. - Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991; Kohl, Abwehr.

²⁵⁵ We follow Chidester's invitation in *Savage Systems* to also include proto-forms in the history of religious studies as well. Therefore, we argue that our discipline has a history that begins already a long time before the establishment of the first professorial chair of religious studies in Geneva in 1873.

²⁵⁶ Kippenberg, H.G.; Stuckrad, K. von: *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft. Gegenstände und Begriffe*. - München: Beck, 2003, p. 59. Flood argues similarly: “[T]here is an intimate relation between forms of knowledge and category formation, and colonial domination.” (Flood, G.: *Beyond Phenomenology. Rethinking the Study of Religion*. - London: Cassell, 1999, p. 233) In another publication, Kippenberg reminds us that religious studies has a past, where the decisions and choices were made for the direction of investigation to be taken and the concepts to be employed: Kippenberg, H.G.: *Diskursive Religionswissenschaft. Gedanken zu einer Religionswissenschaft die weder auf einer allgemeingültigen Definition von Religion noch auf einer*

with King and Chidester that religious studies functioned as a provider of knowledge on people put under colonial rule²⁵⁷ and, hence, is historically entangled with the processes of colonial expansionism, political dominance²⁵⁸ and “... power relation[s] of frontier conflict ...”²⁵⁹.

Consequently, like anthropology before us we have to become “... aware of how the ethnographies and histories [we] have written have been imbued with rhetorical and literary devices.”²⁶⁰ We claim that Deeg’s assessment, that Orientalist structures and methods are still in use today in religious studies investigating in the field of Asia²⁶¹, may be generalised to the whole discipline. Moreover, we do agree with King that it is only recently that religious studies

“... has begun to take seriously the political implications and issues involved when Western scholars and institutions claim the authority to represent and speak about the religions and cultures of others.”²⁶²

That is in disproportion to the fact that religion was and still is not just any but an essential feature of European colonial campaigns, as a central goal of those campaigns was and is the “... assertion of control not only over material, but also over symbolic, cultural and religious resources.”²⁶³ As scholars of a discipline that, in a general sense, defines its foremost task as the analysis of religious constellations, we have to address one practical question: How do we approach religion in a (post-)colonial setting – today? It is here where the application of postcolonial approaches to the field of religious studies can set in. First of all, by laying the focus on the historical and conceptual entanglements of the discipline with colonial relations of power²⁶⁴, religious studies can take its “self-critical responsibility”²⁶⁵ – that is a self-

Überlegenheit von Wissenschaft basiert. - in: *Neue Ansätze in der Religionswissenschaft*/ B. Gladigow; H.G. Kippenberg (eds.). - München: Kösel. - 1983. - 9-28, p. 9.

²⁵⁷ Chidester, Savage, p. 16.

²⁵⁸ King, R.: *Orientalism and the Study of Religions*. - in: *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*/ J. Hinnells (ed.). - London: Routledge. - 2005. - 275-290, p. 277.

²⁵⁹ Chidester, Savage, p. xiii. That even led Stuckrad to call religious studies an “accomplice of power”: Stuckrad, K. von: *Discursive Study of Religion. From States of the Mind to Communication and Action*. - in: *MTSR*, 15 (2003), 255-271, p. 267.

²⁶⁰ Seed, *Colonial*, p. 181

²⁶¹ Deeg, *Wer*, pp. 36-37.

²⁶² King, *Study*, p. 277.

²⁶³ Chidester, *Colonialism*, p. 426.

²⁶⁴ Kippenberg/ Stuckrad, *Einführung*, p. 66.

²⁶⁵ Stuckrad, *Discursive*, p. 267. Similar Chidester: “[A] critical academic study of religion must be self-reflexive and self-critical of the political implications of its theory and practice.”: Chidester, *Colonialism*, p. 432.

reflexive²⁶⁶ analysis of the very structures that led to the formation of its theories²⁶⁷ – seriously. Challenging the Eurocentric foundations of the Western academy²⁶⁸, religious studies may reflect on the very fundamentals on which it stands²⁶⁹: The comparative method²⁷⁰ or the category “religion”, for example, which we discuss in the next paragraphs.

In the last decades there have been tremendous debates in religious studies on the universal applicability of the concept religion. Read from a postcolonial point of view, Chidester argues that the modern category religion emerged from a historical situation: The European struggle with religious pluralism intensified by an increased exposure to an expanding experience of the Other²⁷¹. Thus, some scholars claim that the construction of religion as a cross-cultural category is part of Western imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism²⁷². Similar to the taking for granted of the binary differentiation between a secular and a religious sphere in society that is due to recent historical developments in Europe, the concept religion and other related recent terms such as ‘world religion’²⁷³ fail to transcend the “... monotheistic exclusivism of Western Christianity ...”²⁷⁴. Deeply influenced by a Western (i.e. Christian) vision of the world, religious studies assumed that Christian concepts are sufficient to understand the cultures around the globe²⁷⁵. Thus, Dubuisson comes to a conclusion, which is very similar to Said’s thesis of the Orient as the West’s silent Other: “Through the idea of religion, the West continuously speaks of itself to itself, even when it speaks of others.”²⁷⁶ As a result, we claim with Fitzgerald that in the history of our discipline the category religion

²⁶⁶ Reflexivity, in the context of religious studies, can be understood with Flood as “... the ability of a researcher, or indeed as a strategy embedded within method, to become aware of the contexts of research and the presuppositions of the research programme.” (Flood, *Beyond*, p. 35) As such, reflexive scholars of religion are rather concerned with “... questions of point of view and the stance of the observer than ... with issues of neutrality, objectivity, and fact.”: McCutcheon, R.T. (ed.): *The Insider-Outsider Debate in the Study of Religion. A Reader*. - London: Cassell, 1999, p. 10.

²⁶⁷ Kippenberg/ Stuckrad, *Einführung*, p. 69.

²⁶⁸ King, *Orientalism*, p. 61.

²⁶⁹ Stuckrad, *Discursive*, p. 269.

²⁷⁰ See the extensive work of Jonathan Z. Smith, discussing the problems of using a comparative method in religious studies (Smith, J.Z.: *Imagining Religion. From Babylon to Jonestown*. - Chicago: University Press, 1982; Smith, J.Z.: *Relating Religion. Essays in the Study of Religion*. - Chicago: University Press, 2004) and the collection of essays in: Patton, K.C.; Ray, B.C. (eds.): *A Magic Still Dwells. Comparative Religion in the Postmodern Age*. - Berkeley: University Press, 2000.

²⁷¹ Chidester, *Savage*, p. xiii.

²⁷² Fitzgerald, T.: *The Ideology of Religious Studies*. - Oxford: University Press, 2000, p. 8.

²⁷³ King, *Orientalism*, p. 94.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105

²⁷⁵ Dubuisson, *Western*, pp. 39; 67. We can add with King that applying Christian categories beyond their original context to other religions resulted (for example) in creating an illusively monolithic construct such as ‘Hinduism’: King, *Orientalism*, pp. 7-8; 105.

²⁷⁶ Dubuisson, *Western*, p. 95.

certainly helped to distort the complexity of the particular subject matter²⁷⁷. Considering those inadequacies, some scholars of religion advocated for the total dismissal of the term religion from our discipline, while arguing for replacing it by other (seemingly) less distorting terms²⁷⁸. Nonetheless, in that point we share the pragmatical position of Chidester:

“After reviewing the history of their colonial production and reproduction on contested frontiers, we might happily abandon religion and religions as terms of analysis if we were not, as a result of that very history, stuck with them.”²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Fitzgerald, *Ideology*, p. 4. McCutcheon’s main argument in *Manufacturing Religion* is that the scholarly assumption to define religion *sui generis* is a “... highly useful discursive as well as political strategy ...” (McCutcheon, *Manufacturing*, p. xi), which “... deemphasizes difference, history, and sociopolitical context in favor of abstract essences and homogeneity.” (Ibid., 3) Similarly argues Kippenberg, claiming that the numerous attempts of scholars to define religion show that those scholars were just willing to study one, that is their own religion: Kippenberg, *Diskursive*, p. 11.

²⁷⁸ This argument is most prominent – but with differing implications – in the approaches of Cantwell Smith, Dubuisson, Fitzgerald, McCutcheon and Stietencron. Thus, Cantwell Smith argues: “I ask whether these studies may not proceed more satisfactorily in future if, putting aside the concept ‘religion’ or ‘the religions’ to describe the two, we elect to work rather with two separate concepts. I propose to call these ‘cumulative tradition’, on the one hand, and ‘faith’, on the other.” (Cantwell Smith, *W.: The Meaning and End of Religion*. - Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991, p. 156) Dubuisson states: “[I]t is preferable ... to assemble all those facts we call ‘religious’ along with some others ... in the all-encompassing category of cosmographic formations. This ... seems the only category today that allows us to overcome the sterile old antagonisms that culminate in the idea of religion and to relativize the importance of all the debates that are defined only with reference to its intrinsic criteria ...” (Dubuisson, *Western*, p. 17). Furthermore, Fitzgerald explains: “My argument has been that the persistent appearance of necessity of the category [religion, S.E.] can be explained by its theological and more generally ideological function. Only by clearly exposing this function can the category be defused, as it were, and laid to rest.” (Fitzgerald, *Ideology*, p. 27) Stietencron argues: “If we would finally employ the Indian general term dharma as a starting point, we would have a term that would combine the tentative concept of religion with the laws of nature and matter on the one and the ethical laws on the other hand.” [“Wählte man schließlich den indischen Oberbegriff dharma als Ausgangspunkt, so hätten wir einen Terminus, der das tentative Konzept von Religion ... verbände mit den Gesetzen der Natur und der Materie einerseits und den allgemeinen Sittengesetzen andererseits.”] (Stietencron, *Begriff*, p. 137) Interesting is McCutcheon’s approach to redescribe religion as “social formation”, that he defines as “... active processes that never arrive and are never completed ...” (McCutcheon, R.T.: *Redescribing ‘Religion’ as Social Formation. Toward a Social Theory of Religion*. - in: *What Is Religion? Origins, Definitions, and Explanations/ T.A. Idinopulos; B.C. Wilson (eds.)*. - Leiden: Brill. - 1998. - 51-72, p. 61) [for a further discussion of the concept social formation see: Mack, B.L.: *Social Formation*. - in: *Guide to the Study of Religion/ W. Braun; R.T. McCutcheon (eds.)*. - New York: Cassell. - 2000. - 283-296]. The focus is thus laid upon the legitimising character of religion and its “... sets of heterogeneous strategies ...”: McCutcheon, *Redescribing*, p. 61.

²⁷⁹ Chidester, *Savage*, p. 259. We do not claim – who can? – to have come to a final conclusion on the applicability of the category religion in religious studies. Nonetheless, for our study we understand religion as a starting point or occasion for conducting and expanding further research, means in Chidester’s understanding: “As a cluster concept, religion signifies an open set of discursive, practical, and social strategies of symbolic and material negotiation. In this respect, religion is not the object of analysis; it is an occasion for analysis, an opening in a field of possible relations.” (Ibid.) Chidester then approaches religion as a network of cultural relations: “Rather than bounded cultural systems, religions are intrareligious and interreligious networks of cultural relations.” (Ibid., p. 260) Consequently, the author continues in another passage: “If, as I have suggested, the categories of religion and religions are not objects but occasions for analysis, the focus of inquiry shifts to their aspects, such as symbol, myth, ritual, and tradition.”: Ibid.

But there also is a second level to religious studies' responsibility for self-reflexivity: The individual position of the scholar, or, as Lincoln formulated it for his own work, the insight that any research is "... conditioned by its author's interests and desires ..." ²⁸⁰. On that level, there are what Ahn calls "Eurocentrism as barriers of understanding" [Eurozentrismen als Erkenntnisbarrieren] ²⁸¹, which are persistent ²⁸² basic assumptions of the European scholar, rooted in 'European tradition' ²⁸³. An interpretation of other cultural systems through the mechanisms of his own system of thought, can lead the Western scholar of religion to mentally stop at those barriers and thus distort or even deny to recognise his object of study's particular otherness ²⁸⁴. Similar to Said's Orientalism imagery discussed above, Eurocentric barriers of understanding restrain and limit the vision of the scholar of religion on another culture. Hence, a self-reflection on his own theoretical basis and situatedness – as an attempt ²⁸⁵ to dismiss those Eurocentric barriers of understanding by putting them into a larger context ²⁸⁶ – seems to be the only possible way for the scholar to escape being 'trapped' inside a "scholarly ethnocentrism" ²⁸⁷. There are two models that seem to offer an exit from that situation, which we will discuss in the following paragraphs.

²⁸⁰ Lincoln, B.: *Theorizing Myth. Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship*. - Chicago: University Press, 1999, p. 216. McCutcheon reminds us: "[T]he scholarly category [of religion, S.E.] is not simply the product of intellectual processes but may also result from, and be useful in terms of, certain specific material interests as well." (McCutcheon, *Manufacturing*, p. xi) Therefore, "... the meaning of the category of religion is intimately linked to the social and material interests of the institutionalized observer-interpreter who defines, circumscribes, and creates this cognitive category ...": Ibid., p. 15.

²⁸¹ Ahn, G.: Eurozentrismen als Erkenntnisbarrieren in der Religionswissenschaft. - in: *ZfR*, 5 (1997), 41-58, p. 44.

²⁸² The persistence of Eurocentric barriers of understanding is caused by an omission of questioning their (illusory) self-evidency (ibid.). This point is similar to Amin's analysis of Eurocentrism, which is said to persist "... in the grey areas of seemingly obvious facts and common sense.": Amin, *Eurocentrism*, p. viii.

²⁸³ "Religious studies ... rather root[s] – either in affirmation of or in distancing to it – in the recent European tradition, which is influenced by Christianity, to which a certain stock of terminology, basic questions and culture-specific pre-understandings is related." ["Religionswissenschaft ... wurzel[t] vielmehr in der – sei es in Affirmation oder in Distanzierung – vom Christentum geprägten neuzeitlich-europäischen Tradition, mit der sich ein bestimmtes Arsenal an Begrifflichkeit, Leitfragen und kulturspezifischen Vorverständnissen verbindet."]: Ahn, *Eurozentrismen*, p. 49.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 43-45.

²⁸⁵ Ahn discusses the hardships of this rather high goal extensively: Ibid., pp. 47-48.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

²⁸⁷ McCutcheon, *Manufacturing*, p. 150. Ethnocentrism is once more captured in the following statement of that author: "[E]thnocentrism is not the fact of having culture but the assumption that one's own culture – as well as the goals relevant to one's own culture – are by definition everyone's goals." (McCutcheon, R.T.: *Taming Ethnocentrism and Trans-Cultural Understandings*. - in: *Perspectives on Method and Theory in the Study of Religion. Adjunct Proceedings of the 17th Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Mexico City 1995/ A.W. Geertz; R.T. McCutcheon (eds.)*. - Leiden: Brill. - 2000. - 294-306, p. 303) To be clear here, we are not advocating for an extirpation or dismantling of the European intellectual heritage but pledge, with Joy, for questioning its unacknowledged presumptions: Joy, M.M.: *Philosophy and Religion*. - in: *New Approaches to the Study of Religion. Volume 1, Regional, Critical, and Historical Approaches/ P. Antes; A.W. Geertz; R. Warne (eds.)*. - Berlin: De Gruyter. - 2004. - 185-218, p. 187.

The danger to misrepresent other cultures, for one, can lead to a position that reduces a religious Other to something unknowable and unintelligible, that is an “absolute Opposite” [ganz Anderes]²⁸⁸, which cannot be understood at all by cultural outsiders²⁸⁹. As a consequence, that position postulates the abandonment of the study of indigenous religions by outsiders, leaving it to the ‘authentic voices’ (e.g. ‘the authentic Mapuche Indian’ in our case) to speak about themselves. Excluding any research that is not authentically indigenous, this approach is not only itself a mode of colonial thinking “... parallel in many ways to the inscription of the ‘native’ ... under the sign of the savage ...”²⁹⁰ but is illusive after the “... radical reconfiguration of indigenous forms of knowledge precipitated by European colonialism ...”²⁹¹. With Geertz that position can be poignantly termed ‘primitivism’ or ‘nativism’, generally understood as a scientific ‘romanticising’ of indigenous cultures²⁹². By merely replacing the actors of research – that is Westerners by non-Westerners – nativism would still provide another “... cultural construction of the exotic ...”²⁹³ but this time in the opposite direction (i.e. a kind of Occidentalism)²⁹⁴. Furthermore, it is improbable (and rather ethnocentric itself)²⁹⁵ to assume that indigenous people with a colonial history like the Mapuche would be interested in the systematisation, categorisation and presentation of their religiosity to an outsider audience²⁹⁶. In other words, it is naive to assume that, speaking with McCutcheon, “... their means will be useful in serving our ends.”²⁹⁷ That line of thought is poignantly captured in the 13th of Bruce Lincoln’s insightful *Theses on Method*:

²⁸⁸ Deeg, Wer, p. 57

²⁸⁹ Ibid.; Prohl, I.: Die Rache des Orientalismus. Selbstbehauptungsdiskurse im gegenwärtigen Japan. - in: Religion im Spiegelkabinett. Asiatische Religionsgeschichte im Spannungsfeld zwischen Orientalismus und Okzidentalismus/ P. Schalk (ed.). - Uppsala: University Press. - 2003. - 195-218, pp. 215-216.

²⁹⁰ Griffiths, G.: The Myth of Authenticity. - in: The Post-colonial Studies Reader/ B. Ashcroft; G. Griffiths; H. Tiffin (eds.). - London: Routledge. - 1995. - 237-241, p. 238.

²⁹¹ King, Orientalism, p. 185.

²⁹² Geertz, Primitivism, pp. 61-62. Additionally, Lincoln states: “Many who would not think of insulating their own or their parents’ religion against critical inquiry still afford such protection to other people’s faiths via a stance of cultural relativism. One can appreciate their good intentions, while recognizing a certain displaced defensiveness, as well as the guilty conscience of Western imperialism.” (Lincoln, B.: Theses on Method. - in: MTSR, 8 (1996), 225-227, p. 226) Lévi-Strauss formulates a similar dilemma of the anthropologist: “At home, the anthropologist may be a natural subversive, a convinced opponent of traditional usage: but no sooner has he in focus a society different from his own than he becomes respectful of even the most conservative practices (...) The dilemma is inescapable: either the anthropologist clings to the norms of his own group, in which case the others can only inspire in him an ephemeral curiosity in which there is always an element of disapproval; or he makes himself over completely to the objects of his studies, in which case he can never be perfectly objective, because in giving himself to all societies he cannot but refuse himself, wittingly or not, to one among them.”: Lévi-Strauss, C.: Tristes Tropiques. - New York: Criterion Books, 1961, pp. 381-382.

²⁹³ Geertz, Mutual, p. 2.

²⁹⁴ That, seemingly, is Whaling’s understanding of a global religious studies: Whaling, Study, pp. 391-392.

²⁹⁵ McCutcheon, Taming, p. 301.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 303.

“When one permits those whom one studies to define the terms in which they will be understood, suspends one’s interest in the temporal and contingent, or fails to distinguish between ‘truths’, ‘truth-claims’, and ‘regimes of truth’, one has ceased to function as historian or scholar.”²⁹⁸

Somewhat opposed to the nativism approach is a position that can be termed “reflective Eurocentrism” [reflektierter Eurozentrismus], prominently advocated by the anthropologist Kohl²⁹⁹. As Kohl explains, this approach attempts to continue a line of Enlightenment thought, which postulates the need of the scholar to accept his limits of objectivity, while at the same time intending to be aware of colonial patterns and leading interests held by his own society³⁰⁰. That position is similar to that of Benson Saler, who is arguing that “... rather than intone a blanket condemnation of ethnocentrism and all its works, we might better seek to tame it ...”³⁰¹. Subsequently, a ‘tamed ethnocentrism’ is pictured “... as a cognitive starting point in the search for transcultural understandings.”³⁰² Following Saler, ethnocentrism is seen as a resource rather than a burden, which may be employed to identify a topic of investigation and, in a second step, to provide the scholar with start-up categories that can be modified in the course of research³⁰³. We see a fundamental problem in the last aspect of Saler’s approach and claim with McCutcheon that it is not enough trying to control ethnocentrism by altering or replacing an outsider terminology by an (elusive) insider one³⁰⁴. There is nothing to say against an openmindedness towards and an appreciation of indigenous categories³⁰⁵ but we have to keep in mind, speaking with McCutcheon again, that the

²⁹⁸ Lincoln, *Theses*, p. 227.

²⁹⁹ Kohl, *Abwehr*, pp. 140-142.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³⁰¹ Saler, B.: *Conceptualizing Religion. Immanent Anthropologists, Transcendent Natives, and Unbounded Categories*. - New York: Berghahn, 2000, p. 9.

³⁰² Chidester, Savage, p. 4.

³⁰³ Saler, *Conceptualizing*, p. 9.

³⁰⁴ McCutcheon, *Taming*, p. 299. Saler postulates the adding of other native categories to the category religion, as to “... produce a more polyphonic and multicultural anthropology than would otherwise be possible.” (Saler, *Conceptualizing*, p. 264) Although less explicit, King seems to propose a similar approach: “What is required for the comparative study of ‘religion’ to move into a postcolonial space, therefore, is a conscious attempt to develop new conceptual models and methodological frameworks for the comparative study of cultures.” (King, *Orientalism*, p. 211) But the author adds the following limitations: “In taking this position I am not arguing for an uncritical acceptance or endorsement of ‘the indigenous’ as if this were free from its own set of power relations and oppressive practices. (...) Rather, my point is that Western scholars should pay far more attention to the nature and operation of the ‘fusion of horizons’ that occurs in comparative analysis. Engagement with the theories, categories and world-views of the cultures under examination also requires an acknowledgement of the cultural particularity of Western concepts and theories and a recognition of the politics of comparative analysis.”: *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

employment of insider categories simply hides the fact that "... we [are, S.E.] inextricably stuck with asking just our questions and using just our tools in posing ... questions."³⁰⁶ Especially when we consider that 'native terms' (e.g. totemism, taboo) and their evolutionary implications were used in the past to reinforce colonial control over people and land by modelling an unintelligible Other³⁰⁷. Furthermore, it does not become exactly clear how a tentative (European) ethnocentrism should accomplish a distancing from (Euro-) ethnocentrism in the end – which Saler at least holds to become necessary at a later point of the research process – if ethnocentrism was considered an unavoidable 'gift' from the beginning.

Neither of the two approaches manages to escape the problems raised by scholarly (Euro-) ethnocentrism as discussed above. The first approach – that we may call the "giving-up position to Eurocentrism" – pledges for an abandonment of outsider science for the sake of some (elusively authentic) inside speaker observation. This radical approach is not attractive to us at all, as, in its final consequence, it gives up (Western) science altogether. Consequently, we seem to be left with just the second approach, which may be called the "giving-in position to Eurocentrism": It embraces the problems raised by Eurocentrism as a resource but avoids addressing the challenges for a future religious studies raised by it. It is a look-away strategy that, for one, explicitly continues historically set colonial modes of research by, secondly, giving up to the challenges of Eurocentric barriers of understanding that – no matter how sophisticated in its application the approach might be – stay basically untouched and, thus, in place to continue hindering research.

A solution to the challenges of that scholarly ethnocentrism dilemma in religious studies may bring a third approach. That position, first of all, demands the dismissal of what Joy calls a "God's-eye-view"³⁰⁸ or "selfauthenticating narcissistic gaze"³⁰⁹ that still remains dominant in our discipline today. Characterised as the belief "... that one's own position ... is the epitome or sole standard of judgement ..."³¹⁰, the God's-eye view draws an artificial line between scholar – as the subject of research is imagined as an objective observer uninvolved – and the recipient of imposed categories, as the object and sole focus of research. The scholar of religion, thus, rather distorts or misapprehends the interrelatedness of research

³⁰⁶ McCutcheon, Taming, p. 299.

³⁰⁷ Chidester, Savage, p. 4.

³⁰⁸ Joy, M.M.: Beyond a God's Eyeview. *Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Religion*. - in: MTSR, 12 (2000), 110-140, pp. 110-111; Joy, Postcolonial, pp. 178; 192.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 192.

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 178.

reality as there is no sharp but a floating division between the two³¹¹. This holds especially true for the distinction between the “us” and the “them” in colonial settings – that the giving-up and the giving-in position to Eurocentrism even fuel. Thus, following Joy, there needs to be a stronger acknowledgement of the complicity between scholar and the object under study³¹².

What we are advocating for, then, is an approach that moves beyond the giving-up position on the one hand, and the giving-in position, on the other hand. We will postulate an approach that may be called dialogical approach to religion³¹³, which we present in the following paragraphs. Following that approach, the general objective of research can shift from a (monocultural) documentation to an (intercultural) communication³¹⁴ or, in other words, a change from “... phenomenological privileging of consciousness...”³¹⁵ to scientific interaction. Taking the “communicative turn”³¹⁶, the approach seeks to focus on a cooperation of the scholar with the people under study – on the basis of “mutual reflection”³¹⁷. By opening up to the world, religious studies can thus create a global context beyond the European base and, therefore, may become a truly global discipline ready to face the challenges of a globalised world.

The goal of a global religious studies, following Cantwell Smith then is “... learning not only about other cultures and other ages but also from them, including especially learning from them about ourselves ...”³¹⁸. In accordance with the results of our discussion on the necessity of self-awareness in our discipline, a global religious studies would comprehend the

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 177. Similar argues McCutcheon: “What some writers have begun questioning ... are the limits of the subject, the limits of the object, and whether anyone can ever attain neutrality when it comes to studying human behavior.”: McCutcheon, *Insider*, p. 289.

³¹² Joy, *Philosophy*, p. 211. Accordingly, this statement is in agreement with results of the following discussion of Foucault’s discourse analysis (see chapter 3.3): The scientist, no matter how critical and self-reflexive about his own position, is never outside but always part of the studied discourse, as he creates the discourse: Jäger, S.: *Diskurs und Wissen. Theoretische und methodische Aspekte einer Kritischen Diskurs- und Dispositivanalyse*. - in: *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse/ R. Keller; A. Hirsland; W. Schneider; W. Viehöver* (eds.). - 2 vols. - Opladen: Leske und Budrich. - vol. 1. - 2001. - 81-112, p. 83.

³¹³ I am especially grateful to the work of four scholars of religion, whose approaches are the basis of the approach presented here: (1) Cantwell Smith’s “us human beings approach” (Cantwell Smith, W.: *The Modern West in the History of Religion*. - in: *JAAR*, 52 (1984), 3-18, pp. 4-5); (2) Geertz’ “mutual reflection approach” (Geertz, *Mutual*, p. 21); (3) Joy’s “beyond a God’s eye view approach” (Joy, *Eyeview*, pp. 110-111; 137-138; Joy, *Postcolonial*, pp. 178; 192) and (4) Stuckrad’s “polyfocal approach”: Stuckrad, *Discursive*, p. 262.

³¹⁴ Geertz argues, somehow exaggerating here, that communication with an Other is fundamentally necessary for the future scholar to distinguish himself from a tourist: Geertz, *Mutual*, p. 6.

³¹⁵ Flood, *Beyond*, p. 236.

³¹⁶ Stuckrad, *Discursive*, p. 263.

³¹⁷ Geertz, *Mutual*, p. 21.

³¹⁸ Cantwell Smith, *Modern*, p. 5. The author adds to that: “[T]o profit from our increasing awareness of other cultures so as thereby to illuminate our own: To understand better what we in the West have been doing (and indeed what has been done to us), and accordingly to put ourselves in a position to transcend where we have been and are.”: Ibid., p. 4.

West as but one development in an extended (world-)history of religions³¹⁹. Allowing different, multi-faceted perspectives to become visible³²⁰, the work of non-European scholars would be included to question the stand of the European confronting the ‘rest of the world’³²¹. Therefore, we advocate with Bryan Turner for “... turn[ing] the anthropological gaze onto the history of our own religions and cultural practices ...”³²², as to dislodge the privileged position of the West in religious studies³²³. Thus, by opening a global dialogue, a global community of researchers can be created³²⁴ and, by permitting the perspectives of non-European scholars to the field, a global religious studies can guarantee not to continue working implicitly (or explicitly) with Eurocentric patterns of thought that hinder research. Accordingly, those barriers basing on the seemingly self-evident dichotomy of the “we-they business”³²⁵ can be broken down effectively and be replaced by an integrative concept like “us human beings”³²⁶, which would imply – to speak with Geertz – a “... more human-oriented study of religion ...”³²⁷.

In distancing to the giving-in position to Eurocentrism we thus can say that instead of unilaterally imposing a European frame of reference onto all others³²⁸, “... we must ... rework our concepts and methods in response to the pressing demands of an intercultural world.”³²⁹ Therefore, we claim that it is not by providing new comparisons or developing new definitions of religion that religious studies can avoid becoming irrelevant to the future

³¹⁹ Ibid. In another passage the author argues: “Knowledge of the rest of the world may contribute thus to critical self-awareness.”: Ibid.

³²⁰ Stuckrad, *Discursive*, p. 262.

³²¹ Masuzawa, T.: *In Search of Dreamtime. The Quest for the Origin of Religion*. - Chicago: University Press, 1993, p. 177. More ‘radical’ is the approach of the postcolonial scholar Dipesh Chakrabarty, who advocates for a decentering of Europe’s dominant position in history by “provincializing Europe” (Chakrabarty, *Postcoloniality*; Chakrabarty, D.: *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. - Princeton: University Press, 2008), that is beginning “... to write into history of modernity the ambivalences, contradictions, the use of force, and the tragedies and the ironies that attend it ...”: Chakrabarty, *Postcoloniality*, p. 21.

³²² Turner, *Orientalism*, p. 103.

³²³ King, *Orientalism*, p. 218.

³²⁴ Cantwell Smith, *Modern*, p. 5.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid. In another passage the author adds: “We are all heirs now of many cultures, and we face the future together: Our common future, multicultural.”: Ibid.

³²⁷ Geertz, *Mutual*, p. 21.

³²⁸ Joy, *Philosophy*, pp. 219-220. As the author states in another passage: “Too often, religious studies ... has been content to stay within the confines of its own horizon, with the presuppositions or prejudices endemic to the historical constellation of the ideas that led to its foundation.” (Ibid., p. 210) Similarly Geertz: “[I]f our discipline could liberate itself from its andro/ eurocentrism, then perhaps we would find ourselves in a truly unique situation in the history of the West, where we would be able to transcend the limits of our epistemology through a truly global dialogue.”: Geertz, *Mutual*, p. 4.

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 21. Another positive ‘side-effect’ of such a dialogical religious studies is taking a step towards Rudolph’s – already decades-old – call for an ideology-critical analysis of religious doctrines and traditions, while surpassing prejudices and misunderstandings between religions: Rudolph, K.: *Die ‘ideologiekritische’ Funktion der Religionswissenschaft*. - in: *Numen*, 15 (1978), 17-38, p. 37.

academy³³⁰ but by taking the turn to a postcolonial, dialogical and global approach to religion. Following that goal, our discipline may be lifted up to an “... exemplar of a non-exploitative encounter with otherness ...”³³¹.

On a more specific level, religious studies needs to expand its focus of observation. Aiming at, to speak with Michael Bergunder, “... reaching new theoretical formations that enable a conscious and categorical disconnection from old Orientalist paradigms ...”³³², a dialogical approach may employ methods of colonial discourse analysis, redirecting the focus of research to the study of institutions and systems of value³³³. Thus, being “... aware of the ongoing influence of colonialism upon the representation of others ...”³³⁴, scholars of religion may become more sensitive to the dynamics of power³³⁵, to political implications³³⁶ and to the contexts³³⁷, which surround and constitute the religious system(s) under investigation. Chidester remarked that to go forward in our discipline we perhaps have to turn back first and analyse the processes of the (colonial) past as to “... clear a space ... where something new in the study of religion can happen.”³³⁸ Thus, with the case study presented here, we will make that step back and take a look at one particular colonial history – that is the colonial processes in the European conceptualisations of indigenous Mapuche Religion –, as an attempt to take the responsibility to understand the history of those colonial representations as a proto-form of the discipline of religious studies.

³³⁰ Joy characterises the threat to a religious studies that would miss out on taking the postcolonial turn: “[T]hat will simply render the discipline irrelevant or cause it to atrophy as a relic of an obsolete and artificial nineteenth century mindset.” (Joy, *Eyeview*, p. 138) And in another passage she adds: “I believe that Religious Studies needs to begin to address such [postcolonial, S.E.] issues, if it does not wish to remain stagnant, held in thrall by incestuous debates and outmoded attitudes that are a legacy of nineteenth-century scholarship.”: Joy, *Postcolonial*, p. 178.

³³¹ Joy, M.M.: *Beyond Essence and Intuition. A Reconsideration of Understanding in Religious Studies*. - in: *Secular Theories of Religion. Current Perspectives*/ T. Jensen; M. Rothstein (eds.). - Copenhagen: Tusculanum. - 2000. - 69-86, p. 70.

³³² Bergunder, M.: *Contested Past. Anti-brahmanical and Hindu Nationalist Reconstructions of Indian Pre-history*. - in: *Historiographia Linguistica*, 31 (2004), 59-104, p. 97. There in the context of India.

³³³ Fitzgerald, *Ideology*, p. 10.

³³⁴ King, *Orientalism*, p. 287. Similar Flood, stating: “The study of religions should be sensitive to difference and the many layers of cultural meaning as we move into a global world of many faceted self-constructions, including its own place in a dialogical relationship as an outsider discourse with its object, ‘religion’. Religions take place within narratives that are constructed and reconstructed from particular perspectives, from particular positions of power, which a critical religious studies can decode.”: Flood, *Beyond*, p. 235.

³³⁵ King, *Orientalism*, p. 186. Similar argues Chidester, stating that the future scholar of religion has to pay “... sustained attention to the strategic locations and dislocations of the human in new contact zones.”: Chidester, *Colonialism*, p. 436.

³³⁶ Geertz, *Mutual*, p. 6.

³³⁷ King, *Orientalism*, p. 214.

³³⁸ Chidester, *Savage*, p. 266.

3. Towards a colonial discourse analysis of Mapuche Religion

Certes, les discours sont faits de signes; mais ce qu'ils font, c'est plus que d'utiliser ces signes pour designer des choses. (...) C'est ce 'plus' qu'il faut faire apparaître et qu'il faut décrire.

(Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir*)³³⁹

3.1 Foucault's four principles of discourse analysis

First of all, we have to emphasise that Foucault's work neither forms a closed theory nor method³⁴⁰. Especially his approach to discourse analysis seems to be a programmatic sketch rather than an explicit methodological model for the analysis of particular discourses³⁴¹. Nonetheless, following Diaz-Bone et al., Foucault's 'methods' cannot be reduced to the mere status of an attitude to social research but may rather be understood as "... the groundwork for a new methodological area for empirical research that conceives itself as a form of scientific

³³⁹ Foucault, M.: *L'archéologie du savoir*. - Paris: Gallimard, 1969, p. 67. "Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. (...) It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe.": Foucault, M.: *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. - New York: Pantheon, 2000, p. 49.

³⁴⁰ Bublitz et al.: *Diskursanalyse. (K)eine Methode? Eine Einleitung*. - in: *Das Wuchern der Diskurse. Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults/ H. Bublitz et al. (eds.)*. - Frankfurt (M.): Campus. - 1999. - 10-21, pp. 15-16. Additionally: "It must be recognized that Foucault's work is by no means uniform and that there are different orientations to his work during his career. There is a distinction between his archaeological work and his genealogical work, while his final work involves a reflection upon the entire trajectory of his previous work.": Williams, G.: *French Discourse Analysis. The Method of Post-structuralism*. - London: Routledge, 1999, p. 76. For a detailed discussion on the different 'phases of Foucault's thinking' see: Davidson, A.I.: *Archaeology, Genealogy, Ethics*. - in: Foucault. *A Critical Reader/ D.C. Hoy (ed.)*. - Oxford: Blackwell. - 1986. - 221-233; Scheurich, J.J.; McKenzie, K.B.: *Foucault's Methodologies. Archeology and Genealogy*. - in: *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research/ N. Denzin; Y. Lincoln (eds.)*. - 3rd ed. - Thousand Oaks: SAGE. - 2008. - 841-868.

³⁴¹ Schwab-Trapp, M.: *Diskursanalyse*. - in: *Hauptbegriffe qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Wörterbuch/ R. Bohnsack; W. Marotzki; M. Meuser (eds.)*. - Opladen: Leske und Budrich. - 2003. - 35-39, p. 38. Similar Keller: "But neither the 'Archaeology of Knowledge' nor Foucault's other publications contain information about his methodical work with particular texts." ["Allerdings enthalten weder die 'Archäologie des Wissens' noch die anderen Veröffentlichungen Foucaults genauere Angaben über sein methodisches Arbeiten an einzelnen Texten."] (Keller, R.: *Diskurse und Dispositive analysieren. Die Wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse als Beitrag zu einer wissensanalytischen Profilierung der Diskursforschung*. - in: *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 8 (2007), Art. 19, paragraph 7). Finally, Schrage: "And I claim that Foucault is rather interested in the reflection on problems of systematisation and not in a generally applicable method of systematisation." ["Und ich behaupte, daß es Foucault um Reflexion über Ordnungsprobleme geht und nicht um eine allgemein einsetzbare Ordnungsmethode.": Schrage, D.: *Was ist ein Diskurs?* - in: *Das Wuchern der Diskurse. Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults/ H. Bublitz et al. (eds.)*. - Frankfurt (M.): Campus. - 1999. - 63-74, p. 73.

and self-reflexive practice ...”³⁴². Foucault himself made the proposition to rather understand his work as an outline or suggestion for further research than a strict set of rules³⁴³. In our study, we will generally focus on Foucault’s ‘archaeological approach’³⁴⁴ that, employed as a methodological toolkit, will help us to find a methodical place from which to analyse Mapuche Religion as discourse. We can (selectively) subsume Foucault’s archaeological approach to discourse analysis in a fourfold model of principles (or implications) of investigation.

(1) With the “principle of reversal”³⁴⁵ Foucault argues for the abandonment and, finally, the reversal of an old, classical approach, which he calls “total/ classical history”³⁴⁶. That approach focuses on long unities or periods, claiming to “... reveal the stable, almost indestructible system of checks and balances, the irreversible processes, the constant readjustments, the underlying tendencies that gather force ...”³⁴⁷. It aims at a tracing back of linear successions to find “silent beginnings”³⁴⁸ or the “... innermost secret of the origin ...”³⁴⁹, which needs to be uncovered from a “... thick layer of events ...”³⁵⁰. By employing a terminology of cause and effect to form some kind of “evolutionary process”³⁵¹ that classical approach attempts to restore, reconstruct or repeat what men thought or desired, while expressing themselves in discourse³⁵². The reconstruction of continuity – as the general objective of that approach³⁵³ – is supported terminologically by the investigator employing terms that imply continuity (e.g. author, development, discipline, evolution, influence, œuvre, spirit, tradition³⁵⁴).

(2) By employing the second “principle of discontinuity”³⁵⁵, Foucault expatiates his new method called “general history”/ “archaeology”³⁵⁶. The old standard principle of continuity is

³⁴² Diaz-Bone, R. et al.: The Field of Foucaultian Discourse Analysis. Structures, Developments and Perspectives. - in: Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung, 8 (2007), Art. 30, paragraph 50.

³⁴³ “[A]nd to that extent, I think that you are completely free to do what you like with what I am saying. These are suggestions for research, ideas, schemata, outlines, instruments; do what you like with them.”: Foucault, M.: Society Must Be Defended. Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976. - New York: Picador, 2004, p. 2.

³⁴⁴ By archaeological approach we understand Foucault’s methodological reflections on discourse analysis in *Order of Things* (Foucault, Order), *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, Archaeology) and *Discourse on Language*: Foucault, M.: The Discourse on Language. - New York: Pantheon, 2000.

³⁴⁵ Foucault, Language, p. 229.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁴⁷ Foucault, Archaeology, p. 3.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 139.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁵¹ Ibid., p. 230.

³⁵² Ibid., p. 139.

³⁵³ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 21-22; Foucault, Language, p. 229.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

suspended and exchanged by discontinuity as a working standard of investigation³⁵⁷. Instead of deciphering the linear traces of past men to some illusive origin³⁵⁸, the task of the new approach is to understand discourse as a discontinuous activity³⁵⁹. By focusing on discontinuous elements of discourses (i.e. the ruptures, thresholds, breaks, mutations, transformations, divisions, limits³⁶⁰), Foucault aims at breaking the ‘spell of continuity’, which the classical terminology implied³⁶¹. Accordingly, Foucault’s principles of reversal and discontinuity insist “... to select a problem rather than an historical period for investigation.”³⁶²

(3) The details of that new model of analysis are presented in the next principle, which is called the “principle of specificity”³⁶³. By applying that principle the investigator searches for contingencies instead of causes, as the focus is redirected to the interrelatedness of an event with others because “... the emergence of that event was not necessary, but was one possible result of a whole series of complex relations between other events.”³⁶⁴ The explicit focus on the processes of rupturing, limiting, cutting-out and rarefaction that mark the specificity of a particular discourse³⁶⁵, provides the investigator with discoveries in depth – weighing, following Foucault, against the superficial results of the old approach³⁶⁶. By making difference the object of analysis³⁶⁷, the investigation focuses on multiple interrelated layers (or levels) of discourse with each having its own patterns and discontinuities³⁶⁸. With the discovery of the “incidences of interruption”³⁶⁹, Foucault’s approach constantly discovers more and more layers enlarging (and thus decentering) the field of investigation³⁷⁰.

³⁵⁶ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 139.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9; 26.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁵⁹ Foucault, *Language*, p. 229.

³⁶⁰ Foucault, *Archaeology*, pp. 5; 177.

³⁶¹ Diaz-Bone et al., *Field*, paragraph 4.

³⁶² Kendall, G.; Wickham, G.: *Using Foucault’s Methods*. - London: SAGE, 1999, p. 22. A position that is best summarised by Foucault himself in the preface to *Order of Things*, where he expands the aim of that book: “This book must be read as a comparative, and not a symptomatological, study. It was not my intention, on the basis of a particular type of knowledge or body of ideas, to draw up a picture of a period, or to reconstitute the spirit of a century. What I wished to do was to present, side by side, a definite number of elements: The knowledge of living beings, the knowledge of the laws of language, and the knowledge of economic facts, and to relate them to the philosophical discourse that was contemporary with them during a period extending from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. It was to be not an analysis of Classicism in general, nor a search for a *Weltanschauung*, but a strictly ‘regional’ study.”: Foucault, *Order*, p. x.

³⁶³ Foucault, *Language*, p. 229.

³⁶⁴ Kendall/ Wickham, *Using*, p. 5.

³⁶⁵ Foucault, *Language*, p. 229.

³⁶⁶ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 3.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3; 7.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 205; 230.

(4) The fourth “principle of exteriority”³⁷¹ emphasises the consequences of the previous three principles. The investigator should abstain from the classical approach’s quest for another “better-hidden discourse”³⁷², “hidden law”³⁷³ or further meaning behind the discourse³⁷⁴. Instead of focusing on some seemingly concealed content, “... the fact and conditions of a discourse’s manifest appearance and ... the transformations that the discourses have effected ...”³⁷⁵ are examined. The new approach, then, analyses discourses in their characteristic specificity, “... to show in what way the set of rules that they put into operation is irreducible to any other; to follow them the whole length of their exterior ridges, in order to underline them the better.”³⁷⁶ A discourse analysis thus focuses on whether and when these rules or “discursive practices”³⁷⁷ occur³⁷⁸; that is on “... that which gives rise to the chance series of these events and fixes its limits.”³⁷⁹ Furthermore, Foucault redirects the focus from mere acceptance to being as sceptical as possible in regard to the “... ready-made syntheses ... that we normally accept before any examination ...”³⁸⁰, that is the so-called “second-order judgements”³⁸¹. As those are “... themselves reflexive categories, principles of classification, normative rules, institutionalized types ... autochthonous, and universally recognizable characteristics ...”³⁸², they are facts of discourse themselves in need to be considered in a discourse analysis as well³⁸³. Accordingly, this implies that there is no inert logic to the interpretation of texts in discourse; instead, the very mechanisms of assuming such a logic of interpretation need to be questioned³⁸⁴.

³⁷¹ Foucault, *Language*, p. 229.

³⁷² Foucault, *Archaeology*, pp. 139; 205.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

³⁷⁵ Diaz-Bone et al., *Field*, paragraph 4.

³⁷⁶ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 139.

³⁷⁷ Discursive practices are defined by Foucault as “... a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function.”: *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁸¹ Second-order judgements are defined by Kendall and Wickham: “When any aspect of any object being investigated is granted a status ... which draws its authority from another investigation, a second-order judgement is made ...”: Kendall/ Wickham, *Using*, p. 13.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ Sarasin, P.: *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse*. - in: *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse/ P. Sarasin (ed.)*. - Frankfurt (M.): Suhrkamp. - 2001. - 10-60, p. 58.

3.2 Defining discourse and discourse analysis

Following Foucault, a discourse is more than just a group of signs³⁸⁵: It is a practice that follows certain rules³⁸⁶ or, in other words, discourses are not mere reflections of reality but material entities³⁸⁷. As institutionalised “arrangements of meaning” [Bedeutungsarrangements]³⁸⁸ or “vehicles of knowledge” [Träger von Wissen]³⁸⁹, discourses seek to establish and expand certain interpretations of reality by producing representations of that reality³⁹⁰. Besides being defined as ruled practice and vehicle of knowledge, discourse can also be understood as a “framework of communication”³⁹¹ that lays the focus on the dynamical “... many-sided mutuality of communicative processes ...”³⁹². As a discourse is always based on something already-said³⁹³, it is preconstituted by its elements while at the same time constituting those elements³⁹⁴. To take part in such a framework of communication means to add a new statement to an existing series of statements³⁹⁵; thus, the participant is forced “... to perform a complicated and costly gesture, which involves conditions ... and rules ...”³⁹⁶ to comply with the particular communicative process. Hence, discourses necessarily contain positions, sanctioning mechanisms and models of exclusion that reglement participation³⁹⁷. In other words, as discourses are sociohistorically entrenched³⁹⁸, they “... systematically form the objects of which they speak ...”³⁹⁹, providing “... the means by which the world is socially constructed.”⁴⁰⁰

³⁸⁵ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 49.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138. Other Foucaultian definitions of discourse are: (1) “[F]ield of regularity for various positions of subjectivity.” (*Ibid.*, p. 55) (2) “[R]egular series and distinct events ...” (Foucault, *Language*, p. 234). To extend Foucault’s general explanations and abstract definitions, we employ results from recent research on discourse analysis.

³⁸⁷ Jäger, *Wissen*, pp. 85-86; Jäger, S.: *Kritische Diskursanalyse. Eine Einführung.* - Münster: Unrast, 2004, p. 147. This is in accordance with Said’s analysis of Orientalism as discussed above.

³⁸⁸ Keller, R.: *Wissenssoziologische Diskursanalyse.* - in: *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse/ R. Keller et al. (eds.).* - 2 vols. - Opladen: Leske und Budrich. - vol. 1. - 2001. - 113-144, p. 129.

³⁸⁹ Jäger, *Wissen*, pp. 85-86.

³⁹⁰ Diaz-Bone et al., *Field*, paragraph 7.

³⁹¹ Albinus, L.: *Discourse Analysis within the Study of Religion. Processes of Change in Ancient Greece.* - in: *MTSR*, 9 (1997), 203-232, p. 203.

³⁹² Stuckrad, *Discursive*, p. 264.

³⁹³ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 25.

³⁹⁴ Murphy, T.: *Discourse.* - in: *Guide to the Study of Religion/ W. Braun; R.T. McCutcheon (eds.).* - New York: Cassell. - 2000. - 396-408, p. 397.

³⁹⁵ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 209.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ Keller, *Wissenssoziologische*, p. 133-134.

³⁹⁸ McCutcheon, *Manufacturing*, p. 149.

³⁹⁹ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 49.

⁴⁰⁰ Murphy, *Discourse*, p. 399. In extension of that, societies (or communities) can be understood as shifting ensembles of discourses: *Ibid.*, 401.

Following recent investigations that somewhat extend Foucault's archaeological approach, we can point out to a three-step model for conducting an analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse. First of all, that analysis has to begin with localising the discourse⁴⁰¹. This is done by finding out who the authority or institution of the discursive production is⁴⁰², while focusing on the socio-historical location of the actors in Mapuche Religion discourse⁴⁰³. In a second step, the investigator needs to document the forms of repetition of statements in discourse⁴⁰⁴ by asking for the rules and logic of the production of the terminology of the discourse⁴⁰⁵. As a third (and last) step, we need to ask for the limits of discourse, the rules and prohibitions of the sayable⁴⁰⁶ and the strategic goals pursued in discourse⁴⁰⁷. Such a three-step discourse analysis, following Diaz-Bone et al., can thus be summarised as an examination of the formal conditions that form the production of meaning⁴⁰⁸. As it aims at capturing the sayable as well as the strategies that determine the field of the sayable⁴⁰⁹, a discourse analysis examines the production, expansion and transformation of the interpretations of social and political contexts of action⁴¹⁰. In other words, by focusing on the "... complex power relations in which different actors and institutions work to establish a dominant interpretation of 'reality' ..."⁴¹¹, discourse analysis attempts to visualise how 'truths' are historically 'invented'⁴¹². Consequently, a discourse analysis will examine the Mapuche Religion discourse in its "... socio-historical development, which is not theorised as a continuous

⁴⁰¹ Jäger, S.: Einen Königsweg gibt es nicht. Bemerkungen zur Durchführung von Diskursanalysen. - in: Das Wuchern der Diskurse. Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults/ H. Bublitz et al. (eds.). - Frankfurt (M.): Campus. - 1999. - 136-147, p. 137.

⁴⁰² Diaz-Bone et al., Field, paragraph 5.

⁴⁰³ Sarasin, Geschichtswissenschaft, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Diaz-Bone et al., Field, paragraph 5.

⁴⁰⁶ Sarasin, Geschichtswissenschaft, pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰⁷ Diaz-Bone et al., Field, paragraph 5.

⁴⁰⁸ This is in accordance with Sarasin's definition of discourse analysis: "Discourse analysis could then be understood as the effort to examine the formal conditions that direct the production of meaning." ["Diskursanalyse ließe sich seither als das Bemühen verstehen, die formellen Bedingungen zu untersuchen, die die Produktion von Sinn steuern."]: Sarasin, Geschichtswissenschaft, p. 33.

⁴⁰⁹ Following Jäger's definition of discourse analysis: "Discourse analysis records the particularly sayable ... but also the strategies that expand or narrow down the field of the sayable." ["Diskursanalyse erfaßt das jeweils Sagbare ... aber auch die Strategien, mit denen das Feld des Sagbaren ausgeweitet oder auch eingeengt wird ..."]: Jäger, Wissen, pp. 83-84.

⁴¹⁰ Following Schwab-Trapp's definition of discourse analysis: "The discourse analysis examines the production, expansion and the historical change of interpretations of social and political contexts of action." ["Die Diskursanalyse untersucht die Produktion, die Verbreitung und den historischen Wandel von Deutungen für soziale und politische Handlungszusammenhänge."]: Schwab-Trapp, Diskursanalyse, p. 35.

⁴¹¹ Diaz-Bone et al., Field, paragraph 7.

⁴¹² Bublitz et al., Einleitung, pp. 13-14.

unfolding of an a priori existing ‘logic’, but as a process that is characterised by discontinuities and ruptures.”⁴¹³

3.3 Analysing Mapuche Religion as a colonial discourse

A Foucaultian discourse analysis focuses on a problem rather than a particular period of time, thus avoiding to follow (seemingly) succeeding lines to uncover or reconstruct the elusively stable origin or ‘essence’ of a discourse. Foucault argues that discontinuity needs to replace continuity as a standard model of interpretation, which shifts the focus to the ruptures in a discourse. In accordance with that, we assume with Chidester that ‘a religious tradition’ like Mapuche Religion “... is neither uniform in the present nor continuous with the past ...”⁴¹⁴ but a “... shifting, fluid ensemble of cultural resources.”⁴¹⁵ Thus, it is not “... handed down unchanged from the past but [is, S.E.] always taken up and mobilized in the present ...”⁴¹⁶. Therefore, it is redundant trying to go back to an illusive source or origin of a *factum* to find some, as Geertz coined it, “... values lost in some mythical past and/ or found in indigenous or archaic cultures.”⁴¹⁷ We can state with King that in our study we will not look back motivated by some “... nostalgia for lost origins ...”⁴¹⁸ nor picture the ‘authentic Mapuche Indian’ (i.e. ‘the Mapuche’ before European contact)⁴¹⁹. Such an “optimism of reconstruction”⁴²⁰ tends to fade out the dynamics of writing and the performative dimension of texts as forms of power, which establish argumentative authority over (parts of) reality by communicative means⁴²¹. Thus, we cannot (naively) assume that there is one continuous line of interpretation of Mapuche Religion in our sources from then to now⁴²²; instead, we assume that Mapuche Religion was interpreted differently at different times⁴²³.

⁴¹³ Diaz-Bone et al., Field, paragraph 8.

⁴¹⁴ Chidester, Savage, p. 262. There in the context of South Africa.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., p. 263.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Geertz, Primitivism, p. 62.

⁴¹⁸ King, Orientalism, p. 61.

⁴¹⁹ Berkhofer, Indian, p. 28.

⁴²⁰ Kiening, Subjekt, p. 28.

⁴²¹ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

⁴²² The same holds true for ‘holy texts’ of ‘world religions’: Stietenron, Begriff, p. 117.

⁴²³ Kiening, Subjekt, p. 48. Sarasin points out for the contemporary discipline of history: “Still, the sources are read as ‘documents’ of past reality; probably read in a better, stricter and more critical way but still as a medium with an adequate transparency.” [“Noch immer werden Quellen als ‘Dokumente’ für vergangene Wirklichkeit gelesen, möglicherweise besser, genauer und kritischer gelesen – aber dennoch als Medium mit einer hinreichenden Transparenz.”]: Sarasin, Geschichtswissenschaft, p. 32.

Here lies the core of the problem that we see in Said's "contrapuntal reading"⁴²⁴, praised by the author as a postcolonial technique of decolonisation that reads colonial texts "... as to reveal the deep implications of imperialism and the colonial process ..."⁴²⁵. The general goal of that technique is defined as "... to draw out, extend, give emphasis and voice to what is silent or marginally present or ideologically represented ..."⁴²⁶. This attempt to read the details 'behind the text'⁴²⁷ of what was forcibly excluded, tends to enter the realms of speculation – concerning the writers as well as their objects described in those texts. In the discipline of religious studies an equally problematic approach is that of Chidester in the end, who defines one directive of our discipline to be the recovery of indigenous voices suppressed by religious studies⁴²⁸. It is an indisputable fact that non-European people did not accept the authority imposed on them with silent indifference⁴²⁹. Nonetheless, if we ask the question for our case if the Mapuche voices can speak through the text⁴³⁰, we have to negate that and answer with Spivak's famous quote: "The subaltern cannot speak."⁴³¹ For our analysis of texts on Mapuche Religion, we will, thus, neither decide if the text does or does not tell 'the truth' nor intend to characterise the expressive value of a text⁴³². The texts of the Mapuche Religion discourse, then, are not interpreted as representing something else that needs to be pierced by research as to touch the essence of what it is representing⁴³³. Rather, it is the foremost goal of our analysis to point out relations within the text material itself⁴³⁴, in the sense of Foucault, who describes the investigator as an 'administrator' who

"... organizes the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, arranges it in levels, establishes series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations."⁴³⁵

⁴²⁴ Said, *Culture*, pp. 66-67.

⁴²⁵ Ashcroft/ Griffiths/ Tiffin, *Key*, p. 49.

⁴²⁶ Said, *Culture*, p. 66.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

⁴²⁸ Chidester, *Savage*, p. 29.

⁴²⁹ Said, *Culture*, p. 66.

⁴³⁰ Kallendorf, C.: *Representing the Other. Ercilla's La Araucana, Virgil's Aeneid, and the New World Encounter.* - in: *Comparative Literature Studies*, 40 (2003), 394-414, p. 410.

⁴³¹ Spivak, G.C.: 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'. - in: *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory. A Reader/ P. Williams; L. Chrisman (eds.)*. - New York: Columbia University Press. - 1994. - 66-111, p. 104.

⁴³² Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 6.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7. Similarly, Rabasa points out: "[V]erbal texts, maps, icons, and the cultural products should be taken as rhetorical artifices and not as depositories of data from which a factual truth may be construed.": Rabasa, J.: *Inventing America. Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism.* - Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, p. 9.

To fulfill that complex task, we will avoid a terminology based on the logic of cause and effect that alludes to a continuity of events. Instead, we will apply a heuristical selection from the terminological repertoire of the contemporary discourse analysts Keller⁴³⁶ and Jäger⁴³⁷ to the case of the Mapuche Religion discourse, which will enable us to focus on constituting elements, limits, strategies and rules of that discourse.

As we sketched discourse by three defining coordinates as a ruled practice/ framework of communication/ vehicle of knowledge, a “fragment of discourse” [Diskursfragment]⁴³⁸ can be defined as a text or part of a text in Mapuche Religion discourse that constitutes and continuously actualises the discourse⁴³⁹. Various of those fragments of discourse, then, constitute a “strand of discourse” [Diskursstrang]⁴⁴⁰. Several strands of discourse may influence and support each other, which means, following Jäger, that they are entangled with each other in a so-called “strand of discourse entanglement” [Diskursstrang-Verschränkung]⁴⁴¹. Very important to our focus of study is the aspect of the “actors” [Akteure]⁴⁴² of discourse, which in our case – a study of texts – equals writers or authors. Actors employ resources and rules to (re)produce or transform the Mapuche Religion discourse by their practice⁴⁴³. Furthermore, with their participation in discourse (i.e. writing), the actors create the basic structure or infrastructure of the discourse⁴⁴⁴. As they are situated in institutional contexts, colonial authors act tactical and strategical and, thus, it can be said that they produce interested and partial knowledge⁴⁴⁵ by employing a certain “interpretative repertoire” [Interpretationsrepertoire]⁴⁴⁶ and certain “strategies of discourse” [Diskursstrategien]⁴⁴⁷. The interpretative repertoire can be defined as the whole of basic rhetorical and argumentative instruments of an actor⁴⁴⁸, while the strategies of discourse are the means of an actor to establish and change the Mapuche Religion discourse⁴⁴⁹. The fundamental element of the interpretative repertoire is the “interpretative scheme”

⁴³⁶ Keller, Wissenssoziologische; Keller, R.: Diskursforschung. Eine Einführung für SozialwissenschaftlerInnen. - 2nd ed. - Wiesbaden: VS, 2004; Keller, R.: Analysing Discourse. An Approach from the Sociology of Knowledge. - in: Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung, 6 (2005), Art. 32.

⁴³⁷ Jäger, Kritische; Jäger, Wissen; Jäger, Königsweg.

⁴³⁸ Jäger, Wissen, p. 97; Keller, Diskursforschung, p. 64.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Jäger, Wissen, p. 97.

⁴⁴¹ Jäger, Kritische, p. 160; Jäger, Wissen, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁴² Keller, Wissenssoziologische, p. 133.

⁴⁴³ Keller, Diskursforschung, p. 64.

⁴⁴⁴ Keller, Wissenssoziologische, p. 133.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 133-134.

⁴⁴⁶ Keller, Diskursforschung, p. 64.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Keller, Wissenssoziologische, pp. 132-133.

⁴⁴⁹ Keller, Diskursforschung, p. 64.

[Deutungsmuster]⁴⁵⁰ which can be defined as the basic pattern that determines the elements of the discourse⁴⁵¹. Thus, by assigning meaning to elements, an interpretative scheme provides suitable models of resonance for the discursive reception of other actors of the discourse⁴⁵². Finally, various actors in Mapuche Religion discourse may unite to a “community of discourse” [Diskursgemeinschaft]⁴⁵³ by sharing a specific strategical “position of discourse” [Diskursposition]⁴⁵⁴. Combining that terminology with the three steps of discourse analysis described above, we can generally define the goal of an analysis of Mapuche Religion discourse as the localisation of strands of discourse, asking for the who, what, how, when and where concerning those strands⁴⁵⁵.

Nonetheless, despite of that promising terminology discourse analysis has its limitations, as the discourse itself does not present the analyst with a pre-existent set of significations just waiting to be deciphered. Rather, the investigator needs to understand himself as no objective figure outside of the discourse but as an actor of it⁴⁵⁶. Furthermore, we need to understand discourse “... as a violence that we do to things, or ... a practice we impose upon them ...”⁴⁵⁷. As the elements of discourse are entangled with and entrenched to each other in a complex way, there is not one and only way of analysing a discourse⁴⁵⁸; an analysis of Mapuche Religion as discourse, thus, is no clear mirror-image or definitive representation of the complex Mapuche Religion discourse but one approximate presentation of it⁴⁵⁹. Although the description of an Other sometimes says more about the describer than the described⁴⁶⁰ – as we saw in the Orientalism debate –, it would be an oversimplification to say that there is nothing else described in discourse than the describer himself. If we would advocate for that rather constructivist proposition, representations of an Other (e.g. the Mapuche in our texts) would

⁴⁵⁰ Keller, *Analysing*, p. 26.

⁴⁵¹ Keller, *Wissenssoziologische*, p. 132.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 133.

⁴⁵⁴ Jäger, *Wissen*, pp. 99-100; Keller, *Wissenssoziologische*, p. 133.

⁴⁵⁵ Jäger, *Königsweg*, p. 137.

⁴⁵⁶ That self-reflexive aspect – that shows parallels with overcoming the us/ them binary discussed above – is expanded by Murphy: “For to look at discourse means to look at both the object of analysis, the text, culture, speech under study, as well as the way in which the scholarly analysis itself is put into discourse. Discourse theory, then, opens the question of the very foundations of its own enterprise.”: Murphy, *Discourse*, p. 396.

⁴⁵⁷ Foucault, *Language*, p. 229.

⁴⁵⁸ A similar point on colonial discourse analysis is made by King: “[C]olonial discourses are deeply ambivalent and not susceptible to the constraints of a single uni-directional agenda.”: King, *Orientalism*, p. 86.

⁴⁵⁹ Foucault, *Archaeology*, p. 30.

⁴⁶⁰ Kohl, K.-H.: *Der Gute Wilde der Intellektuellen. Zur Entstehungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte einer ethnologischen Utopie.* - in: *Zur Politisierung des Utopischen im 18. Jahrhundert/ M. Neugebauer-Wölk; R. Saage (eds.). - Tübingen: Niemeyer. - 1996. - 70-86, p. 71.*

merely become “... a complex portrait of symbolic projections ...”⁴⁶¹. Our sources on Mapuche Religion would stay opaque⁴⁶² and fade out on anything else than “... the Europeans who wrote them and the power they asserted over their colonial subjects ...”⁴⁶³. As we do not have any other sources on Mapuche Religion than those written from a European position, by following that position our analysis would necessarily circle on ‘the European mentality’ alone⁴⁶⁴. That radical approach as well as its opposite position – the phenomenological quest for an essence – both make a critical analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse quite impossible. While the latter approach would reduce the sources to a store of raw materials to be used for deducing a general theory of Mapuche Religion, the former reduces those texts to mere areals of projection or mirror-images of a ‘European condition’. In other words, in the course of our study, we will not decide whether an element of discourse is true – neither in the one (i.e. in accordance with a certain understanding of the European mentality at a time) nor in the other direction (i.e. in accordance with a general theory) – in the Mapuche Religion discourse.

Instead, we advocate for a position that mediates between those two extremes. Assuming that it cannot be known what an element in discourse ‘really is’ (i.e. the *factum* ‘behind’ the description), we claim, on the one hand, that it is impossible to reconstruct Mapuche Religion as it was at a particular time and place from the text of a particular author in the Mapuche Religion discourse⁴⁶⁵. Thus, in this study, we prefer to follow Lincoln’s approach to identify “... the most dramatic shifts that occurred ...”⁴⁶⁶ in the usage of Mapuche Religion – that is the industry that manufactured it over time⁴⁶⁷. Mapuche Religion – altering McCutcheon’s argument on the definition of religion here – is therefore not seen as an ontological category

⁴⁶¹ Mitchell, D.T.; Hearn, M.: Colonial Savages and Heroic Tricksters. Native Americans in the American Tradition. - in: Journal of Popular Culture, 32 (1999), 101-117, p. 104.

⁴⁶² Carey, H.M.: Introduction. Colonialist Representations of Indigenous Religions. - in: Journal of Religious History, 22 (1998), 125-131, p. 126.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Osterhammel, Grenzen, p. 105.

⁴⁶⁵ For the case of the South African ‘Khoikhoi Religion’ Chidester points out: “Although Khoikhoi people have certainly had human experiences and expressions that could be designated as religious, their ‘religion’ was thoroughly and completely a European invention ...” (Chidester, Savage, p. 71). Especially problematic is the approach to point out structural or semantic changes of Mapuche Religion at one point of time A in comparison to Mapuche Religion at some point B. That becomes especially clear in the use of different spellings of Mapudungun terms in the sources: It is speculative to decide whether the cause for the particular change relates to the particularities of data recording or to a later change in the cultural or political structure of the Mapuche itself: Jones, Quellenproblematik, pp. 96-97 (here in the African context).

⁴⁶⁶ Lincoln, Myth, p. ix. Here in relation to the concept “myth”.

⁴⁶⁷ See Strenski, who expounded a similar argument for the “myth” concept: Strenski, I.: Four Theories of Myth in Twentieth-century History. - London: Macmillan, 1987, p. 194.

but as “... theoretically based, a model not to be confused with reality ...”⁴⁶⁸. Following Hartog, we understand Mapuche Religion as a “simple signifier”⁴⁶⁹ and will attempt to “... track the range of this signifier within the space of the narrative, noting all the predicates that collect around it so as eventually to construct an image ...”⁴⁷⁰.

On the other hand, we also hold with MacCormack that the elements of Mapuche Religion discourse “... arose in part from what was actually there to be seen, and in part from what these men [the European authors, S.E.] regarded as perceptible, and thus knowable, in the first place ...”⁴⁷¹; thus, to some degree we also need to consider the “... mental furniture, thoughts, and doings of the invaders ...”⁴⁷². This we will try to accomplish by taking the socio-historical dimension of the discourse into account, that is the socio-biographical context in which a fragment of discourse has evolved. Nonetheless, we have to take care not to overemphasise that component by limiting our work to a highly speculative tracking down of traits of self-characterisation of particular members of ‘the European mentality’ in discourse.

We can thus say, in alteration of Taussig, that the object of our study is “... not the truth of being but the social being of truth ...”⁴⁷³, that is “... not whether facts are real but what the politics of their interpretation and representation are.”⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, by applying Chidester’s reflections to our context, we can finally say that our study is not a history of religious beliefs and practices (i.e. of Mapuche Religion) but rather “... a critical analysis of the emergence of the conceptual categories ...”⁴⁷⁵ of Mapuche Religion on the Chilean colonial frontier.

3.4 Second thoughts on authors, audiences and texts

A serious problem for a historical study of indigenous religions in colonial contexts is the fact that the information to be gained on the particular indigenous culture often is “... channeled through the writings of men who in one way or another were outsiders to that religion.”⁴⁷⁶ The majority of authors considered in our study did not use that outsider position as a

⁴⁶⁸ McCutcheon, *Manufacturing*, p. viii.

⁴⁶⁹ Hartog, *Mirror*, p. 8.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.* There in relation to the representation of ‘the Scythians’ in Herodotus.

⁴⁷¹ MacCormack, S.: *Religion in the Andes. Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. - Princeton: University Press, 1991, pp. 6-7. There in relation to descriptions of ‘Andean/ Inca religion’.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁷³ Taussig, *Shamanism*, p. xiii. There in the context of ‘Columbian shamanism’.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁵ Chidester, *Savage*, p. 1. There in the context of the category “religion”.

⁴⁷⁶ MacCormack, *Religion*, p. 5.

somewhat advantageous point of view for a scientific endeavour. Rather, the authors pursued certain goals and theological and/ or political programs, which conditioned their interpretation of an indigenous religion in the end⁴⁷⁷. For our context, we need to take a closer look at the factors that influenced or determined the descriptions of Mapuche Religion, which may be captured in the author-audience-text triangle.

The group of authors in Mapuche Religion discourse, first of all, is no 'uniform front': The spectrum of writers ranges from soldiers, sailors, government officials, missionaries (to be further differentiated into Jesuits⁴⁷⁸, Franciscans, Dominicans for our time period), chroniclers, (proto-)scientists and travellers. Furthermore, the writers are individuals with their own opinions and ambitions⁴⁷⁹, obviously distinct in nationality, gender⁴⁸⁰, class⁴⁸¹,

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid. As pointed out by Adorno: "Within the historiographic treatise, the justifications of conquest and colonization sometimes appeared as points of contention but most often represented the distillation of particular ideological positions, which the authors attempted to impose on their readers.": Adorno, R.: Guaman Poma. Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru. - 2nd ed. - Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000, p. 5.

⁴⁷⁸ The Jesuits are a very dominant type of actors in the Mapuche Religion discourse. Being the leading missionary order in Chile from the end of the 16th century to their expulsion in the second half of the 18th century, they thus also 'dominate' the analysis presented here in our study.

⁴⁷⁹ Jones, Quellenproblematik, p. 79.

⁴⁸⁰ Without exception, the sources on the Chilean Mapuche in the studied period are written by male authors only. Thus, to the problematic Eurocentric representation of the Mapuche man adds the androcentric perception of the Mapuche woman as a "double Indian" (Todorov, Conquest, p. 49). The examination of the representation of Mapuche women would indeed fill another study like ours and would certainly be best addressed in depth by a feminist approach to religion, which is nowadays often closely related to postcolonial studies in the field of religious studies. Although we have to keep in mind that there are various feminist approaches as Morgan reminds us: "Feminism is no unitary or monolithic phenomenon, but incorporates a wide spectrum of political and ideological perspectives ..." (Morgan, S.: Feminist Approaches. - in: Approaches to the Study of Religion/ P. Connolly (ed.). - London: Cassell. - 1999. - 42-72, p. 43). Feminist approaches to religion, following Donaldson and Pui-Lan, general attempt to show "... how gender, religion, and colonialism are intricately linked in physical acts of conquering and dominating others, in cultural imaginations, and in religious discourses." (Donaldson, L.E.; Pui-lan, K.: Introduction. - in: Postcolonialism, Feminism and Religious Discourse/ L.E. Donaldson; K. Pui-lan (eds.). - New York: Routledge. - 2002. - 1-38, p. 28) Thus, they aim at a very similar goal as postcolonial studies, that is "... a critical transformation of existing theoretical perspectives ..." (Morgan, Feminist, p. 42). Therefore, a feminist approach is "... searching for a more experientially grounded, more gender balanced and more dialogical methodology." (King, U.: Introduction. - in: Religion and Gender/ U. King (ed.). - Oxford: Blackwell. - 1995. - 1-40, p. 20) One central aspect of feminist methodology is the introduction of the category gender into the methodical agenda of our discipline, which aims at "... call[ing] into question the basic assumptions of the prevailing organization of knowledge, its claim to universality, objectivity and value-neutral detachment ..." (ibid., p. 19) and the illusive universalisms of "androcentric thinking" (ibid., p. 30). For religious studies this explicitly means to accept that gender is a concept central to religion (Warne, R.R.: Gender. - in: Guide to the Study of Religion/ W. Braun; R.T. McCutcheon (eds.). - New York: Cassell. - 2000. - 140-154, p. 153) and to develop an "... awareness for possible androcentrism in both historical as well as systematical approaches ..." (Franke, E.: Feminist Orientation as an Integral Part of Religious Studies. - in: REVER, 2 (2001), 1-8, p. 5) and furthermore understand "... the questions and perspectives of gender research as a natural and integral part of all research carried out in the field of religious studies." (Ibid.) As such, it is part of feminist approaches to religion to criticise reductions and distortions in the field of our discipline (Franke, E.; Maske, V.: Feministisch orientierte Religionswissenschaft in der gesellschaftlichen Praxis. - in: Praktische Religionswissenschaft. Ein Handbuch für Studium und Beruf/ M. Klöcker; U. Tworuschka (eds.). - Weimar: Böhlau. - 2008. - 63-75, p. 65), such as the homogenisation of women as a group "... on the basis of secondary sociological and anthropological universals." (Mohanty, C.T.: Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. - in: Boundary 2, 12 (1984), 333-358, p. 337) Coming back to the situation of the Mapuche woman in the Mapuche Religion discourse, we can conclude with

education⁴⁸² and social interests (etc.)⁴⁸³. Moreover, an author's perception of something as culturally complex as indigenous religion certainly depended on his degree of comprehension of the indigenous language⁴⁸⁴. Often any knowledge of the local language (i.e. Mapudungun) was completely absent – especially in the early period of the conquista – and, thus, proved the authors rather ill-equipped to stand up to the challenges of complex intercultural communication – often until indigenous people learned the language of the intruders⁴⁸⁵. That lack of language combined with the short period of time spent in the particular country made it rather improbable to gain profound knowledge on the cultural complexity of religious ideas of the local indigenous people⁴⁸⁶. In other words, the language barrier between the colonisers and the colonised was a constant source of misunderstanding⁴⁸⁷.

It is of equal importance to consider that the authors wrote exclusively for a European audience⁴⁸⁸. Thus, it is the reader in the 'Old World', who, as the addressee of the text, needed to be affected (i.e. convinced) by the narrative⁴⁸⁹. We assume that the audience does not play an irrelevant passive part in the author-audience-text triangle but is an active element in the

King that: "The sources, concepts, models and theories of Religious studies are male-derived and male-centred; they operate with a generic masculine which implies that men have almost always spoken for and about women. Even when studying the history, literature and religious experience of women themselves, we have to rely to a great extent on the materials and data described by men." (King, Introduction, p. 19) For an extensive discussion of recent feminist studies in and the relevance of the category gender for religious studies see: Joy, M.M.; Neumaier-Dargyay, E.K. (eds.): *Gender, Genre, and Religion. Feminist Reflections.* - Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1995; Warne, *Gender*.

⁴⁸¹ Focusing on just one aspect of the military ranking of the early conquista (for example) besides the general distinction between noblemen and commoners, we could distinguish between: (1) Captains of wealth and power; (2) men of moderate influence; (3) an array of (hungry) followers; and (4) hosts of vagrants living along the margins of the developing networks of social relations: Wolf, *Europe*, p. 133.

⁴⁸² Among our authors are well-educated writers (e.g. poets, scribes, chroniclers) as well as authors with a lesser degree of education and skill in writing (Stoll, E.: *Konquistadoren als Historiographen. Diskurstraditionelle und textpragmatische Aspekte in Texten von Francisco de Jerez, Diego de Trujillo, Pedro Pizarro und Alonso Borregán.* - Tübingen: Narr, 1997, p. 6). Besides their level of education, the different authors also had differing interests in genres of writing (ibid., pp. 87-88). For example, there is the hypothesis that the genre of the "knight novels" [*libros de caballería*] – which found its climax in Spain in the middle of the 16th century – had a great influence on the imagination of the colonial writers of that time. Although that mentality aspect is highly speculative, intersecting elements between the elements of description of our texts and those of these fantastic novels may be: Geographical unspecificity, phantastic exaggerations, wonderful landscapes, the braveness and victory of a small group of Spaniards over an outnumbering enemy, the intervention of supernatural forces and the divine providence being on the side of the Spaniards (ibid.). For a detailed discussion on the relations between the knight novel and the Indian historiography see: Ibid., pp. 87-110.

⁴⁸³ Chidester, *Savage*, p. 21.

⁴⁸⁴ Bitterli, *Wilden*, pp. 24; 33.

⁴⁸⁵ As Todorov showed extensively for the case of Columbus' first voyage: Todorov, *Conquest*, pp. 29-33.

⁴⁸⁶ Bitterli, *Wilden*, pp. 24; 33.

⁴⁸⁷ Pinto, *Fuerza*, p. 16.

⁴⁸⁸ Bitterli, *Wilden*, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁸⁹ Hartog, *Mirror*, p. 318.

process of literature production⁴⁹⁰, instead. Therefore, it is essential to consider the dimension of reception and the history of the impact of the text on its audience as far as possible, as the audience actualises the work in its time⁴⁹¹. Moreover, an author implicitly or explicitly works with a certain set of knowledge presupposed in his reader when writing⁴⁹² and affiliates himself with other texts of previous writers (or authorities, institutions etc.). Thus, reemploying – to some degree via plagiarism⁴⁹³ – certain themes again and again, a limited set of interpretative patterns on a culture is confirmed and thus becomes more and more fixed⁴⁹⁴. Consequently, we need to be aware of how the texts have come to us⁴⁹⁵ by considering the audience and the reception of the texts as well.

For our study, it is also important to consider that the publishing of a text does not automatically imply that this text is influential in the Mapuche Religion discourse (as we will see in Arias and the Dutch-Germans, for example). On the other hand, unpublished texts could be very influential, as manuscripts were often heavily employed by succeeding authors in discourse (Bascuñan's and Olivares's texts, for example). The text corpus on the discovery, conquest and colonisation of America (called "Indian historiography" [historiografía indiana]⁴⁹⁶) shows a high variety ranging through various text genres. For the rest of this chapter we will discuss the main particularities of the most important genres.

First of all, there are chronicles and accounts. A chronicle is generally written by members of the military – ranging from lowest to highest rank – and by missionaries⁴⁹⁷. While the chronicle expands a rather complex form of argument by considering the intellectual debates of its time, the account tends to shorter and less complex forms of writing by focusing on the

⁴⁹⁰ Jauß, H.R.: Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft. - in: Rezeptionsästhetik. Theorie und Praxis/ R. Warning (ed.). - München: Fink. - 1994. - 126-162, p. 127.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 129. Although it would be an oversimplification to say that any book aims at a particular audience, the reception of a particular book by a particular audience – showing how the text met or met not the particular horizon of expectations of that audience – indicates the historical impact of a book: Ibid., pp. 133-134.

⁴⁹² As Hartog points out: "Between the narrator and his addressee there exists, as a precondition for communication, a whole collection of semantic, encyclopedic, and symbolic knowledge common to both sides.": Hartog, *Mirror*, p. 7.

⁴⁹³ Adorno, *Guaman*, p. 4.

⁴⁹⁴ Jones, *Quellenproblematik*, p. 67.

⁴⁹⁵ Doninger, W.: Post-modern and -colonial. Structural Comparisons. - in: *A Magic Still Dwells. Comparative Religion in the Postmodern Age/ K.C. Patton; B.C. Ray (eds.)*. - Berkeley: University of California Press. - 2000. - 63-74, p. 66. The complexity of the relations between author and audience can be concretised by asking Lincoln's set of questions: "Who speaks here?", i.e., what person, group, or institution is responsible for a text, whatever its putative or apparent author. Beyond that, 'To what audience? In what immediate and broader context? Through what system of mediations? With what interests?' And further, 'Of what would the speaker(s) persuade the audience? What are the consequences if this project of persuasion should happen to succeed? Who wins what, and how much? Who, conversely, loses?': Lincoln, B.: *Discourse and the Construction of Society. Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification*. - Oxford: University Press, 1989, pp. 225-226.

⁴⁹⁶ Stoll, *Konquistadoren*, p. 3.

⁴⁹⁷ Friederici, *Charakter, I*, pp. 203-204.

aspect of personal experience⁴⁹⁸. A special type of the account genre is travel writing. As it “... has never been fully professionalized or ‘disciplined,’ travel writing is one of the most polyphonous of genres.”⁴⁹⁹ The traveller crosses the lines of his world and his cultural context to be confronted with another order of reality⁵⁰⁰. As an eyewitness, he assembles what is visible to him, composing an image of an Other for his audience⁵⁰¹. To do that, the traveller has to comply with the audience’s expectations⁵⁰². As a testimony, he continuously needs to provide proof to his readers of his trustworthiness⁵⁰³, as the majority of readers never saw the things described. To further comply with the expectations, travel accounts often depict ‘interesting data’ isolated from context⁵⁰⁴. As a consequence, there is a tendency of stereotyping and exoticising an Other in travel writing⁵⁰⁵. Furthermore, travel accounts generate a binary system that distinguishes between a home zone (i.e. of the us) and the zone of the Other (i.e. the them)⁵⁰⁶. Another type of account is the so-called “captivity narrative”, characterised as “... a single narrative whose primary focus is to record the experiences of individuals of European ... origin who had actually been captured by American Indians.”⁵⁰⁷ Often employing a simple and religiously laden language, captivity narratives describe the capture and pains a European individual had to suffer from his imprisonment among ‘cruel barbarians’⁵⁰⁸.

Secondly, there is the genre of documents and letters, as public administrative texts and documents continuously accompanied the expansion of colonialism by legitimising,

⁴⁹⁸ Stoll, *Konquistadoren*, p. 74.

⁴⁹⁹ Pratt, M.L.: *Scratches on the Face of the Country. Or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen.* - in: *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), 119-143, p. 141.

⁵⁰⁰ Bödeker, H.E.: *Einführung.* - in: *Die Welt erfahren. Reisen als kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis heute/ A. Bauerkämper; H.E. Bödeker; B. Struck (eds.).* - Frankfurt (M.): Campus. - 2004. - 295-300, p. 295.

⁵⁰¹ Hartog, *Mirror*, p. 250.

⁵⁰² For example, travel accounts are often expected to contain marvels and curiosities as a procedure of the rhetoric on otherness. If the traveller would dare to omit those exaggerating aspects, he would risk to ruin his credibility: *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 261. The testimony-aspect (i.e. the ‘I have seen it myself’) found in many accounts on America until the 19th century helped to persuade the reader to believe the traveller’s perception (*ibid.*, p. 251). The diametral position to that would be the implicit or explicit consideration of an “... imperative to produce context-free texts ...” (Chidester, *Primitive*, p. 274), which – in our context – can be mainly found in texts from the second half of the 19th century on.

⁵⁰⁴ Jones, *Quellenproblematik*, p. 85.

⁵⁰⁵ Bitterli, *Wilden*, p. 26.

⁵⁰⁶ Harbsmeier, M.: *Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen. Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reiseberichte.* - in: *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten historischer Reiseforschung/ A. Maçzak; H.J. Teuteberg (eds.).* - Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek. - 1982. - 1-32, pp. 3; 12.

⁵⁰⁷ Derounian-Stodola, K.Z.; Levernier, J.A.: *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550-1900.* - New York: Macmillan, 1993, p. 9.

⁵⁰⁸ Rodenberg, *Indianer*, p. 23.

controlling and correcting its processes⁵⁰⁹. Accordingly, it can be asserted that the letters of conquistadors, government officials or missionaries to other officials of the Spanish empire often followed a political agenda⁵¹⁰. Focusing on prospective, meritable and heroic achievements of a particular colonisation enterprise, they remind one of classical texts (to some limited degree) that served similar purposes of presentation as well (e.g. Caesar's *De bello gallico*)⁵¹¹. Similar to the letter's objective is the so-called "account of merits and services" [relación de méritos y servicios]. These accounts are texts "... which conquistadors drew up in order to provide evidence of their service to the king through personal struggle and sacrifice as well as their inherited credentials."⁵¹² As a consequence, accounts on the personal merits of the author often show the tendency of being tuned by exaggeration⁵¹³. A third and very different type of text is the (travel-)diary. Generally, the diary as a private document is not intended to be presented to the public (and, therefore, does not primarily seek to accomplish strategies or public goals). Thus, there is the tendency that it is often held in simple language, recording the things as 'plainly' as the author (probably) might have seen them⁵¹⁴.

Equipped with the 'methodical instruments' that we have gathered during the last three chapters, we can now turn to the second part of our study, the analysis of the colonial discourse on Mapuche Religion.

⁵⁰⁹ Kiening, *Subjekt*, p. 29.

⁵¹⁰ Friederici, *Charakter*, I, pp. 399-400.

⁵¹¹ Strosetzki, *Einführung*, p. 22.

⁵¹² Jesús Cordero, M. de: *The Transformations of Araucania from Valdivia's Letters to Vivar's Chronicle*. - New York: Lang, 2001, p. 119.

⁵¹³ For example, if the Mapuche are pictured as especially fiery, brutal and merciless fighters, the personal services that the author did to the Spanish crown would be far more greater than in average situations elsewhere in the empire – which would imply a high reward accordingly.

⁵¹⁴ Friederici, *Charakter*, I, pp. 202-203.

C The conceptualisation of Chilean Mapuche Religion

¡Oh ciega confusión del barbarismo!
¡Oh gente muchas veces desdichada,
Y más que muchas, bienaventurada
La que recibe el agua del bautismo!

(Pedro de Oña, *Arauco domado*)⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁵ Oña, P. de: *Arauco domado*. - Santiago: Universitaria, 1917, p. 86. “Oh blind confusion of barbarism! Oh highly pitiable people! And more than anything else: Blessed are those, who receive the water of baptism!”

4. Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana* and its aftermath

Gente es sin Dios ni ley, aunque respecta
A aquel que fue del cielo derribado.

(Alonso de Ercilla, *La Araucana*)⁵¹⁶

4.1 Ercilla and the Mapuche Spanish Conflict

Chile was discovered by the Spanish conquistador Diego de Almagro (*~1479; †1538)⁵¹⁷, who set first foot on Chilean soil in April 1536. Parts of the Almagro expedition went to southern Chile and encountered the Mapuche for the first time in summer 1536 (approximately). The requirement was read out to them, and – as the Mapuche certainly did not show signs of interest in becoming either servants or slaves of the Spanish empire – the Mapuche Spanish Conflict began with the Battle of Reinohuelén. That conflict – also called the “Arauco War” [Guerra de Arauco] – is unique in Spanish colonial history, as the Spaniards never managed to defeat the Mapuche. With its changing phases of war and (temporary) peace the conflict stretched over almost 350 years, ending with the final pacification of the Araucanía in 1883 (approximately), that is more than half a century after Chile's independence from Spain.

After Almagro returned to Peru in September 1536, it took four more years until another Spanish expedition set (second) foot on Chilean territory in 1540, led by Pedro de Valdivia (*~1500, Castuera/ Spain; †1553, Tucapel/ Chile)⁵¹⁸, the first governor of Chile (from 1540 to his death). In various campaigns, Pedro de Valdivia penetrated far into the Araucanía, until at Christmas 1553 he and most of his men were defeated and killed in the Battle of Tucapel by a Mapuche army under command of the Mapuche leaders Caupolicán (*?; †1558) and Lautaro

⁵¹⁶ Ercilla y Zuñiga, A. de: *La Araucana*. - Salamanca: Portonarijs, 1574, p. 14. “They are people without God nor law; although they respect the one that was thrown down from heaven.”

⁵¹⁷ Approximate dates are marked with an “~” throughout this study. Contextual information on the Almagro expedition is taken from: Encina, F.A.: *Historia de Chile. Desde la prehistoria hasta 1891*. - 20 vols. - Santiago: Ercilla, 1940-1952, I, pp. 135-166; Medina, J.T.: *Diccionario biográfico colonial de Chile*. - Santiago: Elzeviriana, 1906, pp. 50-53; Villalobos, S.: *Diego de Almagro. Descubrimiento de Chile*. - Santiago: Universitaria, 1954.

⁵¹⁸ Biographical information on Pedro de Valdivia is taken from: Encina, *Historia*, I, pp. 173-372; Eyzaguirre, J.: *Ventura de Pedro de Valdivia*. - Santiago: Ercilla, 1942; Jesús, *Transformations*, pp. 7-53; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 904-929.

(*~1534; †1557)⁵¹⁹. Various of Pedro de Valdivia's letters to his superiors deal with the Chilean conquista, including the first description of Mapuche Religion⁵²⁰.

Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga (*1533, Madrid/ Spain; †1594, Madrid/ Spain)⁵²¹ was a nobleman, who came to the New World – first Panama, then Peru – in 1555. In February 1557 he joined an expedition to Chile commanded by the then recently appointed governor of Chile García Hurtado de Mendoza (*1535; †1609). The primary goal of that expedition was to finally accomplish the pacification of Chile by joining forces with the remnants of Valdivia's army there, which was highly diminished after the battle of Tucapel. Shortly after Lautaro was defeated and killed in the Battle of Mataquito (April 1557) by those remnants, the reinforcement disembarked in La Serena; a few weeks later, the expedition sailed on to the south, arriving near Concepción in the second half of the year 1557.

Ercilla actively participated in battles and expeditions to the south (e.g. La Imperial, Villarica, Valdivia, Chiloé) as an ordinary soldier. In consequence of a disagreement with Mendoza in 1558, Ercilla was sentenced to death. In the last moment however, the governor altered his verdict to exile and Ercilla left for Lima in January 1559 (approximately) and stayed in Peru and Panama for four more years before he finally returned to Spain in 1563. Having spent about seven years in South America – one and a half years of it in Chile –, he dedicated the rest of his life in Spain to writing an epos on the Chilean conquista. Ercilla claimed that his life had been saved by the intervention of a Mapuche woman; out of gratitude, he thus called his epic poem “The Araucanian (woman)” [La Araucana]⁵²².

La Araucana was published in three parts in Madrid and counts 37 cantos altogether. The first part (cantos 1 to 15) appeared in 1569, the second part (cantos 16 to 29) was published nine years later in 1578. The third part (cantos 30 to 35) appeared 11 more years later in 1589

⁵¹⁹ Caupolicán and Lautaro later became two of *La Araucana*'s main Mapuche characters.

⁵²⁰ First parts of his letters were published in 1850: Valdivia, P. de: *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia. Que tratan del descubrimiento y la conquista de Chile.* - Medina edition. - Sevilla: Carmona, 1929.

⁵²¹ Contextual information on the time period and biographical information on Ercilla is taken from: Barros, Historia, II, pp. 81-144; 203-209; Bonilla, Gran, I, pp. 164-166; Campos Harriet, M.: Don Alonso de Ercilla y La Araucana. - in: *Boletín de la Academia Chilena de la Historia*, 61 (1994), 181-188; Encina, Historia, I, pp. 477-533; Esteve, F.: *Descubrimiento y conquista de Chile.* - Barcelona: Salvat, 1946, pp. 479-529; Eyzaguirre, J.: *Historia de Chile.* - 2nd ed. - Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1973, pp. 76-80; Lara, H.: *Crónica de la Araucanía. Descubrimiento y conquista, pacificación definitiva, leyenda heroica de tres siglos.* - 2 vols. - Santiago: El Progreso, 1889, I, pp. 237-262; Lerner, I.: *Introducción.* - in: *La Araucana de Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga/ I. Lerner (ed.).* - Madrid: Cátedra. - 1993. - 7-58, pp. 11-19; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 254-273; Medina, J.T.: *La Araucana. Vida de Ercilla.* - Santiago: Elzeviriana, 1917; Morínigo, M.: *Introducción.* - in: *La Araucana de Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga/ M.A. Morínigo; I. Lerner (eds.).* - Madrid: Castalia. - 1979, pp. 7-92; Pierce, F.: *Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga.* - Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984; Thayer Ojeda, T.: *Los Conquistadores de Chile.* - 3 vols. - Santiago: Cervantes, 1908; 1910; 1913, III, p. 100; Vega, M.A.: ‘*La Araucana*’ de Ercilla. - 2nd ed. - Santiago: Orbe, 1970, pp. 23-40; Villalobos, S. et al.: *Historia de Chile.* - Santiago: Universitaria, 1974, pp. 102-109; 123-127.

⁵²² Ercilla, *Araucana*.

and the last two cantos were added in the posthumous edition of 1597⁵²³. Being very successful and influential in Europe, *La Araucana* inaugurated a new form of epic writing, the American epic poem⁵²⁴. While the classical epic poem expands the plot in a distant mythical past, the American epic poem speaks from a perspective of contemporary eyewitness and participation⁵²⁵. That eyewitnessing aspect augmented the belief – held by various of Ercilla’s contemporaries, successors and epigones – that *La Araucana* is a chronicle of the Mapuche Spanish Conflict, which mirrors Chilean reality⁵²⁶. Nonetheless, we find it more convincing today to assume that wide parts of *La Araucana* are a poetical application of the imaginative powers of its author⁵²⁷.

Taking a deeper look into the poem, it certainly is true that Ercilla often argues against the Spanish conquista and his countrymen, as in the following passage from the first part of *La Araucana*: “There rose covetousness and corruption at the cost of sweat and harm of others. And the hungry and miserable greed freely went grazing without intermission ...”⁵²⁸. Thus, the Spaniards are held responsible for the introduction of greed and corruption to Chile, a critique enhanced in the third part of the epos:

“But later, destroying all that we touched by walking by with the usual arrogance, we opened the way, giving much space and broad entrance to them [the bad habits, S.E.]. And as the old custom was spoiled by the corrupting new evils, greed planted its flag here, with more sincerity than anywhere else.”⁵²⁹

And in another passage of the third part of the poem we read:

⁵²³ We will employ two editions of *La Araucana*. For the first part (I; cantos 1 to 15) we use an edition of 1574 (Ercilla, *Araucana*, I), while the second and third parts (II-III; cantos 16 to 37) refer to the modern Lerner edition: Ercilla y Zúñiga, A. de: *La Araucana*. - Lerner edition. - 2nd. ed. - Madrid: Cátedra, 1993.

⁵²⁴ Oviedo, J.M.: *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. De los orígenes a la emancipación*. - Madrid: Alianza, 1995, p. 161.

⁵²⁵ Osorio, B.; Robledo, Á.I.: *El discurso de la épica europea como contexto del mundo nativo americano*. - in: *Concepciones de la conquista. Aproximaciones interdisciplinarias*/ F. Castañeda; M. Vollet (eds.). - Bogotá: Uniandes. - 2001. - 223-242, p. 224.

⁵²⁶ Barros, *Historia*, II, p. 206.

⁵²⁷ Oviedo, *Historia*, p. 162. It is obvious that *La Araucana* has many parallels with other works of epic literature. Kallendorf sees *La Araucana* so much influenced by the *Aeneid* that he calls it a “... profoundly Virgilian poem ...” (Kallendorf, *Other*, p. 408). For an extensive study of the influence of other epic works on *La Araucana* see: Pierce, Alonso, pp. 70-108.

⁵²⁸ “Crescian los intereses y malicia/ A costa del sudor y daño ageno,/ Y la hambrienta y misera cobdicia/ Con libertad paciendoyua sin freno ...”: Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, p. 24.

⁵²⁹ “Pero luego nosotros, destruyendo/ todo lo que tocamos de pasada,/ con la usada insolencia el paso abriendo/ les dimos lugar ancho y ancha entrada;/ y la antigua costumbre corrompiendo,/ de los nuevos insultos estragada,/ plantó aquí la codicia su estandarte/ con más seguridad que en otra parte.”: *Ibid.*, III, p. 938.

“The great amount of blood that has been lavished (...) has completely destroyed the hopeful fruit of this land. As in an inhumane way the laws and ends of war have been exceeded, as with the intrudings and conquistas enormous cruelties were committed, as they never have been seen before.”⁵³⁰

Although Ercilla appears to be an ‘indophile humanist’⁵³¹ on first sight, we do not share the view of Fuchs and others that the Spaniards are rarely shown in a favourable light in *La Araucana*⁵³². To claim that Ercilla was a convinced pro-indigenist, would mean to ignore the other side of the coin in *La Araucana* as: “Ercilla does not forget that he is a Spanish conquistador, whose foremost mission is to submit the natives by blood and fire and he justified that with the great imperial enterprise.”⁵³³ Thus, in Ercilla’s view (following Kallendorf) the Spaniards may not live up to their moral standards at all times but Ercilla seems to consider it far better to not live up to one’s standards than to have none at all⁵³⁴. As such, Ercilla is rather convinced of the righteousness of war in Chile:

“The war was thrown down from heaven and transferred onto the human lineage. Because through war the peace is conserved and the human insolence oppressed, by which God sometimes haunts the world, punishing, rectifying and correcting it. Through war God does not permit sovereignty to the imprudent rebels as he bends, obstructs and breaks them to the powerful, ending their endless ambition ...”⁵³⁵.

⁵³⁰ “La mucha sangre derramada ha sido/ (...) la que de todo en todo ha destruido/ el esperado fruto desta tierra;/ pues con modo inhumano han excedido/ de las leyes y términos de guerra,/ haciendo en las entradas y conquistas/ crueldades inormes nunca vistas.”: Ibid., III, p. 840.

⁵³¹ Unlike his contemporary – the prototype of an ‘indophile humanist’ – Bartolomé de Las Casas (*1484; †1566), Ercilla pictures a robust, strong Mapuche people, which differs heavily from Las Casas’ portray of the fragile Indian, whose culture and existence is crushed by the force of Spanish expansionism. Las Casas’ differing image may be pictured in one passage of his influential book *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* [Short account of the destruction of the Indies] (Las Casas, B. de: Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias. - Madrid: Catédra, 2001), which was published in 1552: “All these universal and infinite peoples *a toto genere*, God created to be a simple people, altogether without subtlety, malice, or duplicity, excellent in obedience, most loyal to their native lords and to the Christians whom they serve; the most humble, most patient, meekest and most pacific, slowest to take offence and most tranquil in demeanor, least quarrelous, least querulous, most lacking in rancour or hatreds or desire for vengeance of all peoples of the earth. They are, likewise, the most delicate, slender, and tender of complexion and the least able to withstand hard labour ...”: Las Casas, B. de: Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies. - Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999, p. 5.

⁵³² Fuchs, B.: Traveling Epic. Translating Ercilla’s *La Araucana* in the Old World. - in: Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 36 (2006), 379-395, p. 379; Osorio/ Robledo, Discurso, p. 232.

⁵³³ “Ercilla no olvida que es un conquistador español cuya alta misión es someter a los naturales a sangre y fuego, y lo justifica con parte de una gran empresa imperial.”: Oviedo, Historia, p. 163.

⁵³⁴ Kallendorf, Other, pp. 409-410.

⁵³⁵ “La guerra fue del cielo derrivada/ y en el linaje humano transferida/ (...) Por la guerra la paz es conservada/ y la insolencia humana reprimida,/ por ella a veces Dios el mundo aflige,/ le castiga, le emienda y le corrige;/ por

Ercilla's portrayal of the Mapuche character has two facets. On the one hand, he portrays the ethically noble savage object (versus the civilised European subject). Thus, the Mapuche are educated, brave, virtuous and proud warriors that – in the name of freedom⁵³⁶ – legitimately defend their way of life against the Spanish intruders⁵³⁷:

“If we want to look at their [the Mapuche, S.E.] education, customs, forms of war and army, we see that there are not many who do surpass them and that there are only few that have defended their land with such a steadfastness and resolution against such fiery enemies as are the Spaniards.”⁵³⁸

This imagery of the ‘brave barbarian’ flips to the opposed imagery of the ‘dreadful barbarian’, when Ercilla describes the Mapuche as people of unpredictable aggressiveness and bad temper: “They are men who suddenly rise to anger. Being of ferocious and impatient condition, they like to dominate foreign peoples.”⁵³⁹ Thus, although Ercilla often expatiates on the virtues of the “brave barbarian” [bárbaro esforzado]⁵⁴⁰, the Mapuche stay fixed to the object category of the binary civilised/ barbarian, with its stereotypical pejorative elements. In the end, the image of the “wild barbarian” [fiero bárbaro]⁵⁴¹ associated with cruelty prevails in *La Araucana*, finding its completion in the term “bloodthirsty Araucanian barbarians” [araucanos bárbaros sangrientos]⁵⁴². Let us now take a look at the consequences that such a rather ambivalent picture of the Mapuche character has on the author's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion.

ella a los rebeldes insolentes/ oprime la soberbia y los inclina/ desbarata y derriba a los potentes/ y la ambición sin término termina ...”: Ercilla, *Araucana*, III, pp. 951-952.

⁵³⁶ Gerli, E.M.: *Elysium and the Cannibals. History and Humanism in Ercilla's Araucana*. - in: *Renaissance and Golden Age. Essays in honor of D.W. McPheeters/ B.M. Damiani* (ed.). - Potomac: Scripta Humanistica. - 1986. - 82-93, p. 87.

⁵³⁷ Osorio/ Robledo, *Discurso*, p. 235.

⁵³⁸ “Si queremos mirar su criança, costumbres, modos de guerra, y ejercicio della, veremos que muchos no les han hecho ventaja, y que son pocos los que con tal constancia y firmeza han defendido su tierra contra tan fieros enemigos como son los Españoles.” [my own translation partly employing Pierce, Alonso, p. 45] (Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, Prologo, n.p.) And there is an extensive listing of their virtues, strengths and a praise of their physical appearance in another passage: “They have robust and beardless faces, well-formed tall bodies, broad shoulders, upwright chests, strong limbs with prominent nerves. They are agile, assured, spirited, brave, valiant, daring; tough on work and pain, on deadly cold, hunger and heat.” [“Son de gestos robustos desbarbados/ Bien formados los cuerpos y crecido/ Espaldas grandes, pechos leuantados/ Reziros miembros de nieruos muy fornidos/ Agiles desembultos, alentados/ Animosos, valientes, atreuidos/ Duros en el trabajo, y suffridores/ De frios mortales, hambres y calores.”]: *Ibid.*, I, p. 16.

⁵³⁹ “Son hombres que de subito se ayran/ De condicion ferozes, impacientes/ Amigos de domar estrañas gentes.”: *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 619.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, I, p. 162.

4.2 Ercilla's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion

Although Ercilla's focus is rather on the military aspects of the Mapuche Spanish Conflict, the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion plays an important role in Ercilla's discussion concerning the justification of the conquista in Chile. As we will see, through Ercilla's universalist equation of religion with Christianity, Mapuche Religion becomes a limiting factor, which especially marks the end of the author's ambivalent admiration for the Mapuche and, furthermore, marks the end of his tolerance concerning the Mapuche's otherness.

The following passage from the first canto is one of two core passages of Ercilla's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion and constitutes the main fragment of discourse in the author's description of the strand of discourse supernatural beings:

“They are people without God nor law; although they respect the one that was thrown down from heaven, which – as a powerful and great prophet – is always celebrated in their singings. With false schism they invoke his favour and to all of their negotiations he is called. They take for sure what he says about the fortunate events or the bad future. And when they want to go to battle, they communicate with him through his cult. If he does not answer favourably, they abstain from it no matter how great the appetite. There is no important case or matter to be found, in which that evildoer would not be invoked. They call him Eponamon, and commonly give that name to someone if he is brave.”⁵⁴³

The Mapuche are pictured here as people without (the Christian) god. Aberring from this very basis of Christian civilisation, Eurocentric logic implies that they are a people opposed to civilisation (i.e. barbarians). Thus, it is necessarily so that they do not have any (Christian) law or, more generally speaking, no system of values. Therefore, Ercilla pictures Mapuche Religion as a diabolist inversion of Christianity here. Consequently, the author focuses on god's inversive counterpart, described as the fallen one or evildoer, which certainly is an euphemism for Satan/ Lucifer/ devil⁵⁴⁴. Accordingly, the Mapuche are depicted here – in the

⁵⁴³ “Gente es sin Dios ni ley, aunque respecta/ A aquel que fue del cielo derribado/ Que como a poderoso y gran propheta/ Es siempre en sus cantares celebrado/ Inuocan su fauor con falsa seta/ Y a todos sus negocios es llamado/ Teniendo quanto dize por seguro/ Del prospero suscesso, o mal futuro.// Y quando quieren dar vna batalla/ Con el lo comunican en su rito/ Si no responde bien, dexan de dalla/ Aunque mas les insista el appetito/ Caso graue y negocio no se halla/ Do no sea conuocado este maldito/ Llamam le Eponamon, y communmente/ Dan este nombre a alguno si es valiente.” [my own translation partly employing Pierce, Alonso, p. 45]: Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁴⁴ Furthermore, in another passage Ercilla uses the expression “black Eponamon” [negro Eponamon] (*Ibid.*, I, p. 194), although *La Araucana* does not employ the term devil until the 1589 edition, where it is said: “Eponamón is the name they give to the devil, as it is he to whom they swear when they want to oblige infallibly to fulfill that what they promise.” [“Eponamón es nombre que dan al demonio, por el cual juran quando quieren obligarse

sense of the second inversive tendency pictured in chapter one – as diabolists, deceived by the devil to worship him by imitating the divine cult (i.e. they fall for the devil’s mimetic desire). Because the devil is important to the Mapuche, following Ercilla, they even have a proper Mapudùngun name for him: Eponamon⁵⁴⁵. Eponamon is well respected and worshipped (e.g. by singing), contacted as a testimony whenever vows or promises are made and also functions as a witness to all other matters of negotiation. As a powerful and great prophet, one of his major tasks seems to be to foretell the future and to prognosticate the outcome of a battle, especially. In Ercilla, Eponamon is the only uniquely Mapuche supernatural being that the Mapuche are said to interact with and do respect. Ercilla’s description of the Mapuche as warlike and ferocious people implies, accordingly, that their only numen is a god or being of war.

That interpretation becomes especially clear from a passage in which Eponamon physically intervenes in battle. While the Mapuche march to attack the Spaniards he appears “... in form of a horrible and fiery dragon with curled tail covered with fire ...”⁵⁴⁶, commanding (in a dull and roaring voice) to hurry and attack the Spaniards; this being done, Eponamon disappears in smoke⁵⁴⁷. Nevertheless, this is just a prelude because one moment later a bright shining woman in a beautiful white dress accompanied by an old white-haired man descends to the Mapuche from a cloud and commands to refrain from attacking the Spaniards but to rather hurry and submit under Spanish rule because:

“God wants to help his Christians and wants to give them command and power over you because you ungrateful inhumane rebels have refused him the obedience. Look, do not go there, because god will take in his own hands blade and sentence.”⁵⁴⁸

In other words, by fighting against ‘his Christians’, the ‘ungrateful inhumane rebels’ disobey the divine will and, thus, the divine messengers appear to admonish them.

infaliblemente a cumplir lo que prometen.”] (ibid., III, p. 976) Although the Castilian term “demonio” has several meanings besides devil (e.g. demon, evil spirit) if not declared otherwise we pragmatically understand its appearance in the texts – especially in combination with the definite article “el” as an indicator – in the sense of “the devil” in this study.

⁵⁴⁵ To provide the reader with some point of reference concerning the Mapudùngun terms that appear in this study, we refer to Erize’s standard Mapudùngun dictionary (as far as possible). In the case of Ercilla’s Eponamon, Erize lists the word “epunamun”: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 166.

⁵⁴⁶ “En forma de vn Dragon horrible y fiero,/ Con enroscada cola embuelto en fuego ...”: Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, p. 207.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., I, pp. 207-208.

⁵⁴⁸ “Que dios quiere ayudar a sus Christianos,/ Y darles sobre vos mando y potencia,/ Pues ingratos rebeldes inhumanos,/ Assi le aueys negado la obediencia:/ Mirad no vays alla, porque en sus manos/ Pondra dios el cuchillo y la sentencia ...”: Ibid., I, p. 209.

This theme is also prominent in Pedro de Valdivia's letter to the Spanish emperor Charles V (*1500; †1558) from October 1550⁵⁴⁹, which counts as the first description of Mapuche Religion (and, thus, is worth being cited here in full):

“And it seems that our God wants to serve his perpetuation so that his divine cult may be honoured and the devil expelled from where he has been worshipped for so long. Because the Indian natives say that the day in which they came against our camp ... there appeared an old man on a white horse in their midst and he said to them: ‘Flee all of you because those Christians are going to kill you.’ And, as they were covered with so much horror, they fled. Furthermore, they said that three days before ... a comet crashed amongst them ... with a far greater gloom than other comets. And after it had fallen, emerged a very beautiful lady from there, also dressed in white. And she said to them: ‘Serve the Christians and don't march against them because they are very brave and are going to kill you all.’ And after she had left them came the devil, their patron. And he took the command, telling them that they should gather a great many people and that he would come with them because seeing so many together, we would drop dead of fear. And, thus, they continued their march.”⁵⁵⁰

Comparing the similarities and differences between Pedro de Valdivia's and Ercilla's descriptions, we hold that in this earliest source we do not only find a strikingly similar

⁵⁴⁹ Besides Pedro de Valdivia, Vivar is the second author preceding Ercilla to expand that theme. In one passage an old man on horseback armed with a sword and a woman appear together without speaking (Vivar, G. de: *Crónica y relación copiosa y verdadera de los reinos de Chile*. - Leonard edition. - 2 vols. - vol. 2. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1966, p. 144). In a second passage the old man appears alone; but although he does not speak, seeing him on the white horse with his drawn sword terrifies the Mapuche so much that they flee the scene (ibid., p. 56). It is scientific consensus that Vivar knew and employed Pedro de Valdivia's letters for his *Crónica* to some degree (Jesús, *Transformations*, pp. 135-150; Orellana, M.: *La crónica de Gerónimo de Bibar y la conquista de Chile*. - Santiago: Universitaria, 1988, pp. 69-88). Gerónimo de Vivar [Bibar] (*~1525, Vivar/ Spain; †?), probably serving under Pedro de Valdivia as a soldier, provides valuable information on Mapuche Religion in his *Crónica y relación copiosa y verdadera de los reinos de Chile* [*Chronicle and extensive and true account of the kingdoms of Chile*] (Vivar, *Crónica*), which was written in 1558 (approximately) and first published in 1966. We do not know much about the biography of Vivar see: Jesús, *Transformations*, pp. 111-118; Medina, *Diccionario*, p. 975; Orellana, *Crónica*; Saéz-Godoy, L.: *Introducción*. - in: *Crónica y relación copiosa y verdadera de los reinos de Chile/ G. de Bibar (auth.)*. - Berlin: Colloquium. - 1979. - v-xvii.

⁵⁵⁰ “Y parece nuestro Dios quererse servir de su perpetuación para que sea su culto divino en ella honrado y salga el diablo de donde ha sido venerado tanto tiempo; pues segúnd dicen los indios naturales, que el día que vinieron sobre este nuestro fuerte ... cayó en medio de sus escuadrones un hombre viejo en un caballo blanco, e les dixo: ‘Huid todos, que os matarán estos cristianos’, y que fué tanto el espanto que cobraron, que dieron a huir. Dixerón más: que três días antes ... cayó una cometa entre ellos ... con muy mayor resplandor que otras cometas ... e que, caída, salió della una señora muy hermosa, vestida también de blanco, y que les dixo: ‘Serví a los cristianos, y no váis contra ellos, porque son muy valientes y os matarán a todos’. E como se fué de entre ellos, vino el diablo, su patrón, y los acabdilló, diciéndoles que se juntasen muy gran multitud de gente, y que él vernía con ellos, porque en viendo nosotros tantos juntos, nos caeríamos muertos de miedo: e así siguieron su jornada.”: Valdivia, *Cartas*, p. 205.

interpretative repertoire of Mapuche Religion as in Ercilla⁵⁵¹ but also a similar discursive strategy: As Ercilla, Pedro de Valdivia describes Mapuche Religion as an inversion of Christianity (i.e. diabolism). More than Ercilla, nonetheless, he limits Mapuche Religion to a diabolic pact: Thus, by explicitly employing the binary Christian/ heathen, it is not necessary for Pedro de Valdivia to expatiate further on the Mapuche Other's religion. Consequently, the Mapuche become devil worshippers by following the devil's commands and the Araucanía is turned into the land of the devil (i.e. the land where the devil was worshipped for so long)⁵⁵².

But the devil mocks the poor heathens because the "... common enemy of Christianity and his allies ..." ⁵⁵³ do not stand a chance against the one almighty Christian god and his invincible allies (i.e. the Spanish army). That point leads straight to the main purpose for employing these intercessions by supernatural beings here: To depict that the war between the human parties is paralleled on the superhuman level (thrown down from heaven in Ercilla's words). Too divine to descend himself, the Christian god sends his immaculate representatives – it can be assumed that those are Mary and St. James⁵⁵⁴ – to intervene. On the side of the powerless heathens intervenes the devil Eponamon, who appears himself in the form of a fiery beast (i.e. dragon). The binary colour symbolism (black Eponamon versus the illuminated white messengers) unquestionably helps the reader to clarify the inferiority in rank and power of the one thrown down from heaven compared to the divine messengers, leave alone the almighty Christian god⁵⁵⁵. That symbolism fosters a discursive assumption, which both, Ercilla and Pedro de Valdivia – and also their readers probably – assume: That

⁵⁵¹ Although merely speculative, it is tempting to conclude from comparing those two passages that Ercilla adopted from Pedro de Valdivia's letter. This argument is augmented by the appearance of the comet theme in the 16th canto of the second part of *La Araucana*: Before an attack, a comet appears, which the Mapuche interpret as a sign for their future defeat and, therefore, they abstain from an attack to retaliate in panic (Ercilla, *Araucana*, II, p. 474). Thus, Jesús argues that Ercilla certainly knew and employed Vivar's *Crónica*: Jesús, *Transformations*, pp. 150-165.

⁵⁵² The same holds true of other writers of that time. Vivar, for example, states concerning the Mapuche's 'wrong' perception of paradise: "In this has the devil, our adversary, so much convinced them ..." ["En esto los tiene el demonio, nuestro adversario, tan asentidos ..."]: Vivar, *Crónica*, p. 190.

⁵⁵³ "... el común enemigo de la cristiandad y sus aliados ...": Valdivia, *Cartas*, p. 39.

⁵⁵⁴ For a discussion of historic Mary and St. James intercessions with a focus on Chile see Grasmück's recent work (Grasmück, O.: *Eine Marienerscheinung in Zeiten der Diktatur. Der Konflikt um Peñablanca, Chile, Religion und Manipulation unter Pinochet*. - Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009, pp. 35-58). More interesting for us, nonetheless, is Grasmück's minor focus on the intercessions of Mary and St. James in Chilean conquista battles, which slightly touches the topic Mapuche Religion (Grasmück, O.: *Die Jungfrau Maria als Schlachthelferin. Chilenische Marienerscheinungen zur Zeit der Conquista*. - in: *ZMR*, 93 (2009), 98-112). There, the author provides an interesting overview of the relations between the reconquista and the conquista intercessions of Mary and St. James: *Ibid.*, pp. 106-109.

⁵⁵⁵ Thus, in difference to the two camps of gods in the *Iliad* (for example) that compete by intervening on behalf of their human favourites, the reader knows the outcome of the superhuman battle in the American epic *La Araucana* from the beginning, as the Christian system of power relations between the two superhuman camps is less complicated and balanced than in the case of the Homeric pantheon.

there is a divine will behind the conquista of Chile or, in other words, that God wants it⁵⁵⁶! The Christian god wants to see his faith expanded onto Chile and therefore sends the Spaniards to extirpate diabolism. Part of that common strategy or mechanism to justify the conquista is the explicit use of the binary Christian/ heathen, which is concretised in a Christian “us” [nuestros]⁵⁵⁷ versus a heathen “them” [Barbaros]⁵⁵⁸. We can, thus, also hold for Ercilla what Jesús constated for Pedro de Valdivia’s passage (cited above):

“This fascinating account of heavenly apparitions whose effect was counteracted by demonic intervention presents this narrative of conquest once again as a campaign of Spaniard versus Indian, of beauty versus ugliness, and ultimately of good versus evil.”⁵⁵⁹

Miracles – for Ercilla as well as for Pedro de Valdivia – are then another means by which the Christian god reveals his divine will to man, as Ercilla points out:

“For that the holy law may extend itself and the natural order may expand, our God permitted miracles. One can suppose that clearly that way miracles are employed so that the faith could be restored on the barbarous custom and blind people.”⁵⁶⁰

Similar argues Vivar, when he concludes that “... without the favour of God, such a few Spaniards could not sustain themselves against such an outnumbering enemy ...”⁵⁶¹. Accordingly, Pedro de Valdivia’s argument implies that because the Mapuche are already religiously erring (by falling for diabolism) for such a long time, the establishment of the ‘true faith’ needs a special effort. Ercilla, on top of that, explicitly assumes that the Mapuche willingly rebel against the Christian god by taking the side of the devil. As ‘ungrateful inhumane rebels’ (in the words of Mary), the Mapuche decided themselves to cling to a

⁵⁵⁶ There probably is a connection between the Spanish ‘conquista spirit’ and the medieval ‘crusade spirit’. Nonetheless, there is no study (to our knowledge) that explicitly focuses on those interrelations. Some remarks on the similarities and differences between the two ‘spirits’ can be found in Friederici: Friederici, *Charakter*, I, pp. 310-312; 396-399; II, pp. 8-10.

⁵⁵⁷ Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, p. 96.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.* An interesting aspect, indeed, is Pedro de Valdivia’s narrative strategy to place the miracles in the mouth of the Indians, which aims at enhancing the power of persuasion that those milagrous events might have on the reader: Jesús, *Transformations*, p. 93.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 93-94. Similarly Grasmück, who interprets the supernatural intercessions as a metaphor for the “... battle of good against evil ...” [“... Kampf des Guten gegen das Böse”]: Grasmück, *Schlachtenhelferin*, p. 105.

⁵⁶⁰ “Que porque la ley sacra se estendiese/ Nuestro Dios los milagros permitia/ Y que el natural orden se excediese;/ Presumirse podra por esta via/ Que para que a la fe se reduxesse/ La barbara costumbre y ciega gente/ Usasse de milagros claramente.”: Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, p. 206.

⁵⁶¹ “... sin el favor de Dios, tan pocos españoles contra tanto enemigo no nos podíamos sustentar ...”: Vivar, *Crónica*, p. 144.

‘false schism’ that is defended by resisting the submission under ‘god’s people’. Thus, not only do the Mapuche not know the Christian system of law and order but they even willingly revolt against it; therefore, they are self-declared, freewilling enemies of Christianity.

In Ercilla the conquista thus becomes a mere necessity to accomplish god’s will. The Mapuche, nonetheless, as followers of the devil Eponamon do not stand a chance against the Spaniards, as one of the “peoples of the Messiah” [pueblos del Mexias]⁵⁶², who are sent to spread the ‘true faith’ amongst the ‘rebels against god’ by force⁵⁶³. But there is still hope for the Mapuche heathens because the Christian god is full of mercy: “Besides extended punishment, God is using mercy and generosity on his ungrateful and unimproving people as well.”⁵⁶⁴

The far more complex strand of discourse religious specialists is widely entangled with the strand supernatural beings in Ercilla. The main fragment of discourse on religious specialists in *La Araucana* directly follows after the Eponamon passage (as cited above):

“They employ the false service of wizards, a resource they naturally tend to. Looking for signals and omens by which they determine their concerns, they venerate the ignorant augurs, which foretell future events. The omen raises their impudence or fills them with fear and cowardess. Some of those are preachers held in sacred reverence, which just live on praise and follow a strict life and abstinence. They are those that – with their eloquence – mislead the thoughtless commoner, who is so much convinced of their madness as we are of the Gospel. And those that follow a somewhat strict order do not have any law nor God, nor are there sins. Instead, they only like such a living, which keeps them in the reputation of wise men. For better knowledge, the soldiers have the

⁵⁶² Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, p. 203.

⁵⁶³ This rebel aspect becomes clearer in another passage, where Ercilla lets governor Mendoza declare: “[T]hat our intend and foremost reason for the campaign was the religion and salvation of the baptised rebel people. That with the disregard of the Sacred Sacrament they have perfidiously broken the received law and sworn to faith by taking up weapons illicitly. But if they would want to convert to the Christian law, which they have had before and convert to the broken faith that the great Charles V has given to them and could change in all other things to his advantage and utility, with strong and secure pledge we offer them any licit contract and agreement.” [“... que nuestro intento/ y causa principal de la jornada/ era la religión y salvamento/ de la rebelde gente bautizada/ que en desprecio del Santo Sacramento,/ la recebida ley y fe jurada/ habían pérfidamente quebrantado/ y las armas ilícitas tomado;/ pero que si quisiesen convertirse/ a la cristiana ley que antes tenían,/ y a la fe quebrantada reducirse/ que al grande Carlos Quinto dado habían,/ en todas las más cosas convertirse/ a su provecho y cómodo podrían,/ haciéndoles con prendas firme y cierto/ cualquier partido lícito y concierto.”]: *Ibid.*, II, pp. 475-476.

⁵⁶⁴ “Tambien como el castigo dilataua/ Dios a su pueblo ingrato y sin emienda/ Usando de clemencia y larga rienda.”: *Ibid.*, I, p. 208.

sword, the spear, bow and arrow, saying that the good or sad omen consists in strength and spirit.”⁵⁶⁵

In this passage, Ercilla pictures Mapuche religious specialists as people that do not respect the Christian god nor his law (including sinfulness), as they are ignorant and as such imposters that do manipulate the common Mapuche man, using the latter’s natural disposition to believe in superstition. By convincing the commoner to believe in their irrational (i.e. mad) teachings as firmly as the Christians believe in the bible, they keep the people down and thrallled, installing irrational fear and cowardess among them. Moreover, sly as they are, they follow certain strict ascetic rules only to be considered wise men and thus be fed by the naive common Mapuche men.

Indeed, Ercilla thus paints an unfavourable picture of Mapuche religious specialists as an inversion of the Christian religious specialist. Blending the different terms and meanings for religious specialists (wizards, augurs, preachers etc.) into one homogenous type, they are depicted as phonies that do not believe in anything considered important to the moral standards of their Christian counterparts, the Spanish clerics. It is, thus, the Mapuche religious specialist as agent of the devil Eponamon in Ercilla, who slyly misleads the innocent Mapuche commoner to rebel against god. Therefore, it is the religious specialist, who is assigned to the position of the real enemy of Christianity – hindering the spreading of the Gospel – in *La Araucana*.

But again, as we read at the end of the passage, there is still hope: The brave warriors – which Ercilla praises extensively in *La Araucana* – are depicted as consequent enemies of the phony-wizards, as they rationally believe in human strength instead of irrational (i.e. cowardish) superstition. Therefore, alluding to a conflict of power between rational warriors and superstitious religious specialists, the reader is provided with a clear orientation to differentiate between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad Indian’ in *La Araucana* – that is between a rational and noble (i.e. almost like “us”) versus a superstitious and cowardish (i.e. opaque) Mapuche Indian.

⁵⁶⁵ “Vsan el falso officio de hechizeros/ Sciencia a que naturalmente se inclinan/ En señales mirando y en agujeros/ Por las quales sus cosas determinan/ Veneran a los nescios agoreros/ Que los casos futuros adiuinan/ El agujero acresciento su osadia/ Y les infunde miedo y cobardia.// Algunos destes son predicadores/ Tenidos en sagrada reuerencia/ Que solo se mantienen de loores/ Y guardan vida estrecha y abstinencia/ Estos son los que ponen en errores/ Al liuiano comun con su eloquencia/ Teniendo por tan cierta su locura/ Como nos la Euangelica scriptura.// Y estos que guardan orden algo estrecha/ No tienen ley, ni Dios, ni que ay peccados/ Mas solo aquel viuir les aprouecha/ De ser por sabios hombres reputados/ Pero la espada, lança, el arco, y flecha/ Tienen por mejor sciencia otros soldados/ Diciendo que el agujero alegre, o triste/ En la fuerça y el animo consiste.” [my own translation partly employing Pierce, Alonso, p. 45]: *Ibid.*, I, pp. 15-16.

That power conflict is expanded in the eighth canto of the first part of the epos, in a passage on a religious specialist named Puchecalco. In accordance to the passage cited above, Puchecalco is introduced there as an old wizard and fortune-teller, who is "... [h]eld for wise in prognostications ..."⁵⁶⁶. Accordingly, by invoking the black Eponamon as a witness he foretells the outcome of a future battle⁵⁶⁷. After observing the sky, Puchecalco exclaims:

“Armed with his sword Orion threatens the earth with great ruin. Jupiter has retired to the West, the bloodthirsty Mars alone stands on the firmament, which means that the future war lights a martial fire on earth.”⁵⁶⁸

This cryptical – but obviously unfavourable – prognostication is final and cannot be altered because, in the words of Puchecalco: “One cannot change that decree as it is dispensed by the stars and because fortuna spins [the wheel, S.E.] to our harm.”⁵⁶⁹ Thus, Ercilla explicitly works with Græco-Roman religion(s) as a model here, as Puchecalco is somewhat depicted as a European astrologist. Subsequently, the Mapuche leader Tucapel – as brave warrior a consequent enemy of superstition – exposes Puchecalco’s advice to abstain from an attack as ‘cowardish nonsense’. Then follows a stereotypical chain of ‘barbarous events’, in which Tucapel kills Puchecalco in rage and a wild fight breaks out among the gathered Mapuche⁵⁷⁰. After Caupolicán calmed down the crowd and rehabilitated Tucapel, a dissolute feast of various days begins. After that – and against Puchecalco’s better advice – the Mapuche march for the attack and the scene of Eponamon’s and of the divine messengers’ intercessions follow. Seeing god’s messengers, the Mapuche panically retaliate. But the “unbent barbarians” [indómitos bárbaros]⁵⁷¹ cannot escape the consequence of Mary’s reproach. They are severely castigated as a famine breaks out and they are thus forced to eat one another, which provides us with one of the earliest passages on the exoticised Mapuche cannibal⁵⁷²:

⁵⁶⁶ “Por sabio en los pronosticos tenido ...”: Ibid., I, p. 194.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ “Que de su espada el Orion armado/ Con gran ruyna ya amenaza el suelo:/ Iupiter se ha al Occaso retirado,/ Solo Marte sangriento posee el cielo,/ Que denotando la futura guerra,/ Enciende vn fuego bellico en la tierra.”: Ibid., I, p. 195.

⁵⁶⁹ “Mudarse esta sentencia ya no puede,/ Que esta por las estrellas ordenado,/ Y que fortuna en vuestro daño ruede ...”: Ibid., I, p. 194.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., I, p. 196.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., II, p. 723.

⁵⁷² To our knowledge, the first account of Mapuche cannibalism is found in Vivar: Vivar, Crónica, p. 190.

“It was that human flesh was eaten, a perverse innovation and inhumane event. And it happened the calamity that parents were slain, brother fed on brother, such that there was a mother, which returned the beloved child to the womb, where it came from.”⁵⁷³

The second singularised religious specialist character is described very differently in the second part of *La Araucana*. Fiton is depicted as “magician” [mago⁵⁷⁴/ mágico⁵⁷⁵], “wizard” [hechicero]⁵⁷⁶ and “magical fortune-teller” [mágico adivino]⁵⁷⁷, which leaves us with even more aspects and a wider spectrum of Ercilla’s overinclusive religious specialist. In the 23rd canto, the poet Ercilla himself is led by Fiton’s nephew to the magicians abode, which is situated “... in a wild forest of giant trees, where the rays of sun and the clear sky never see the shadowy ground.”⁵⁷⁸ There, in a dark and eery cave at the foot of a mountain, lives Fiton⁵⁷⁹. The frightened Ercilla and his accompany enter the cave, to find its interior filled up to the brim with exotic paraphernalia, which reminds the reader somewhat of a witch kitchen⁵⁸⁰. According to that atmosphere of secrecy and obscurity, Fiton as the creator of that peculiar interior is necessarily pictured as an old, worn-out but strong man. Moreover, he is described as a powerful wizard:

“His knowledge and power over the stones, plants and animals is so great that by his ability and skill he achieves so much as all natural causes can. And in the dark reign of fog, by blunt invocation he forces the infernal mutes to tell him the past, present and future things.”⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷³ “Y fue, que carne humana se comiese,/ Ynorme introduction, caso inhumano,/ Y en paricidio error se conuertiese./ El hermano, en substancia del hermano,/ Tal madre vuo, que al hijo muy querido/ Al vientre le boluio do auia salido.” (Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, p. 211) Curiously, Puchecalco’s ‘superstitious’ warning was appropriate, although – from Ercilla’s point of view – the famine and its aftermath were certainly not Fortuna’s but the Christian god’s will.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., II, p. 646.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., II, p. 537.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., II, p. 639.

⁵⁷⁸ “... en una selva de árboles horrenda,/ que los rayos del sol y claro cielo/ nunca allí vieron el umbroso suelo.”: Ibid., II, p. 640.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., II, pp. 640-644. “There were not missing: Scorpion heads, snarled deadly snakes, jarr worms and dragon tails. And the pregnant stones of eagles, goiters of hungry sharks, menstruation and milk of lashed hens, glands, pests, poisons ...” [“No faltaban cabezas de escorpiones/ y mortíferas sierpes enconadas;/ alacranes y colas de dragones/ y las piedras del águila preñadas;/ buches de los hambrientos tiburones,/ menstuo y leche de hembras azotadas./ landres, pestes, venenos ...”] (ibid., II, p. 643). Ercilla visits Fiton another time in his secret garden (cantos 26 and 27). There, the entrance to the garden creates a similar atmosphere, involving elements of secrecy, darkness, horror and secluedness: Ibid., II, p. 732.

⁵⁸¹ “... su saber y su poder es tanto/ sobre las piedras, plantas y animales,/ que alcanza por su ciencia y arte cuanto/ pueden todas las causas naturales;/ y en el oscuro reino del espanto/ apremia a los callados infernales/ a que digan por áspero conjuro/ lo pasado, presente y lo futuro.”: Ibid., II, p. 638.

Adding to that, in a speech full of praise of Fiton's global fame, his nephew expands on the magician's unbeatable powers: "“Oh great Fiton, to whom it is given to penetrate to the secrets of the heavens ... You, who can undo the decrees of Fortuna and the cruel fate whenever you like ...”⁵⁸². That praise is not exaggerated, as a moment later Fiton is seen stirring up a vision of the future sea battle of Lepanto⁵⁸³. To give force to that vision, the magician invokes a multitude of Græco-Roman underworld gods and creatures:

““Yellow Orcus, hound Cerberus! Oh great Pluto, ruler of the hell below! Oh tired Charon, old ferryman! And you, Styx lagoon and lake Avernus! Oh Demogorgon, as the last, you live from the eternal reign of Tartarus and the boiling waters of Acheron, Lethe, Cocytus and Phlegethon. And you, Furies that thus torture with cruelties the wicked souls so that even the infernal deities fear to see your foreheads curled with vipers. And you, powerful Gorgons, forced by my powerful words, make that the (although futuristic) naval battle can be clearly seen. And you Hecate, blackened by smoke and badly shaped: Show us what I order to be visible here. Hear, to whom do I say that? What a delay is that? Does my terrible voice not shake you? Look, I will break open the bottom of the earth and hurt you with hated light. And by absolute force and novel power I will crush the laws of Erebus.”⁵⁸⁴

We assume that Ercilla is not merely plagiarizing classical authors for poetical reasons alone⁵⁸⁵ but that this invocation of Græco-Roman supernatural beings and creatures bears a meaning. For one, it is the only allusion to a Mapuche afterlife in Ercilla. The author could imply an identification of the Mapuche with the Græco-Roman postmortality. Following a logic of Eurocentric homogenisation, the Mapuche heathens and their religiosity thus equal Greek/Roman heathendom. As a mechanism to ward off the threatening spike of otherness that there might be in Mapuche postmortality, Ercilla may thus be said to have employed an

⁵⁸² ““Oh gran Fitón, a quién es dado/ penetrar de los cielos los secretos (...)/ Tú, que de la Fortuna y fiero hado/ revocas cuando quieres los decretos ...””: Ibid., II, pp. 644-645.

⁵⁸³ Although the second part of *La Araucana* with the Fiton episode was published in 1578, the supposed course of action of canto 23 is some 14 years before the battle of Lepanto (i.e. 1571).

⁵⁸⁴ ““¡Orco amarillo, Cancerbero!/ Oh gran Plutón, retor del bajo infierno!/ ¡Oh cansado Carón, viejo barquero,/ y vos, laguna Estigia y lago Averno!/ ¡Oh Demogórgon, tú, que lo postrero/ habitas del tartáreo reino eterno,/ y las hervientes aguas de Aqueronte,/ de Leteo, Cocito y Flegetonte!// ¡Y vos, Furias, que así con crueldades/ atormentáis las ánimas dañadas,/ que aún temen ver las íferas deidades/ vuestras frentes de víboras crinadas;/ y vosotras, gorgóneas potestades/ por mis fuertes palabras apremiadas/ haced que claramente aquí se vea,/ aunque futura, esta naval pelea!// ¡Y tú, Hécate ahumada y mal compuesta,/ nos muestra lo que pido aquí visible!/ ¡Hola! ¿A quién digo? ¿Qué tardanza es ésta,/ que no os hace temblar mi voz terrible?/ Mirad que romperé la tierra opuesta / y os heriré con luz aborrecible/ y por fuerza absoluta y poder nuevo/ quebrantaré las leyes del Erebo’.””: Ibid., II, pp. 652-654.

⁵⁸⁵ As claims Pierce: Pierce, Alonso, pp. 98-101.

interpretative repertoire from Græco-Roman postmortality as a model of reference. Thus, the author is not in need to expatiate any further on a probable originality and novelty of Mapuche Religion postmortality, as he can assume the knowledge of Græco-Roman polytheism concealed in his readers.

On the other hand, seen in its totality the Fiton episode marks a dramatic change in Ercilla's understanding of Mapuche religious specialists. In comparison to Fiton, Puchecalco's powers are limited: Clinged to astrology alone, he invokes the powers of Eponamon and no other creature besides that; nor can he stir up a vision or even change the course of fate. As a mere interpreter of Fortuna, he is limited to the role of slave to superstition – which, in the end, causes his undignified death. Fiton, on the other hand, commands the 'uncontrollable' powers of the underworld. On top of that, he does not pay any respect to the immortal beings invoked, as can be concluded from his insulting and threatening commands. Conclusively, Fiton is superior to those dark powers and, furthermore, even controls fate. In difference to the 'deceitful' and 'cowardish' Puchecalco, Fiton is thus presented as a wise man, surpassing the irrationalities of superstition. In the course of the poem he becomes an all-knowing – but still dark and mysterious – advisor to the poet. Although of enemy origin he is not partially involved in war and battle and thus located at some kind of metalevel of *La Araucana*.

Nonetheless, Fiton is not impartial: With the Lepanto vision (for example)⁵⁸⁶, he pictures the impact of the 'true faith' (represented by the Spanish empire) in the world. He thus functions as an indigenous witness to Ercilla's reasoning in pro of the conquista. The vision of the battle of Lepanto, understood in these terms, is not just a mere poetic element to enrich the poem but can be said to be "... a variation in a more solemn key of the events of the Araucan war ..."⁵⁸⁷. Therefore, the Turks play the role of the infidel heathens that otherwise is occupied by the Mapuche, punished by war for rebelling against Christianity. Interestingly, in the visions stirred up by the Fiton character we find a similar narrative strategy as in Pedro de Valdivia: Arguments for the superiority of an ego gather more force in the voice of the Other.

With those changes in the interpretative repertoire of religious specialists in *La Araucana*, the reader is less sure what to think on the reasons justifying the conquista, which were plausibly presented in the first part of the poem. If the religious specialists are not phonies but wise men – that is if the distinction between good and bad Indian is abandoned –, who can be

⁵⁸⁶ There is also another vision of the siege of St. Quentín (1557) in cantos 17 and 18 of the second part, stirred up by the Roman goddess (of war!) Belona: Ercilla, *Araucana*, II, pp. 508-540.

⁵⁸⁷ Pierce, Alonso, p. 86.

pragmatically held responsible for the Mapuche rebellion against Christianity? Generally speaking, from the second part of *La Araucana* on – published some 20 years after Ercilla’s actual stay in Chile – there is a change of discursive elements compared to the first part⁵⁸⁸. By dismissing the Eponamon and the deceitful wizard characters, the interpretative repertoire connected with heathendom changes from diabolism to some kind of identification with the (considered more advanced) Roman polytheism. Consequently, the influence of the civilised/ barbarian binary – which is very big in the first part of the poem – is diminished. Nonetheless, Mapuche Religion is still characterised by the object category of the binary Christian/ heathen and, thus, continues to be an inversion of Christianity. Therefore, the inversive parallel of a war between the Christian heaven and the Christian hell in the first part becomes a war between the Christian heaven and the Græco-Roman underworld in the interpretation of the late Ercilla.

Consequently, in all three parts of *La Araucana* the question of justification of the conquista remains a matter of religion and, therefore, Ercilla’s final judgement on Mapuche culture is not altered. Thus, the Mapuche, no matter how brave or wise, are fixed to the status of inverted Christians (i.e. uncivilised heathens), in need to be converted to Christianity. Ercilla’s devil worshipper interpretation, on the one side, and the Roman heathen interpretation, on the other side, leave no ambivalence on the outcome of the ‘battle of religions’: Mapuche religiosity will finally cease to exist, as its followers will necessarily immerse in the ‘true faith’. Ercilla’s *La Araucana*, as the first excerpt from the Mapuche Religion discourse that we discuss in depth, can thus be said to stand paradigmatically for our definition of conceptual colonialism as the implantation of European (Christian) conceptual settlements on distant (Mapuche) conceptual territory.

4.3 *La Araucana* tamed: Pedro de Oña and Arias de Saavedra

4.3.1 The conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in Oña’s *Arauco domado*

Pedro de Oña is the first Chile born writer in our analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse (*1570, Angol/ Chile; †~1643, Lima/ Peru)⁵⁸⁹. In 1593 he served in the Mapuche Spanish

⁵⁸⁸ Lerner, Introducción, p. 17.

⁵⁸⁹ Biographical information on Oña is taken from: Medina, Diccionario, pp. 605-610; Medina, J.T.: El anotador al lector. - in: *Arauco domado*/ P. de Oña (auth.). - Santiago: Universitaria. - 1917. - v-xii; Montes, H.: Prólogo. - in: *Arauco domado*/ P. de Oña (auth.). - 2nd ed. - Santiago: Universitaria. - 1979. - 9-15.

Conflict as a soldier and published his epic poem *Arauco domado*⁵⁹⁰ in 1596 – that is some 27 years after the first publication of *La Araucana* –, at a time, when the Mapuche Spanish Conflict became weary, counting sixty years of war with no end in sight. Accordingly, Oña speaks from a different position of discourse and *Arauco domado* was designed as a counterproject (i.e. a corrective) to Ercilla’s representation of the Mapuche Spanish Conflict and of Mapuche culture. Already the title alludes to that: The Mapuche are not pictured as heroes but ‘detestable barbarous rebels’ that will finally be tamed by Christian civilisation. Some authors go so far to call Oña an epigone of Ercilla⁵⁹¹. To our understanding – although imitating his style – Oña is Ercilla’s discursive adversary as the two authors rather seem to belong to two different communities of discourse. In contrast to Ercilla, the Mapuche warriors – although still characterised as fiery fighters – are unambiguously depicted as brutish “barbarians” [bárbaros]⁵⁹² and incorrectable enemies of the ‘true faith’ in Oña. It is that ferocious character that makes it impossible to civilise them because, as Oña claims: “The sacred and evangelical doctrine sown into the sterile brutish bosom did not allow to grow rich fruit as vice speared it with its sting ...”⁵⁹³.

The main information on Mapuche Religion in Oña is provided in the second canto of *Arauco domado*, where the Mapuche are stereotypically depicted as celebrating a chain of dissolute “drinking feasts” [borracheras]⁵⁹⁴, in which “... the free barbarians embrace all the seven capital sins ...”⁵⁹⁵. Practically, this scene is a plagiarism of Ercilla’s Puchecalco episode and its aftermath. In difference to Ercilla, Oña does not singularise one religious specialist (i.e. Puchecalco) in the beginning of the scene but speaks of an “infidel superstitious caste” [casta infiel supersticiosa]⁵⁹⁶. The religious specialist – thus pictured as an unspecific, collective group – becomes even more blurry than in Ercilla⁵⁹⁷. At some point of that episode we are told that: “It is an old custom among those Indians to consult their false augurs that want to show with prognostications and signals, what future things there can be seen ...”⁵⁹⁸.

⁵⁹⁰ *Arauco tamed*: Oña, Arauco.

⁵⁹¹ For example: Oviedo, Historia, pp. 170-171.

⁵⁹² Oña, Arauco, p. 79.

⁵⁹³ “La sacra y evangélica dotrina/ Sembrada en el estéril pecho bruto,/ No daba de virtud el rico fruto,/ Que el vicio lo ahogaba con su espina ...”: Ibid., p. 43.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

⁵⁹⁵ “Todos los siete vicios capitales/ ... los libres bárbaros abrazan ...”: Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

⁵⁹⁷ The terms “false augurs” [falsos agoreros] (ibid., p. 70), “magicians” [magos] (ibid., p. 82), “wizards” [hechiceros] (ibid., p. 79), “magic experts” [mágicos expertos] (ibid., p. 70), “necromancer” [nigromántico] (ibid., p. 81) and “fantastic prophets” [fantásticos profetas] (ibid., p. 74) are interchangeably employed by Oña.

⁵⁹⁸ “Es vieja en estos indios la costumbre/ De consultar sus falsos agoreros,/ Que quieren con pronósticos y agüeros/ Mostrar que lo futuro se columbre ...”: Ibid., p. 70.

Thus, similar as in Ercilla, “... the fantastic prophets begin to contemplate on the signs and planets ...”⁵⁹⁹ and prognosticate an unfortunate future for the Mapuche people⁶⁰⁰. After the augurs interpreted the movement of a female fox as omen for a bad future – which leaves us with a first hint on Mapuche folk religious beliefs⁶⁰¹ –, Tucapel dismantles the prognostications as a cowardish strategy to frighten the people. He then loses his temper accordingly and threatens the wizards with death – which, furthermore, hints at some enmosity between augurs and warriors (as in Ercilla). The only way for the augurs to prove the righteousness of their prognostication is to invoke an “infernal Spirit” [Espíritu infernal]⁶⁰² called “great Eponamón” [gran Eponamón]⁶⁰³ as a witness. After that the scene alters, adding elements of Ercilla’s Fiton imagery: A religious specialist called Pillalonco invokes the dark powers of the Græco-Roman underworld (e.g. Hecate, Demogorgon, Phlegethon)⁶⁰⁴. In difference to Ercilla, those dark forces are not invoked to produce a vision, but as a means to force Eponamón to come and incorporate in a “wool oracle” [oraculo de lana]⁶⁰⁵.

Fiton’s disrespect towards these creatures found in Ercilla is turned into Pillalonco’s disrespect towards Eponamón in Oña. As the spirit delays from entering the wool stick, Pillalonco exclaims:

“What is this? Why do you detain from coming, now? Infernal spirit, why do you delay?
You will not come immediately? What are you waiting for? Knowing that it is me who
calls you, you are not coming?”⁶⁰⁶

Thus, heavily adopting from Ercilla, Oña’s Eponamón is forced to appear by invoking the Græco-Roman powers of the underworld. Finally, Eponamón – the “... King that always is in the dark region ...”⁶⁰⁷ – enters the wool stick and (after many cryptical exclamations)

⁵⁹⁹ “Comienzan los fantásticos profetas/ A contemplar los signos y planetas ...”: Ibid., p. 74-75.

⁶⁰⁰ Thus they discover: “The sky shows clearest signals of your fatal and sudden ruin ...” [“Clarísimas señales muestra el cielo/ De tu fatal y súbita rüina ...”]: Ibid., p. 75.

⁶⁰¹ We find a similar description in Vivar, who expatiated on the “nuisances” [abusiones] (Vivar, Crónica, p. 184) of the “wizards” [hechizeros] (ibid.), who interpret the movement of a lion as omen for a future battle: Ibid.

⁶⁰² Oña, Arauco, p. 89.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., p. 82.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 87-89.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 89.

⁶⁰⁶ “¿Qué es esto? ¿cómo agora te detienes?/ Espíritu infernal, ¿porqué te tardas?/ ¿No acabas de venir? ¿a cuándo aguardas?/ Sabiendo que te llamo yo, ¿no vienes?”: Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ “... Rey que siempre está en región oscura ...”: Ibid., p. 91.

confirms the augur's dark prognostications⁶⁰⁸. Nevertheless, similar to the Puchecalco episode in *La Araucana*, the gathered Mapuche decide not to follow the augur's advice to abstain from an attack, as the consensus is established that the "false Eponamón" [falso Eponamón]⁶⁰⁹ lied to them⁶¹⁰. Thus, in Oña it is not only the opinion of the brave warriors (as in Ercilla) but a general consent that Mapuche Religion – and its representatives – are a mere, 'detestable superstition'. There is another – for our study the most important – supernatural character introduced here: "Pillán"⁶¹¹ / "Pillano"⁶¹². To invoke that "evil spirit" [espíritu maligno]⁶¹³, the augurs put some wool on a stick because "... that is where their Pillán could enclose for them ..."⁶¹⁴. From that vague information it does not become particularly clear to the reader what the difference between Eponamón and Pillán/ Pillano is, as both characters are described as spirits incorporating in a wool stick for foretelling and oraciling purposes.

A rather original theme is Oña's influential description of the wizard cave:

"In deep and secret underground dwellings they [the wizards, S.E.] have spaciouly designed caves supported by strong pales so that they may be like that for many long years. (...) With the whole floor covered with skins and horrible heads of beasts."⁶¹⁵

These peculiar and eery caves show some similarity to Fiton's witch kitchen and enhance the secrecy-obscurity effect already present in the Pillalonco scene. That interpretative scheme is further augmented as the caves are pictured as a location, where the wizards commit an "... infernal type of idolatry ..."⁶¹⁶, which involves a new supernatural character. That "ibunché"⁶¹⁷ is described as a "... dead human body without intestines inside the abdomen, so that their Pillán can more easily enter."⁶¹⁸ Ibunché is the "unburied" [insepulto]⁶¹⁹, described

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 91-92.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 93.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 92-95.

⁶¹¹ Ibid., p. 71. Erize's "Pillañ" (Erize, Diccionario, p. 327). Ercilla is the first author mentioning that character as a surname, without any religious connotation. Thus, Lautaro is called "son of Pillano" [hijo de Pillano] (Ercilla, *Araucana*, I, p. 263) or "son of Pillan" [hijo de Pillan]: Ibid., p. 287.

⁶¹² Oña, Arauco, p. 93.

⁶¹³ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶¹⁴ "Que es donde su Pillán se les encierra": Ibid., p. 83.

⁶¹⁵ "En hondos y secretos soterraños/ Tienen capaces cuevas fabricadas/ Sobre maderos fuertes afirmadas/ Para que estén así nestóreos años;/ (...) Con todo el suelo en ámbito de esteras/ Y de cabezas hórridas de fieras.": Oña Ibid., pp. 83-84.

⁶¹⁶ "... género infernal de idolatría ...": Ibid., p. 83.

⁶¹⁷ Oña, Arauco, 84. Erize's "ivumche": Erize, Diccionario, p. 206.

⁶¹⁸ "... difunto cuerpo humano,/ Sin cosa de intestinos en el vientre,/ Porque su Pillán en él más fácil entre.": Oña, Arauco, p. 84

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

as an “idol” [idólatra]⁶²⁰, which is worshipped by the wizards as a “sacred thing” [cosa sagrada]⁶²¹ or as “their God” [su Dios]⁶²². This high status of that character is somewhat contradictory to the following statement, in which the author claims that the magicians are its masters⁶²³, which use *ibunché* to foretell the future⁶²⁴.

According to the barbarous heathen cliché, the Mapuche are pictured celebrating human sacrifices to worship *ibunché* in Oña. Thus, when there are very important prognostications to be made, an obscure ritual is applied: “They murder the most beloved son or the most treasured daughter as a sacrifice to make the idol favourable.”⁶²⁵ After Ercilla introduced cannibalism – although pictured as an act of emergency there –, Oña does not stay behind and introduces the exoticising human sacrifice theme here. Looking back on this ‘barbarity’, Oña is led to exclaim: “Oh blind confusion of barbarism! Oh highly pitiable people! And more than anything else: Blessed are those, who receive the water of baptism!”⁶²⁶

Oña does not admire the Mapuche (not even the warriors among them) for their strength or nobleness; thus the civilised/ barbarian and the Christian/ heathen binaries are more important in Oña than in *La Araucana* as the Mapuche are unambiguously pictured as uncivilised diabolistic idolatrists⁶²⁷. Although he certainly plagiarises him, Oña does not follow Ercilla’s change of interpretative repertoire of Mapuche Religion to Græco-Roman polytheism. Although he somewhat compromises with Ercilla by connecting Eponamón to the forces of the Græco-Roman underworld, Oña rather blends Ercilla’s two contradictive interpretations into one image that reduces Mapuche Religion to ‘evil necromancers’, luring a spirit into a wool stick or an obscure corpse.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ “Degüellan al hijuelo más amado,/ O la especiosa niña en sacrificio/ Para tener al ídolo propicio.”: Ibid., p.86.

⁶²⁶ “¡Oh ciega confusión del barbarismo!/ ¡Oh gente muchas veces desdichada,/ Y más que muchas, bienaventurada/ La que recibe el agua del bautismo!”: Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Nonetheless, sometimes Oña cryptically alludes to the Græco-Roman pantheon, for example: “With their singings, dances and entertainments they paid reverence to Bacchus and Ceres.” [“Con sus cantares, bailes y placeres/ Hicieron oblación a Baco y Ceres.”]: Ibid., p. 71.

4.3.2 The conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in Arias' *Purén indómito*⁶²⁸

The soldier Diego Arias de Saavedra (*15~~, ?; †16~~, ?)⁶²⁹ served in Chile for various years between 1583 and 1599. His epic poem *Purén indómito*⁶³⁰, written in 1599 (approximately) but not published before 1862, was composed at a time when the catastrophe of the second uprising⁶³¹ was still very fresh and the Mapuche Spanish Conflict – compared to Oña – was considered even further away from being ended. The title *Purén indómito* obviously relates to Oña's *Arauco domado*. But it would be erroneous to interpret it as a counterproject to Oña as it clearly follows the latter's position of discourse and, thus, is rather opposed to the somewhat sympathetic position of Ercilla. This becomes quite clear from the following passage:

“The heathens are of the following nature: With lack of faith and law, traitors, liars, cruel people, false, bad, greedy, tyrannical; cheaters, simulators, perverts, sly, without honour, unreliable, phonies. And most of all (as many as there are), they are born idolatrists and infidels.”⁶³²

⁶²⁸ As he did not make a relevant contribution to the Mapuche Religion discourse, we ‘ban’ the third of Ercilla's ‘epigones’ to the footnotes: Diego de Santisteban Osório [Santisteban Osorio] (*15~~, León/ Spain; †16~~, ?). The only thing we know about this author is that he was born in León (Medina, J.T.: Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817. - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, 1963, I, p. 92) and that he was a Spanish poet whose publication of the *Quarta y quinta parte de La Araucana* [Fourth and fifth part of *La Araucana*] (Santisteban de Osório, D.: *Quarta y quinta parte de la Araucana*. - Salamanca: Renaut, 1597) in 1597 obviously was designed as a continuation of *La Araucana* (and thus is a counterproject to *Arauco domado*). In *Quarta* the information on Mapuche Religion is limited to one passage on “Epanamon” (ibid., p. 123)/ “Eponamon” (ibid., p. 209). That “sacred Epanamon” [sagrado Epanamon] (ibid.) is pictured as a “statue” [estatua] (ibid.), an “idol” [ymagen] (ibid.) or “horrible Idol” [Idolo espantoso] (ibid.) that the Mapuche worship in the following way: “Kneeled before the statue with devoted humbleness and prayers ... they worship it with pure hearts ...” [“Delante de la estatua arrodillados,/ Con humildad deuoto, y oraciones,/ .../ Le encomiendan con puros coraçones ...”] (ibid.). In another passage, an old priest performs a sacrifice, which (similar to Oña's description of Epanamón entering a wool stick) forces the idol to come to life: “The idol turned its face and a fiery roar gave some horrible outbursts.” [“La ymagen tuerce el rostro, y fiera brama,/ Dando vnos espantosos estrallidos.”] (Ibid.) Finally, Epanamon/ Eponamon appears and tells them in a very cryptical way that they cannot defeat the Spaniards (ibid., pp. 209-210). Thus, in Santisteban Ercilla's Puchecalco scene is altered and Epanamon/ Eponamon equipped with even more characteristics of an idol god than in Oña. Although Mapuche Religion is reduced to idol worship – rather in the direction of Oña's interpretation of it – the Mapuche are nonetheless depicted as pure-hearted and humble people; thus, *Quarta* clearly shows itself as a continuation of Ercilla's position of discourse.

⁶²⁹ We do not know much about that author except for some sketchy biographical dates: Medina, Diccionario, pp. 90-91; Thayer, Conquistadores, III, p. 82.

⁶³⁰ *Purén untamed* (Arias de Saavedra, D.: *Purén indómito*. - Concepción: La Noria, 1984). For a long time the poem was attributed to the soldier Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (*15~~; †16~~): Fereccio, M.: Prólogo. - in: *Purén indómito*/ D. Arias de Saavedra (auth.). - Concepción: University Press. - 1984. - 11-92, pp. 46-49.

⁶³¹ This historic event is discussed in the following chapter.

⁶³² “Son de naturaleza los gentiles,/ con faltos de fe y de ley, traidores,/ mentirosos, cruels, falsos, viles,/ codiciosos, tiranos, embaidores,/ disimulados, pérfidos, sutiles,/ sin honra, sin palabra, engañadores,/ y sobre todos cuantos hay nacidos,/ aquestos idólatras, fementidos.”: Arias, *Purén*, p. 728.

Because "... in the end these savages are heathens, idolatrists, without faith nor reason ..."⁶³³, in *Purén indómito* the Mapuche celebrate many dissolute feasts and are pictured as continuously engaged in making human sacrifices⁶³⁴.

In difference to his predecessors, Arias does not even mention Eponamon/ Eponamón/ Epanamon; instead, the character "Pillano"⁶³⁵/ "Pillán"⁶³⁶/ "Pillanos"⁶³⁷/ "Pillanes"⁶³⁸ is centralised in the book, a step that is going to be very influential in the succeeding Mapuche Religion discourse. In *Purén indómito* that character differs from Oña's. On the one side – similar to Oña's Eponamón –, he is employed as a testimony for oaths⁶³⁹. On the other side, he appears to be a protective or guardian being in Arias. In one passage one of the old "magicians" [magos]⁶⁴⁰ blesses the newly crowned Mapuche king Pelantaro, saying: "Always shall Pillán be your guide, he shall make you prosperous and happy ..."⁶⁴¹. But that is not all, as in *Purén indómito* the enmity concealed in the binary Christian/ idolatry finds its peak in a scene, where one Mapuche – after blasphemically beheading a statue of Christ – exclaims: "Now, that there is no God of the Christians anymore, the power and greatness of our most powerful Pillanos may grow."⁶⁴² That scene is concluded with the barbarous (i.e. cold-blooded) sacrifice of two Spanish captives:

"But, so that the festivities of those insane barbarians be more solemn, they ordered that sacrifices should be made immediately to their empty Pillanes. Therefore, two poor tied up Christians – which were captured in a village there – were brought in to be sacrificed alive to their gods."⁶⁴³

Thus, these vivid descriptions of the Pillano(s)/ Pillán/ Pillanes and, finally, their identification with gods leads the interpretation in another direction as empty (i.e. vain) idol gods that need to be worshipped by human sacrifice. Besides that character, Arias briefly

⁶³³ "... al fin, son estos bárbaros gentiles,/ idólatras, sin fe y sin razón ...": Ibid., p. 640.

⁶³⁴ As for example throughout the third canto: Ibid., pp. 193-219.

⁶³⁵ Ibid., p. 209.

⁶³⁶ Ibid., p. 207.

⁶³⁷ Ibid., p. 641.

⁶³⁸ Ibid., p. 646.

⁶³⁹ As in that passage "[H]e swore also to his Pillano that he will never take a rest ..." ["... juró también por su Pillano/ de no tener jamás ningún descanso..."]: Ibid., p. 209.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 207.

⁶⁴¹ "Siempre nuestro Pillán sea tu guía,/ tu reino haga próspero y felice ...": Ibid.

⁶⁴² "Ya no hay Dios de los cristianos;/ auméntese el poder y la grandeza/ de nuestros potentísimos Pillanos ...": Ibid., pp. 640-641.

⁶⁴³ "Pero, para que más solemne fuesen/ las fiestas destes bárbaros insanos,/ ordenaron que al punto se hiciesen/ sacrificios a sus Pillanes vanos,/ y que para el efecto se trujesen/ amarrados dos miserios cristianos/ que trujeron del pueblo allí captivos/ para emolarlos a sus dioses, vivos.": Ibid., pp. 645-646.

alludes to “ivunche”⁶⁴⁴, cryptically described as an undead man, as it can live without a head⁶⁴⁵: That shows some relations to Oña’s undead. More importantly to our study, Arias introduces a new character, called “Güecuvi”⁶⁴⁶. Although it does not become clear what it is exactly, similar to Pillano(s)/ Pillán/ Pillanes it is worshipped by human sacrifice in a festive ceremony, as expanded in one passage: “[T]o make the Güecuvi favourable we will make him human sacrifice.”⁶⁴⁷

Conclusively, in Arias the Mapuche are pictured as barbarous and cruel idolatrists and their main ritual behaviour is to worship their bloodthirsty idols Pillano(s)/ Pillán/ Pillanes and Güecuvi. Enhancing Oña’s (and also Santisteban’s) representation, *Purén indómito* pictures Mapuche Religion as an obscure enemy religion. The beheading of the Christ stature and the horrific human sacrifice (of Christians!) are clear indicators for an active resistance or rebellion against the ‘true faith’ and its representatives. This augments to the impression that Arias is the author, who is opposed the most to any admiration for the Mapuche so far. More than Oña he seems to imply that a salvation of the Mapuche barbarians by spreading the Gospel is definitely impossible and that a peaceful mission is out of the question, as the Mapuche actively choose to be vigorous enemies of Christianity. This rather negative position towards Mapuche culture is diametrically opposed to the position held by Luis de Valdivia, which we discuss in the following chapter.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 730.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 730-731.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 641.

⁶⁴⁷ “... para el Güecuvi tener propicio le haremos humano sacrificio.” (Ibid.) As seen in his predecessors, Arias employs the Græco-Roman pantheon as an adequate analogous model to describe Mapuche Religion: “[T]o sacrifice their god Bacchus they ordered to prepare a big feast ...” [“... para sacrificar a su dios Baco/ ordenaron hacer una gran fiesta ...”]: Ibid., p. 728.

5. Towards and beyond Defensive War: Luis de Valdivia and Alonso de Ovalle

Mira, hijo, que tienes obligacion de hazerlo assi, y que de otra suerte te irás al infierno.

(Luis de Valdivia, *Arte*)⁶⁴⁸

5.1 Valdivia and Defensive War in Chile

The Jesuit Luis de Valdivia (*1562, Granada/ Spain; †1642, Valladolid/ Spain)⁶⁴⁹ came to Peru in December 1589. As a member of the first Jesuit missionary party⁶⁵⁰, Luis de Valdivia came to Chile in April 1593 and was assigned mainly to the mission of local indigenous people, including Mapuche prisoners of war brought up to Santiago from the Araucanía. Luis de Valdivia dedicated himself to the extensive study of indigenous languages and thus became fluent in “the language that circulates in the whole kingdom of Chile”⁶⁵¹, that is

⁶⁴⁸ Valdivia, L. de: *Arte y gramatica general de la lengua que corre en todo el reyno de Chile. Con un vocabulario, y confessorario.* - Sevilla: López de Haro, 1684, Confessorario, p. 29. “Look son, you have the obligation to do it like this or otherwise you will go to hell.”

⁶⁴⁹ General information on the Defensive War and Luis de Valdivia’s role in it, as well as biographical information on Luis de Valdivia is taken from: Barros, *Historia*, III, pp. 163-166; IV, pp. 18-165; Bonilla, *Gran*, II, pp. 79-102; Encina, *Historia*, IV, pp. 41-107; Foerster, *Introducción*, pp. 83-180; Hanisch, W.: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile.* - Santiago: Francisco de Aguirre, 1974, pp. 7-12; Korth, E.: *Spanish Policy in Colonial Chile. The Struggle for Social Justice, 1535-1700.* - Stanford: University Press, 1968, pp. 117-161; Lara, *Crónica*, II, pp. 16-25; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 895-904; Noggler, A.: *Cuatrocientos años de misión entre los araucanos.* - Temuco: San Francisco, 1982, pp. 63-68; Salinas, M.: *El evangelio, el imperio español y la opresión contra los mapuches. El padre Luis de Valdivia en Chile, 1593-1619.* - in: *Misticismo y violencia en la temprana evangelización de Chile/ J. Pinto et al. (eds.).* - Temuco: University of La Frontera Press. - 1991. - 71-168; Villalobos, S.: *La vida fronteriza en Chile.* - Madrid: Mapfre, 1992, pp. 265-296; Villalobos et al., *Historia*, pp. 143-148; Zapater, H.: *Parlamentos de paz en la guerra de Arauco, 1612-1626.* - in: *Araucanía. Temas de historia fronteriza/ S. Villalobos; J. Pinto (eds.).* - Temuco: University of La Frontera Press. - 1985. - 47-82; Zapater, H.: *La búsqueda de la paz en la guerra de Arauco. Padre Luis de Valdivia.* - Santiago: Bello, 1992, pp. 15-37; 109-135.

⁶⁵⁰ The Jesuits were not the first missionary order in Chile, as Dominicans and Franciscans were already missionising there before 1593. We do not know much about the Dominicans in Chile but that a small party of Franciscan friars entered Chile as early as 1553. At first missionising Santiago and its surroundings, it is assured that Franciscan friars accompanied military expeditions south from the year 1557 on, such as the expeditions of governor Mendoza to the Araucanía. The Franciscan mission dominance in Chile declined with the rising influence of the Jesuits in Chile, starting in 1593 (Cline, H.F.: *The Franciscans in Colonial Chile.* - in: *The Americas*, 10 (1954), 471-480, pp. 478-479). For contextual information on the Franciscans in Chile see: Casanova, H.: *Presencia franciscana en la Araucanía. Las misiones del colegio de propaganda fide de Chillán, 1756-1818.* - in: *Misioneros en la Araucanía, 1600-1900/ J. Pinto et al. (eds.).* - Temuco: University of La Frontera Press. - 1988. - 121-198; Cline, *Franciscans.*

⁶⁵¹ This is the subtitle of Luis de Valdivia’s book *Arte*.

Mapudùngun⁶⁵². Moreover, he joined the first Jesuit missionary campaign to the Araucanía in late 1597, returning to Santiago at some point of the year 1598. With the surprise attack of the Mapuche in Curalaba at Christmas that same year began the destruction of the seven Spanish townships south of the Bio-Bio river, which as a consequence led to the expulsion of all Spanish forces that were stationed below that river line. This chain of events, called the “second uprising” [segundo alzamiento], was perceived as a turning point in the Mapuche Spanish Conflict, as it showed that the much desired quick victory of the Spaniards over the Mapuche was illusive and – even after 60 years of war – as far as it had always been⁶⁵³. Back in Santiago, Luis de Valdivia continued his language studies until 1602. After a stay in Lima from 1602 to 1605, he accompanied various military campaigns in the Araucanía throughout the year 1605 as a military chaplain.

In this time he got more and more ascertained in his view that the “personal service” [servicio personal] system was the main obstacle for the difficulties in the Mapuche Spanish peace process⁶⁵⁴. Returning to Lima once more in 1606, Luis de Valdivia published his *Arte*⁶⁵⁵ and participated in the debate on “Defensive War” [Guerra Defensiva], which discussed a strategy change in the Chilean conquista. That debate found a prominent voice in Juan de Villela (*1563; †1630), hearer of the Royal Audience in Lima, whose proposal of 1607 argued for (1) the erection of a strict border between the Spanish and the Mapuche territory – marked by the Bio-Bio river – and (2) a humane and peaceful treatment of Mapuche rebels, which included the abolition of the personal service system⁶⁵⁶. The Defensive War strategy found influential supporters in high official circles, such as the viceroy of Lima, the Count of Monterrey (*1560; †1606). After the latter’s death, the strategy found even stronger support in the new viceroy, the Marquis of Montesclaros (*1571; †1628). Nonetheless, from its very beginning the strategy also had numerous enemies in leading political and administrative circles in Chile. Those people defended a military approach to the

⁶⁵² Foerster, R.: *Jesuitas y mapuches, 1593-1767*. - Santiago: Universitaria, 1996, pp. 47-48.; Jara, A.: *Guerra y sociedad en Chile*. - Santiago: Universitario, 1971, pp. 261-262; Zapater, Búsqueda, p. 43.

⁶⁵³ Zapater, *Parlamentos*, p. 47.

⁶⁵⁴ For the Chilean context, personal service meant the employment of Indian captives of war as private working forces for free Spanish individuals. Adversaries of that type of forced labour criticised that the captives were forced to live in inhumane conditions like slaves. There was no payment, no resting days and children, women and old people were indiscriminately employed as well (Aliaga, F.: *La iglesia en Chile. Contexto histórico*. - Santiago: Universidad Católica, 1985, pp. 60-61). Furthermore, an owner was free to sell his captive, which boosted a flourishing slave trade: *Ibid*.

⁶⁵⁵ Full title: *Arte y gramatica general de la lengua que corre en todo el reyno de Chile. Con un vocabulario, y confessorario* [Art and general grammar of the language that circulates in the whole kingdom of Chile, including a vocabulary and confessionary]: Valdivia, *Arte*.

⁶⁵⁶ Korth, Spanish, pp. 119-120.

Mapuche Spanish Conflict because they assumed that the Mapuche did not really want peace; furthermore, they generally feared that by redrawing Spanish forces from the Araucanía, the Mapuche would destroy everything that had been achieved in the last 70 years of the conquista⁶⁵⁷. In November 1607 the military approach camp was strengthened, as the Spanish court submitted a decree that approved the personal service system in all of its consequences, including slave trade⁶⁵⁸.

One treatise in favour of the enslavement of the Mapuche obviously had a big influence on the decision of the Spanish king Philip III (*1578; †1621)⁶⁵⁹: The *Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile*⁶⁶⁰. Written at the height of the second uprising in 1599 (approximately) by the canon Melchor Calderón (*1526, La Haba/ Spain; †1610, ?)⁶⁶¹, it was published in Madrid in 1607 (approximately). The rebel Indians, Calderón argues, need to be punished by enslavement (i.e. personal service) for all the crimes they have committed⁶⁶². Those are vividly pictured as "... eating human flesh, especially the Spaniards ... and drink the powder made of the bones ..." ⁶⁶³ and, furthermore, the profanisation of the divine cult by wearing sacred ornaments in drinking feasts, drinking from sacred chalices, throwing flour on the sacred altar⁶⁶⁴. Another reason for Calderón that speaks for their enslavement is to prevent the wild rebels from threatening the lasting conversion of the baptised ones with their 'barbarous behaviour'⁶⁶⁵. Thus pictured as prototypes of barbarism by employing an inversive imagery composed of themes such as cannibalism and blasphemy, the Mapuche seem to deserve the punishment by enslavement in the eyes of the Christian reader. On top of that, by enslavement "... their spiritual well-being can be assured coincidentally because if it is judged legal enslaving them, they could be

⁶⁵⁷ Encina, Historia, IV, p. 49. Other reasons brought up against the Defensive War strategy are: (1) It was embarrassing that the Spanish conquistadors gave up on conquering 'some barbarians' (Lara, Crónica, II, p. 18); (2) leaving behind the territory south of the Bio-Bio meant giving up already conquered land and claims to land (ibid.); and (3) abolishing personal service certainly meant the end of profits from cheap labour, slave hunts and slave trade (i.e. loss of wealth): Korth, Spanish, p. 148.

⁶⁵⁸ Korth, Spanish, p. 130.

⁶⁵⁹ Jara, Guerra, p. 224. For a further discussion on treatises of that time that advocate for the enslavement of the Mapuche see: Ibid., pp. 191-216.

⁶⁶⁰ *Treatise on the importance and usefulness of enslaving the rebel Indians of Chile*: Calderón, M.: Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile. - Madrid: [...], [...].

⁶⁶¹ Biographical information on Calderón is taken from: Medina, Diccionario, pp. 154-156; Thayer, Conquistadores, III, pp. 34-36.

⁶⁶² Calderón, Tratado, p. 3.

⁶⁶³ "... comiendo carne humana, y particularmente a los Españoles ... y los huessos hechos polvos se los beven.": Ibid., p. 13

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

taught in the Faith and all of them would accept it ...”⁶⁶⁶. Thus, reducing the Mapuche to proper slaves, the Christian faith could be established more effectively among them⁶⁶⁷.

Those arguments may have helped to convince the Spanish crown that the enslavement of the Mapuche rebels is the only plausible way to end the weary Mapuche Spanish Conflict. Nevertheless, as the crown’s slavery decree was contrary to the liberal interests of the Defensive War camp in Lima, the Marquis of Montesclaros sent Luis de Valdivia to Spain in October 1609 to win Philip III for the new defensive strategy. There, the Jesuit expanded his argument for a Defensive War strategy in Chile, wrote letters and reports to the king in which he argues that military warfare did not achieve anything besides high costs and the provocation of new aggression in the Mapuche because “... they [the Mapuche, S.E.] were very irritated by the many offences that they have received from the Spaniards.”⁶⁶⁸ In detail, these offences for Valdivia are the personal service system and the bad general behaviour of the Spanish army. On the one hand, in Luis de Valdivia the personal service system is marked out as the “... the major enemy that there is in that kingdom [Chile, S.E.] ...”⁶⁶⁹. Personal service thus “... is the scourge of God, through which he punishes that kingdom and its people ...”⁶⁷⁰. Being “... unjust against the natural liberty ...”⁶⁷¹, it gives the rebelling Mapuche a rightful reason for not submitting under Spanish rule⁶⁷². On the other hand, “... because the army is a glimmering fire that consumes everything where it is at ...”⁶⁷³, the Spanish troops committed crimes against the Mapuche people in the past (e.g. kidnapping, rape, robberies)⁶⁷⁴, which helped to provoke the Mapuche rebellion⁶⁷⁵. We find a similarly

⁶⁶⁶ “... accidentalmente se les seguira su bien espiritual, porque si se juzgasse oir licito darlos por esclavos, podrian ser enseñados en la Fê, y todos la tomarian ...”: Ibid., p. 3.

⁶⁶⁷ Calderón adds that there is no injustice to that reasoning as the church has the “just right” [derecho justo] (ibid., p. 18) to enslave the Mapuche as the defense of the ‘true faith’ weighs more than their “natural right” [derecho natural]: Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ “... estaban muy irritados con los grandes agravios que habían recibido de los españoles.”: Valdivia, L. de: *Relacion de lo que sucedio en el reyno de Chile, despues que el padre Luys de Valdiuia, de la Compañia de Iesus, entró en el con sus ocho compañeros sacerdotes de la misma compañía, el año de 1612.* - in: *Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina (ed.).* - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 93-109, p. 94.

⁶⁶⁹ “... el mayor enemigo que hay en aquel reino ...”: Valdivia, L. de: *Copia de vna carta del padre Luys de Valdiuia para el señor conde Lemos presidente de India.* - in: *Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina (ed.).* - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 49-56, p. 56.

⁶⁷⁰ “... es el azote porque Dios castiga á aquel reino y á los de él ...”: Ibid.

⁶⁷¹ “... injusto contra la libertad natural ...”: Ibid, p. 50.

⁶⁷² Valdivia, L. de: *Señor. El padre Luis de Valdiuia de la Compañia de Iesus.* - in: *Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina (ed.).* - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 60-93, p. 63.

⁶⁷³ “... porque el ejército es un fuego abrasador, que, donde asienta, todo lo consume ...”: Ibid., p. 66.

⁶⁷⁴ Valdivia, L. de: *Señor. El padre Luys de Valdiuia viceprouincial de la Compañia de Iesus en el reyno de Chile.* - in: *Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina (ed.).* - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 220-239, p. 222.

vivid critique of the conquista in Pedro Mariño de Lobera [Lovera] (*1528, Pontevedra/Spain; †1594, Lima/ Peru)⁶⁷⁶, a Spanish captain who began his service under Pedro de Valdivia in 1551 and participated for more than three decades in the Mapuche Spanish Conflict. In his *Crónica del reino de Chile*⁶⁷⁷ – written 15 years prior to Luis de Valdivia’s *Arte* (in the 1590s approximately; but it was not published before 1865) – Mariño explicitly criticises the Spanish conquistadors, arguing that their behaviour is far from being Christian. Instead, the Spaniards would only teach the Indians new ways to sin that those did not know before⁶⁷⁸. Thus, in a change of perspective of narration, the author lets the Mapuche leader Albaa explain the main reason why the Mapuche continue their resistance against the Spanish empire: “[Y]ou say to the Indians that it [the Christian law, S.E.] demands that nobody would steal, be a liar, would not take the women of others nor would do any harm to anyone. And on the other side, we see that most of you do the exact opposite ...”⁶⁷⁹.

Valdivia’s model claims to address those deficiencies by promoting a strategy change from open battle warfare to a defensive mode of “soft means” [medios suaves]⁶⁸⁰. After quitting the offensive behaviour against the Mapuche, Luis de Valdivia argues, the ‘rebels’ would not have an excuse for their rebellion anymore⁶⁸¹. Then, they can be appeased by a general pardon for past rebel deeds and by giving them the guarantee that the border line will be strictly respected so that they can live freely in their territory without the threat of being submitted to personal service⁶⁸². After these basic presuppositions may have been fulfilled, Luis de Valdivia continues his argumentation, Jesuit preachers could go out into the Araucanía and

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Biographical information on Mariño is taken from: Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 503-506; Thayer, *Conquistadores*, II, pp. 192-193.

⁶⁷⁷ *Chronicle of the kingdom of Chile*: Mariño de Lobera, P.: *Crónica del reino de Chile*. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1865.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 87.

⁶⁷⁹ “... decís a los indios que ella manda que ninguno robe, ni sea traidor, ni tome las mujeres ajenas, ni haga mal a nadie, y por otra parte vemos que los más de vosotros hacéis todo lo contrario ...” (ibid., p. 121). Mariño continues in another passage: “[T]he punishment should be more severe and terrible, such that it may rain fire from heaven on us. I pray to the majesty of God that from today on, there may be some moderation to all that, with more signs that we are Christians.” [“... que son más tan pesados y terribles estos castigos y de que no llueva fuego del cielo sobre nosotros. Plegue a la majestad de Dios que el día de hoy haya alguna moderación en todo esto con más indicios de que somos cristianos.”]: Ibid., p. 87.

⁶⁸⁰ Valdivia, *Señor*, p. 72.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., p. 73.

⁶⁸² Ibid., p. 83. In return for those rewards, Luis de Valdivia suggests that the Mapuche need to (1) help support the Spanish forts and sea ports near the frontier (ibid.). This point is of great importance as from the end of the 16th century on the coastal towns in the south were threatened by Dutch pirates (Barros, *Historia*, III, pp. 203-220; Encina, *Historia*, II, pp. 316-322). (2) The Mapuche furthermore need to abstain from mining in the Araucanía (Valdivia, *Señor*, pp. 83), (3) hand over all Spanish captives (Valdivia, *Señor*, p. 84), (4) guarantee the free trespassing of Spaniards to Chiloé (ibid.) and (5) direct a tribute payment to the Spanish crown for all they harvest on their lands (Valdivia, *Copia*, p. 51). Taking these five parts together, the Mapuche would thus become vassals of the Spanish crown.

spread the Gospel among the Mapuche⁶⁸³. By “... opening the door for the preaching of the Gospel and the conversion of the infidels ...”⁶⁸⁴, the war will be shortened and very soon come to an end⁶⁸⁵. Because the heathens will not only be taught the way to heaven but the preachers will also find a way to treat them “... that would be good for their silence and peace ...”⁶⁸⁶. In February 1610 the Spanish court approved the new strategy and entrusted Luis de Valdivia with leading that mission himself, assigning the title of an “Official inspector of Chile” [visitador general de Chile] to him, which temporarily rendered him superior to all Chilean officials⁶⁸⁷. Consequently, the personal service system was abolished, the slavery decree of 1607 suspended⁶⁸⁸ and the Bio-Bio river as an inviolable⁶⁸⁹ frontier established⁶⁹⁰. Accompanied by 11 Jesuit missionaries, Luis de Valdivia was then sent back to Chile arriving in Concepción in May 1612. The party began to missionise immediately, calling in numerous “peace parliaments” [parlamentos de paz]. In those parliaments, held all across the Araucanía in the following years, the missionaries met with local Mapuche leaders to informally approach some form of peace agreement⁶⁹¹.

Then, in December 1612 – that is nine months after the Defensive War strategy had been launched – three Jesuit missionaries were killed by Mapuche in the Araucanía⁶⁹². The enemies of the Defensive War strategy took those “Martyrs of Elicura” as a proof for the fiasco created by the application of soft means and peaceful conquest to the Chilean context⁶⁹³. Nonetheless, Luis de Valdivia’s interpretation of the results of the Defensive War in Chile was quite different. According to him, the Mapuche heathens were just waiting for the Jesuits to come and preach the Gospel. An aspect of the universalist claim of Christianity,

⁶⁸³ Valdivia, Señor, p. 82.

⁶⁸⁴ “... abrir puerta á la predicación del evangelio y conversión de los infieles ...”: Ibid., p. 80.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 85-86.

⁶⁸⁶ “... que bien les estuviere para su quietud y paz ...”: Ibid., p. 84.

⁶⁸⁷ Korth, Spanish, p. 127. This royal dismissal of military warfare in Chile meant nothing less than “... that the Castilian kings finally descended from their high throne to humbly offer peace to the wild and untamable people, on which they had looked upon with such overbearing disdain before.” [“... que los reyes de Castilla descendieron al fin de su alto trono a solicitar la paz humildemente del pueblo fiero e indomitable al que con tan soberano desprecio ántes miraran.”]: Lara, Crónica, II, p. 17.

⁶⁸⁸ Korth, Spanish, p. 130.

⁶⁸⁹ Inviolable with one exception: The Jesuit missionaries were free to pass and spread their faith among the Mapuche: Villalobos et al., Historia, p. 145.

⁶⁹⁰ Korth, Spanish, p. 130. As a consequence of that frontier, various Spanish towns and forts in the Araucanía had to be abandoned.

⁶⁹¹ Villalobos, Vida, p. 385. For further information on the history and method of the peace parliaments in Chile see: Méndez, L.M.: La organización de los parlamentos de indios en el siglo XVIII. - in: Relaciones fronterizas en la Araucanía/ S. Villalobos et al. (eds.) - Santiago: Universidad Católica Press. - 1982. - 107-174; Zapater, Parlamentos.

⁶⁹² Salinas, Evangelio, p. 88.

⁶⁹³ Korth, Spanish, p. 138. This incident, was a fatal strike to Luis de Valdivia’s strategy of Defensive War in the end (Bonilla, Gran, II, p. 96), from which the project could never fully recover: Korth, Spanish, p. 138.

which is projected on some natural predestination of the American heathen for the ‘true faith’, is expatiated in the following passage:

“[I]t was a marvellous thing to see how much they [the Mapuche, S.E.] were moved by their [the Jesuits, S.E.] words because of all the many Indians there was almost nobody, who disliked hearing what was said to them. Instead, they all wanted to become Christians. And those that only shortly before were capital enemies of the Spaniards and in their drinking feasts drank from cups made of their skulls, treated us – after such a short time and by employing such soft means – very brotherly.”⁶⁹⁴

The Mapuche received the good news, it is continued, with tremendous pleasure as many were moved so much that they could not refrain from crying, while others were happily laughing out loud⁶⁹⁵. The peace, that began with Luis de Valdivia’s entering of the Araucanía, was so unbelievable that, following Luis de Valdivia, it could not be anything else than “... the work of the very powerful hand of God ...”⁶⁹⁶, which made all of that possible. Although the crown reiterated its approval of the Defensive War strategy in several decrees throughout the year 1615⁶⁹⁷, since the Elicura incident the resistance to that tactic increased among all kinds of people in Chile and abroad – including the clergy⁶⁹⁸.

An example for that is the Franciscan friar Pedro de Sosa [Sossa] (*1566, ?; †161~, ?)⁶⁹⁹, who, as a severe opponent of Luis de Valdivia and the Defensive War strategy, became a prominent speaker for the military approach camp. From 1613 on, Sosa addressed various letters and a *Memorial* to Philip III, in which he pointed out that Valdivia’s strategy put to practice did not achieve anything in Chile: Neither could a peace nor the Christian faith be established among the ‘rebel heathens’⁷⁰⁰. For Sosa, it is not the lack of indoctrination that

⁶⁹⁴ “... era cosa maravillosa ver lo mucho que les movia con sus palabras, porque de todo este número de indios apenas hubo alguno que disgustase de oír lo que se les decía, sino que todos deseaban hacerse christianos, y los que poco antes eran capitales enemigos de los españoles y en sus borracheras se brindaban en las calaveras dellos, en tan breve tiempo y con medio tan suave, trataban con nosotros muy hermanablemente.”: Valdivia, *Relacion reyno*, p. 97.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁶⁹⁶ “... obra de tan poderosa mano de Dios ...”: *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁶⁹⁷ Korth, *Spanish*, p. 156.

⁶⁹⁸ Noggler, *Misión*, p. 66.

⁶⁹⁹ We do not know much about Sosa’s biography see: Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 832-833.

⁷⁰⁰ Sosa, P. de: Señor. Fray Pedro de Sossa de la orden de s. Francisco, guardian del conuento de s. Francisco de Santiago de la ciudad de Santiago en el reyno de Chile. - in: *Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina* (ed.). - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 132-135, p. 133.

fuelled the war⁷⁰¹ but the character of the Mapuche. They are “such untamable people” [gente tan indómita]⁷⁰², who “... have closed the doors to all kinds of peace, as they always did ...”⁷⁰³. In a way, Calderón’s and Sosa’s arguments on the Mapuche character can be interpreted as an extension of Arias’ imagery of the Mapuche as active anti-Christians and blasphemists. As the Mapuche, according to Sosa’s conclusion, are so ferocious and wild in nature, soft means only make them become more and more impudent⁷⁰⁴:

“The Indians of Chile are ... feudal vassals that never have known adoration, king nor chief that they would obey (but just the things concerning war). And thus, they are barbarous people without police, townships nor state, without having someone among them, who judges over robberies, injuries, deaths, stealings, wars and combats. Because among them there is no justice, honour nor reason ...”⁷⁰⁵.

After employing such a language of defect, Sosa continues by arguing that there is no other way to end the war than by weapons, as anything else meant to lose time⁷⁰⁶. Only in this way, the Mapuche “... are converted from wild to sociable people, able to hear and like the word of

⁷⁰¹ Sosa, P. de: Señor. Fray Pedro de Sossa de la orden de s. Francisco, predicador y guardian del conuento de la misma orden de Santiago, reyno de Chile. - in: Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina (ed.). - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 135-140, p. 136.

⁷⁰² Sosa, P. de: Memorial del peligroso estado espiritual y temporal del reino de Chile. - in: Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina (ed.). - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 158-193, p. 160.

⁷⁰³ “... han cerrado las puertas á todo género de trato de paz, como siempre las han cerrado ...”: Sosa, Señor guardian, p. 133.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ “Son ... los indios de Chile gente de behetria, que jamás se les conoció adoración, rey, ley ni cabeza á quien obedezcan (sino sólo á lo tocante á la guerra) y así, es gente bárbara, sin policia ni reducción á pueblos ni república, sin haber entre ellos quien dé cuenta ni la tome, de robos, hurtos, muertes, latrocinios, guerras y pendencias, porque entre ellos no hay más justicica, honra, razón ...” (Sosa, Señor predicador, p. 136). A quote that contains almost all of the possible deficiencies in the colonial conceptualisation of Mapuche culture is found in another treatise, the *Desengaño y reparo de las guerras del reino de Chile donde se manifiestan las principales ventajas que en ella tienen los indios a nuestros españoles* [Error and rectification of the wars in the kingdom of Chile. Where the main advantages lie that the Indians have in these wars compared to our Spaniards] (González de Nájera, A. de: *Desengaño y reparo de la guerra del reino de Chile, donde se manifiestan las principales ventajas que en ella tienen los indios a nuestros españoles*. - Santiago: Ercilla, 1889): “[T]hey are people who do not deserve to call themselves rational because they are free of any virtue. They are sorcerous, superstitious, believe in oracles, without reason, without truth, without conscience and more than cruel beasts without any compassion. Principally, they are without God because they do not follow any religion; and, it can be said, they do so because they do not need to serve or obey anyone but their own stomachs.” [“... es gente indigna de llamarse racional, porque es ajena de toda virtud, hechicera, supersticiosa, agorera, sin justicia, sin razón, sin verdad, sin conciencia y sin alguna misericordia, más que crueles fieras, y principalmente sin Dios pues no lo conocen ni guardan alguna religión, y esto se puede decir que lo hacen por no tener que servir ni obedecer a otros que a sus vientres.”] (Ibid., p. 45). Written by the captain Alonso González de Nájera (*15~; †1614) in 1614, the book promotes a military warfare strategy similar to Calderón, advocating for the enslavement of the Mapuche. For (scarce) biographical information on González see: Medina, Diccionario, pp. 376-377.

⁷⁰⁶ Sosa, Señor predicador, p. 138.

God, saving their souls and expulse the power of the devil, which they worshipped in their lands ...”⁷⁰⁷. This diabolism among the Mapuche – that reminds one of Pedro de Valdivia –, is concretised in another passage: “These Indians are so untamable that they do not have in their nature another worship than to consult the devil ...”⁷⁰⁸. Thus, there is no questioning the justification of war, as for Sosa it is clear that there can only be an intervention with arms against those ‘evil people of the devil’.

Practically, in November 1619 Defensive Warfare in Chile came to an end with Luis de Valdivia’s final return to Spain⁷⁰⁹. After 30 years of missionary activity in South America, Luis de Valdivia dedicated the rest of his life to teaching and writing in Valladolid. As the supportive Philip III died in March 1621 and his successor Philip IV (*1605; †1665) was less in favour of Valdivia’s strategy, a decree was issued in April 1625 that officially ended Defensive War in Chile and ordered to return to military warfare⁷¹⁰. Therefore, the active years of Defensive War were limited to eight years only, from 1612 to 1620 altogether.

To conclude this chapter, we can say that no matter how empathetic with the Mapuche, Luis de Valdivia still speaks of them as “... our nearest Indian enemies ...”⁷¹¹. Distinguishing between an “us” and a “them” – that is friend versus enemy of Christian civilisation in Luis de Valdivia’s case – the Defensive War strategy was conceptualised as yet another military strategy to win the Mapuche Spanish conflict for the Spaniards, in the first place⁷¹². While the military approach of Calderón and Sosa saw the mission threatened by the Mapuche character (i.e. their barbarity and ferociousness), the defensive strategy fixed the obstacle to lie inside, that is in the Spanish aberrations from Christian ethics⁷¹³. But in the end, what the opponents Calderón, Sosa and González, on the one side, and Luis de Valdivia, on the other side, unmistakably agree on, is that converting the Mapuche heathens to the ‘universal Christian faith’ by preaching the Gospel would serve the conquering process in the Araucanía⁷¹⁴. Thus, opponents and supporters of the Defensive War strategy likewise share the view with Ercilla,

⁷⁰⁷ “... de fieras se hacen tratables y capaces para oír la palabra de Dios, y gustarla y salvar sus almas, y salir del poder del demonio, á quien reverencian en sus tierras ...”: Sosa, Memorial, p. 175.

⁷⁰⁸ “... son tan indómitos estos indios, que en su natural no se conoce haber tenido otra adoración, mas de consultar al demonio ...”: Ibid., p. 177.

⁷⁰⁹ Korth, Spanish, p. 160.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., p. 161.

⁷¹¹ “... indios enemigos nuestros prójimos ...”: Valdivia, Señor, p. 62.

⁷¹² This line of argument is augmented by a late treatise of Luis de Valdivia on the results of the Defensive War strategy. There, the author explicitly claims that his strategy can accomplish the reduction of the Mapuche army by a division of forces, the taking away of leaders and the diminution of Mapuche pride: Valdivia, Señor viceprovincial, pp. 225-226.

⁷¹³ Salinas, Evangelio, pp. 162-163.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid, p. 89.

Oña and Arias, that Mapuche heathendom needs to be extirpiated – either by enslavement or the employment of soft means – to enable an implantation of Christianity. Despite its short period of time, the debate on Defensive War was very influential, nonetheless, as arguments of the debate reappear in the discussion of just war or in the critiques of the conquista relevant to our analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse.

5.2 The conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in Valdivia’s *Arte* and *Sermón*

In 1606, at the height of the debate on Defensive War, Luis de Valdivia published his *Arte*. In accordance with the author’s political agenda, the general aim of that book is thus defined:

“It is my will that there may be some printed tool with which those that – for the honour of our Lord and the zeal of conversion of these Indians of Chile – are desirous to learn their language, could achieve their goal.”⁷¹⁵

Furthermore, in a letter from 1607 Luis de Valdivia claims that the *Arte* could help “... that the war would have a quicker end and costs may be saved ...”⁷¹⁶. There are two parts of special interest to our study: (1) The *Vocabulario* [vocabulary] translating terms from Mapudungun into Castilian⁷¹⁷; and (2) the *Doctrina Christiana* [Christian doctrine] at the end of the book, which includes a *Cathecismo* [catechism] and a *Confessionario* [confessionary]⁷¹⁸. The confessionary is a catalogue of model questions in Mapudungun – with a translation into Castilian – to interrogate Mapuche converts on their spiritual state of being. In October 1621 – that is two years after his final return to Spain – Luis de Valdivia published his last work on the Mapuche, the *Sermón*⁷¹⁹. As the subtitle of this work suggests, Luis de Valdivia aims at providing a model for sermons to be held in front of Mapuche heathens. In

⁷¹⁵ “Mi desseo es, que aya algun principio impresso, por donde los que desseosos de la honra de nuestro Señor, y zelo de la conversion destes Indios de Chile, quieren aprender su lengua, puedan alcançar su fin.”: Valdivia, *Arte*, Al lector, n.p.

⁷¹⁶ “... para que la guerra tenga más breve fin y los gastos se ahorren ...”: Valdivia, *Copia*, p. 56.

⁷¹⁷ There is no pagination in the vocabulary part of the book.

⁷¹⁸ Valdivia, *Arte*, *Doctrina Christiana*, pp. 17-31.

⁷¹⁹ Full title: *Sermón en lengua de Chile. De los misterios de nuestra santa fe catholica, para predicarla a los indios infieles del reyno de Chile, dividido en nueve partes pequeñas, acomodadas a su capacidad* [*Sermon in the language of Chile. Of the mysteries of our holy Catholic faith, to preach it to the infidel Indians of the reign of Chile, divided into nine little parts, accomodated to their capacity*]: Valdivia, L. de: *Sermón en lengua de Chile. De los misterios de nuestra santa fe catholica, para predicarla a los indios infieles del reyno de Chile, dividido en nueve partes pequeñas, acomodadas a su capacidad.* - Santiago: Elzeviriana, 1897.

difference to Ercilla's, Oña's and Arias' books, it is not the general public *Arte* and *Sermón* aim at but the niche audience of (Jesuit) missionaries to Chile. It is that audience specialisation and the type of text that partly explain, why Luis de Valdivia aberrs from his predecessors with not employing miraculous events in his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion. We also have to consider that Luis de Valdivia necessarily conceptualises Mapuche Religion differently compared to Ercilla and his successors, considering the difference in type of actor (i.e. soldier versus missionary), the extensity of his stay in Chile and his advanced knowledge of the Mapuche language, culture and religion.

In those two books, Luis de Valdivia continues or alters the description of various Mapuche Religion characters; he also introduces several new ones and omits others that played a central role in his predecessors. The Eponamon character, for example, is not mentioned here at all. Another character has only a short appearance in the vocabulary: "Ivumche"⁷²⁰, which is cryptically translated by "enchanter" [encantador]⁷²¹, which – as far as an interpretation is possible – somewhat reminds one of Oña's *ibunché* as corpse recepticle for Pillán/ Pillano. Nonetheless, the major role in both of Luis de Valdivia's textbooks plays "Pillan"⁷²², which is strongly related to another character in *Sermón*, "Huecuvoe"⁷²³. In difference to Arias – where Güecuvi is briefly described as a side character –, in Luis de Valdivia Huecuvoe becomes the most important supernatural being of Mapuche Religion besides Pillan.

Pillan and Huecuvoe are depicted as gods, as a passage in *Sermón* expands: "You shall not think nor say that there is a God in heaven and another on earth, my sons. The old people told you that the Pillan is in heaven and the Huecuvoe on earth and in the sea."⁷²⁴ Additionally, in the first chapter of the confessionary the convert is asked: "To pay your reverence, did you address Pillan, the Sun, the Rivers or hills, asking them for life?"⁷²⁵ Putting Pillan in one row with those things of nature, it is not perfectly clear what kind of being or thing Pillan is. A probable animistic interpretation is fuelled in another passage, where Pillan is cryptically defined as "the Volcano" [el Volcan]⁷²⁶. Thus, we have two interpretations of Pillan so far: For one, he becomes the personified volcano; secondly, Pillan and Huecuvoe seem to be part

⁷²⁰ Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.

⁷²¹ Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.

⁷²² Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 32.

⁷²³ Ibid.

⁷²⁴ "No penseys, ni digays que ay un Dios en el cielo, y otro en la tierra (hijos mios). Los viejos os dezian, que el Pillan está en el cielo, y el Huecuvoe en la tierra, y mar.": Ibid.

⁷²⁵ "Has nombrado para revenciarle al Pillan, al Sol, Rios o cerros, pidiendoles vida.": Valdivia, *Arte*, Confessionario, p. 20.

⁷²⁶ Valdivia, *Sermón*, pp. 35-36.

of a polytheistic pantheon – which may be influenced by a known (e.g. Græco-Roman) polytheistic absent model – as the former is pictured as the god of heaven and the latter as the god of earth and sea.

We may provide some clarification on that by looking at the functions that Pillan and Huecuvoe hold for the Mapuche, following Luis de Valdivia. First of all, Pillan and Huecuvoe are involved in the healing process, as the author explains that it is wrong to believe that “... in your illnesses and needs you should invoke the Pillan and the Huecuvoe.”⁷²⁷ While Huecuvoe’s supernatural responsibilities are not expanded any further, Pillan is assigned to various others: He is imagined as some type of fertility god or creature, as he makes the seeds grow⁷²⁸. He also causes the thunder in the sky and supports Mapuche warriors in battle⁷²⁹. This aspect is of utter importance: As Eponamon is omitted in Luis de Valdivia, the character’s war aspects – seemingly assumed to be central to the culture of the warlike Mapuche people – is transferred onto Pillan in Luis de Valdivia. Conclusively, there are three functional aspects attributed to Pillan: (1) Pillan is conceptualised as a healing force; (2) as a force of nature (i.e. thunder and fertility) and (3) as a kind of supportive force in battle, similar to Ercilla’s devil Eponamon.

How then does Luis de Valdivia conceptualise the interaction of the Mapuche with their Pillan and Huecuvoe? Most of all, Pillan is worshipped in the context of “drinking feasts” [borracheras]⁷³⁰, in which he is asked for life by blood⁷³¹ or tobacco smoke⁷³² offerings. In difference to Oña’s and Arias’ conceptualisation of sacrifice to that supernatural being, Pillan is here worshipped by the letting of blood of the Mapuche worshippers themselves and not by that of children (as in Oña) or Christian captives (as in Arias). But those worships are wrong, as they annoy the ‘true god’ because it is not he, who is addressed therewith⁷³³. Moreover, we hear in a passage – which strengthens the god interpretation of Pillan and Huecuvoe – that this worship is an aberration from the first commandment because “... to steal, commit

⁷²⁷ “... en vuestras enfermedades, y necesidades, nombres al Pillan, y al Huecuvoe.”: *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷²⁹ “The devil says that Pillan thunders in the sky and helps the warriors when fighting ...” [“Dize el diablo que el Pillan truena en el cielo, y ayuda a pelear a los conas ...”] (*ibid.*, pp. 44-45). Erize translates “cona” by “warrior” [guerrero]: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 79.

⁷³⁰ Valdivia, *Arte, Confessionario*, p. 20. Another subtle hint at the connection of worship and dissolute drinking feasts is given in the following question: “When you are drunk, do you commit some idolatries or another evil?” [“Quando estás borracho, hazes algunas idolatrias, o algun daño.”]: Valdivia, *Arte, Confessionario*, p. 24.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷³² Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 45.

⁷³³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

adultery, lie, worship the Pillan and the Huecuvoe, do damage to another, that is sin.”⁷³⁴ Consequently, worshipping Pillan and Huecuvoe is shameful and irrational as these beings are not worth it⁷³⁵.

Finally, Luis de Valdivia comes to a conclusion on the true nature of Pillan and Huecuvoe: In reality those beings are nothing else than the deceitful “devil” [diablo]⁷³⁶ himself. There is no such thing as Pillan or Huecuvoe⁷³⁷, as the devil – in his mimetic desire – deceived the ancestors on his real name, telling them that he is called Pillan and Huecuvoe to make them respect him⁷³⁸. Consequently, Luis de Valdivia demands in another passage to abandon the Mapuche’s animistic polytheism as there is just one Christian god:

“Do not say that there is one God of corn and another of wheat, one that thunders and another that makes it rain and another that takes away the illnesses and gives health to men ... There is no god of the Spaniards and another one of the Indians. All men and all things do not have more than one God.”⁷³⁹

Additionally, Luis de Valdivia found a responsible for the devil’s complex betrayal of the Mapuche, their ancestors: “Your ignorant ancestors knew nothing for understanding God. They were like children without reason. Therefore, you have to make fun of what they said, which is without any basis ...”⁷⁴⁰. Thus, in Luis de Valdivia the belief in a pantheon of gods for certain compartments of life is judged to be caused by the ignorance (i.e. irrationality or wrong knowledge) of the Mapuche ancestors (i.e. Mapuche tradition). The worst case scenario for the Jesuit Luis de Valdivia and his missionary audience, therefore, is the falling back of converts into heathendom by the influence of that ‘false tradition’:

⁷³⁴ “Hurtar adulterar, jurar falso, adorar al Pillan, y al Huecuvoe, hazer daño a otro, este es pecado.”: Ibid., p. 7.

⁷³⁵ “In being man, you are more than the Pillan ... and more than what you may call Huecuvoe ...” [“Vosotros en el ser de hombres, soys mas que el Pillan ... y mas, que lo que llamays Huecuvoe ...”]: Ibid., pp. 35-36.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., p. 44. The author continues: “Only God causes that the seeds grow and the devil said what you are saying: That it is by the power of Pillan that the seeds grow or do not grow ...” [“Dios solo haze que salgan los sembrados, y el diablo dixo lo que dezis vosotros que por mandado del Pillan nacen, ó no nacen los sembrados ...”]: Ibid., p. 45.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p. 72.

⁷³⁸ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

⁷³⁹ “No digays que ay un Dios del mayz, y otro del trigo, uno que truena, y otro que haze llover, y otro que quita enfermedades, y da salud a los hombres ... no ay un dios de Españoles, y otro de Indios, todos los hombres, y todas las cosas no tienen mas de un Dios.” (Ibid., p. 32) In this passage, Luis de Valdivia translates the God of corn by the Mapudungun words “gen hua” (ibid.) and the god of wheat by “gen cachilla” (ibid.). In *Arte*, on the other hand, the author translates “Gen” (Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.) by “owner” [dueño] (Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.). Being of no special importance here, that aspect will be of interest to our later discussion of Febrés’ work. The gen/ Gen character seems to relate to Erize’s “nguen”: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 286.

⁷⁴⁰ “Vuestros viejos ignorantes, no sabian nada, para conocer a Dios, eran como niños sin razon, aueys de hazer burla de la que dezian sin fundamento ...”: Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 32.

“And a lot more will others be tortured that, after becoming Christians by having received this Faith, returned to the lies that their ancestors have told them. Because those are old people and wizards that follow the devil and help him. They want to set you apart from the word of God and his Faith and tell you that you should invoke Pillan and Huecuvoe with reverence and that you should not worship God.”⁷⁴¹

Thus, Ercilla’s phony-wizards held responsible for the ‘Mapuche schism’ are varied to a type of phony-wizard-ancestors. Therefore, just by employing this mechanism of assigning the object category of the good/ bad Indian binary alone to religious specialists as representatives of Mapuche tradition, missionising the good Indian (i.e. the Mapuche commoner) becomes possible. Being in some accordance with Ercilla’s differentiation between good warrior and bad wizard, that line of argument is aberrating from Oña’s, Sosa’s and Calderón’s, who assumed that all Mapuche are thoroughly bad Indians. Consequently, the price for following the religious specialists or tradition – for Luis de Valdivia and his Christian frame of thought – is very high: “[A]ll of those that invoke Pillan with reverence, will be lost in hell forever and will be punished without end.”⁷⁴²

Hence, in Luis de Valdivia Pillan is no guardian spirit (unlike the first interpretation of Arias) but shows more similarities to the idol god of an animistic pantheon (similar to Arias’ second reading) and, moreover, becomes itself a catch-all term for animistic and diabolic worship. As the main representative of a polytheistic Mapuche pantheon, Pillan functions – similar to Eponamon in Ercilla and his successors – as an incorporation of evilness and superstition that hinders a successful conversion of the Mapuche heathens to Christianity. On the other hand, Huecuvoe is not sharply distinguished from Pillan here. While Pillan is expatiated on in depth, the only defining feature of Huecuvoe is that it is the god of earth and sea and, thus, – perhaps following a Græco-Roman analogous understanding – somewhat subordinated to Pillan (i.e. the god of heaven).

Besides that long description of Pillan and Huecuvoe, Luis de Valdivia introduces two new characters to the supernatural beings strand. First, there is “Mareupuate”⁷⁴³/ “Mareupante”⁷⁴⁴, described in a rather scholastic way in the following passage:

⁷⁴¹ “Y mucho mas seran atormentados otros que despues de auer recibido esta Fè, y hechoso Christianos, se tornaron a las mentiras que les dezian sus antepassados, que estos son viejos, y hechizeros que siguen al diablo, y le ayudan. Estos os quieren apartar de la palabra de Dios, y de su Fè, y os dizen que con reuerencia nombres al Pillan, y Huecuvoe: y que no adoreys a Dios.”: *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁴² “... todos los que con reuerencia nombran al Pillan se perderan en el infierno, y seran castigados sin fin.”: *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

“There is no Marepuante ... The sun is not alive. Then, what has no life, how could it have a son? And that which does not live itself, how could it give life to others? What you do not have you cannot give to another. Thus, how could the sun that does not live nor has life can give life to all men? The sun does not live, nor if it would have a son would the son live. And if the Marepuante is not alive, how could he have given life to you? It is a very big lie to say that the sun has a son.”⁷⁴⁵

In that somewhat obscure passage – that for the first time hints at a Mapuche creation mythology in the Mapuche Religion discourse, nonetheless –, it is assumed that the Mapuche believe the sun gave birth to a son called Marepua(n)te and that he then passed on the force of life (and still does?) to humankind. Following Luis de Valdivia, as well as Pillan and Huecuvoc, Marepua(n)te does not exist but is an incorporation of the devil⁷⁴⁶. A second new character is “Alhue”⁷⁴⁷/ “alhue”⁷⁴⁸/ “alhues”⁷⁴⁹, cryptically translated by “devil” [diablo]⁷⁵⁰ in *Arte*’s vocabulary, which somehow seems to be related to death as it is stated: “[W]ith that word Alhue they insult another one, the dead.”⁷⁵¹ In the following passage its plural is described as “ ... those that they call demons, devils and alhues that haunt and seduce all men.”⁷⁵² As an explicit synonym for devil (in singular) and for demons or devils (in plural) that character gathers the second major aspect of Ercilla’s Eponamon, besides that of its seductive diabolism.

Turning now to the strand religious specialists, we find only three short passages in *Sermón*, in difference to *Arte*, where there is a more extensive conceptualisation of that strand of discourse. The main information on religious specialists is provided in the confessionary:

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ “No ay Marepuante ... El sol no tiene vida, pues lo que no tiene vida, como puede tener hijo, y lo que no viue en si como puede dar vida a otros. Tu lo que no tienes no lo das a otro, pues como sol que no viue, ni tiene vida, puede dar vida a los hombres enteramente. El sol no viue, ni si tuuiera hijo viuiera su hijo y si el Marepuante no tiene vida, como os auia de dar la vida a vosotros. Mentira es muy grande dezir que el sol tiene hijo.”: Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid. Adding to that is the argument that the sun, the planets and other stars are not alive as “... the Sun, does not speak nor does it know or is any similar to God. And the Sun, Moon and stars were made for the good of men.” [“... el Sol, no habla, ni conoce, ni se parece a Dios, y el Sol, Luna, y estrellas fueron hechos para el bien del hombre.”]: Ibid., p. 48.

⁷⁴⁷ Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.

⁷⁴⁸ Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 43.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.

⁷⁵¹ “... con esta palabra, afrenta a otro Alhue, el muerto.” (Ibid.) This does not become clearer in *Sermón*, where “alhue” is described as a bad name in the sense of “bad devil” [mal diablo] (Valdivia, *Sermón*, pp. 43-44) to insult someone. Speculatively speaking, could this hint at wishing someone to hell (i.e. to the devil)?

⁷⁵² “... los que se llaman demonios, diablos, y alhues, y aborrecen, y tienen embidia de todos los hombres ...”: Ibid., p. 43.

“When it did not rain, did you believe that there is an Indian wizard that is the lord of the waters who makes it rain? Did you send for him and offer him payment so that he would make it rain to harvest your food? Did you cure with the help of a wizard? Did you call him or let him be called for your needs?”⁷⁵³

Thus, here is an unspecific description of the religious specialists as (1) lord of the waters (i.e. rainmaker) that seems to perform fertility or rain rituals as to influence the forces of nature and increase the harvest (i.e. increase rituals). Moreover, for the first time in Mapuche Religion discourse that passage (2) describes Mapuche religious specialists as healers. Furthermore, they are also pictured as (3) specialists in love magic: “Did you talk to some wizard, asking him that he may give you something so that women would love you?”⁷⁵⁴ Showing the entanglement between the strands of discourse religious specialists, folk religious beliefs and supernatural beings, religious specialists are, furthermore, depicted as (4) communicators with the *alhues*: “With those devils the wizards do speak, and they appear to them as birds, goats, or men and the wizard says he saw ghosts and had visions but what they see is the devil ...”⁷⁵⁵. Consequently, the wizards communicate with the devils/ demons called *alhues* (i.e. they have a pact with them) to gain their supernatural powers. Conclusively, the deceitful Mapuche wizards are consulted to apply their diabolic powers to make it rain when there is drought, in love matters and to heal the sick.

Then the author continues with the introduction of a new character in *Sermón* (that is completely missing in *Arte*), which is going to be central to succeeding conceptualisations of that strand of discourse. Lingering on the healing beliefs of “bad Indians” [*malos Indios*]⁷⁵⁶, an Indian laying sick “... will take advice from the *Machis* (which are wizards) and from the old people ...”⁷⁵⁷. *Machis*, therefore, are (1) identified with the wizards discussed above and are, furthermore, described to (2) use their supernatural powers to give advice in health matters. The last religious specialist⁷⁵⁸ in Luis de Valdivia’s work is the “*Calcu*” translated by

⁷⁵³ “Quando no llueve has creido que ay Indio hechizero que es el señor de las aguas que haze llover? Embiastele a buscar, y ofrecerle paga para que te hiziesse llover para coger tu comida. Haste curado con algun hechizero? Hasle llamado, o hecho llamar para tus necessidades.”: Valdivia, *Arte*, Confessionario, p. 20.

⁷⁵⁴ “Hablaste algun hechizero, pidiendole te diesse algo para que te quisiessen mugeres.”: *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷⁵⁵ “Con estos diablos hablan los hechizeros, y se les aparecen estos diablos, como pajaros, como cabras, ó como hombres y dize el hechizero, que ha visto fantasmas, y visiones y esto que veen ellos, es el diablo ...”: Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 44.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷⁵⁷ “... va a tomar consejo con los *Machis* (que son hechizeros) y con los viejos ...”: *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁸ There is one other type of religious specialist expanded in *Sermón* and the *Relación de lo que sucedió en la jornada que hicimos* [*Account of what happened in the campaign that we did*], which was probably written by Luis de Valdivia in 1612 for his Jesuit superiors in Lima, unpublished until 1852 (Valdivia, L. de: *Relación de lo que sucedió en la jornada que hicimos el señor presidente Alonso de Ribera, gobernador deste reyno, y yo, desde*

“wizard” [hechizero]⁷⁵⁹ in *Arte*’s vocabulary. The confusing translation of both Machis and of Calcu by wizard(s) relate Luis de Valdivia to his predecessors, who also blended various terms and aspects of religious specialists into one overinclusive prototype.

In *Arte*, the true enemies of the mission project are not only the past but also the present wizards, who – with their knowledge of the ‘false’ Mapuche tradition – threaten the lasting salvation of Mapuche converts to Christianity; interestingly, this is very similar to Luis de Valdivia’s ‘opponent’ Calderón’s argument. Another striking aspect here is the emphasis laid on the old age of the religious specialists. Similar to Ercilla’s interpretative repertoire in this strand of discourse – which was built around the worn-out, old and obscure characters Puchecalco and Fiton – Luis de Valdivia seems to imply that the old-fashioned wizards (including the superstitious tradition they represent) do not stand a chance against the representatives of the new, fresh and ‘true faith’, that is the Christian missionaries. It thus is only logical for Luis de Valdivia to point out to the duty of every Christian convert to denunciate those ‘evildoers’:

“Do you know someone who may be a wizard or who teaches against the law of the Christians or may live badly? And knowing it, did you tell it to a Father or a visitor or someone who could help it? Look son, you have the obligation to do it like this or otherwise you will go to hell.”⁷⁶⁰

In Luis de Valdivia, Ercilla’s imposter theme is finally altered to a religious specialist characterised as a criminal, unethically offending against the universal Christian law and, thus, is in need to be denounced by any ethical (i.e. Christian) person.

Arauco a Paycaui, a concluir las pazes de Elicura. - in: Historia física y política de Chile segun documentos adquiridos en esta republica durante doce años de residencia en ella y publicado bajo los auspicios del supremo gobierno. Documentos sobre la historia, la estadística y la geografía/ C. Gay (ed.). - 2 vols. - Paris: Museo de Historia Natural. - vol. 2. - 1852. - 281-294). There, a ceremony is described in which 15 Mapuche “... came in the dress of nesues, that is in the way of their priests with round hats on the heads and on top of their shirt some weeds of the sea that they call cochayuyos ...” [“... venian en traje de nesues que son á modo de sacerdotes suyos con bonetes redondos en las cabezas y encima de las camisetas unas yervas de la mar que se llaman cochayuyos ...”] (ibid., p. 285). In *Sermón*, it is cryptically said that “... the sins cannot leave the body with the blood, as do your neges.” [“... ni pueden salir con la sangre que se hazen vuestros neges, los pecados de los hombres.”] (Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 72) As the nesues/ neges character has no bigger impact on the Mapuche Religion discourse, we omit a further discussion of it here.

⁷⁵⁹ Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.

⁷⁶⁰ “Sabes que alguno sea hechizero, o enseñe contra la ley de los Christianos, o viva mal. Y sabiendolo has dexado de manifestarlo al Padre, o al visitador, o a quien pueda remediarlo. Mira, hijo, que tienes obligacion de hazerlo assi, y que de otra suerte te irás al infierno.”: Ibid., *Confessionario*, p. 29.

Finally, we now turn to the strands postmortality and folk religious beliefs⁷⁶¹. We read in questions seven and eight of the first chapter of the confessionary that the Mapuche believe their dead to come to eat and drink with them, so that they offer them corn and chicha⁷⁶²: “Did you offer some corn or chicha to the dead, thinking that they come and drink?”⁷⁶³ Luis de Valdivia also hints at a Mapuche afterlife saying that the Mapuche ancestors were right in just one point, as they held that the soul lives on eternally in “another life” [otra vida]⁷⁶⁴. Moreover, he is the first actor in the Mapuche Religion discourse, who influentially introduces a translation of soul into the Mapudùngun⁷⁶⁵. In *Arte* “pllu”⁷⁶⁶ is the “soul of man” [alma del hombre]⁷⁶⁷; similarly, in *Sermón* the Mapudùngun translation of “soul” [alma]⁷⁶⁸ is “pllú”⁷⁶⁹. In some far relation to Oña’s fox omen, the Mapuche are pictured by Luis de Valdivia to believe in omens, especially bird flight: “When you saw the bird Loyca or Meru or others that pass you by on the left hand side, did you believe that something bad must happen?”⁷⁷⁰ They also believe in the prognosticative power of dreams: “Did you believe in your dreams or asked others that they would tell you theirs and did you believe them?”⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶¹ Besides the cryptical hint at the Mapuche creation mythology connected with the Mareupua(n)te character, Luis de Valdivia’s conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion omits the mythology strand.

⁷⁶² Chicha is a traditional alcoholic beverage made of fermented fruits.

⁷⁶³ “Has ofrecido a los muertos algun maiz, o chicha, pensando que vienen a comer, y beber.” (Ibid., p. 20) This description bares slight similarities to Vivar’s Christian analogy of the resurrection of the dead. In his *Crónica*, the author states that the dead at times of depopulating hardships came and one day will come back from the “land of above” [tierra de arriba] (Vivar, *Crónica*, p. 190) to repopulate the earth again. Although they assume that all dead will return to earth one day, Vivar concludes that this must be their false understanding of the Christian judgement day: Ibid.

⁷⁶⁴ Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁵ Adopting the (exclusivist) claim that Christianity is superior to Mapuche Religion, Luis de Valdivia introduces many Castilian Christian terms to the Mapudùngun in *Arte* and *Sermón*, such as proper names (e.g. Lord, God, Christ, Holy Spirit, Virgin Mary) and others (e.g. mess, baptism, communion, faith, charity, hope, justice) to explain the Christian faith (Zapater, Búsqueda, p. 76). Interestingly, this is similar in the case of a Castilian-Tagalog grammar written for the Spanish conversion of Tagalog people on the Philippines, as Rafael points out: “[C]ertain key terms retained their Latin or Castilian forms – Dios, Virgen, Espíritu Santo, Cruz, Doctrina Cristiana, and the like. In order to maintain the ‘purity’ of the concepts that these words conveyed, the missionaries left them untranslated, convinced that they had no exact equivalents in Tagalog. That this notion of untranslatability should stand guard over the movement of translation is once again indicative of the belief in the intrinsic superiority of some languages – in this case Latin and Castilian – over others in the communication of God’s Word. The untranslatability of a word meant that it was adequate to the expression of a certain concept. To use the signifier Dios rather than the Tagalog bathala presupposed the perfect fit between the Spanish word and its Christian referent in a way that would be unlikely to occur were the Tagalog word used instead.”: Rafael, V.: *Contracting Colonialism. Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*. - Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988, p. 29.

⁷⁶⁶ Erize’s “püllü”: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 341.

⁷⁶⁷ Valdivia, *Arte*, *Vocabulario*, n.p.

⁷⁶⁸ Valdivia, *Sermón*, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁹ Ibid. We will not expatiate any further on the Christian universalism that seems to lie at the basis of that character.

⁷⁷⁰ “Quando viste al pajaro Loyca, o Meru, o otros, que te pasan por la mano izquierda, creiste que te avia de venir algun mal.”: Valdivia, *Arte*, *Confessionario*, p. 20.

⁷⁷¹ “Has creido en tus sueños, o pedido a otros que te cuenten los suyos, y creidolos.”: Ibid., p. 20.

With those two themes Luis de Valdivia already provides the core of later descriptions in the folk religious beliefs strand of discourse.

Conclusively, in difference to Ercilla and successors who wrote for a general public, Luis de Valdivia's missionary study focuses rather on the conceptual level of Mapuche Religion. While Ercilla as 'religious amateur' widely discussed aspects of the practical dimension of Mapuche Religion, especially of religious specialists (i.e. Puchecalco and Fiton), Luis de Valdivia focuses on the Mapuche pantheon (especially in his later work), probably employing Græco-Roman religion(s) as an absent model for his conceptualisation besides the obviously dominant one of Christianity. Similar to Ercilla's (first) interpretation, the culprit for the 'barbarous' state of being of the Mapuche and for the difficulties in the mission process is found in the (past and present) wizard as the keeper of tradition. Although this diabolism scheme implies some limitation in the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion, the author's linguistic approach to Mapuche Religion assigns a key role in the Mapuche Religion discourse to him, as he introduces various new characters and themes to four strands of discourse of Mapuche Religion.

In difference to Sosa, who merely pictured the Mapuche as devil worshipping idolatrists, Valdivia's rather positive approach to Mapuche culture and the extensive study of it enabled a complex and original conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion. On the one hand, Luis de Valdivia uses this opportunity and presents a sophisticated picture of Mapuche Religion; on the other hand, he depreciates the characters conceptualised in his works as mere incorporations of the devil, which is a diabolic inversion of his own religion. Therefore, it is not the understanding of Mapuche Religion that is primarily aimed at here but rather the description of the particularities of its aberration from the 'true faith'. Thus, despite Luis de Valdivia's tolerance for the Mapuche culture and his political efforts to stop the Spaniards from destroying it, the interpretative repertoire and strategies of discourse employed by his opponents Sosa and Calderón and those employed by Luis de Valdivia are not that different. The author's critique and scepticism towards the conquista stops at the point of Mapuche Religion. Distinguishing between deceivers and deceived – that is traditionalist versus convert Mapuche – Luis de Valdivia's *Arte* and *Sermón* conceptualise Mapuche Religion as inverted Christianity, being in need to be turned from head to foot.

5.3 Ovalle and the divine miracles of the conquista

In 1641 – more than 20 years after Luis de Valdivia’s withdrawal from the Chilean mission and 15 years after the relaunch of military warfare in Chile – the Chilean governor Marquis of Baides (*1599; †1655) called in a peace parliament in Quillín. In that parliament an agreement known as the “Peaces of Quillín” was achieved that re-established the river Bio-Bio as the frontier between a Spanish and a Mapuche territory. The Jesuit Alonso de Ovalle (*1603, Santiago/ Chile; †1651, Lima/ Peru)⁷⁷² held the office of “Attorney general of the province of Chile” [procurador general de la provincia de Chile] at that time and, thus, signed responsible for the missionary aspects of the Quillín peace talks. Published in 1646, Ovalle’s chronicle *Historica relacion*⁷⁷³ can be interpreted as “... an enthusiastic praise of the land of the author, which appeared to be a new paradise predestined for the happiness of men ...”⁷⁷⁴ because it was designed to introduce Chile to a general audience and, furthermore, to promote mission activity to Chile⁷⁷⁵. Accordingly, Ovalle’s imagery of the Mapuche people shows similarities to the positive imagery of Ercilla. Thus, we read on the general character of the Mapuche: “They are freedom loving by nature, compassionate and friends of doing good to everyone. And they honour those that they accept to oblige with necessary courtesy and respect.”⁷⁷⁶

Like Ercilla – who criticised but did not doubt the necessity of the conquista – and Luis de Valdivia – who pledged for a change of means but not of the objective in the intercultural relations –, Ovalle is thoroughly convinced of the righteousness of the Chilean conquista. Understood as the completion of the will of god, he depicts a chain of miraculous events to

⁷⁷² Biographical information on Ovalle is taken from: Hanisch, W.: El historiador Alonso de Ovalle. - Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1976, pp. 7-103; Medina, Diccionario, pp. 630-634.

⁷⁷³ Full title: *Historica relacion del reyno de Chile y de las misiones y ministerios que exercita en el la Compañía de Jesus a nuestro señor Jesu Christo dios hombre y á la santissima virgen y madre Maria señora del cielo, y de la tierra y á los santos Joseph, Joachin, Ana sus padres y abuelos* [Historic account of the kingdom of Chile and of the missions and ministeries that the Society of Jesus holds there for our lord Jesus Christ, god man and for the holiest virgin and mother Mary, lady of heaven and earth and for the saints Joseph, Joachim, Anne and their fathers and grandfathers]: Ovalle, A. de: *Historica relacion del reyno de Chile y de las misiones y ministerios que exercita en el la Compañía de Jesus a nuestro señor Jesu Christo dios hombre y á la santissima virgen y madre Maria señora del cielo, y de la tierra y á los santos Joseph, Joachin, Ana sus padres y abuelos*. - Rome: Caballo, 1646.

⁷⁷⁴ “... un elogio entusiasta a la tierra del autor, que pareciera ser un nuevo paraíso destinado a la felicidad de los humanos.”: Villalobos et al., *Historia*, p. 198.

⁷⁷⁵ Oviedo, *Historia*, p. 208. As Ovalle himself explained in the prologue of the book: “Having come from the kingdom of Chile and having found such a lack of knowledge of it in Europeans ... I felt obliged to satisfy the desire of those that insisted on me to tell them what was so highly worth to know.” [“Habiendo venido del Reyno de Chile, y hallando en estos de Europa tan poco conocimiento de él ... me hallé obligado á satisfacer al deseo de los que me instaron diese á conocer lo que tan digno era de saberse.”]: Ovalle, *Historica relacion*, Prologo, n.p.

⁷⁷⁶ “Son Naturalmente liberales, compassivos, y amigos de hazer bien a todos, y los que les saben obligar, honorandolos y tratandolos con la cortesia y respecto debido ...”: *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

underline the conquista's necessity. Trying to satisfy a wider public, Ovalle stays closer to Ercilla than Luis de Valdivia, when he expatiates on the reasons why the Mapuche wanted the Peaces of Quillín: “[I]t was the witnessing of some signals and signs in their land the year before, which they interpreted in their uneducated way of understanding as omens and prognostications ...”⁷⁷⁷. But in reality, with these signals the Christian god showed his approval and active support of the Spaniards in Chile:

“These are the signals that heaven seems to have sent to show that our Lord wants to make them [the Mapuche, S.E.] finally bend their neck to the soft yoke of the Cross and the Evangelical law, by means of obedience and subjection under our Catholic King.”⁷⁷⁸

As the heathens failed to interpret that properly, there is a more explicit scene in the book, which pictures two spirit armies fighting in the sky:

“[T]he one on the side of our land – where stood out a brave captain showing himself on a white horse, in full arms and with a blank broadsword in the hand – showing so much valiance and courage that he gave breath and spirit to the whole of his army.”⁷⁷⁹

In difference to Pedro de Valdivia's, Vivar's and Ercilla's intercessions on earth, the mundane battles of the Mapuche Spanish Conflict are here paralleled by a supernatural battle in the sky. The Mapuche are, then, symbolically defeated in the sky by the white rider, probably St. James, and his army (i.e. the Spaniards), a message the Mapuche – and, moreover, the Christian readers – necessarily need to understand for its explicitness. In another passage, Ovalle then relates to the divine messenger episodes of his predecessors as he – employing the Indian eyewitness narrative strategy as well – lets the Mapuche captives report to the Spaniards after one battle “... that a young Lady, accompanied by an old Spaniard who rode on a white horse

⁷⁷⁷ “... fue el haver visto el año antecedente en sus tierras algunas señales, y prodigios, que interpretados a su rustico modo de entender, les sirvieron de presagios, y pronosticos ...” (ibid., p. 302). These signals were the appearance of certain eagles and the eruption of a volcano: Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ “Estas son las señales, que parece ha dado el cielo de que quiere nuestro Señor rindan ya su cuello al suave yugo de la Cruz, y ley Euangelica, por medio dela obediencia, y sujecion a nuestro Catolico Rey.”: Ibid., p. 303.

⁷⁷⁹ “... el uno a la vanda de nuestras tierras, donde sobresalia, y se señalava un valiente Capitan en un cavallo blanco, armado con todas armas, y con espada ancha en la mano desembainada, mostrando tanto valor, y gallardia, que dava alientos, y animo a todo su exercito ...”: Ibid., p. 302.

(that as always is concluded was the Lord St. James), ... made them turn and flee to their lands.⁷⁸⁰

Moreover, there is Ovalle's description of a pre-Spanish evangelist: "[A] white man called Thomas came here, that did great wonders and preached a law that was lost in time ..."⁷⁸¹. Thus, the Christian law was known to the Mapuche before the beginning of the conquista but, following that reasoning, they chose not to follow it and degraded to their 'poor' current state of being. Similar to Arias, Calderón and Sosa, the reasons for the disastrous *status quo* of the conquista in Chile primarily seem to lie in the hideous nature of the Mapuche people; thus, Ovalle argues that the Christian mission did not bear many fruits yet, as the Indians would not abstain from "... their vices and depraved customs ..."⁷⁸². As the general reader can easily deduce from this stock of miraculous events, the Mapuche Spanish Conflict, nonetheless, will be ended soon to the favour of the Spaniards.

Consequently, in Ovalle we find an ambivalent mixture of, on the one side, a promotive admiration for the Mapuche people, which seems to demand a peaceful, defensive approach (like that proposed by Luis de Valdivia). On the other side, there is a catalogue of miracles expanded to fuel the divine will justification, catalysing the opposite: A military approach to that conflict. As a combination of various previous approaches, the positive picture of Mapuche culture in the Jesuit Ovalle finds a strong limitation in the author's conviction of the Mapuche's depravedness caused by their vicious way of living and lack of discipline, which includes their religiosity.

5.4 Ovalle's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the *Historica relacion*

Ovalle characterises the Mapuche as people that, compared to other temple building idolatrists, lacks any religious cult:

"[O]nly very little do they care for the cult and religion that others give to them. That can be seen very clearly, as I never heard it say that in those Indians there were seen temples

⁷⁸⁰ "... que vna Señorita, acompañada de un Español viejo, que andaua en vn cauallo blanco (que a lo que siempre se coligio, era el Señor Santiago ...) los hazia voluer huyendo a su tierra ...": Ibid., p. 186.

⁷⁸¹ "... llegó aquí un hombre blanco llamado Thome, que hazia grandes maravillas, y predicó una ley, que con el tiempo se perdió ..." (ibid., p. 93). For the Chilean context Vivar is the first author who describes in his *Crónica* that the Mapuche had earlier knowledge of Christianity, as a white man taught them the Christian basics and performed many milagrous things; but similar as in Ovalle, they were so vicious and desinterested in his teachings that he left them again: Vivar, *Crónica*, pp. 2; 40.

⁷⁸² "... sus vicios y depravadas costumbres ...": Ovalle, *Historica relacion*, p. 381.

in which they adored idols (...) Those of Chile do not dedicate themselves to those rituals and have had only few ceremonies ...⁷⁸³.

In this initial passage the Mapuche are pictured as people without religious cult and places of worship; thus, they are even inferior to idolatrists – perhaps there are the Inca as an absent model here – in ‘religious rank’. This is the beginning of an influential interpretative scheme in the Mapuche Religion discourse that describes Mapuche Religion as lacking any or a complex ritual dimension; in our study, we will call this the “ritual deficiency argument”. This argument is in clear disagreement with Ercilla’s, Oña’s and Arias’ conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion as (excessive) worship of the devil or idol gods. Then, changing the absent model of comparison from idolatry to Christianity, Ovalle continues with the theological dimension: “[N]or do they have a clear knowledge of the true God, Creator of the heavens and earth ...”⁷⁸⁴. Thus, Ovalle describes the Mapuche as people of general religious deficiency, lacking temples and idols (i.e. they are no idolatrists) and, moreover, lacking the ‘right’ knowledge of the Christian god (i.e. they are no Christians). That “theological deficiency argument”, as we will call it, is already known to us in a simpler form from Ercilla (i.e. people without God). In combination with the ritual deficiency argument, the reader of the *Historica relacion* could be led to conclude that the Mapuche are an areligious people. In a second step, nonetheless, Ovalle argues that it would be wrong to deduce from the lack of temples and the absence of the right knowledge of the Christian god that the Mapuche are “atheists” [ateistas]⁷⁸⁵ because “... they have some knowledge – although imperfect and confused – of some deity ...”⁷⁸⁶.

⁷⁸³ “... cuydavan muy poco del culto, y religion, que otros les dan. Vese esto muy claro, pues jamas he oido dezir, que se ayan visto entre estos Indios templos, en que adoren idolos (...) los de Chile no son dados a estos cultos, y ceremonias, ha havido poco.” Ibid., p. 326.

⁷⁸⁴ “... ni tienen claro conocimiento del verdadero Dios, Criador de cielos, y tierra ...”: Ibid.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid. A simplification of Ovalle’s deficiency argument is found in Amédée François Frézier (*1682, Chambéry/ France; †1773, Brest/ France), a French explorer who led an exploration campaign to South America in 1712, which included a 20 months stay in Chile. His observations on the country – which include various descriptions of Mapuche Religion – were published in 1717 under the title *Relation du voyage de la Mer de Sud aux côtes du Chili, du Perou et du Bresil, fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 et 1714* [*Account of the voyage to the South Sea, along the coast of Chile, Peru and Brasil, made during the years 1712, 1713 and 1714*] (Frézier, A.F.: *Relation du voyage de la Mer de Sud aux côtes du Chili, du Perou et du Bresil, fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 et 1714*. - Thizy: Utz, 1995), which gained Frézier wide fame in Europe. On Mapuche Religion that author states, simplifying Ovalle, “... I am convinced that they have none.” [“... j’ai appris qu’ils n’en avaient aucune.”] (Ibid., p. 85) Accordingly, “... they absolutely do not worship anything and they mock everything that could be said thereon ...” [“... ils n’adoraient rien du tout et se moquaient de tout ce qu’on pouvait leur dire là-dessus ...”] (ibid., p. 84). As a further proof that the Mapuche have no religion, Frézier argues – clearly adopting from Ovalle here – that “... never have there been found in them either temples or traces of idols that they would have adored ...” [“... n’a jamais trouvé chez eux ni temples, ni vestiges d’idoles qu’ils aient adores ...”] (ibid.,

Details about that ‘imperfect’ and ‘confused’ (i.e. aberrant from Christianity) knowledge of the deity (i.e. the Christian god) are expanded in the following passage:

“They all err like this, believing in their guenupillan, which is their God and that he has many guecubus, which are his vlnenes, his grandes and Leaders. He has those, as well as the volcanos, under his command ...”⁷⁸⁷.

Similar to Luis de Valdivia’s Pillan, guenupillan⁷⁸⁸ becomes the central figure in the descriptions of Mapuche supernatural beings in Ovalle. The author describes guenupillan as ‘their God’ – with a capital letter. Thus analogised with the Christian god, he is related to the heaven, as in Luis de Valdivia. Furthermore, guenupillan is said to be superior to the guecubus, establishing a clearer distinction and a more transparent hierarchy between those two supernatural characters than Luis de Valdivia’s *Sermón*. To emphasise his superiority in rank and his command over the guecubus, an analogy is employed from the Mapuche administrative system⁷⁸⁹. On the other hand, by describing guenupillan as commander of the volcanos, Ovalle relates to Luis de Valdivia’s second reading of Pillan as the personification of the volcano. In difference to Arias’ Güecuvi and Luis de Valdivia’s Huecuvoe, Ovalle’s guecubus are here described in the plural. Nonetheless, as in his predecessors, it does not become clear what guecubus are in fact.

The only other supernatural Mapuche character besides Pillan and the guecubus in Ovalle is “Epunamón”⁷⁹⁰, pictured in an episode that practically is a simplified plagiarism of Ercilla’s Eponamon intercession scene⁷⁹¹. Besides that short and cryptical (i.e. out of context) episode, Epunamón plays no further role in the *Historica relacion*.

p. 85). Biographical information on Frézier is taken from: Peña, N.: Prólogo del traductor. - in: Relación del viaje por el mar del sur a las costas de Chile i el Perú/ A.F. Frézier (auth.). - Santiago: Mejía. - 1902. - iii-xxvi.

⁷⁸⁶ “... tienen algun conocimiento, aunque imperfecto, y confuso de alguna deidad ...”: Ovalle, *Historica relacion*, p. 326.

⁷⁸⁷ “Todos estan en estos errores, creen en su guenupillan, que es su Dios, y que este tiene muchos guecubus, que son sus vlnenes, sus grandes, y Caciques, a quien manda, y tambien a los bolcanes ...”: Ibid., p. 327.

⁷⁸⁸ Erize translates “huenu” as “heaven” [cielo]: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 184.

⁷⁸⁹ That seems to hint at the hierarchical Toqui-Lonko-Ulmen administrative system of Mapuche communities. See: Faron, *Structure*, pp. 77-80; Sanchez, J.: *El az mapu o sistema jurídico mapuche*. - in: *Revista CREA*, 2 (2001), 29-39, pp. 36-37.

⁷⁹⁰ Ovalle, *Historica relacion*, p. 200.

⁷⁹¹ In *Historica relacion* appears “... their Epunamón in form of a fiery and horrible dragon with curled tail throwing fire from his mouth ...” [“... su Epunamón en forma de un fiero, y espantoso dragon, enroscada la cola, y hechando fuego por la boca ...”] (ibid.) before an attack among the Mapuche and motivates them to hurry up and kill all Christians. One moment after he left, the “most beautiful woman” [hermosissima muger] (ibid.) appears in a cloud and tells them that God favours the Christians and that they should abstain from an attack: Ibid.

Very original, indeed, is Ovalle's representation of Mapuche Religion in the two strands religious specialists and postmortality. Beginning with religious specialists, we read: "What was left in some [Mapuche, S.E.] even after the Christians [came, S.E.] is the use of magic art and witchcraft, to which some old men and women dedicate themselves ..."⁷⁹². As in Luis de Valdivia, the wizards are pictured here as old people (i.e. oldfashioned and outdated); an interesting new and influential point in that passage is the extension of the religious specialists onto both sexes. Relating to Luis de Valdivia's Machis and their primal function to cure, Ovalle expands more details of that character:

"There are many medical herbs with great powers, which are only known to the Indians called machis, which are their physicians. They hide those herbs from the Spaniards in particular; out of amity they tell them the power of one or other, while keeping the knowledge on others to themselves, which is only passed on from parents to children. Furthermore, those physicians or machis are highly respected among the Indians as well as among those Spaniards that call them when they are ill and in greatest need. They achieve admirable cures and effects just by their simple [means, S.E.] ..."⁷⁹³.

The machis/ "Machi"⁷⁹⁴/ "Machis"⁷⁹⁵ are thus described as monopolists of a secret herbal knowledge that renders them powerful and well-respected herbolarists and healers among the Mapuche (and the Spaniards). The secrecy-obscurity theme surrounding the religious specialists of previous authors is emphacised by pointing out to the hiding of esoteric knowledge from outsiders and the restrictive rules of knowledge transfer (i.e. only from parent to child)⁷⁹⁶. In another brief passage that point is further extended: As to become Machi(s)/ machis the children are said to be taught in an "infernal school" [infernal escuela]⁷⁹⁷. Thus, here is the first hint at some kind of initiation of religious specialists in the Mapuche Religion discourse, which in this context further enhances the secrecy-obscurity theme. Another main function of Machi(s)/ machis is the performance of inquests in

⁷⁹² "Lo que ha quedado en algunos, aun despues de christianos, es el uso del arte magica, y hechicerias, a que se dan algunos viejos, y viejas ...": Ibid., p. 326.

⁷⁹³ "Ay muchas yeruas muy medicinales, y de grandes virtudes conocidas solamente de los Indios que llaman machis, que son sus medicos, las quales las occultan particularmente de los Españoles, a quienes por grande amistad comunican la virtud de una, ó otra, reseuando para si la sciencia de las demas, la qual passa solo de padres a hijos; y son estos medicos o machis muy estimados assi de los indios como tambien de los mesmos Españolos, que los llaman en el maior aprieto de sus enfermedades, y experimentan admirables curas, y efectos que hazen solamente con sus simples ...": Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 368.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 326.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 368.

poisoning matters, described in Ovalle as the cure, in which they are the most outstanding⁷⁹⁸; in the paragraphs that follow, we then find the first extensive description of an inquest ritual in the discourse⁷⁹⁹. But the Machi(s)/ machis are also feared for being “wizards” [hechizeros]⁸⁰⁰ – here the equation with the unspecified wizards described above – that enchant people and do other evil things (e.g. poisoning)⁸⁰¹. Thus, they work by the “art of the devil” [arte del demonio]⁸⁰² that also enables them to interpret the devil’s messages and orders. Like Ercilla, the Machi(s)/ machis are described in Ovalle as servants of the devil that mislead the Mapuche commoner, who blindly follows them out of fear of the devil⁸⁰³. Thus, we learn in the strand religious specialists that the devil plays an important role as a supernatural being in Mapuche Religion. Hindering the mission and peace process, his representatives, the wizard-machis, are (once more) held responsible for the ‘current barbarism’ of the Mapuche heathens. Nonetheless, in difference to all of his predecessors, the Machi(s)/ machis are almost sympathically pictured as well-respected herbolarist-healers, whose healing skills are even employed by Spanish Christians. Conclusively, the religious specialists in Ovalle are depicted, on the one hand, as benevolent healers and inquestors and, on the other hand, as malevolent sorcerers and devil worshippers responsible for the ‘pitiable’ spiritual *status quo* of the Mapuche.

Turning to the postmortality strand of discourse now, Ovalle can be interpreted as the first actor in the Mapuche Religion discourse, who provides an extensive description of Mapuche postmortality. Thus, guenupillan also functions as the judge and punisher of the dead in an “other life” [otra vida]⁸⁰⁴. Following Ovalle, with their believing in that other life – a term that is in accordance with Luis de Valdivia – it is proven that the Mapuche also believe in the “immortality of the soul” [immortalidad del alma]⁸⁰⁵. Nonetheless, Ovalle adds, because of their awkward (i.e. irrational) way to think, they have a wrong understanding of the soul, taking it to be a material entity that needs to eat, drink and be clothed: “[T]hey have to put food and drinks and also clothes into the tomb for the dead, as to give them supply and to provide them with provision for the long way that they have to go ...”⁸⁰⁶. Thus, the Mapuche

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 326.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² Ibid.

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁶ “... que tienen de poner a los muertos en las sepolturas comida, y bebida, y tambien vestidos, que es como darles el viatico, y hazerles el matalotaje para el largo camino que han de hazer ...”: Ibid.

beliefs concerning tomb furnishings are pictured as supply for a long journey of the dead to the postmortal world. This new aspect gains more originality when Ovalle explains that “... they go to the other shore of the sea, where they have their places of recreation and pleasures ...”⁸⁰⁷. There, “... they entertain themselves with dancing and singing. And they have an abundance of foods and drinks, with which they hold large and extensive feasts ...”⁸⁰⁸. Furthermore, we learn that although they live in polygamy, they do not conceive children and the wives of the men are occupied with “... preparing chicha and good drinks for them ...”⁸⁰⁹. Thus, in this very first extensive description of Mapuche postmortality, Ovalle claims that: (1) The soul is believed to be immortal and to live on in a postmortal world; (2) the dead are judged by *guenupillan*; (3) tomb furnishings are provided as supply for the long journey to the postmortal world; and (4) that the afterlife is situated at the other side of the sea (i.e. to the west) pictured as a place of recreation and pleasures, including singing, dancing, eating and drinking; nonetheless, the women have to serve their men there⁸¹⁰. Those four aspects – that show strong relations to Græco-Roman postmortality as an absent model – will be very influential in the course of the Mapuche Religion discourse⁸¹¹.

As a way of concluding on Ovalle, we can say that the author’s conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion seems to be a combination of Ercilla, Calderón, Sosa and Luis de Valdivia. In Ovalle the Mapuche are pictured as people, who actively decided not to accept the ‘gift of

⁸⁰⁷ “... se van de la otra vanda del mar, donde tienen sus lugares de recreacion, y gustos ...”: Ibid., p. 327.

⁸⁰⁸ “... se ocupan en bailar, y cantar, y que tienen mucha abundancia de comidas, y bebidas, y que con esto se dan a grandes, y expendidos banquetes ...”: Ibid.

⁸⁰⁹ “... que le hagan chicha, y buenas bebidas ...”: Ibid.

⁸¹⁰ A similar description can be found in Vivar’s *Crónica*, where it is stated that the Mapuche believe the dead to separate from the body and travel to another house where they almost do not have to work. They also have to eat and sow “over there” [allá] (Vivar, *Crónica*, p. 135), which is the reason why the relatives put foods, seeds and belongings (e.g. clothes, shoes) of the dead into the tomb. Thus, the recreational afterlife of Ovalle is pictured as semi-recreational here. Furthermore, the tomb furnishings are not pictured as provision for the journey but as supply in the postmortal realm: Ibid.

⁸¹¹ Such as in Frézier, who also follows Ovalle’s representation of Mapuche postmortality when he concludes: “[I]t can be noted that they believe in another life and for that they put drinks, food and clothes into the tomb for those who die.” [“... il s’en trouve qui croient en une autre vie, pour laquelle on met à ceux qui meurent de quoi boire, manger et s’habiller dans le tombeau.”] (Frézier, *Relation*, p. 85) On the voyage of the dead the author continues quite originally: “The women ... prepare ... the cooking on the tomb of their husbands, spilling chicha on the corpse ... and arranging the dead’s belongings as to make a voyage of long duration.” [“Les femmes ... demeurent ... sur le tombeau de leurs maris à leur faire la cuisine, à leur jeter sur le corps de la chicha ... et leur accommodent leurs bagages comme pour faire un voyage de longue durée.”] (Ibid., p. 86) Thus, the author claims that they interpret the “soul” [âme] (ibid.) – here clearly adopting from Ovalle – as something corporeal. Therefore, they think that “... it [the soul, S.E.] must go beyond the seas to the shores of pleasures, where they feast on foods and drinks and where there are many women that do not give them children, who are occupied with preparing the good chicha, serve them etc.” [“... qui doit aller audelà des mers dans des lieux de plaisirs, où ils regorgeront de viandes et de boissons, et auront plusieurs femmes qui ne feront point d’enfants, qui seront occupées à leur faire de bonne chicha, à les servir, etc.”] (Ibid.) Frézier thus expands Ovalle’s concept other shore of the sea to the shores of pleasures, which relates even more to the Græco-Roman complex of Elysion.

the Gospel', which was generously offered to them (i.e. by the pre-Spanish evangelist and later the Spaniards). Instead they continue following an aberrant 'stub version' of Christianity that does not even reach up to the idolatry of other heathen people, as it lacks any religious dimension (as deduced in the theological and ritual deficiency arguments). Nonetheless, Ovalle does not explicitly classify supernatural beings as incorporations of the devil (like Luis de Valdivia) but introduces the devil theme just with the religious specialists (which again is conform with Luis de Valdivia). Although we find no new characters in *Historica relacion*, the author provides much novel and original information on various of the known characters (except Epunamón). He continues the line of interpretation of Ercilla and, moreover, of Luis de Valdivia. Thus, the wise (similar to Ercilla's Fiton) and benevolent healer-herbolarist Machi(s)/ machis character is blended into a diabolic sorcerer complex and, once more, becomes the culprit for the 'poor' state of spiritual being of the Mapuche, on the other hand (similar to Ercilla's Puchecalco, Oña's Pillanlonco and Luis de Valdivia's wizard-ancestors). Ovalle's eclectic mixture of previous approaches with new original information works as the ideal point of departure for succeeding actors in the Mapuche Religion discourse.

6. Dutch sailors and a German botanist: Georg Markgraf and his epigones

Nihil ominus noverunt Diabolum, & quidem ut adversarium boni.

(Georg Markgraf, *Historia rerum naturalium Brasiliae*)⁸¹²

6.1 The Brouwer expedition to Chile

Less than two years after the Peaces of Quillín had been accomplished, the governor of the Dutch possessions in Brazil, the Count of Nassau-Siegen (*1604; †1679), sent out a Dutch military expedition from Brazil to Chile – put under the command of the Dutch general Hendrick Brouwer (*1581, ?/ Netherlands; †1643, ?/ Chile)⁸¹³. The campaign's foremost goal was to weaken the Spanish dominance in the Americas by accomplishing an alliance with the indomitable enemies of the Spaniards, the Mapuche⁸¹⁴. Leaving Brazil in January 1643, the expedition arrived on Chiloé in May 1643. Initially, an alliance with the Mapuche was successful so that in June that year the town Valdivia fell to the Dutch. Unfortunately for the campaign, Brouwer died in early August that year, leaving his assistant, the Dutch writer and geographer Elias Herckmans (*1596, ?/ Netherlands; †1644, Recife/ Brazil), in command. The expedition finally failed because Herckmans – threatened by mutiny – soon had to sail back to Brazil, arriving there in December 1643. Despite of the campaign's short duration of six months only, the information gathered in the course of the Brouwer expedition inspired numerous Dutch and German writers, providing us with the first detailed non-Spanish descriptions of Mapuche Religion⁸¹⁵.

⁸¹² Markgraf, G.: *Historia rerum naturalium Brasiliae*. - Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1648, p. 286. "Nevertheless, they know the Devil and, thus, at least the enemy of good."

⁸¹³ The contextual and biographical information of this chapter is taken from: Encina, Historia, III, pp. 200-212; Joost, W.: Nachwort. - in: *Die wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West- und Ostindien 1642-1652/ C. Schmalkalden (auth.)*. - Leipzig: Brockhaus. - 1983. - 161-176, pp. 161-174; Medina, J.T.: *Los holandeses en Chile*. - Santiago: Mercurio, 1923, pp. 122-128; Struik, D.J.: *Mauricio de Nassau. Scientific Maecenas in Brazil*. - in: *Revista da Sociedade Brasileira de História da Ciência*, 2 (1985), 21-26.

⁸¹⁴ A second goal was to capture the town of Valdivia and a third to find gold.

⁸¹⁵ To our knowledge, the earliest Dutch account that hints at Mapuche culture is the *Historisch journal vande voyagie ghedaen met ses schepen* [*Historical journal of the voyage done with his ship*] (Spilbergen, I. v.: *Historisch journal vande voyagie ghedaen met ses schepen*. - Amsterdam: Janssz, 1621), written by the Dutch captain Ioris van Spilbergen (*1568, ?/ Netherlands; †1620, ?). The book was published posthumously in Amsterdam in 1621 and deals with Spilbergen's voyage around the world – 30 years prior to the Brouwer expedition –, including Chile. Thus, there is a passage on the Mapuche of the Isla Mocha: "Those Chileans had good manners, were very well-read and friendly and very good-mannered in their eating and drinking [habits, S.E.]. In their good morals they are almost like the Christians." ["Dese Chilenoisen waren van goede maniere seer beleest ende vxiendelijck ende in hun eten ende dxincken see oxdentelijck in goede zeden den Chxistenen

First of all, there is the *Journael*⁸¹⁶, that is Brouwer's travel diary of his voyages including the Chile expedition, which was published posthumously in 1646. Despite of its promising title, the book does not provide much information on Brouwer's perception of Mapuche Religion. Thus, the reader is briefly informed that the Mapuche are "barbarous and uncultivated people" [bárbaros e incultos]⁸¹⁷, who live "... an idle life without religion ..."⁸¹⁸. That discovery of the absence of religion – that goes beyond Ovalle's deficiency arguments – throws an unpleasant light on the Mapuche people and, in its absolute rejection, relates to the argument of González. The description of the uneducatedness of the Mapuche, on the other hand, is in diametrical opposition to Spilbergen's imagery of the good-mannered and well-read, noble Mapuche savage.

Secondly, there is a Latin-Mapudungun vocabulary written in 1643 (approximately) but not published before 1907 called *Vocabulario araucano*⁸¹⁹, which is attributed to Herckmans. It consists of an uncommentated list of Mapudungun words and their Latin translations; thus, the information on Herckman's perception of Mapuche Religion is rather cryptical. First of all, "Pillan"⁸²⁰ is translated by "Thunder" [Tonitru]⁸²¹ here. That point relates to Luis de Valdivia's thundering Pillan, which supports Mapuche warriors in battle. Thus, in difference to his predecessors, Herckmans seems to identify Pillan as the personification of thunder (not the volcano). Another point is Herckmans' "Alvee"⁸²², translated by "Devil" [Diabolus]⁸²³ that is somewhat in accordance with Luis de Valdivia's rather cryptical equation of Alhue/alhue(s) with devil(s)/ demons. Herckmans is also (almost literally) in accordance with Luis

by nae ghelijck zijnde.“] (ibid., p. 46) From that short quotation we can see a remarkable difference to the predeceasing Spanish accounts: The Mapuche are pictured as friendly people, well-read, of good manners and almost as good in their moral standards as the Christians! That is a very new tune, novel to the standards of Ercilla and Luis de Valdivia as well as to that of Spilbergen's succeeding countrymen.

⁸¹⁶ Full title: *Journael ende historis verhael van de reyse gedaen by oosten de Straet le Maire, naer de custen van Chili, onder het helept van den heer generael Hendrick Brouwer, inden jare 1643 voor gevallen vervatende der Chilesen manieren, handel ende ghewoonten. Alls mede een beschryvinghe van het eylandt Eso, ghelegen ontrent dertigh mylen van het machtigh rijcke van Japan, op de hooghte van 39 graden, 49 minuten, noorder breete; soo alst eerst in't selvige jaer door het schip castricum bezeylt is* [Diary and historical account of the voyage done from the East of the Le Maire Strait to the Coast of Chile, under the command of general Hendrick Brouwer, as happened in the year 1643. Comprehending the manners of the Chileans, trade and the customs and with a description of the island of Eso, situated thirty miles away from the mighty kingdom of Japan on the level of 39 degrees, 49 minutes of northern latitude, which in the same year was visited by the ship Castricum]. As the original Dutch edition was not accessible to us, we employed a Castilian translation: Brouwer, H.: *Relación del viaje de Hendrick Brouwer a Valdivia en 1643*. - Santiago: Universitaria, 1928.

⁸¹⁷ Ibid., p. 116.

⁸¹⁸ "... una vida ociosa y sin religión ...": Ibid., p. 125.

⁸¹⁹ *Araucanian vocabulary*: [Herckmans, E.]: *Vocabulario araucano*. - in: *Vocabulario araucano de 1642-1643*. Bibliografía de la lengua mapuche o araucana/ R. Schuller (ed.). - Santiago: Cervantes. - 1907. - 5-20.

⁸²⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

⁸²¹ Ibid.

⁸²² Ibid., p. 8.

⁸²³ Ibid.

de Valdivia's *pllu/ pllú*, as “Pelli”⁸²⁴ is translated in the vocabulary by “Soul” [Anima]⁸²⁵. The fourth and last of the characters that we will consider here is “Machi”⁸²⁶, translated by “Physician” [Medicus]⁸²⁷. Thus, a Machi is not primarily pictured as a wizard or sorcerer as in Luis de Valdivia but the focus is laid on the benevolent healing aspect instead, also found to some extent in Ovalle's Machi(s)/ machis as healer-herbolarist.

Conclusively, we can say that the accounts of Brouwer and Herckmans differ heavily from each other: While the former denies the having of a religion in the ‘uncultivated’ Mapuche, Herckmans lists four key concepts of the strands supernatural beings and religious specialists in the Mapuche Religion discourse, which show some relation to Ovalle and Luis de Valdivia's *Arte*. Nonetheless, the fact that Herckmans' vocabulary misses any commentary also marks the fact that it is not always possible to ‘extract’ an authors position of discourse from a text.

6.2 Markgraf's *Historia*

6.2.1 A botanist's view on Mapuche culture

In his Brazilian governorship (1637 to 1645), the Count of Nassau-Siegen drew a circle of (proto-)scientists and artists to the colony. Of special importance for us is the German botanist and cosmographer Georg Markgraf [Marcgravius] (*1610, Liebstadt/ Germany; †1644, Sao Paulo de Loanda/ Angola), who came to Brazil in 1638. He joined various expeditions to the Brazilian interior, and – more important to us here – he participated as a botanist in the Brouwer expedition to Chile. His *Historia rerum naturalium Brasiliae*⁸²⁸ was published posthumously in 1648 in Amsterdam as the second volume of the collection *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*⁸²⁹, edited by the Dutch geographer Joannes de Laet (*1581; †1649) and the Count of Nassau-Siegen's private physician, Willem Piso (*1611; †1678). The eight books of Markgraf's *Historia* – as the title already implies – are mainly concerned with the flora and fauna of Brazil. Nonetheless, at the end of the book we find a six chaptered appendix called

⁸²⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

⁸²⁵ Ibid.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

⁸²⁸ *History of the natural things of Brazil*: Markgraf, Historia.

⁸²⁹ *Natural history of Brasil*: Laet, J. de; Piso, W.: *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*. - 2 vols. - Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1648.

De Chilensibus [Of the Chileans]⁸³⁰. While the first four chapters provide a very original description of various aspects of Mapuche culture (including Mapuche Religion), the last two chapters of the appendix are less innovative. The fifth chapter is a list of Mapudùngun words and their Latin translations, practically identical with Herckmans' vocabulary⁸³¹. Markgraf's main text (i.e. the first four chapters) deviates orthographically and contextually from the terms presented in that vocabulary, which makes it plausible that the editors had access to Herckmans' (who also died in 1644) unpublished vocabulary and decided to insert (parts of) it here. The sixth chapter is a colourful mixture of information paraphrased from Ovalle's *Historica relacion* and other material on the specifics of the Chilean climate, seasons of the year, animals, plants (etc.). It is highly probable that this chapter is an addition of the editors to Markgraf's appendix as well⁸³².

Generally speaking, there is no war motive (as in Ercilla, Oña, Arias, Calderón, Sosa) or missionary motive (as in Luis de Valdivia or Ovalle) in Markgraf's book that would necessarily assign the Mapuche with the status of objects of war or of mission. Markgraf is an outsider to the Mapuche Spanish Conflict and, furthermore, follows a 'proto-scientific' (i.e. rather observational) approach to Mapuche culture. Thus, the author does not provide his audience with a clear orientation on the nature of the conquista (e.g. the divine will theme, miracles) or the Mapuche character (i.e. good versus bad Indian) as other authors before him. In one passage the author merely claims, somewhat in accordance with Brouwer: "They live without any distress ..."⁸³³, which seems to imply an idle, leisurable life (i.e. without horticulture or agriculture). In another passage we learn: "In general, the indigenous people of Chile have a robust and compact body [and are, S.E.] of a colour between white and brown ..."⁸³⁴. Thus, the Mapuche are sketched here as idle, thickset people. But, as we may further deduce from that, they are not pictured as an absolute Other, as the skin colour – that might be

⁸³⁰ Markgraf, *Historia*, pp. 283-292.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 288-290. Although Herckmans is not mentioned as the author of Markgraf's Mapudùngun word list, he is referred to as the author of a vocabulary of Brazilian indigenous words listed before the appendix (*ibid.*, p. 282). Furthermore, Markgraf's later epigones do explicitly name Herckmans as the author of their vocabularies: Baerle, C. van: *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum sub praefectura illusissimi comitis I. Mauritii Nassaviae*. - 2nd. ed. - Amsterdam: Silberling, 1660, p. 474; Berghe, A. van den: *De nieuwe en onbekende weereld, of, beschryving van America en 't zuid-land*. - Amsterdam: Meurs, 1671, p. 559.

⁸³² Although Ovalle's book was published in 1646 (i.e. two years before the publishing date of the *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*), Markgraf could not have accessed that source, as he already died in 1644. As a consequence, we will omit a discussion of the vocabulary here and focus on the main text of Markgraf's appendix. The four terms we focused on in Herckmans' vocabulary are exactly the same in Markgraf's vocabulary: "Pillan" is translated by "Thunder" [Tonitru] (Markgraf, *Historia*, p. 288), "Alvee" by "Devil" [Diabolus] (*ibid.*, p. 289), "Machi" by "Physician" [Medicus] (*ibid.*) and "Pelli" by "Soul" [Anima]: *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁸³³ "Vivunt sine ulla sollicitudine ...": *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁸³⁴ "Indigenae Chilensis in communisatis robusto & compacto sunt corpore: coloris inter album & fuscum ...": *Ibid.*, p. 283.

speculatively interpreted as an indicator for the grade of otherness here – is said to range between white (i.e. us) and brown (i.e. them). Although Markgraf stayed in Chile for a short time only (compared to Luis de Valdivia and Ovalle for example), his approach was generally designed to meet the expectations of a European proto-scientific audience and, moreover, is a necessary presupposition for his rather complex conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion.

6.2.2 Markgraf's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion

Markgraf's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the supernatural beings strand starts off very similar to Ovalle: "The Chileans neither know God nor his cult; nor do they care to distinguish the days ..." ⁸³⁵. Thus, Markgraf joins Ovalle's theological deficiency argument, which implied that the Mapuche are no Christians. In the following passage that argument is completed, as the Mapuche are said to be ignorant of other Christian basics as well: "[N]or do they at least believe in the resurrection of the dead but hold that there is nothing left of man after the perish ..." ⁸³⁶. But – in difference to Brouwer and González – this is not all Markgraf has to say about Mapuche Religion. Similar to Ovalle and somewhat contradictory to the former passages, the author continues that, although they are that ignorant of the 'universal faith', there is still hope because "... nevertheless, they know the Devil and, thus, at least the enemy of good ..." ⁸³⁷. Here, the Mapuche become devil worshippers (i.e. inverted Christians) once more, an argument further extended in the following passage: "They commonly say that he who has died among them, was taken away by the Devil. In their language they call him Alverey." ⁸³⁸ Is that taking away of the dead related to a descent to hell? Then, there would probably be a connection to Luis de Valdivia's cryptical reading of Alhue in the *Arte* that we speculatively interpreted as wishing someone to hell. However, characterised as synonym for devil, Alverey is also in accordance with Luis de Valdivia's conceptualisation of Alhue/alhue(s).

After having introduced the Alverey character, Markgraf continues:

⁸³⁵ "Chilenses neque Deum norunt, neque illius cultum, nullum observant dierum discrimen ...": Ibid., p. 286.

⁸³⁶ "... no mortuorum quidem resurrectionem credunt, sed post obitum nihil hominis putant superesse ..." (ibid.). Especially that passage is in contradiction to the vocabulary, where the translation of the Christian soul with a Mapudungun term implies that there must be something comparable to that concept in the Mapuche language and, thus, that the Mapuche know the soul concept. That aberration of the vocabulary from the main text of the appendix is another hint at our hypothesis of an editor insertion.

⁸³⁷ "... nihil ominis noverunt Diabolum, & quidem ut adversarium boni ...": Ibid.

⁸³⁸ "... ita vulgo ajunt, ubi quis inter eos defunctus fuerit, illum à Diabolo abreptum esse: quod ipsi suo idiomate dicunt Alverey." (Ibid.) Again, Markgraf's Alverey orthographically deviates from Alvee in the vocabulary.

“It seems that they have some notice of a supreme and somewhat divine essence, by which all mundane as well as human actions are governed and directed. But its nature they do not understand.”⁸³⁹

Therefore, very similar to Ovalle’s argument, the Mapuche are said to have knowledge of a supreme or divine essence but no proper understanding of it. As the Mapuche’s understanding of the highest being deviates from Markgraf’s Christian one, it is necessarily described as improper (i.e. false). This essence, as Markgraf continues, is called “Pillan”⁸⁴⁰ and “... the said Pillan also means thunder itself and, thus, they acknowledge the thunder as a numen ...”⁸⁴¹. That reading of Pillan as the personification of thunder is – this time – in accordance with Markgraf’s vocabulary (and with Herckmans) and to some degree with Luis de Valdivia’s thunderer in the sky that supports Mapuche warriors. The warrior aspect is strengthened in other passages of the *Historia* as well: For one it is said that when it thunders in the sky, the Mapuche plea to Pillan to destroy their enemies⁸⁴²; secondly, in battles Pillan – as the personification of thunder – motivates the Mapuche to fight⁸⁴³. Another aspect that is transferred onto that character from Ercilla’s Eponamon, is Markgraf’s claim that the best Mapuche men are honoured by being assigned with the name Pillan⁸⁴⁴. Those descriptions are a fortification of Pillan as supernatural being that is related to war, which we saw yet occupied by Eponamon/ Eponamón in Ercilla and Oña. But there is still a third (rather cryptical) definition of Pillan as “airy spirit” [aëriuum spiritum]⁸⁴⁵. Accordingly, Pillan is connected to the air (or heaven) again, as already hinted at in Markgraf’s own thunderer interpretation and also in Luis de Valdivia and Ovalle. Furthermore, it shows some similarities to Oña’s interpretation of Eponamon as spirit. Additionally, this airy spirit description somehow relates to Arias’ first reading of Pillano(s)/ Pillán/ Pillanes as some type of protective being.

⁸³⁹ “... videntur aliquantulum habere noticiam supremae essentiae & alicujus divinitatis, à qua omnia terrena & humanae quoque actiones gubernentur & dirigantur, cujus tamen essentiam non intelligunt ...”: Ibid.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁴¹ “... dictio Pillan etiam tonitru ipsis significat, & tonitru pro numine agnoscunt ...”: Ibid.

⁸⁴² Ibid.

⁸⁴³ “[I]f thunder ... roars they leave everything behind and take to their arms, believing then that the thunder admonishes them that their enemies, the Spaniards, are there ...” [“... tonitru ... accidat, omnia omittunt & concurrunt ad arma, credunt enim tonitru monere ipsos, hostes suos Hispanis adesse ...”]: Ibid.

⁸⁴⁴ “Furthermore all the strong and best men and also the first in the council; and with a keen hand they sign with the name of Pillan, attributing divine properties to themselves.” [“Porro omnes fortes & praestantes viros, itemque primos consilio, & manu promptos, insigunt nomine Pillan, ipsis divinas virtutes attribuentes.”]: Ibid.

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid.

On top of that, Pillan is related to dissolute drinking feasts, which are similar to Markgraf's predecessors: "[I]n their drinking feasts the powerful [Pillan, S.E.] is venerated and celebrated. With strange gestures and lamentations they dedicate songs to him."⁸⁴⁶ This strange worship to the powerful Pillan shows various parallels to Ercilla's and Oña's Eponamon/ Eponamón, which is described as being worshipped by singing and dancing and also to Arias' human sacrifices to Pillano(s)/ Pillán/ Pillanes. Then, Markgraf's bird's-eye view account of Mapuche Religion is briefly interrupted by an eyewitnessing aspect:

"They enjoy smoking tobacco, which is very common among them. In astonishing ceremonies they blow it out into the air, saying 'Accept this, Pillan!', together with other prayers (that none of us could understand); but it seems to be the initialisation of a pact with the numen."⁸⁴⁷

Thus, we learn that communication with Pillan is established by songs, prayers and tobacco smoke, a point already introduced by Luis de Valdivia. Nonetheless, the strange gestures and lamentations in those ceremonies stay opaque as they are described as so strange that the author and his accompanies (i.e. "us"), as eyewitnesses, do not understand their meaning. Appearing strange/ foreign/ peculiar (i.e. "peregrinus"⁸⁴⁸) to Markgraf, the Mapuche are thus exoticised to an unintelligible, opposite Other. As a further reaction to that spike of otherness, Markgraf expatiates on another 'strange' ritual, pointing out that it is not by tunes, words and smoke alone that Pillan is appeased:

"When one of the enemies is captured and chosen to die, they act like this: They kill him during the feast (...) with a club strike on the head so that he falls down; the heart is taken out of the chest and in a bloodthirsty way they chuck [their, S.E.] teeth into it while singing to and invoking the Pillan ..."⁸⁴⁹.

Here it appears again, the bloodthirsty human sacrifice that is tightly knitted to the imagery of the 'cruel barbarian', which the reader may already connect to the worship of Pillan since the

⁸⁴⁶ "... in symposiis suis potissimum venerantur & celebrant, cuique cantiones attribuunt, peregrino gestu & ejulatus ...": Ibid.

⁸⁴⁷ "Cum Tobaci fumum hauriunt, quod & ipsis familiare, miris quibusdam caeremoniis illum in aërem exhalant, dicentes, accipe haec Pillan, cum aliis quibusdam sermonibus, quos neutquam nostri intelligere potuerunt, sed videntur hoc pacto numini litare.": Ibid.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁹ "Eodem modo agunt cum aliquem ex hostibus captum, occidere destinarunt; feriunt autem illum inter symposia (...) securi aut clava in capite, ita ut concidat, & cor eximunt è pectore, & dentes cruento infigunt, cum cantu & vociferatione ad Pillan ...": Ibid.

respective descriptions of Arias. The unintelligibility of the Mapuche barbarism in Markgraf's human sacrifice episode is further enhanced by the explicit hint at ritual cannibalism here.

Finally, there is a third and last supernatural being introduced here, which is already known to us from Luis de Valdivia: "They furthermore worship another spirit or false numen called Maruapoante ..."⁸⁵⁰. In Luis de Valdivia, Mareupua(n)te was conceptualised as the son of the sun, who gave – and perhaps still gives – life to man. Here in Markgraf, the character is described as (false) numen or spirit. Nevertheless, Markgraf's description shows a slight relation to Luis de Valdivia's, as his Maruapoante not only advises on the right moment to conceive a child but is also pictured as the cause of pregnancy (i.e. force of life) itself⁸⁵¹. Although Maruapoante is not related to the sun at all in Markgraf, in both authors the character is somehow connected to giving life to man.

A special case is the strand of discourse religious specialists in Markgraf, as the author explicitly negates that the Mapuche have any at all⁸⁵²: "They have neither sacrificators nor other ministers nor augurs who would sacrifice Pillan."⁸⁵³ Thus, Ovalle's ritual deficiency argument is not followed by Markgraf (as Pillan is worshipped) but a deficiency of religious specialists is proclaimed, which is singular (in its consequence) in the authors of the Mapuche Religion discourse considered in our study. The same holds true of the strands postmortality⁸⁵⁴, mythology and folk religious beliefs, which Markgraf does not describe at all. Thus, we read at the end of the second chapter of the appendix: "And of those two names [Pillan and Maruapoante, S.E.] does their whole superstition consist."⁸⁵⁵ With that final hint at

⁸⁵⁰ "Colunt praeterca alium spiritum seu falsum numen, quod appellant Maruapoante ...": Ibid., p. 287.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid.

⁸⁵² Although the Machi (i.e. physician) is mentioned in the vocabulary. Furthermore, a stub paraphrasis of Ovalle's passage on the herbolarist-machis in the sixth chapter of the appendix augments to our belief that the editors are responsible for the insertion of that chapter: "There are many Medical herbs with great powers that are only known to the Physicians among the Chileans, which are called Maci. Either they hide or partially teach that knowledge to the Spaniards. They achieve a lot, not only when the Indians but also when the Spaniards are struck by some grave illness. They also investigate when there is the suspicion of poison in a drink. There are not only many men but also women that profess and protrude in that art." ["Plurimae hic nascuntur herbae Medicinales, & magnae virtutis, Chilensibus solum notae & illorum Medicis, quos vocant Maci, qui facultates illarum aut celant aut parce admodum docent Hispanos: magni hi fiunt non tantum ab Indigenis, sed & ab Hispanis cum gravi aliquo morbo affliguntur; & imprimis ubi aliqua suspicio est hausti veneni. Neque viri tantum, sed & foeminae quaedam hanc artem profitentur, in eaque excellunt."]: Ibid., p. 291.

⁸⁵³ "Nullus habent sacrificulos aut alios ministros qui Pillan sacrificent: neque sortilegos ...": Ibid., p. 287.

⁸⁵⁴ Although Markgraf does not explicitly thematise afterlife beliefs in the Mapuche, we find some vague hints on the topic. Besides the author's negation of the resurrection and the immortality of the soul, there is the allusion to a descent to hell connected with Alverey (as cited above). Furthermore, there is one other passage in which Markgraf describes tomb furnishings that somewhat seem to imply that the dead eat and drink because "... a sheep is slaughtered on the ground and a part of it is put at his [the dead's, S.E.] head with an amphora filled with chicha ..." ["... ove illius terrae mactata, cujus & partem aliquam cum amphora Chiccae capiti illius apponunt ..."]: Ibid., p. 286.

⁸⁵⁵ "Atque in hisce duobus nominibus tota ipsorum superstitione consistit.": Ibid., p. 287.

Mapuche Religion being a mere superstition (i.e. false religion), Markgraf leads the reader back full circle to his initial theological deficiency argument.

As a way of conclusion on Markgraf, we can say that the author focuses on supernatural beings, while omitting all other strands of discourse. Similar to his predecessors' descriptions in the strand religious specialists, the author does not differentiate between the various aspects or concepts of supernatural beings like divine essence, numen or spirit. Although Markgraf obviously avoids the term "god" for Pillan in his book (which was used by previous authors from Arias on), he, nonetheless, closely approaches that term with the concepts supreme/divine essence and numen. Furthermore, Markgraf centralises Pillan in his description of Mapuche Religion. The author conceptualises that character to unite (almost) all facets of previous interpretations of it. In Markgraf, the role change between Eponamon/ Eponamón and Pillan seems to be completed, which was already implied in Oña (who seemingly synonymised Pillan with Eponamón) and in Arias (in which Eponamon/ Eponamón was of no importance to Mapuche Religion). Therefore, with Markgraf the aspects that characterised Eponamon/ Eponamón are finally transferred onto Pillan and Alverey: First, there is Eponamon's/ Eponamón's main function as supporter in war (although the direct intervention theme is missing in Markgraf) and second, the character Alverey is equipped with the diabolic qualities held by Eponamon/ Eponamón in Ercilla and Oña – a change process that started with Luis de Valdivia. Although Markgraf devalues Mapuche Religion as superstition in the end, the complexity of his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion – especially of the Pillan character – is extraordinary, compared to his predecessors and epigones Baerle and Schmalkalden.

6.3 Caspar van Baerle's *Rerum* and Caspar Schmalkalden's *Wundersame Reisen*

Caspar van Baerle [Barlaeus] (*1584, Antwerp/ Belgium; †1648, Amsterdam/ Netherlands) was a theologian, physician, writer and (most importantly for our study) close friend of the Count of Nassau-Siegen. Baerle never visited the Americas himself but is said to have received the information for his book directly from the circle around the Count⁸⁵⁶, who had

⁸⁵⁶ Medina, Holandeses, p. 125.

finally returned to the Netherlands in 1644. Baerle's *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia*⁸⁵⁷ was published in Amsterdam in 1647, that is one year prior to Markgraf's *Historia*. Because of the fact that it was published chronologically first, the Chilean historian Medina claims that it was the model for all following Dutch and German authors⁸⁵⁸, a hypothesis that we do not share. A close comparison of Baerle's *Rerum* with Markgraf's *Historia* leads us to believe that Baerle's passage on Chile is a stub version of Markgraf's appendix, as it lacks various details and the logical fluency of the *Historia*⁸⁵⁹. Thus, we believe that Baerle must have had access to and heavily employed Markgraf's unpublished manuscript. Ironically, Baerle's *Rerum* had wide success in Europe and was more influential than the original source, Markgraf's *Historia*⁸⁶⁰. Generally speaking, Baerle somewhat embellishes Markgraf's passages on 'Mapuche barbarism': At times, the *Rerum*'s imagery even touches the horror genre. Thus, we are informed in the opening sentence of the chapter on Chile that: "In their cruel ways of living they have no mercy with nothing."⁸⁶¹ The following sentence adds to that ambience: "They mangle the extracted heart of a knocked down enemy with bloodthirsty bite, invoking Pillan ..."⁸⁶². In another passage the barbarians image is completed: "Especially with a distorted drunk mind aroused to madness, they recite their songs and hymns."⁸⁶³

The exaggerating changes made to Markgraf's original work are equally significant in the description of Mapuche Religion. As concerns Pillan/ "Pilan"⁸⁶⁴, Baerle blurs Markgraf's complex theological deficiency argument and his description of Alvey into one:

⁸⁵⁷ Full title: *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum sub praefectura illustissimi comitis I. Mauritii Nassoviae* [History of what happened recently in the eight years in Brasil and elsewhere under the government of the illustrious Count J. Maurice of Nassau]: Baerle, *Rerum*.

⁸⁵⁸ Medina, *Holandeses*, p. 125.

⁸⁵⁹ Similar to Markgraf, at the end of the text we find Herckmans' vocabulary that likewise does not seem to be related to the main text. The four concepts we discussed in Herckmans and Markgraf are exactly the same here: "Pillan" is the "Thunder" [Tonitru] (Baerle, *Rerum*, p. 475), "Alvee" the "Devil" [Diabolus] (ibid., p. 478), "Machi" the "Physician" [Medicus] (ibid., p. 477) and "Pelli" the "Soul" [Anima]: Ibid., p. 486.

⁸⁶⁰ So influential that, for example, the official Spanish chronist of the Americas, Pedro Fernández de Pulgar (*1621; †1697), in his *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales* [General History of the West Indies] (Fernández de Pulgar, P.: *Historia general de las Indias Occidentales*. - in: *Relaciones de Chile sacadas de los antiguos cronistas de Indias y otros autores*/ J.T. Medina (ed.). - 2 vols. - Santiago: Mercurio. - vol. 2. - 1902. - 47-196) written in the 1680s (approximately; not published before 1902), provides a literal translation of Baerle's account of Mapuche Religion from the Latin into Castilian. See: Ibid., pp. 61-63.

⁸⁶¹ "In victos crudeles vitae veniam nulli faciunt.": Baerle, *Rerum*, p. 451.

⁸⁶² "Cor prostrati hostis exemptum morsu sanguinolento dilacerant, invocato Pillani ..." (ibid.). This certainly is a simplification of Markgraf's cannibalism passage cited above.

⁸⁶³ "Maximè, cum alienata potu mente & veluti furore percita, carmina illi hymnosque recitant.": Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid.

“As they are ignorant of the God of creation and the divine cult and, therefore, also of the immortality of the soul, they have nothing but profane days. Somehow they are seen to worship the demons with firm belief, like their Pilan or airy Spirit.”⁸⁶⁵

Reducing Markgraf’s passage on the ignorance of the Mapuche *in puncto* Christianity, Baerle also introduces a new aspect here: Pil(l)an becomes one of multiple demons. Otherwise the information on Pil(l)an seems to be a simplified version of Markgraf’s description: Pil(l)an is a (1) demon, (2) airy spirit and (3) “numen”⁸⁶⁶. (4) He becomes the personification of thunder⁸⁶⁷ that they invoke to defeat their enemies (here the war aspect again)⁸⁶⁸. (5) He also functions as a title of honour for brave soldiers⁸⁶⁹ and – here deviating from Markgraf – is also (6) a “Genius” [Genio]⁸⁷⁰. That genius aspect shows more similarities to Arias’ interpretation as protective being. The second character “Mura-Poante”⁸⁷¹ – obviously a twist of letters of Markgraf’s Maruapoante – is also ‘demonised’, defined as the “Demon” [Dæmon]⁸⁷² of fertility. Thus, in an original way, Baerle analogises that character with Lucina, the Roman goddess of birth⁸⁷³.

The last fruit of the Brouwer expedition⁸⁷⁴ is a book written by the German soldier Caspar Schmalkalden (*~1617, Friedrichroda/ Germany; †~1668, Gotha/ Germany), who stood in Dutch service from 1642 to 1652 and also participated in the Brouwer expedition to Chile.

⁸⁶⁵ “Dei creatoris cultusque divini, ut & immortalitatis animae nescii, dacros, prae profanis dies non habent. aliqua tamen numinis aut daemonii opinione tangi videntur, cum Pilanum suum, ut Spiritum aëreum, colant.”: Ibid.

⁸⁶⁶ “... to whom as a numen and Genius they thus dedicate that sacrifice.” [“... cui utpote numini Genioque, tali victima litant.”]: Ibid.

⁸⁶⁷ “They have the thunder as Numen. They pray to that Pilan.” [“Tonitru pro Numine habent. hoc Pilanum indigetant.”]: Ibid., p. 455.

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 451.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 452.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 451.

⁸⁷¹ Ibid., p. 452.

⁸⁷² Ibid.

⁸⁷³ “Among them there is another demon worshipped, which they call Mura-Poanta. They invoke him in the form of Lucina, whenever they marry.” [“Est & aliud apud ipsos in precio Daemonium, quod Mura-Poantam apellant. hoc Lucinae cujusdam instar implorant, quoties matrimonia ineunt.”]: Ibid.

⁸⁷⁴ We omit Arnold van den Berghe [Montanus] (*1625, Amsterdam/ Netherlands; †1683, Schoonhoven/ Netherlands), a Dutch theologian and historian, who – like Baerle – never personally visited the Americas. His *De nieuwe en onbekende weereld, of, beschryving van America en ‘t zuid-land* [*On the unknown and new world or description of America and the Southland*] (Berghe, Nieuwe) was published in Amsterdam in 1671 – that is some 30 years after Markgraf’s *Historia* and Baerle’s *Rerum*. In the third book of that comprehensive work, the ninth chapter is called *Chili* [Chile] (ibid., pp. 558-572). In difference to Baerle, who changed Markgraf’s descriptions dramatically, the text seems to be a free (but far from literal) translation of Markgraf’s *Historia* into the Dutch. The only difference to Markgraf is that the vocabulary is not situated at the end but at the beginning of the text. The four concepts discussed in Herckmans, Markgraf and Baerle are the same in Berghe, as “pillan” is the “thunder” [donder] (ibid., p. 559), “machi” is the “physician” [geneest-meester] (ibid.), “pelli” is the “soul” [ziel] (ibid., p. 560), “alvee” is the “devil” [duivel]: Ibid.

The manuscript of his travel diary *Wundersame Reisen*⁸⁷⁵ was probably written after Schmalkalden's return to Germany in 1652 (published for the first time in 1983). The only passage relevant to the Mapuche Religion discourse appears to be a summary of Markgraf's appendix or – more probably so – a reduction of Baerle's *Rerum*:

“They only live from day to day and know nothing of the true God. They have the thunder as their God and call him Pillan. And when it thunders, they are very frightened, kneel down on the ground and worship him.”⁸⁷⁶

Thus, Schmalkalden (unoriginally) pictures the Mapuche as a people that does not know the ‘true god’. Depicting them as ignorant of Christianity, he reduces Markgraf's and/ or Baerle's description of Mapuche Religion to a respectful worship of Pillan as the personification of thunder. Schmalkalden's day to day living aspect is strikingly similar to Markgraf's remark on the distressful life of the Mapuche, as well as his and Baerle's statement that the Mapuche only know profane days. Nonetheless, it relates even more to Brouwer's statement that the Mapuche live an idle life⁸⁷⁷. In a way, Schmalkalden's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion may thus be seen as a brief summary of the Dutch-German conceptualisations of the Mapuche's religiosity previously presented in this chapter.

⁸⁷⁵ Full title: *Die wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West- und Ostindien, 1642-1652* [*The marvellous voyages of Caspar Schmalkalden to the West and East Indies, 1642-1652*]; Schmalkalden, C.: Die wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West- und Ostindien, 1642-1652. - Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1983.

⁸⁷⁶ “Sie leben nur in den Tag hinein und wissen nichts vom wahren Gott. Sie halten den Donner für ihren Gott, nennen ihn Pillan. Und wenn es donnert, fürchten sie sich sehr, fallen auf die Erden und tun ihm Ehr an.”: Ibid., p. 46.

⁸⁷⁷ Conclusively, we can say with some probability that Schmalkalden employed Brouwer and Markgraf and/ or Baerle as sources for his account.

7. Changing perspectives: Rosales' *Historia* and Bascuñan's *Cautiverio*

Que donde falta la luz de la fe, todo es desvario y tropezar
entre confusas sombras, aun a la luz de el Sol.

(Diego de Rosales, *Historia general del reino de Chile*)⁸⁷⁸

7.1 Diego de Rosales on (un)just war

The Jesuit Diego de Rosales (*~1601, Madrid/ Spain; †1677, Santiago/ Chile)⁸⁷⁹ was a contemporary of Ovalle. He came to the Araucanía as a missionary in 1629, participating in various peace parliaments held by the governor Marquis of Baides and also by his successor Martín de Mújica y Buitrón (*16~~; †1649), including the first and the second parliaments of Quillín. Held in February 1647, the second Peaces of Quillín practically reconfirmed the agreements of the first Quillín parliament. As a consequence, the Mapuche Spanish Conflict 'cooled down' for almost ten years until in February 1655 a 'general rebellion' of the Mapuche ended this peaceful phasis again – and with it all missionary activity in the Araucanía. A period of extensive warfare and the decline of mission continued for almost fourty years, ending in December 1692 with the peace parliament of Yumbel. From the 1660's on, Rosales became "Highest prelate of the vice-province" [prelado superior de la viceprovincia] for the Society of Jesus in Chile, being especially responsible for the mission of the Mapuche. In those weary times of peace and war, the missionary Rosales lived in close contact with the Mapuche for many years; thus, it can be assumed that he – like Luis de Valdivia before him – spoke Mapudungun fluently⁸⁸⁰. Rosales' *Historia general del reino de Chile, Flandes Indiano*⁸⁸¹ was written in 1674 (approximately) although the manuscript was not published before 1877. The three volumes of the *Historia* expand the history of Chile to

⁸⁷⁸ Rosales, D. de: *Historia general del reino de Chile, Flandes Indiano*. - 3 vols. - Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1877-1878, I, p. 2. "Where there is no light of faith, everything is ridiculous and – although under the light of Sun – stumbles among confused shadows."

⁸⁷⁹ Rosales' and Bascuñan's texts were written at the same time – at the beginning of the 1670s – approximately. As it is not perfectly clear which of the texts evolved chronologically first, we pragmatically decided to discuss Rosales prior to Bascuñan. Biographical information on Rosales is taken from: Barros, *Historia*, IV, pp. 301-369; V, pp. 9-187; Bonilla, *Gran*, II, pp. 134-173; Encina, *Historia*, III, pp. 187-318; Foerster, *Jesuitas*, pp. 247-255; Korth, *Spanish*, pp. 162-208; Lara, *Crónica*, II, pp. 40-86; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 764-767; Vicuña Mackenna, B.: *Vida de Diego de Rosales*. - in: *Historia general del reino de Chile, Flandes Indiano/ D. de Rosales (auth.)*. - 3 vols. - Valparaíso: Imprenta del Mercurio. - vol. 1. - 1877. - xi-xxxvii.

⁸⁸⁰ Medina, *Diccionario*, p. 764.

⁸⁸¹ *General history of the kingdom of Chile, Indian Flanders*: Rosales, *Historia*.

the year 1655 and – considering the great quantity of data – include the (textually) most extensive description of Mapuche religiosity in the whole Mapuche Religion discourse⁸⁸².

Rosales' general picture of the Mapuche is rather positive, as he – here in close accordance to Ercilla's heroic warriors imagery – attests the Mapuche to be "... a people that fights extraordinarily and supersedes all the other Indians of America in valiance, arrogance and strength."⁸⁸³ Furthermore, they are very proud because:

“[T]hey do not bend down, bow their heads nor do they curtsy to anyone. They do not show these courtesies and reverences to any priest nor to the governor, not even to the crosses or images of the Christians nor to their Pillan or Gucuibu ...”⁸⁸⁴.

Thus, Rosales creates the image of a proud and indomitable people that does not submit under any mundane or religious rule. Although this statement is not contradictory to the negative statement of González (i.e. they only obey their stomachs), it is more similar to Ercilla, as Rosales' Mapuche are too proud and warlike in nature (and not just idle or lazy) to submit under any authority. Nonetheless, like Ercilla or Luis de Valdivia, Rosales is no wholehearted 'indophile'. Thus, we learn that the Mapuche's 'war spirit' develops from "... their fiery nature, as they are choleric, fierce, furious, arrogant, haughty, impatient, stubborn, vain and pretentious of their valiance."⁸⁸⁵ Although the Mapuche are truthful people for Rosales⁸⁸⁶, they are very uneducated, in fact: "They do not teach the children how to read nor write because they do not have letters nor rules; nor do they teach them some profession or any science ..."⁸⁸⁷. Thus, Rosales' imagery is diametrically opposed to Spilbergen's good mannered and well-read Mapuche and more in accordance with Brouwer's uneducated and idle barbarian stereotype here.

⁸⁸² Rosales also is the author of a *Conquista espiritual de Chile* [*The spiritual conquista of Chile*], which he probably started writing in 1666; it is a history of the Jesuit mission in Chile, of which only some preserved parts were published (which are of no further interest to our study): Rosales, D. de: *Seis misioneros en la frontera mapuche*. - Temuco: University of La Frontera Press, 1991.

⁸⁸³ "... una gente que pelea desmedidamente y que sobrepuja a los demas indios de la América en la valentia, arrogancia y valor.": Rosales, *Historia*, I, p. 108.

⁸⁸⁴ "... a nadie incan la rodilla, ni vaxan la cabeza, ni inclinan el cuerpo, sin hazer de estas cortesias y reverencias ni a un sacerdote ni al gobernador, ni lo que mas es, a las cruces o imagenes de los christianos, ni a su Pillan o Gucuibu ...": *Ibid.*, I, p. 158.

⁸⁸⁵ "... su fogoso natural, porque son colericos, ardientes, furiosos, arrogantes, altivos, impacientes, mal sufridos, vanos y presumidos de valientes.": *Ibid.*, I, p. 117.

⁸⁸⁶ "... although they are barbarians, they are very truthful ..." ["... aunque son barbaros, son mui amigos de la verdad ..."]: *Ibid.*, III, p. 33.

⁸⁸⁷ "No enseñan a los hijos a leer ni a escribir porque no han tenido letras ni policia, ni les enseñan officio ni ciencia alguna ...": *Ibid.*, I, p. 167.

Considering this limitation in Rosales' admiration for the Mapuche, it is no wonder that the Jesuit missionary also justifies the righteousness of the Chilean conquista by employing a divine will explanation similar to his predecessors:

“[A]lthough the Spaniards were only few in numbers, they were many in power; because they had God and the Most Sacred Mother on their side, who descended from heaven with armies of angels to help them.”⁸⁸⁸

That argument, which relates back to Ovalle's store of miraculous events, is very similar to Vivar's deducing from the battle successes of the Spanish conquista that the Christian god is on the side of the Spaniards. In Rosales we find various (though short) descriptions of miracles that strengthen a justification of the conquista and weaken an admiration for the Mapuche character⁸⁸⁹. But Rosales is not limited to that regress on miracles to make his point in pro of the conquista; thus, a more dominant line of argument in Rosales' *Historia* discusses whether or not there is good reason for a just war on the Mapuche heathens. Asking the general question what reasons are needed for a Christian people to have the lawful right to intervene and make war on infidels, Rosales describes a worst case scenario of intolerable heathendom:

“[A]mong the infidels there are enormous sins to be found, which are: The infidelity, the idolatry, the communication with the devil, the witchcrafts, enchantments, sorceries and prophecisings, sodomy, bigamy, the incests without excepting mothers or sisters, the drinking feasts, the killings of one another, the offences of innocents, sacrifices of animals to the devil, and – what is the worst – of men and children; the eating of human flesh and the having of storehouses and butcheries where it is sold in parts. The most powerful are the scourges of the innocents and poor; and tyranny is their dominion ...”⁸⁹⁰.

⁸⁸⁸ “... los españoles aunque eran pocos en el numero eran muchos en el poder porque tenian de su parte a Dios y a su Santissima Madre, que con exercitos de angeles venia del cielo a pelear en su ayuda.”: *Ibid.*, I, p. 438.

⁸⁸⁹ Such as: (1) The apperances of Mary in battle (*ibid.*, I, pp. 439-440; III, p. 50), (2) the appearance of a pre-Spanish evangelist (*ibid.*, I, pp. 4; 384-385) or (3) an account of how the Christian god sent a plague to the Indians, while sparing the Spaniards: *Ibid.*, I, pp. 189-190.

⁸⁹⁰ “... entre los infieles se hallan enormes pecados, quales son la infidelidad, la idolatria, el comunicar con el demonio, las echizerias, encantamientos, bruxerias y sortilexios, el pecado nefando, la vigamia, los incestos, sin reservar a madres ni hermanas, las borracheras, las muertes de unos a otros, los agravios de inocentes, sacrificios al demonio de animales, y que peor es, de hombres y niños, el comer carne humana, y tener cassas y carnicerias donde se vende en algunas partes, siendo los mas poderosos verdugos de los inocentes y de los pobres y tiranico su dominio ...”: *Ibid.*, I, pp. 451-452.

As a consequence, Rosales concludes: “[I]t seems that one can – in defense of the innocent – take the life of him, who unjustly oppresses; and castigate by whatever means such great vices as are those of the infidels.”⁸⁹¹ Following that logic, if the evils listed above are found in a heathen people, the Christians can rightfully make war on them to free innocents from the heathen tyranny. If Rosales would follow his predecessors Oña and Arias, who assumed human sacrifice in the Mapuche, he necessarily would be in need to promote a military intervention in Chile.

For the case of the Mapuche, nonetheless, Rosales concludes at the end of his extensive discussion of just war: “[T]hose Indians of Chile do not have sacrifices nor do they kill people to eat them. Therefore, there was no reason that would justify making war on them ...”⁸⁹²: As the Mapuche society does not show the intolerable characteristics of a barbarian tyranny, Rosales explicitly disapproves a military approach. This point is extended from the theological point of view, as spreading the true faith among the heathens is no just reason for making war in Rosales’ opinion: “Because infidelity alone is no just reason for making war on the infidels ... as one should not do wrong for achieving something good.”⁸⁹³ The author continues: “[A]lthough they say that they do not want to receive the faith it is no just cause ... to make war on them with fire and blood.”⁸⁹⁴ Thus, from a missionary point of view, Rosales argues against a military approach, as advocated by Calderón or Sosa. This general critique of the conquista – that is to some degree an extension of those of Ercilla and Luis de Valdivia – is enhanced in Rosales’ evaluation of the behaviour of the Spaniards in Chile:

“They [the Mapuche, S.E.] do not rebel against the King because the king is righteous and good; nor against God because the word of God does them no harm nor offence. They rebel against those men, which as Christians should give a good example but live without God nor law and do not care for their Indians to become Christians ... Instead, all they care for is to get rich ...”⁸⁹⁵.

⁸⁹¹ “... parece que puede uno, en defensa del inocente, quitar la vida al que injustamente le oprime, y qualquiera castigar tan enormes vicios como son los de los infieles.”: *Ibid.*, I, p. 452.

⁸⁹² “... estos indios de Chile no tienen sacrificios, ni matan gente para comer, con que no ha auido causa que justifique el hacerles la guerra ...”: *Ibid.*, I, p. 454.

⁸⁹³ “Porque la infidelidad sola no es causa justa para hacer guerra a los infieles ... porque no se ha de hacer mal por conseguir algun bien ...”: *Ibid.*, I, pp. 449-450.

⁸⁹⁴ “... aunque digan que no quieren recibir la fee, no es causa justa ... para hacerles guerra a sangre y fuego.”: *Ibid.*, I, p. 451.

⁸⁹⁵ “No se rebelan contra el Rey, que el rey es justo y bueno, ni contra Dios, que la palabra de Dios no les haze mal ni agravio ninguno. Contra los que se rebelan es contra hombres que siendo christianos y debiéndoles dar buen exemplo, viven sin Dios y sin ley y no cuidan de que sus indios sean christianos ... sino que todo su cuidado le ponen en enriquezer ...”: *Ibid.*, II, p. 89.

That argument shows striking similarities to Mariño's and especially to Luis de Valdivia's critiques of the crimes of the Spanish army. That relation is enhanced by Rosales' metaphorical interpretation of the Mapuche rebels as scourges of the Christian god on the backs of the Spanish Christians, which shows obvious parallels to Luis de Valdivia's arguments brought up against the personal service system:

“[F]or those of his own people, God leaves some people that cannot be subjected; because when they would sin, those could serve him as a scourge. Therefore, God permits that among the Indians there always would be some rebellious province, which the Spanish power could not subject, so that it may serve as an instrument of God for their punishment.”⁸⁹⁶

On the one hand, Rosales employs miracles to underline the divine approval for a Chilean conquista. On the other hand, Rosales criticises past and present forms of the military approach, pointing out that it is opposed to the Christian ideal and, thus, in need to be changed to some kind of defensive model (as proposed by Luis de Valdivia). Accordingly, in Rosales it is the powerful hand of God that castigates the Spaniards for their 'greedy crimes' by means of the Mapuche rebels, while at the same time that very hand sends miracles to diminish those rebels and to support the Spanish conquest, which triggered those crimes in the first place.

7.2 Rosales' conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion

Following the argument that the Mapuche do not make human sacrifices – and, thus, that there is no reason for just war –, Rosales postulates a negative superlative:

“Those Indians of Chile are the most barbarous of the Indies because they do not know the true God nor do they have other false gods or idols that they worship. And thus they do not know of religion nor cult, worship, sacrifices, offerings or invocations.”⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁶ “... a los de su pueblo les dexaba Dios algunas gentes que no podian sugetar para que quando pecassen les sirviessen de azote, assi permite Dios que siempre haya entre estos indios algunas provincias rebeldes a quienes la potencia española no pueda sugetar para que la sirva de instrumento de Dios para su castigo.”: *Ibid.*, II, p. 273.

⁸⁹⁷ “Son estos indios de Chile los mas barbaros de las Indias, porque ni conocen al verdadero Dios, ni tienen otros dioses falsos ni idolos que adorar, y assi no saben de religion, culto ni adoracion, ni tienen sacrificios, ni offrendas, ni invocaciones.”: *Ibid.*, I, p. 162.

Pictured as people of theological and ritual deficiency – and, therefore, people very unlike Christians –, the Mapuche are stylised to a superlative as the most barbaric people of the Americas. This list of religious deficiencies, together with another passage that claims that they do not know angels nor the punishment of the souls⁸⁹⁸, shows similarities to Brouwer’s no religion claim and, furthermore, to Ovalle and Markgraf’s deficiency arguments in the initial passages of their books. As they do not have any heathen religion whatsoever, the reader may conclude, the Mapuche are religious *tabulae rasae* waiting to be covered with the words of the Gospel.

Despite that discovery of an absence of supernatural beings (i.e. of idols and Christian supernatural beings) as well as of any ritual dimension in Mapuche Religion – similar to Ovalle and Markgraf – the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion really just starts here:

“They only invoke Pillan and they do not know if he is the devil or who he is. Moreover, he appears to the wizards and talks to them, giving them to understand that he is one of their deceased relatives or leaders. They thus speak to him without worshipping him.”⁸⁹⁹

From this passage we learn that the Mapuche’s only supernatural being seems to be Pillan/ “Pillanes”⁹⁰⁰/ “pillan”⁹⁰¹ of which they – as well as Rosales and his audience – have no clear understanding (i.e. only an improper knowledge as in Ovalle). Furthermore, he communicates with the wizards without being especially respected or worshipped. The lack of respect is in full accordance to the above image of the freedom loving Mapuche people that do not bend to anyone. Although they have a vague idea of a supernatural being – as we saw in Ovalle and Markgraf – the emphasis for Rosales lies on the lack of any visible objects of worship, that is ritual deficiency. In that passage the Pillan(es)/ pillan character is furthermore described as one of their deceased relatives, leaders or noblemen, who – as we learn in another passage – after death converts into a volcano⁹⁰². While Ovalle identified guenupillan as the personification of the volcano, in Rosales Pillan(es)/ pillan becomes the dead relative converted into a volcano. Besides that relation to volcanos, the relation of the living to Pillan(es)/ pillan is pictured as some kind of ancestor worship, which connects that character

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁹ “Solo invocan al Pillan, y ni saben si es el demonio ni quien es; mas, como se les aparece a los hechizeros y les habla, les da a entender que es alguno de sus parientes o caciques difuntos, y como a tal le hablan, sin hacerle adoracion.”: Ibid.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid., I, p. 163.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid., II, p. 585.

⁹⁰² Ibid., I, p. 163.

somewhat to postmortality. Furthermore, the deceitful nature of the devil theme is continued from Luis de Valdivia, as the enemy of Christianity makes them understand that he is one of their deceased ones.

An influential extension of the Pillan(es)/ pillan character is a passage on a thunderstorm battle (that we paraphrase here):

The “souls” [almas] of brave Mapuche soldiers that die in battle are called “Pillanes”. They rise to the sky and convert themselves into thunder and lightning. As the same happens to the souls of brave Spanish soldiers, the Pillanes of both sides continue their battle in the sky. Thus, the Mapuche believe that when it thunders and there is lightning, the Spaniards fight with the Mapuche in the sky and, therefore, the living encourage their Pillanes to fight bravely against the Spanish enemy Pillanes. When, after the sky clears up, the clouds move to the Mapuche camp, the Pillanes of the Mapuche have won; if otherwise, the Mapuche Pillanes were defeated by the Spanish army⁹⁰³.

Rosales describes Pillan(es)/ pillan (in plural), as some kind of souls of the dead here: As we saw in the first passage on Pillan, the strands supernatural beings and postmortality are closely knitted together in Rosales’ conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion. The “thunderstorm battle theme” – as we will call it – thus is: (1) A continuation of Luis de Valdivia’s war aspect in Pillan; (2) a continuation of Markgraf’s Pillan as airy spirit and war supporter; and (3) moreover shows a connection to Ovalle’s battle in the sky led by St. James. Therefore, Rosales finds another original way to parallelise the human battle onto the superhuman sphere. That theme together with the statement that they offer tobacco smoke (blowing it into the sky), as to make Pillan(es)/ pillan favourable⁹⁰⁴ enhances the view that Pillan(es)/ pillan – as in Luis de Valdivia, Ovalle and Markgraf – is connected to the sky in Rosales. Furthermore, he is thus related to thunder (in the sky), a dominant interpretation in Luis de Valdivia, Ovalle and also in the Dutch-German authors from Herckmans to Schmalkalden. Rosales’ extensive description of that character in the strand supernatural beings causes a certain degree of confusion in the reader, as Pillan(es)/ pillan is described as (1) the souls of noblemen (i.e. of ancestors in ancestor worship); (2) the souls of warriors battling in the sky; (3) the personification of thunder; and (4) the personification of volcanos.

⁹⁰³ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid., I, p. 147.

What is remarkable in Rosales' depiction of Pillan(es)/ pillan, is the character's wide entanglement with postmortality.

Furthermore, concerning that character Rosales is the first author in the Mapuche Religion discourse, who permits that the Mapuche 'themselves' speak about their religiosity⁹⁰⁵. Thus, in a peace parliament the Mapuche leader Anganamón is described to say (concerning the martyrs of Elicura): "That there was no other god but their pillan, that God was a falsety and that there were no gods like the fathers said but pillan ..."⁹⁰⁶. And concerning the question why the Mapuche resist Christian conversion, the leader Aliante asks back rhetorically: "Why does Pillan roar if not because we want to receive another people of another sect or religion on our lands?"⁹⁰⁷ In these passages, we find the first reasoning on the rejection of the exclusivist claim to Christian universality from a 'Mapuche perspective'. Pillan is pictured here as a direct competitor of the Christian god and, thus, Mapuche Religion becomes a competitive religion to Christianity.

Rosales describes a second (and last) supernatural being of Mapuche Religion: Gucuibu/ "Guecubo"⁹⁰⁸/ "Guecubu"⁹⁰⁹. Unlike Arias' Güecuvi character, pictured as an idol in demand of human sacrifice, Luis de Valdivia's animistic god or Ovalle's Pillan subordinates, Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu is described here as something that is extracted from a sick person's body by a wizard in a healing ceremony⁹¹⁰. On the other hand, Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu is defined as "familiar"⁹¹¹, which provides its owner with secret knowledge. This (spirit) familiar interpretation shows (very) slight relations to Baerle's depiction of Pil(l)an as genius. The interpretations of Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu as related to sickness or probably the cause of it, and as spirit familiar are new points here; especially the character's role in healing ceremonies will be of major importance in future authors' contributions to the Mapuche Religion discourse.

⁹⁰⁵ It is a self-representation to a limited degree, of course, as it is still through the filter of the (Christian) narrator that the Mapuche are admitted to describe their religion.

⁹⁰⁶ "Que no avia otro dios sino su pillan, que Dios era falsedad, y no avia dios como los padres decian, sino pillan ...": Ibid, II, p. 585.

⁹⁰⁷ "Por qué brama el Pillan, sino porque queremos recibir en nuestras tierras gente de otra secta y religion?": Ibid, III, p. 156.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., I, p. 169.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid., III, p. 207.

⁹¹⁰ Ibid., I, p. 169.

⁹¹¹ "And asking him astonishedly who had told him so, he answered them that he had a Guecubu (that is to say a familiar) that revealed the secrets to him." ["Y preguntándole admirados quién se lo avia dicho, les respondia que tenia un Guecubu (como si digera un familiar) que le revelaba los secretos."]: Ibid., III, p. 207.

Turning now to the strand religious specialists, Rosales points out that the “wizards” [hechizeros]⁹¹² receive their powers from the devil⁹¹³. As “ministers” [ministros]⁹¹⁴ of the devil, they celebrate public feasts, in which they perform various tricks (e.g. changing their appearance from human to wild animals⁹¹⁵, attracting the devil in form of a bird on a cinnamon stick⁹¹⁶). As a continuation of various previous authors in the Mapuche Religion discourse, ranging from Ercilla to Luis de Valdivia, religious specialists are described by the interpretative scheme of imposters here. That scheme is continued, as the author points out that the devil makes the Mapuche believe that he is one of their deceased ones but – here similar to the interpretation of Luis de Valdivia – in reality it is the devil that they invoke⁹¹⁷.

Moreover, as Ovalle before him, Rosales states that wizard means “Machi”⁹¹⁸ in Mapudungun. The functions of these wizards or “physicians” [medicos]⁹¹⁹ are described as manifold. Most of all, they consult the devil to find out the cause of an illness of a sick person⁹²⁰, which they cure then⁹²¹. Pointing out to this healing aspect, Rosales relates to Ovalle’s first reading of that character as herbolarist-healer and Herckmans vocabulary that (seemingly) presented the Machi as serious physicians; nonetheless, in Rosales it is just a hint at the seriousness of that character as their healing work is facilitated by the powers of the devil. Furthermore, the Machi are “fortune-tellers” [adivinos]⁹²², who also prognosticate by the art of the devil⁹²³; especially do they consult the devil on the outcome of future battles, offering tobacco smoke to him⁹²⁴. Here, the theme of tobacco smoke offering to the war supporter Pillan in Luis de Valdivia and Markgraf is not transferred onto Pillan but the devil. In yet another aspect, Rosales clearly relates to Ovalle’s infernal schools of initiation, as he explains in the following passage:

⁹¹² Ibid., I, p. 145.

⁹¹³ “[A]ll of those errors the wizards were taught by the devil, to whom he appears surrounded by fire or in various other figures, such as children or birds.” [“... todos estos errores les enseña el demonio a los hechizeros, a quienes se aparece cercado de fuego y en otras varias figuras, ya de niños, ya de paxaros.”]: Ibid., I, p. 163.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid., I, p. 145.

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., I, pp. 288; 435.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid., I, pp. 144-145. This devil on a stick theme shows some relation to Oña’s Pillán incorporation in a wool stick.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., I, p. 163.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid., I, p. 435.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., I, p. 168.

⁹²⁰ Ibid.

⁹²¹ Ibid.

⁹²² Ibid., I, p. 169.

⁹²³ Ibid.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., I, p. 135.

“[T]hey have their teachers and their kind of schools, where the wizards have them [the children, S.E.] gathered. And without seeing the sun in their caves and dark places, they talk to the devil there and teach them to make things that seem admirable to those that see them.”⁹²⁵

This passage – somewhat contradictory to Rosales’ assumption that the Mapuche teach their children nothing – is continued, as Rosales describes two steps of how the wizards become “priests of the devil” [sacerdotes del demonio]⁹²⁶: (1) The devil needs to enter the neophyte’s body; (2) the wizard aspirant’s eyes, ears and tongue are cut off and are replaced by new ones, so that he can hear and see the devil and be able to talk to him⁹²⁷. With that vivid description, Rosales enhances the secrecy-obscurity theme in the description of religious specialists similar to his predecessors (e.g. Fiton’s abode, Oña’s wizard cave, Ovalle’s infernal schools).

This darkness aspect is extended in a passage that introduces a second character to the religious specialists strand. The “Boquibuyes”⁹²⁸/ “Boqui-buyes”⁹²⁹ are defined as the “priests of the devil” [sacerdotes de el Demonio]⁹³⁰. Thus, as other authors before him, Rosales blurs the differences between wizard, Machi, fortune-teller, minister, priest, Boqui(-)buyes into one ‘multifunctionalist type’ of religious specialist, who receives his powers from the devil (i.e. through a diabolic pact). The Boqui(-)buyes are described as “... a kind of priests ... which care for peace and wear a different habit ...”⁹³¹. Every region in the Araucanía has a mountain with a convent on it, following Rosales, where the male Boqui(-)buyes gather the whole year apart from the women⁹³². Besides the fact that the description of Boqui(-)buyes is very similar to the description of the nesues/ neges in Luis de Valdivia, the character shows some general parallels to Ercilla’s imposter wizards that live an abstinent and secluded life.

A third and last type of religious specialists in Rosales is described in a cryptical passage in the third volume of the *Historia*. There we read that a highly respected Mapuche leader living

⁹²⁵ “... tienen sus maestros y su modo de colegios, donde los hechizeros los tienen recogidos y sin ver el sol en sus cuevas y lugares ocultos, donde hablan con el diablo y les enseñan a hazer cosas aparentes que admiran a los que las ven ...”: *Ibid.*, I, p. 168.

⁹²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 145. There is no corresponding word to Boqui(-)buyes in Erize’s *Diccionario*.

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 178.

⁹³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 145.

⁹³¹ “... un género de sacerdotes ... los cuales tratan de la paz y visten hábito diferente ...” (*ibid.*, III, p. 207). In Rosales we find an extensive description of the appearance of Boqui(-)buyes then. Besides coloured hats and cochayuyos (*ibid.*, III, p. 208) they are said to wear a “... long habit, long hair, crown and [silver?, S.E.] plates on the head, an iron vest on the chest and in the hands the cinnamon twig, symbol of peace.” [“... hábito largo, cabellera, corona y laminas en la cabeza, petoral de llancas en el pecho, y en las manos el ramo de canelo, insignia de paz.”]: *Ibid.*, I, p. 178.

⁹³² *Ibid.*, III, p. 207.

near Valdivia was called the “lord of the rains” [señor de las lluvias]⁹³³, as it was believed to be in his powers to make it rain in times of drought⁹³⁴. Because that passage is very cryptical, we can only speculatively agree on some striking similarities to Luis de Valdivia’s depiction of the religious specialists as lords of the waters (i.e. rainmakers).

Rosales claims that the Mapuche lack the knowledge of basic Christian concepts, such as heaven, purgatory and hell⁹³⁵. Nonetheless, the author continues with a complex description of Mapuche postmortality by distinguishing three types of Mapuche afterlives that depend on the social status the postmortal *agens* had in real in life: The afterlife of the “souls” [almas]⁹³⁶ of (1) noblemen, (2) of soldiers and (3) of the common men⁹³⁷. In the moment of death, the noblemen’s souls convert into “Flies” [Moscardones]⁹³⁸ that stay and live in the tombs. And – here another hint at ancestor worship – from there they come back and visit their living kin, when those celebrate their drinking feasts⁹³⁹. That is why they always offer the first sips of chicha to the “souls of the dead” [almas de los diffuntos]⁹⁴⁰. The souls of the soldiers, on the other hand, spend their afterlife fighting in the thunderstorm battle (as discussed above).

The extensive description of the third afterlife of the common men shows the most relations to the predeceasing Ovalle: “They invent some fields, neither Elysian nor delightful; but that there are some sad, cold and unsteady fields at the other side of the sea ...”⁹⁴¹. The afterlife of the Mapuche commoner is thus described as an inversion of the Græco-Roman Elysian Plain. Nonetheless, pictured as a pitiful place, there is not abundance but lack of anything instead. Similar to Ovalle, in Rosales the postmortal world is located at the other side of the sea. There the dead (1) have drinking feasts similar to the ones of the living on earth, (2) have to work, (3) only eat black potatoes and drink black chicha and (4) need to wear clothes as it is cold there⁹⁴². Because of that, Rosales argues, their living relatives furnish the tomb with food, drinks, clothes, jewels and other personal belongings of the

⁹³³ Ibid., III, p. 265.

⁹³⁴ Ibid.

⁹³⁵ Ibid., I, p. 164.

⁹³⁶ Ibid., I, pp. 162-164.

⁹³⁷ Ibid. “In the point of souls [they are held, S.E.] in vain errors and distinguish [three, S.E.] fates of people: The leaders and noble people, the soldiers and the other plebeian people, men and women.” [“Acerca de las animas [unreadable] en vanos errores, y distinguen [unreadable] suertes de personas, los caciques y gente noble, los soldados y la demas gente plebeya, hombres y mugeres.”]: Ibid., I, p. 162.

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

⁹³⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid., I, pp. 162-163.

⁹⁴¹ “Que fingen unos campos, no Eliseos ni deleitosos, sino que de la otra banda de el mar están unos campos tristes, frios y destemplados ...”: Ibid., I, p. 163.

⁹⁴² Ibid.

deceased, as to support him in the postmortal world⁹⁴³. Rosales, here as elsewhere, shows similarities to Ovalle's tomb furnishing aspect, which are pictured as supply in the postmortal world itself (as in Vivar) and not just as provision for the journey (as in Ovalle). Moreover, that description shows parallels to Vivar's description of the postmortal state, as in Rosales the dead also have to work and need to sustain themselves by eating and drinking.

Closely related to this depiction of Mapuche postmortality is the description of Rosales' contemporary and brother of order Nicolas du Toict [Nicolás del Techo] (*1611, Lille/France; †1680, ?/ Paraguay)⁹⁴⁴, who published his *Historia*⁹⁴⁵ at the same time as Rosales wrote the manuscript of his *Historia* (1673 approximately). Despite the implications of the title, the book is not merely concerned with the Jesuit mission in Paraguay but also includes chapters on Jesuit activity in other parts of the Americas, such as Chile. Thus, Toict describes a discussion of Luis de Valdivia with Mapuche in a peace parliament near Paicavi (the year is not clear). A Mapuche leader called Avilo responds to the missionary's sermon, which claimed that there is just one Christian creator god in the world as "... with that, Pillán – which is the deity of the Chileans and true author of the world – would be much insulted."⁹⁴⁶ Pillán is pictured here as the highest being and creator of the Mapuche, similar to Markgraf; furthermore, the character is put in direct competition to the Christian god, similar to Rosales' Pillan(es)/ pillan. Thus, after the missionary asked Avilo what the merits of Pillán are, he hears "... that they were to take the leaders and soldiers, which are known for their braveness to a landscape, where they would dance and drink without end for centuries after death ..."⁹⁴⁷. Thus, we have an afterlife of the Mapuche leaders and noblemen here, which is a combination of Rosales' first and third types of afterlives, although the connotation is turned upside down to a pleasant and paradisaical place. Furthermore, Pillán is pictured as some kind of *psychopompos* that guides the dead noblemen and warriors to the postmortal world. Thus, the descent to hell aspect filled out by Alverey in Markgraf is somewhat attributed to Pillán here. Besides that, Toict's transfer of Pillán into the postmortality strand shows some parallels to Ovalle's guenupillan as the judge of the dead. Avilo continues on the afterlife of the warriors then: "[T]he blood of the warriors that die on the battlefield he gathers around the sun and

⁹⁴³ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁴ Biographical information on Toict is taken from: Garay, B.: Prólogo. - in: *Historia de la provincia del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús /N. del Techo* (author). - 5 vols. - Madrid: Uribe. - vol. 1. -1897. - v-clivl.

⁹⁴⁵ Full title: *Historia provinciae Paraquariae Societatis Jesv [History of the Society of Jesus' province of Paraguay]*. We only had access to a Spanish translation of that book: Toict, N. du: *Historia de la provincia del Paraguay de la Compañía de Jesús*. - 5 vols. - vol. 1. - Madrid: Uribe, 1897.

⁹⁴⁶ "... se hiciese tal injuria á Pillán, divinidad de los chilenos y verdadero autor del mundo.": Ibid., I, p. 303.

⁹⁴⁷ "... que eran llevar los caciques y militares insignes por su valor, después de la muerte, á un paraje donde bailaban y bebían sin cesar por siglos sin fin ...": Ibid.

forms red clouds, which one can see falling down in the afternoon.⁹⁴⁸ That shows slight similarities to Rosales' thunderstorm battle afterlife. In difference to Rosales, the common men in Toict are not treated very well by Pillán because: “[W]hen plebeian and poor men die, he gives them no recompensation.”⁹⁴⁹ Therefore, Toict differentiates – concerning the social status that the postmortal *agens* had in life – between three types of afterlives: Noblemen, soldiers and common men. Although deviating from Rosales, both authors connect Pillan(es)/pillan or Pillán with postmortality: In Toict, Pillán is the carrier of noblemen to the postmortal world and the creator of the red clouds of the soldier afterlife, while in Rosales the Pillan(es)/pillan are identified as the souls of the Mapuche leaders and the soldiers of the thunderstorm battle. Nonetheless, we have to keep in mind that Toict's second type of red cloud afterlife is rather anecdotal and the third type is rather a dismissal of an afterlife for the common men; thus, in Toict we really find only one type of afterlife for the noblemen and brave soldiers.

Another congruence between the two authors is, nonetheless, the permitted ‘self-representation’ of the Mapuche, as Toict partly describes the communication between missionary and missionised from the perspective of the latter. Another perspectivity change is also permitted by Rosales concerning burial customs. There, the author lets the missionaries tell the Mapuche that putting food and beverages in the tomb is useless, as the souls do not eat nor drink; thus, the Mapuche answer in the following way:

“[T]hey laugh and respond to us that the Church does [a similar thing, S.E.] with the dead: They put lights on their graves, make offerings of bread, wine, meat and other things. Thus, they say that we are imposters because we frown at what they do but fall for the same.”⁹⁵⁰

Concerning folk religious beliefs, Rosales initially explains: “As they lack the faith and knowledge of God, they stumble and fall for many errors, omens and nuisances.”⁹⁵¹ Those ‘faulty nuisances’ are, for example, to interpret dreams as prognostications of what is going to happen⁹⁵², a point already found in Luis de Valdivia. Furthermore, similar to Luis de Valdivia

⁹⁴⁸ “... colocar la sangre de los guerreros que perecen en el campo de batalla, alrededor del Sol, y formar con ella las nubes rojas que se ven al caer la tarde ...”: Ibid.

⁹⁴⁹ “... en cuanto á los hombres plebeyos y pobres, ninguna recompensa les daba.”: Ibid.

⁹⁵⁰ “... se rien y nos argumentan con lo que la Iglesia haze con los diffuntos, que pone sobre sus sepulturas luces, ofrendas de pan y vino y carne, y otras cosas. Y dizen que somos unos embusteros, que reprehendemos lo que ellos hazen y caemos en lo mismo.”: Rosales, *Historia*, I, p. 164.

⁹⁵¹ “Como les falta la fe y el conocimiento de Dios, tropiezan y caen en muchos errores, agüeros y abusiones.”: Ibid.

⁹⁵² Ibid.

the Mapuche are pictured as interpreters of bird flight: “They have omens and nuisances in birds and, particularly, they do have the bird called Meru as a jinx.”⁹⁵³ An entanglement with the noblemen’s afterlife is found in another passage, where the author explains that when flies enter the house of a sick person it is assured that the sick is going to die, as these “flies” [moscardones]⁹⁵⁴ are the “... souls of their deceased relatives ...”⁹⁵⁵ that come to fetch him⁹⁵⁶. Lastly, they also interpret the way-crossing of female foxes as omen for the outcome of a future battle⁹⁵⁷, which relates to the fox aspect that we found in Oña’s and also (somewhat) in Vivar’s augur prognostications. Through those elements, the Mapuche become a ‘superstitious’ (i.e. irrational) people in Rosales.

In the mythology strand of discourse we learn that the Mapuche have a ‘wrong understanding’ of the creation: “[A]s the Indians lack the knowledge of the True God as well as the creation of the world and the origin of men, they invent ridiculous and fabulous causes of their origin ...”⁹⁵⁸. That argument is very similar to the one brought up by Ovalle, who argues that the uneducatedness and the influence of the devil distort their knowledge and right understanding of the ‘true faith’. But not everything is lost, as Rosales claims: “[T]hey just have some presentiment of the Deluge because the Lord has given them some signal to know it ...”⁹⁵⁹. Thus, “... the Chileans know of a great flood but the Devil mixed it up with so many errors and lies that they do not know that the Deluge was a punishment for the sins ...”⁹⁶⁰. In this strand, Rosales thus employs the deceitful devil theme once more, which renders the reader with a pitiful gaze on the Mapuche as the victims of the mimetic desire of the ‘enemy of man’. Then follows Rosales’ extensive account of the Mapuche myth of the deluge (paraphrased here):

Although the Mapuche do not know when the deluge flooded the earth exactly, they say that some Indians escaped it by fleeing to the peaks of some high mountains called

⁹⁵³ “Tienen agüeros y abusiones en los paxaros, y particularmente al paxaro que llaman Meru le tienen por agorero.”: Ibid., I, pp. 164-165.

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid., I, p. 165.

⁹⁵⁵ “... almas de sus parientes diffuntos ...”: Ibid.

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁸ “... como les faltó a los Indios el conocimiento de el Verdadero Dios, la noticia de la creacion del mundo y origen de los hombres, fingieron diferentes desvarios y fabulosos principios de su origen ...”: Ibid., I, p. 2.

⁹⁵⁹ “... solo tienen algunos varruntos de el Dilubio, por haberles dexado el Señor algunas señales para conocerle ...”: Rosales, Historia, I, p. 3.

⁹⁶⁰ “... conocen los Chilenos una inundacion general, el Demonio se la mezcla con tantos errores y mentiras, que no saben que aya avido Dilubio en castigo de peccados ...”: Ibid., I, p. 4.

“Tenten”⁹⁶¹ then, which they each hold to be a “sacred thing” [cosa sagrada]. Thus, in each province of the country there is one Tenten, which is highly estimated and respected – for it could be needed again one day to escape another deluge. On top of those mountains dwells a “snake” [culebra/ Culebra] – also called by the name Tenten – that in reality is the devil. Before the deluge, the snake told the Mapuche ancestors deceitfully that when the sea will rise, they will be safe and protected on the mountain if they would only begin to worship the mountain as a sacred thing. Those Indians, the snake was said to explain, who do not want to do that will be converted into whales, swordfish, groundlings, perches, tuna and other fish, while the obedient Indians will be safe on the mountain as the water cannot reach the top of it. There was another snake on the earth and the places of below⁹⁶² called “Caicai-Vilu”/ “Caicai”⁹⁶³, which is the enemy of Tenten and the enemy of man. To destroy his enemies, Caicai-Vilu/ Caicai made the sea rise by saying ‘Cai, cai’, as to drown the mountain Tenten with the snake of the same name on it. While Caicai-Vilu/ Caicai made the sea rise up the mountain, Tenten said ‘Ten, ten’ and with that lifted the mountain higher and higher from the face of the earth to overtop the rising sea level; thus, it finally reached up to the sun. Many animals could save themselves at the top of the mountain. Furthermore, men together with their children took the food they could gather in the hurry and climbed up Tenten for refuge. There were only a few that could reach the top of the mountain in time, while many were caught by the water and, therefore, converted into fish. The men on Tenten got burned by the heat of the sun and thus covered themselves up with potsherds but as Tenten finally reached the sun, the heat got so strong that it took the life of many. Moreover, the hunger grew so big in the end that the men turned to feeding on each other, saving only a few animals of each species and a few seeds. Only few people survived and of those Tenten demanded to sacrifice one child as to appease his own anger and also that of Caicai-Vilu/ Caicai. Thus, the survivors – and ancestors of the Mapuche – threw one of their children into the sea. Then the water level decreased and the mountain sank back into its original place⁹⁶⁴.

Rosales concludes that myth saying: “Like this sly Snake fooled those, it has fooled our first parents in Paradise.”⁹⁶⁵ Rosales is the first of the authors in Mapuche Religion discourse, who describes the myth of the deluge in the Mapuche. Furthermore, described as the combat

⁹⁶¹ Erize’s “chrenchren”: Erize, Diccionario, p. 135.

⁹⁶² It is not perfectly clear what Rosales means here: Underground?

⁹⁶³ Erize’s “caicaivilu”: Erize, Diccionario, p. 66.

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., I, pp. 4-6.

⁹⁶⁵ “Que como a misserables ha tenido engañados esta astuta Culebra, que engañó a nuestros primeros Padres en el Paraiso.”: Ibid., I, p. 6.

between the two snakes Tenten and Caicai-Vilu/ Caicai, it is the most detailed account of a Mapuche deluge myth in the discourse. The author thus gives a unique explanation for the deluge myth (i.e. the snake combat) and the consequence of it (i.e. the origin of the human lineage). Despite of its complexity, Rosales works with a rather negative interpretative repertoire in this strand of discourse, as he employs the two peak themes of the exoticised Other here: Cannibalism and human sacrifice. This exoticising effect on the reader is augmented by juxtaposing elements of the Christian model of creation. Thus, this Mapuche ‘fable’ is full of errors for Rosales but, nonetheless, seems to have some parts of the ‘true deluge’ covered up behind the ‘superstitious layer’. Thus, Tenten and Caicai-Vilu/ Caicai are identified with the devil, who deceived the Mapuche (once more) by telling them lies about the deluge. This exclusivist claim is extended by Rosales’ recurrence on the pre-Spanish evangelist theme in that context, which is employed again to show that the Mapuche chose for themselves not to follow the ‘universal faith’ but the devil. Thus, we read that “... before the deluge happened ... they were warned by a poor and humble man; but being like this they did not listen to him ...”⁹⁶⁶.

As a way of conclusion on Rosales, we can say that the author – like other actors in the Mapuche Religion discourse before him – first discovers the absence of religion in the theological and ritual dimensions by employing idolatry and Christianity as comparative models. In a second step that claim is abandoned giving way to a discussion of the diabolic pantheon, diabolic religious specialists, diabolic superstitions (etc.). This somewhat contradictive two-step discursive strategy provides the reader with a simplified approach to Mapuche Religion, which does not threaten the universalist/ exclusivist claim of Christianity. Accordingly, all strands of discourse in Rosales show one dominant line of argument, a regress to diabolism. Similar as Luis de Valdivia, Rosales attributes any ritual or theological aspect of Mapuche Religion to the influence of the devil. As an extension of that, the devil deceit theme is employed to explain the ‘pitiful’ *status quo* of Mapuche religiosity. Thus, reducing Mapuche Religion to diabolism allows an easy explanation for why the Mapuche are so ignorant of the knowledge of the Christian faith.

The author is rather ambivalent in his position of discourse what concerns the question of the righteousness of the conquista. On the one hand, he justifies it (employing miracles that point to a divine will explanation), while criticising it, on the other hand. While he assumes

⁹⁶⁶ “... antes que sucediese el dilubio ... les avisó un hombre, pobre y humilde, y que por serlo, no hizieron caso de el ...”: Ibid., I, p. 4.

that the Mapuche heathens are in urgent need of the Christian faith, on the one side, he expands their own reasons for not obliging to the Christians, on the other side. Moreover, on the one hand, he employs old interpretative schemes (e.g. ignorance, barbarism, blasphemy, cannibalism), while the Mapuche character and Mapuche Religion are not plainly condemned as such but are expanded in a complex way, on the other hand.

Conclusively, by introducing various new themes and details to the Mapuche Religion discourse, the Jesuit missionary provides the most complex account of Mapuche Religion so far. Nonetheless, he follows previous authors in the limiting point of admiration and tolerance for Mapuche culture, which is marked by the indebatable exclusivity of the Christian religion. Thus, in Rosales it is not the phony-wizards (as in Ercilla, Oña, Luis de Valdivia and Ovalle), who manipulate their people – which are still pictured as ministers of the devil, nonetheless –, and mark the primary obstacle to mission success; but the confused or aberrant way of thinking of the Mapuche themselves (as in Calderón and Sosa), on the one side, and the crimes of the Spaniards (as in Luis de Valdivia), on the other side. Relating that unique ambivalence to the Mapuche Religion discourse, Mapuche religiosity in Rosales is pictured as a colourful mixture of elements ranging from the negative image of superstition and devil deceit to a more complex description of Mapuche Religion as ancestor worship and animistic idolatry.

7.3 Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, the happy captive

Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan (*1607 Chillán/ Chile; †1682, Coliumo/ Chile)⁹⁶⁷ served in the Mapuche Spanish Conflict in the rank of a captain. At the height of the re-established military warfare period, Bascuñan was captured by Mapuche in May 1629 in the Battle of Las Cangrejas and imprisoned for six and a half months (until November 1629). Staying in the homes of various Mapuche leaders in the Araucanía, Bascuñan became more and more familiar with and accustomed to the culture of his (former) enemies. This process is vividly described in his *Cautiverio*⁹⁶⁸, a captivity narrative written in 1673 (approximately),

⁹⁶⁷ Biographical information on Bascuñan is taken from: Barros, D.J.A.: Introducción. - in: El cautiverio feliz/ F. Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan (auth.). - Santiago: Ferrocarril. - 1863. - i-vii; Barros, Historia, IV, pp. 160-165; Encina, Historia, III, pp. 163-164; Medina, Diccionario, pp. 577-586; San Martín, S.: El cautiverio feliz de Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan y nuestra bárbara civilización. - Temuco: LOM, 1997.

⁹⁶⁸ Full title: *Cautiverio feliz y razón de las guerras diletadas de Chile [The happy captive and cause of the extensive wars of Chile]*: Bascuñan, F.N. de P. y: El cautiverio feliz y razón de las guerras diletadas de Chile. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1863.

which stayed unpublished until 1863. On the one hand, by employing a ‘martyr style’ typical for captivity narratives, Bascuñan describes the pains of his capture and the sufferings of his imprisonment. Thus, we read (for example) of bloodthirsty sacrifices of prisoners’ hearts to worship the devil “Pillan”⁹⁶⁹, a topic that is very similar to Markgraf’s and Baerle’s accounts of heart extracting rituals. Hence, Bascuñan describes the numerous horrifying occasions, in which he escaped from becoming a victim to that form of barbarism by Christian providence⁹⁷⁰.

On the other hand, Bascuñan’s *Cautiverio* – as the book title already implies – fundamentally deviates from the typical exoticising style of the captivity narrative, as it draws a rather empathetic picture of Mapuche culture that is far from the stereotypical imagery of ‘cruel barbarism’. In Bascuñan we find a participation of Mapuche perspectives concerning the Mapuche character that is very similar to Mariño. Thus, the Mapuche leader Quilalebo asks rhetorically:

“Why do the Spaniards ... think of us that bad as they say we are? From their actions and their behaviour it becomes clear that they are of a worse nature and cruel condition (...) And what do we do? We defend our land, our beloved liberty, our children and women ...”⁹⁷¹.

As an extension of that, Bascuñan even turns the barbarism reproach upside down:

“Of that character and nature are the Indians ... that their actions and brave deeds have been justified, as they have originated from our tyrannies, our inhumanities, our greeds and our faults and sins ...”⁹⁷².

Although he is just a Christian ‘religious amateur’ and no specialist, Bascuñan thus argues quite similar as Luis de Valdivia and Rosales before him, claiming that the Mapuche rebellion is (externally) caused by the sinful behaviour of the Spaniards. But in difference to his Jesuit predecessors, Bascuñan does not interpret the Mapuche people as a scourge of god. Instead,

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 86.

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 41-43.

⁹⁷¹ “¿Por qué los españoles ... nos tienen por tan malos como dicen que somos? pues, en las acciones y en sus tratos se reconoce que son ellos de peores naturales y crueles condiciones (...) Nosotros ¿qué es lo que hacemos? defender nuestras tierras, nuestra amada libertad y nuestros hijos y mujeres ...”: Ibid., p. 330.

⁹⁷² “De esta calidad y naturaleza son los indios ... que sus acciones y arrestos valerosos han sido justificados, por haberlos ocasionado nuestras tiranías, nuestras inhumanidades, nuestras codicias y nuestras culpas y pecados ...”: Ibid., p. 28.

he solely points out to the impact of the Spanish crimes on the personal experience of the Mapuche. The Mapuche's aversion to Christianity is not caused by hate (i.e. caused by their stubborn nature as in Calderón or Sosa) but lies "... in the lack of our manners and in the falsity of our words ..." ⁹⁷³, which provoke that the Mapuche have an aversion to all things respected by the Spaniards – including their Christian religion ⁹⁷⁴. The Spanish soldier Bascuñan even comes to a more radical conclusion on just war than his brother in arms Mariño or the Jesuit Rosales, interrogating: "What legitimate reason ... has there been to enter and make war on them, frightening them with the noise of weapons and horses?" ⁹⁷⁵ He does not hesitate to answer: "[W]e do nowhere find a reason for a justification of it ..." ⁹⁷⁶. The soldier and layman Bascuñan thus extends the Jesuit missionaries' critiques of personal service (as Luis de Valdivia) and just war (as Rosales) to a degree that is quite extraordinary for the author's stand (of a soldier) in the Mapuche Spanish Conflict.

Therefore, if there is an actor in the Mapuche Religion discourse that could be rightfully called 'indophile', then it is the happy captive Bascuñan. But despite of his great empathy for Mapuche culture, the topic Mapuche Religion also surpasses the limits of his tolerance and admiration. Similar to authors from Ercilla to Rosales, Mapuche religious beliefs and practices are not integrable into the author's 'Christian mindset' and, thus, are continuously read as aberrations from the Christian faith. In that point the *Cautiverio* is very similar to Luis de Valdivia's and Rosales' texts, as it is not the understanding of Mapuche Religion but the truthfulness of the Catholic and the falsity of the Mapuche faith that is the point of focus in Bascuñan's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion.

As a field for that there is a unique form of intercultural communication in *Cautiverio*, the extensive debates on religion between the captive and various Mapuche leaders ⁹⁷⁷. In those debates Bascuñan (as representative of Christianity) always seems to win over his opponent (as representative of the heathen Mapuche Religion), while in the end the latter is always affirming the superiority of the Christian over the Mapuche reason ⁹⁷⁸. Thus, Bascuñan – who omits a divine will explanation or the use of miracles to justify the conquista in *Cautiverio* – transposes the 'battle of religions' completely onto the human sphere. Following the

⁹⁷³ "... en la falta de nuestras costumbres y en lo cauteloso de nuestras palabras.": Ibid, p. 143.

⁹⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 196.

⁹⁷⁵ "¿Qué causa lijítima ... hubo para entrarlos guerreando y atemorizando con estruendo de armas y caballos?": Ibid., p. 265.

⁹⁷⁶ "... por ningun camino hallamos algun viso de justificacion en ella ...": Ibid., pp. 326-327.

⁹⁷⁷ Although it is not known how these complex intercultural debates were accomplished, that is how fluent Bascuñan was in Mapudungun or the particular Mapuche dialogue partner in Castilian.

⁹⁷⁸ See for example: Ibid., pp. 98-99; 107-109; 217; 311; 361-362.

assumption – which we also found in various of his predecessors – that the Mapuche are made for being converted to Christianity, they are pictured in *Cautiverio* as openminded heathens that freewillingly want to become Christians: “They show the desire ... to know God and become Christians and that their children may be indoctrinated and entertained in the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith ...”⁹⁷⁹. Accordingly, Bascuñan is repeatedly asked by his Mapuche ‘step-family’ to teach the basics of Christianity to them, which he joyfully puts to practice during his captivity⁹⁸⁰. Seeing the ‘heathen misery’ and the chances of quick success in the openminded Mapuche, the layman Bascuñan thus begins to missionise the Mapuche. In those often monologous and sermonlike ‘interreligious debates’ we find explicit descriptions of Mapuche Religion – often from an (elusive) Mapuche point of view. Nevertheless, we have to keep in mind that (similar as in Luis de Valdivia’s *Arte*, for example) this information primarily aims at dismantling Mapuche Religion as an aberration from Christianity.

7.4 Bascuñan’s conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the *Cautiverio*

Bascuñan does not begin his description of supernatural beings with a deficiency argument but by establishing Pillan/ “Pillanes”⁹⁸¹ as a religious competitor of the Christian god. Thus, the Mapuche leader Butapichún speaks of “our Pillan” [nuestro Pillan]⁹⁸², which Bascuñan translates by “the devil” [el demonio]⁹⁸³ or “their god” [su dios]⁹⁸⁴. According to the author’s Christian model, Pillan(es) mean nothing else than “imagined deity” [deidad finjida]⁹⁸⁵, which, conclusively, is the opponent of the really existing ‘true’ Christian god. Therefore, the Pillan(es) character is not depicted as an original Mapuche supernatural being, but is described once more in the Mapuche Religion discourse in a Christian frame of understanding as the devil, which is worshipped by cruel sacrifice of Christians (as cited above)⁹⁸⁶. In a second reading, which is not that far from the first, Pillan(es) is related to a character already

⁹⁷⁹ “... el deseo que muestran ... de conocer a Dios y ser cristianos, y que sus hijos sean doctrinados y industriados en el conocimiento de nuestra santa fee católica ...”: Ibid., p. 195.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 98-99; 107-109.

⁹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 156.

⁹⁸² Ibid., p. 41.

⁹⁸³ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 86.

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 41.

known to us: “Pillan algue (that means to say the devil) ...”⁹⁸⁷. Besides that further affirmation of a connection between Pillan(es) and the devil, algue here seems to be some kind of affirmative term for the diabolism theme surrounding the Pillan(es) character, although the meaning of algue (i.e. devil) is the same as in Luis de Valdivia’s Alhue/ alhue(s) and Markgraf’s Alverey. Those two characters – together building up to an euphemism for the devil in Bascuñan – are the only supernatural beings in the *Cautiverio*⁹⁸⁸. In a third reading – closer to Ovalle’s hierarchical pantheon – Bascuñan points out: “[T]here would be a great Pillan, which subjects all the other Pillanes and would be their superior, standing above all.”⁹⁸⁹ In difference to Ovalle, there is no connection to guecubus as subordinates (as that character does not appear in Bascuñan) but, instead, there is a hierarchy of Pillan(es) themselves.

Turning now to the strand religious specialists, we can say that Bascuñan distinguishes three different types of it. The first type is the “mache”⁹⁹⁰ (in singular) or “maches”⁹⁹¹/ “machis”⁹⁹² (in plural), foremostly described as “healers” [curanderos]⁹⁹³ that cure by the “art of the devil” [arte del demonio]⁹⁹⁴. Furthermore, Bascuñan explicitly hints at a devil possession of religious specialists, when speaking of “endemoned machis” [endemoniados machis]⁹⁹⁵. As the mache(s)/ machis are moreover described as “wizards” [hechiceros]⁹⁹⁶, “fortune-tellers” [adivinos]⁹⁹⁷ and “enchanters” [encantadores]⁹⁹⁸, Bascuñan seems to be in accordance with previous authors, who conceptualised religious specialists as characters defined by a mixture of benevolent (e.g. healer, augur) and malevolent (e.g. enchanter,

⁹⁸⁷ “Pillan algue (que quiere decir el demonio) ...”: Ibid., p. 308.

⁹⁸⁸ A similar equation of Pillan(es) with algue – and algue with the devil – can also be found in the account of merits and services addressed to the Spanish king *Señor, el castellano don Iorge de Eguia y Lumbe* [*Sir, the Castilian Mr. Jorge de Eguia y Lumbe*] (Eguia y Lumbe, J. de: Señor. El castellano don Iorge de Eguia y Lumbe. - in: Biblioteca Hispanochilena, 1523-1817/ J.T. Medina (ed.). - 3 vols. - Santiago: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. - vol. 2. - 1963. - 305-322), which was written in 1664 by a contemporary of Bascuñan, the Spanish soldier Jorge de Eguia y Lumbe (*?; †?). In that account, the Mapuche are described as malicious and sly enemies that “... confess as the most powerful [being, S.E.] the devil, which they call by the name of Pillán and Alue ...” [“... confiesan por el más poderoso al diablo, a quien lo nombran Pillán, y Alue ...”] (ibid., p. 310). In contrast to Bascuñan, Pillan and Alue here seem to be two synonymous words for the devil. We know almost nothing about Eguia see: Medina, Diccionario, p. 248.

⁹⁸⁹ “... hubiese un gran Pillan, que sujetase a los demas Pillanes y fuese su principio y sobre todos.”: Bascuñan, *Cautiverio*, p. 156.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 157.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 89.

⁹⁹² Ibid., p. 107.

⁹⁹³ Ibid., p. 89.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 362.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 89.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 89.

sorcerer) elements. The mache(s)/ machis main function as “endeveled physician” [endiablado médico]⁹⁹⁹ is to perform ‘awkward’ healing ceremonies, in which they are “... doing the strangest things that never have been seen before nor can be imagined.”¹⁰⁰⁰ As weird ceremonies seem to imply a weird appearance, ugliness becomes to be the trademark of the mache(s)/ machis in the *Cautiverio*. The following account certainly aims at arousing strong disgust for that character in the reader:

“[I]n stature and clothes he [a mache, S.E.] looked similar to Lucifer in his appearance because he walked without shoes ... but instead of shoes [he wore, S.E.] a puno (that is a small coat) upfront and also some large shirts. He had long hair, ... wore the nails disformed to look like spoons; the ugliest face and a foggy eye that explained everything. [He had, S.E.] a very small and somewhat plump body and [was, S.E.] lame on one leg, which just seeing it caused horror and disgust ...”¹⁰⁰¹.

The second type of religious specialists are the “hueies”¹⁰⁰²/ “huyes”¹⁰⁰³ (always in plural), which are described as catamites¹⁰⁰⁴ and sodomites¹⁰⁰⁵ in the *Cautiverio*. This is the historical starting point of the sodomy reproach in colonial discourses on Mapuche culture. Thus, religious specialists are further exoticised by being associated with homosexuality/transsexuality, pictured as the peak of an intolerable ethically aberrant (i.e. Unchristian) behaviour, which further enhances the aspect of secrecy and obscurity of religious specialists. For the reader it is not clear how to distinguish mache(s)/ machis from hueies/ huyes, as Bascuñan claims that (1) the hueies/ huyes wear no shoes but just a short coat¹⁰⁰⁶, (2) those hueies/ huyes later become machis¹⁰⁰⁷ and (3) that they are the biggest cause of horror and despair among the Mapuche as they – in difference to the mache(s)/ machis – have a real “...

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 182.

¹⁰⁰⁰ “... haciendo las mas raras acciones que se pueden haber visto ni imaginado jamas.”: Ibid., p. 89.

¹⁰⁰¹ “... parecia un Lucifer en su facciones, talle y traje, porque andaba sin calzones ... traia en lugar de calzones un puno, que es una mantichuela ... y unas camisetas largas encima; traia el cabello largo ... las uñas tenia tan disformes, que parecian cucharas; feísimo de rostro, y en el uno ojo una nube que le comprehendia todo; mui pequeño de cuerpo, algo espaldado, y rengo de una pierna, que solo mirarle causaba horror y espanto ...”: Ibid., pp. 158-159

¹⁰⁰² Ibid., p. 107. Erize’s “hueye”: Erize, Diccionario, p. 188.

¹⁰⁰³ Bascuñan, *Cautiverio*, p. 164.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 157.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid.

pact with the evil spirit ...”¹⁰⁰⁸. Thus, in Bascuñan there is no clear-cut differentiation between those two types of religious specialists.

The third type of religious specialists in Bascuñan is called “huecubuyes”¹⁰⁰⁹ and “renis”¹⁰¹⁰. We paraphrase the Mapuche leader Quilalebo, who explains from ‘his’ perspective:

More in the past than in the present there were some huecubuyes also called renis, who are like the “priests” [sacerdotes] among the Christians. They wore long blankets, long hair (or cochayuyos instead of hair) to distinguish themselves from the Mapuche commoner. They lived apart from women and isolated in caves of some mountains. There, they consulted Pillan on matters of war and peace¹⁰¹¹.

Besides the obvious parallel to Oña’s obscure wizard caves, this description of huecubuyes relates to Rosales’ description of Boqui(-)buyes and, to a lesser degree, to Luis de Valdivia’s nesues/ neges. There are many almost literal accordances between Rosales and Bascuñan here: Their physical appearance, the secludedness of the caves on the mountains, the absence of women, their function as advisors over war and peace. Although a supernatural character like Ovalle’s guecubus or Rosales’ Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu is missing in Bascuñan, there may be a terminological parallel – that misses any semantic explanation here – to huecubuyes. New and singular to the literature on Mapuche Religion, nonetheless, is the term renis.

Consequently, in Bascuñan all three types of religious specialists have a pact with the devil Pillan(es). While the hueies/ huyes and the mache(s)/ machis are not clearly distinguished in function, the huecubuyes/ renis seem to be responsible for foretelling and advising on war matters. Confusingly, the mache(s)/ machis are also said to be fortune-tellers, which shows once more that the author does not clearly differentiate between the three presented types of religious specialists. Although an explicit imposter theme is missing in Bascuñan, the having a pact with the devil – and especially their diabolic appearance – rather throws an unempathetic light on the religious specialists.

The information on the last strand of discourse Mapuche postmortality in the *Cautiverio* – folk religious beliefs and mythology are omitted here – is limited to two passages. The first

¹⁰⁰⁸ “... pacto con el espíritu malo ...”: Ibid., p. 164.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 361. The corresponding term in Erize’s *Diccionario* is questionable.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ibid. The corresponding term in Erize’s *Diccionario* is questionable.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., pp. 361-362.

one employs “pilli”¹⁰¹², a character already known to us from Luis de Valdivia and the Dutch-Germans:

“When someone dies ... are you not used to say ‘tipainipilli’, the spirit left the body? ... Or is it not a common belief of the ancestors that this pilli or spirit is going to eat black potatoes beyond that high and snowy Cordillera?”¹⁰¹³

Despite the fact that Rosales translated soul with Pillan(es), Bascuñan’s description comes very close to Rosales’ afterlife interpretation: The spirit – here the postmortal *agens* is for once not described as soul – leaves the body to go and eat black potatoes in some postmortal realm. Although it is far away as well, the place of that postmortal world differs in direction, as it was to the west (i.e. the other side of the sea) in Ovalle and Rosales, while the *Cautiverio* marks the afterlife to lie east (i.e. beyond the cordillera mountain chain). Another hint at Mapuche postmortality is found in an extensive passage on a Mapuche funeral¹⁰¹⁴, where the interesting statement is made that the burial rites of “our gentiles” [nuestros jentiles]¹⁰¹⁵ are the same as those of the (ancient) Jews¹⁰¹⁶. This comparison with Jewish burial customs, stays rather sketchy here and it does not become clear to the reader what the author means exactly. Descriptions concerning the other two strands of discourse are missing in Bascuñan.

Concluding on Bascuñan, we can say that he is one of a few authors in the Mapuche Religion discourse, who break with a deficiency approach to Mapuche Religion. Nonetheless, he still follows a Christian universalist model that – following its goal to dismantle the ‘enemy religion’ – rejects and condemns Mapuche Religion to diabolism, which in Bascuñan stays reduced to the worship of the devil Pillan(es). Although the captain Bascuñan – as the soldiers Ercilla and Mariño as well as the Jesuits Luis de Valdivia and Rosales before him – detests the *status quo* of the conquista, he principally approves the necessity of conversion of the Mapuche heathens. While it is the miracles that show that the Christian god wants it in Rosales, in Bascuñan it is the religious openmindedness of the Mapuche that fuels the

¹⁰¹² Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁰¹³ “¿No soleis ... cuando se muere alguno, decir vosotros tipainipilli, salió del cuerpo el espíritu ... o es común sentir de los ancianos que este pilli o espíritu va a comer papas negras tras esas cordilleras altas y nevadas?”: Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 187-194.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid., p. 187.

¹⁰¹⁶ “[I]n those funeral ceremonies they are also in wide accordance with the ancient Hebrews ...” [“... en estas ceremonias fúnebres, tambien se asimilan mucho a los antiguos Hebreos ...”] (Bascuñan, *Cautiverio*, pp. 191-192). Then, Bascuñan describes the customs of putting food and drinks in the tomb but he does not relate that to any Mapuche afterlife beliefs: Ibid., p. 193.

argument that those heathens desperately wait for their conversion to the ‘true faith’ (i.e. they have a natural disposition for Christianity). Convinced of the urgent need of Mapuche conversion, the layman Bascuñan sees the main task of his captivity to missionise the Mapuche himself. Consequently, the Mapuche are widely pictured as ‘noble savages’ in Bascuñan but their aberrant religiosity again remains the limit of the author’s tolerance for their culture. As Mariño’s *Crónica* and Rosales’ *Historia*, the *Cautiverio* was not published during the colonial period. Did those authors’ severe critiques of the Spanish behaviour in the Chilean conquista contradict the official view of the glorious and ethical conquest of the ‘land of the barbarians’? Did the attempts to describe the (spiritual) conquista from the perspective of ‘the enemy’ as well as the rather ‘indophile’ descriptions of Mapuche culture – although omitting their religion from that – in those books stand out too much from the authorised view of Spanish military administration?

8. Miguel de Olivares and the Jesuit legacy to Chile

Rudos intérpretes de su misma teología, aunque en tales absurdos y delirios es felicidad la ignorancia.

(Miguel de Olivares, *Historia militar*)¹⁰¹⁷

8.1 The expulsion of the Jesuits

The Jesuit missionary Miguel de Olivares (*1675, Chillán/ Chile; †1768, Imola/ Italy)¹⁰¹⁸ is the author of a chronicle called *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile*¹⁰¹⁹, written in 1738 (approximately; first published in 1864). After the peace parliament of Yumbel, held in 1692 followed a relatively peaceful period of 30 years. A six years war intermezzo, starting from 1723, ended with the first parliament of Negrete (February 1726) and, thus, peace prevailed for further 33 years, ending with a Mapuche uprising near Concepción in 1759. Olivares profited from those long periods of peace, especially during his work as a missionary in the Araucanía (from 1740 to 1758). The Chilean governor of that time, Manuel de Amat y Juniet [Junyent] (*1707, Vacarisas/ Spain; †1782, Barcelona/ Spain)¹⁰²⁰, relaunched another peace strategy with a parliament held in Santiago in February 1760, which helped to re-establish peace to the year 1769. That governor also wrote a *Historia geográfica*¹⁰²¹ in 1760 (approximately; first published in 1924), which contains a description of Mapuche Religion.

¹⁰¹⁷ Olivares, M. de: *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de lo acacido en la conquista y pacificación del reino de Chile*. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1863, p. 52. “[They are, S.E.] crude interpreters of their own theology; nonetheless, ignorance means happiness concerning such absurdities and follies.”

¹⁰¹⁸ Biographical information on Olivares and contextual information on the whole time period to the year 1767 is taken from: Barros, *Historia*, V, pp. 189-405; VI, pp. 5-306; Bonilla, *Gran*, II, pp. 173-203; Encina, *Historia*, III, pp. 375-396; IV, pp. 425-586; Figueroa, P.P.: *Diccionario histórico biográfico y bibliográfico de Chile*. - 5 vols. - Santiago: La Ilustración, 1925-1931, II, pp. 397-398; Hanisch, *Historia*, pp. 155-189; Lara, *Crónica*, II, pp. 87-125; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 602-603; Meier, J.: *Los jesuitas expulsados de Chile, 1767-1839. Sus itinerarios y sus pensamientos*. - in: *Los jesuitas españoles expulsos. Su imagen y su contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa de siglo XVIII/ M. Tietz (ed.)*. - Madrid: Iberoamericana. - 2001. - 423-442; Noggler, *Misión*, pp. 73-83.

¹⁰¹⁹ *History of the province of the Society of Jesus in Chile*: Olivares, M. de: *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile, 1593-1736*. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1864.

¹⁰²⁰ Biographical information on Amat is taken from: Barros, *Historia*, VI, pp. 195-217; Encina, *Historia*, IV, pp. 547-560; Foerster, *Jesuitas*, pp. 343-347; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁰²¹ Full title: *Historia geográfica e hidrográfica, con derrotero general correlativo al plan de el reyno de Chile [Geographic and hydrographic history. With a general coursebook concerning the plan of the kingdom of Chile]*: Amat y Juniet, M. de: *Historia geográfica e hidrográfica con derrotero general correlativo al plan de el reyno de Chile*. - in: *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 49 (1924), 297-344; 50 (1924), 377-392; 51 (1925-

In April 1767 the Spanish king Charles III (*1716; †1788) ordered the expulsion of all Jesuits from the dominion of the Spanish empire¹⁰²². Thus, Olivares left for Lima that year, where a manuscript was confiscated by Amat (who was the viceroy of Peru then), titled *Historia militar*¹⁰²³. That book was written between 1758 and 1767 (approximately) but only the first of two parts survived the turmoil of Olivares' expulsion, which was published for the first time in 1863. There are two – promisingly titled – chapters in that book, which include one of the most complex conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion in our discourse: *De su falso culto y diferentes supersticiones* [On their false cult and different superstitions]¹⁰²⁴ and *De la práctica de sus machitunes, o curas diabólicas* [On the practice of their machitunes or diabolic cures]¹⁰²⁵. Olivares, like many other Chilean Jesuits, left Lima for Italy in 1767, where he died one year later.

8.2 Olivares' conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion

Olivares unempathetically pictures the Mapuche as barbarians that have "... the reputation to be not very far from beasts ..." ¹⁰²⁶. Olivares leaves no doubt that as 'brutish barbarians' the Mapuche themselves cannot even make sense of their own religion but are just "... crude interpreters of their own theology ..." ¹⁰²⁷. Following that logic, the coloniser Olivares thus claims to know the colonised and his 'strange culture' better than the colonised himself. But (again) there is still hope for the Mapuche:

"Neither Europe nor Rome converted to the faith in more than threehundred years. It was in the year 1540 – two hundred years from now – when Mr. Pedro Valdivia began to conquer this kingdom." ¹⁰²⁸

1926), 425-458; 52 (1927), 360-401; 53 (1927), 393-432; 54 (1927), 407-422; 55 (1927), 353-379; 56 (1928), 394-426; 57 (1928), 318-333; 58 (1928), 305-337.

¹⁰²² For further information on the reasons and consequences of the expulsion see: Mörner, M. (ed.): *The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America*. - New York: Knopf, 1965; Roehner, B.M.: *Jesuits and the State: A Comparative Study of Their Expulsions*. - in: *Religion*, 27 (1997), 165-181.

¹⁰²³ Full title: *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de lo acacido en la conquista y pacificación del reino de Chile* [*Military, civil and clerical history of what happened in the conquista and pacification of the kingdom of Chile*]: Olivares, *Historia*.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-53.

¹⁰²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56.

¹⁰²⁶ "... reputados por poco menos que brutos ...": Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 38.

¹⁰²⁷ "... rudos intérpretes de su misma teología ...": Olivares, *Historia*, p. 52.

¹⁰²⁸ "Ni Europa ni Roma se convirtieron a la fé, en mas de trescientos años. El año de 1540, ahora doscientos años, fué cuando don Pedro Valdivia empezó a conquistar este reino.": Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 498.

Therefore, the reader is led to conclude that there still is ample time (i.e. 100 years) to finally accomplish a Mapuche conversion.

After constructing such a rejective imagery of the moral state of the Mapuche people, it is not surprising that Olivares begins his description of Mapuche Religion with a theological deficiency argument. He claims that unlike other heathens – like the Romans for example – the Mapuche even lack any religious knowledge: “[I]t is not only that the Indians of Chile do not recognise a group of high or low celestial, terrestrial or infernal gods like other heathen nations ...”¹⁰²⁹ but, moreover, they “... stubbornly deny to hear the voices of reason and, with highest ignorance and ungrateful disacknowledgement, they do not recognise our highest creator and benefactor ...”¹⁰³⁰. Thus, declassified as a people without knowledge of the ‘true god’ and without that of false gods even, Olivares completes his inversive description with a ritual deficiency argument, claiming that “... they would have no temples, priests, cult nor sacrifices ...”¹⁰³¹.

Similar as Rosales and Markgraf before him, that exhaustive dismissal of a theological and ritual dimension is (somewhat contradictively) followed by a complex description of supernatural beings in a second step. Thus, the author continues: “They do recognise some superior beings in the pillanes, friends and enemies, like some heathens in the bad and good genii ...”¹⁰³². Interpreting the pillanes as superior beings and genii, Olivares blends Rosales’ Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu as (spirit) familiar and Baerle’s Pil(l)an as genius interpretations. That point is strengthened by an analogy from Roman history, which follows after that passage: (1) The pillanes are compared with the “bad genius” [mal jénio]¹⁰³³ that appeared to Brutus before the unfortunate battle on the Phillipian Plains and (2) like the “good genius” [buen jénio]¹⁰³⁴, which motivated Cesar to cross the Rubicon¹⁰³⁵. In Olivares, we thus have the first author, who makes extensive use of an analogous model (i.e. Roman

¹⁰²⁹ “... los indios de Chile no solo no reconocieron aquella caterva de dioses celestiales, terrestres e infernales altos y bajos que otras naciones jentiles ...”: Olivares, Historia, p. 50.

¹⁰³⁰ “... se negaron torpemente a oír las voces de la razon y no reconocieron con suma ignorancia e ingrato desconocimiento al sumo hacedor y bienhechor nuestro ...”: Ibid.

¹⁰³¹ “... no tuviesen templos, ni sacerdotes, ni culto, ni sacrificios.” (Ibid.) Similar in the *Compañía*: “It is not known that they recognise some deity nor that they worship or sacrifice any ...” [“No se sabe que estos indios adoren o reconozcan alguna deidad, ni que a alguna ofrezcan o hagan sacrificios ...”]: Olivares, Compañía, p. 493.

¹⁰³² “Reconocian sí algunos jéneros de superioridad en los pillanes, amigos y enemigos, como algunos jentiles en los jénios buenos y malos ...”: Olivares, Historia, p. 50.

¹⁰³³ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid.

religion here) to describe Mapuche Religion. Olivares also provides a second interpretation of pillanes, expanding a thunderstorm battle theme (paraphrased here):

The Mapuche affirm with “miserable credulity” [miserable credulidad] that the “souls” [almas/ ánimas] of the Spaniards, once they separate from the body after death, become “enemy pillanes” [pillanes enemigos] that take away the strength of the Mapuche in battle. On the other hand, the souls of the Mapuche are “friend pillanes” [pillanes amigos] that give strength in battle. Moreover, the thunder and lightning of a thunderstorm are the noticeable signs of battle of the pillanes. Thus, when a thunderstorm moves to the camp of the Spaniards, they are convinced that the Spanish pillanes are stronger and when it moves towards the Mapuche camp, their pillanes are stronger than the Spanish ones¹⁰³⁶.

With that, Olivares obviously relates to Rosales’ thunderstorm battle theme, interpreting pillanes as the souls of dead warriors that fight a battle with their enemies in the sky. However, the parallel of the supernatural with the human sphere is limited, as the prognosticative character of the thunderstorm battle on the outcome of the battle in the real world – as in Rosales – is omitted here.

The second supernatural being described here is “huecubu”¹⁰³⁷/ “huecub”¹⁰³⁸. In Olivares we find the most extensive account of that character in the whole Mapuche Religion discourse; in the *Compañía* the character is even the central and only supernatural being. For the ‘ignorant barbarians’, the huecub(u) becomes a cipher for unknown things as “... anything that they do not grasp or understand like an unusual or miraculous thing they call huecubu.”¹⁰³⁹ And although they do not know what it is exactly¹⁰⁴⁰, the Mapuche fear huecub(u): “In their error and fear they attribute almost all unfortunate and harmful things that happen to them to the huecub ...”¹⁰⁴¹. Olivares then continues with an extensive list of evils that the Mapuche ‘irrationally’ claim to be caused by the huecub(u) (paraphrased here):

¹⁰³⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁰³⁷ Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 493.

¹⁰³⁸ Olivares, *Historia*, p. 51.

¹⁰³⁹ “... a todo aquello que no alcanzan o entienden como una cosa desusada o milagrosa, llaman huecubu.”: Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 493.

¹⁰⁴⁰ “The huecub is a being of whose figure they have no idea, nor [do they have any, S.E.] understanding of its nature.” [“El huecub es un ente de cuya figura no tienen alguna especie, ni concepto de su ser.”]: Olivares, *Historia*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁴¹ “Casi de todas las cosas que les suceden adversas o dañosas atribuyen su error u su miedo al huecub ...” (ibid.). Similar in the *Compañía*: “[T]hey fear what they call huecubu, of which they also do not know what it is ...” [“... temen sí a lo que llaman huecubu que no saben tampoco qué cosa sea ...”]: Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 493.

(1) The huecub(u) is responsible for bad harvests by causing drought, as well as worms or other pests to enter the seeds¹⁰⁴²; (2) when there is a lack of fish in a lake or river, the huecub(u) ate it¹⁰⁴³; (3) the huecub(u) causes earthquakes by shaking¹⁰⁴⁴; (4) he tires down a horse as he sits on its back¹⁰⁴⁵. (5) The foremost task of huecub(u) is to cause sickness and death in stock and man by entering their bodies; thus, it is held responsible for certain forms of unnatural death, like drowning in a river or hanging¹⁰⁴⁶. Furthermore, huecub(u) is described (6) as “the evil” [el mal] and cause of sickness that the machis suck out in their healing rituals¹⁰⁴⁷.

That complex interpretation of huecub(u) as evil cause for various mischiefs comes closest to Rosales’ Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu, which is extracted by the wizard in healing ceremonies. Nonetheless, it is very far away from Ovalle’s guecubus as (seemingly) rather benevolent subordinates of guenupillan.

The third – and newly introduced¹⁰⁴⁸ – supernatural character is “meulen”¹⁰⁴⁹, “... a superior and benevolent being ...”¹⁰⁵⁰. The Mapuche invoke that character in their healing ceremonies to free the sick from a spell¹⁰⁵¹ although – similar as with the huecub(u) – “... they do not know what it is ...”¹⁰⁵². The fourth supernatural character, reintroduced here, is “epunamun”¹⁰⁵³,

“... which means to say ‘two legs’, perhaps because he appears to them with some deformity. Or, coincidentally with that, it is a being of which they have the same understanding as we have of the goblins ...”¹⁰⁵⁴.

In Olivares’ *Historia*, we thus find the first factual reappearance of that character in the Mapuche Religion discourse after 150 years of absence since Oña and Santisteban (leaving

¹⁰⁴² Olivares, *Historia*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibid.; Olivares, *Compañía*, pp. 492-493.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 493.

¹⁰⁴⁸ In fact, “meulen” is mentioned for the first time in Luis de Valdivia’s *Arte*, where it is translated by “whirlwind” [remolino de viento/ torvellino]: Valdivia, *Arte*, Vocabulario, n.p.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Olivares, *Historia*, p. 52. Erize’s “meulen”: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 259.

¹⁰⁵⁰ “... un ente superior y benéfico ...”: Olivares, *Historia*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁵¹ Could that spell be the huecub(u) itself?

¹⁰⁵² “... ni saben que cosa sea ...”: Ibid.

¹⁰⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁴ “... que quiere decir dos piernas, porque quizá se les aparece con alguna deformidad, o acaso de ellas, es un ente de que tienen el mismo concepto que nosotros de los duendes ...”: Ibid.

out Ovalle's Ercilla plagiarism). But in Olivares, the character is not central to Mapuche Religion but stays fixed to a cryptical reading as two legged goblin with the sole function of advisor instead. Thus, Olivares continues, the Mapuche follow epunamun's false advice (it is not clear in what matters) because they fear to offend him by disobeying his orders¹⁰⁵⁵. The aspect of distrust in the deceitful advisor and also the disformed legs element shows some similarities to Ercilla's and Oña's interpretative repertoire of the diabolic Eponamon/ Eponamón.

The fifth and last supernatural character in Olivares, also newly introduced here, is "anchumallacin"¹⁰⁵⁶:

"The anchumallacin, which means to say woman of the sun, is a very beautiful young ordained and benign woman for them. And it is a strange thing that they do not have any particular respect for the sun although they think that good of his wife."¹⁰⁵⁷

In Luis de Valdivia and Markgraf the sun has a son that brought life to man, while in Olivares the sun has a wife, pictured as a beautiful woman. In the following passages Olivares blends this character into the miraculous intercessions of Mary in battle, as found in other authors of the Mapuche Religion discourse. Thus, Olivares continues, the Mapuche say that in the past there was a "beautiful woman" [bella mujer]¹⁰⁵⁸, dressed with the sun, crowned with the stars and wearing the moon as shoes, who descended from heaven in battle to defend the Spaniards¹⁰⁵⁹. This, he concludes, was the "mother of God" [madre de Dios]¹⁰⁶⁰, which they call by the name "woman of the sun" [mujer del sol]¹⁰⁶¹. Therefore, we find the divine will argument here – again narrated by the Mapuche Other itself to augment the effect on the reader –, incorporating in the divine messenger Mary. Furthermore, by equating Mary with anchumallacin, Olivares once more provides a solution that corrects the 'false belief' held by the Mapuche to the 'true belief' in the mother of the Christian god¹⁰⁶².

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid. Erize's "anchimalguen": Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁵⁷ "La anchumallacin, que quiere decir mujer del sol, es para ellos una señora jóven tan vella y ataviada como benigna, y es cosa rara que no teniendo algun particular respeto al sol, se lo tengan tan grande a la que piensan ser su esposa.": Olivares, *Historia*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶² The author who actually introduced that character to the Mapuche Religion discourse, is the historian Pedro Pascual de Córdova [Córdoba] y Figueroa (*1682, Concepción/ Chile; †~1751, ?/ Chile), who served as a sergeant major in the Mapuche Spanish Conflict. He began to write his *Historia de Chile* [*History of Chile*]

Olivares' description in the religious specialists strand of discourse is equally sophisticated. Although the author claims that the Mapuche have no priests (as cited above), he introduces three types of religious specialists: (1) The “ministers” [ministros]¹⁰⁶³ or “fortune-tellers” [adivinos]¹⁰⁶⁴ of the “devil” [demonio]¹⁰⁶⁵, whose image created in the reader is very negative because: “One of the worst evils are the wizards that there are among the Indians that talk to the devil ...”¹⁰⁶⁶. Following their ‘deceitful master’, they convince the Mapuche commoner to abstain from being baptised and from confession¹⁰⁶⁷. Furthermore, we learn that the main function of those “true sorcerers” [verdaderos brujos]¹⁰⁶⁸ is to pick out and condemn innocents to death¹⁰⁶⁹.

(2) For his description of the healing rituals of the “machis”¹⁰⁷⁰ or “superstitious priests” [curas supersticiosas]¹⁰⁷¹ in the *Historia*, Olivares explicitly quotes wide parts of the *Cautiverio* manuscript¹⁰⁷². Twenty years earlier that source is not cited in the *Compañía* and the machis are more originally described as “healer indians” [indios curanderos]¹⁰⁷³ that cure in “... ridiculous and superstitious ceremonies ...”¹⁰⁷⁴ by sucking out the huecub(u) as the cause of sickness in their rituals¹⁰⁷⁵. Thus, there is a relation to Rosales' Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu, which is concretised to a cause of sickness extracted in the machis' healing ceremonies.

(3) Another character newly introduced here is the “duguthue”¹⁰⁷⁶: “The most harmful and superstitious thing they do, is to pay visits to the duguthue, which is the same as ‘the speaker’

(Córdova y Figueroa, P.P. de: *Historia de Chile*. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1861) from 1739 on to his death but it stayed unpublished until 1861. Córdova describes “Anchimalgüen” (ibid., p. 26) as “their tutelary deity” [su deidad tutelar] (ibid.) and explains: “Pagan antiquity knew the heroes ... in this line had the Indians the Anchimalgüen, which they said informed them on unfortunate matters (to prevent them) or prosperous matters (to celebrate them) ...” [“La antigüedad pagana colocó a los héroes ... en cuya línea tenían los indios a la Anchimalgüen, que decían les noticiaba de lo adverso para precaverlo o de lo próspero para celebrarlo ...”] (ibid.). That interpretation deviates very much from Olivares and implies that it might be even a different character. See Erize's discussion of the differentiation between “anchimalgüen” and “anchimallen” (Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 53). For biographical information on Córdova see: Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 212-213.

¹⁰⁶³ Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 289.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 492

¹⁰⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁶ “Uno de los males o peores, son los hechiceros que hai entre los indios, que hablan con el demonio ...”: Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Olivares, *Historia*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷² Ibid., p. 54. Olivares names Bascuñan as the original author (ibid.); the corresponding passage in the *Cautiverio* is: Bascuñan, *Cautiverio*, pp. 157-161.

¹⁰⁷³ Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 493.

¹⁰⁷⁴ “... ceremonias ridículas i supersticiosas ...”: Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid. Erize's “dùngulve”: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 157.

because he speaks and foretells.”¹⁰⁷⁷ They consult him on inquest matters and confide in him like an “oracle” [oráculo]¹⁰⁷⁸. Concerning that character, we find a short change of perspective in Olivares: In one passage a missionary explains to the Mapuche that the belief in the duguthue is mere superstition and they then answer ‘stubbornly’: “It is good what you say father ... but that is our tradition and the law of the land.”¹⁰⁷⁹

Considering the multiple interpretations of religious specialists provided by Olivares, the general reader is probably confused: Sorcerers, wizards, fortune-tellers, ministers, priests, machis and duguthue are blended into one category of devil priest, who performs superstitious rituals. In Olivares we thus find a regress to the argumentation of Luis de Valdivia (and Ercilla to some degree) concerning the failure of the Christian mission among the Mapuche heathens: It is the religious specialist, pictured as minister of the devil, which deceitfully keeps the Mapuche commoner from getting baptised or from confessing and, moreover, arbitrarily (i.e. irrationally) condemns innocents to death. Thus, an image of a wizard tyranny is established – that would count as a reason for making ‘just war’ on the Mapuche in Rosales’ logic.

Now turning to the strand postmortality, we learned previously in the *Compañía* that the Mapuche do not believe in natural death but attribute it to huecub(u)¹⁰⁸⁰. Moreover, the Mapuche “... have some notion of the immortality of the soul because they say that when they die, they will go to carculafquem, which is at the other side of the sea.”¹⁰⁸¹ That passage from *Compañía* differs from the later description in *Historia*. Following Ovalle’s reasoning, it is said there that the Mapuche believe in the immortality of the soul “... but that belief is desfigured by massive errors ...”¹⁰⁸². Thus, the Mapuche beliefs are wrong (i.e. they deviate from the Christian standard), a point enhanced in the following passage:

¹⁰⁷⁷ “Lo mas nocivo i supersticioso que usan es las consultas que hacen al duguthue, que es lo mismo que el hablador, porque habla i adivina.”: Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 493.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid. The first author who mentions that character, nonetheless, is the soldier Gerónimo Pietas y Garces (*?; †?), who addressed a report to the Spanish king called *Noticia sobre las costumbres de los araucanos* [*Report on the customs of the Araucanians*] (Pietas, D.G.: *Noticias sobre las costumbres de los araucanos*. - in: *Historia física y política de Chile segun documentos adqueridos en esta republica durante doce años de residencia en ella y publicado bajo los auspicios del supremo gobierno. Documentos sobre la historia, la estadística y la geografía*/ C. Gay (ed.). - 2 vols. - Paris: Museo de Historia Natural. - vol. 1. - 1846. - 486-512) in 1729 (first published in 1846). In that book we find the following passage, which is in wide accordance with Olivares: “[I]n their language they call the fortune-teller Dungube. He certainly makes that the devil answers his questions ...” [“... en su idioma llaman al adivino Dungube: este ciertamente hace que á sus preguntas le responda el demonio ...”] (ibid., p. 487). We do not know much about the biography of Pietas: Medina, *Diccionario*, p. 687.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “Dices bien, padre ... pero esta es nuestra usanza i costumbre de la tierra.”: Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 493.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 492.

¹⁰⁸¹ “... tienen alguna vislumbre de la inmortalidad del alma; porque dicen que cuando mueren van a carculafquem; esto es, de la otra banda del mar.”: Ibid., p. 493.

¹⁰⁸² “... pero esta creencia está desfigurada con groseros errores ...”: Olivares, *Historia*, p. 52.

“[T]hey do not think that there is a separate place in which the good or the bad deeds are paid with reward or punishment but that they would go to the Isla Mocha to spend another endless life without work, feeding on black potatoes.”¹⁰⁸³

Thus, the *Compañía*'s *carculafquem*¹⁰⁸⁴ is concretised to the Isla Mocha (which also is at the other side of the sea), the eating of black potatoes (as in Rosales and Bascuñan) and the spending of an endless life in pleasure (as in Ovalle and Frézier). But in difference to Ovalle, Olivares emphasises that there is no judgement of the dead. Somehow in contradiction to that description of the place of abundance is Olivares' reasoning on why the Mapuche furnish the tomb. Thus, he argues, they bury the dead with all his belongings and a lot of food and drinks, so that he might feed and not have hunger¹⁰⁸⁵. Contradictively, that hints at an afterlife of lack rather than abundance, as the tomb furnishings do not serve as provisions for the journey (as in Ovalle) but as supply in the postmortal world itself (as in Vivar and Rosales)¹⁰⁸⁶.

In Olivares' *Historia* there appears a new theme in that strand of discourse. As the Greek heathens believed that Charon needs to be paid in order to cross the river Cocytus

“... the Indians did not stay behind and assure that before arriving at the destined place for the deceased, there is an isthmus where one has to pay something to an old woman, [who is, S.E.] like a fee collector at customs. And they say that it is an odd old woman because without satisfying her with a coin or in kind she makes the passenger pay with one of his eyes ...”¹⁰⁸⁷.

¹⁰⁸³ “... no piensan que haya lugar seperado en que se paguen con el premio o castigo las buenas obras o malas, sino que vengan a la isla de la Mocha a pasar otra vida sin fin ni trabajo y alimentados de papas negras.”: Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁴ That may derive from “carcu”, that is “other side” [otra banda] (Erize, Diccionario, p. 72) and “lavquen”, that is “sea” [mar]: Erize, Diccionario, p. 217.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Olivares, *Compañía*, p. 493.

¹⁰⁸⁶ A strong parallel with that description can be found in Córdova's *Historia* (which is contemporary to Olivares' *Compañía*). In that book the author expands the following passage: “They believed in the immortality of the soul without punishment nor reward, being convinced that those who died went to the other side of the sea, where they fed on a certain species called peñis. And into the tombs they put jars of chicha and food as supply; and sometimes their weapons ...” [“Creían la inmortalidad del alma, sin pena ni gloria, estando persuadidos que los que morian iban a la otra parte del mar, donde se alimentaban de cierta especie que llaman peñis; y en los sepulcros se les ponian vasijas de chicha y vianda para su viático, y algunas veces sus armas ...”] (Córdova, *Historia*, p. 26). This description seems to be a mixture of Ovalle's and Rosales' depictions of Mapuche postmortality, adding the point of the peñis (i.e. some specimens, perhaps black potatoes?). The tomb furnishings are probably (it is not perfectly clear here) pictured as provision for the journey.

¹⁰⁸⁷ “... los indios no han quedado atras y aseguran que en un paraje estrecho ántes de llegar al lugar destinado a los difuntos, hai una vieja a la cual se le debe pagar alguna cosa como recaudadora de la aduana; y dicen que es una perversa vieja, porque sino la satisfacen en moneda o en especie, se hace pago con uno de los ojos del pasajero.”: Olivares, *Historia*, p. 52.

Olivares thus introduces the “tribute theme”, as we will call it, which is influential in various authors in the following discourse. In this theme the postmortal *agens* (i.e. the soul) has to pay a tribute to an old woman to enter the postmortal world; if the tribute cannot be paid, the passenger – here the difference to the Græco-Roman analogy – can still enter the postmortal realm but needs to pay a high price, that is losing one of his eyes. Conclusively – in deviation from Rosales and Toict –, Olivares does not distinguish between several types of afterlives but holds that there is only one collective afterlife for all kinds of dead. Nonetheless, the aspect of the dead soldiers being occupied in the thunderstorm battle may be interpreted as a hint at some kind of – for the reader rather enigmatic then – differentiation.

On the strand folk religious beliefs we learn that the healing powers of natural springs, for example, come from the benefaction of the “lord of the water” [señor/ dueño del agua]¹⁰⁸⁸; this cryptical description may be an allusion to another supernatural being or it even might have some relation to Luis de Valdivia’s and Rosales’ rainmaking religious specialists. Moreover, the Mapuche see many other “superstitious causes” [causas supersticiosas]¹⁰⁸⁹ everywhere:

“[I]f some whirlwind approaches the house, it means that the enemies will attack them (...) The dream that they will lose a tooth, means that someone in the family is going to die. If some large bird passes over the top of their house, it means that some sorcerer is going to arrow-shoot them.”¹⁰⁹⁰

Besides the new whirlwind element, the folk religious beliefs described here basically stay limited to the two themes belief in dreams and bird flight, as prominently found in Luis de Valdivia and Rosales, which leaves the Christian reader with the general impression that the Mapuche are ‘irrationally superstitious people’.

Following Olivares, the Mapuche have a “particular superstition” [particular supersticion]¹⁰⁹¹ concerning earthquakes – which invites us to turn to the strand of discourse mythology now – that we paraphrase here:

¹⁰⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁰⁹⁰ “... acercarse algun remolino de viento a la casa, es que han de asaltarlos los enemigos (...) el soñar que se les cae algun diente, es que se ha de morir alguno de su parentela. El pasar algun pájaro grande por cima de su casa, es que viene a flecharlos algun brujo.”: Ibid., pp., 52-53.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid., p. 53.

When the major quake is over, men and women with big plates on their heads walk together with their children, belongings and food up to the top of the nearest mountain that they call “ten, ten” (i.e. three-pointed mountains), where they feel safe. They say that they do so because there is the threat that the sea will rise and the whole earth will be flooded, as it did happen in the far past. That ten, ten can float on the water and staying on it, the people may survive the flooding. The wooden plates on the heads will protect them from getting burned when the ten, ten descends higher and higher¹⁰⁹².

Olivares’ myth is similar to Rosales’ deluge myth but appears somewhat reduced to lesser detail. Thus, there is the description of the mountain, the flooding, the escape to the top of the mountain, the plates as protection from the heat; however, the complex reasons for the deluge (i.e. the combat of the snakes) and the human lineage theme are totally missing here.

In his *Historia* Córdova extends the myth of “Thegtheg”¹⁰⁹³, which seems to be a reduction of Rosales’ deluge myth, too:

“They had notice of the great deluge, well forged by ridiculous circumstances, like that of certain mountains, which they call Thegtheg (...) Those grew always exceeding the waters; and onto them some could save themselves, of whom the human lineage multiplied.”¹⁰⁹⁴

In this description, Rosales’ reason for the deluge (i.e. the complex combat between Tenten and Caicai-Vilu/ Caicai) is missing. Although Córdova employs the human lineage theme, Rosales’ headcover, cannibalism and human sacrifice themes are missing here as well.

Amat’s description of “Tentero”¹⁰⁹⁵ in his *Historia* is closer to Olivares than to Córdova or Rosales. There, Tentero is described as name for certain hills, to which the Mapuche attribute “no small superstitions” [no pequeñas supersticiones]¹⁰⁹⁶. Since antiquity, the author continues, the Indians believed that the great deluge spared the people who took refuge on a pyramide-like mountain. That hill grew and rose with the rise of waters so that the flood could not harm it. Thus, the Mapuche call all three-pointed mountains “Tentenes”¹⁰⁹⁷ and still take

¹⁰⁹² Ibid.

¹⁰⁹³ Córdova, *Historia*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁹⁴ “Tenian noticia del universal diluvio, bien que adulterada con ridículas circunstancias, como el de ciertos montes a quienes llaman Thegtheg ... crecían excediendo siempre a las aguas, y que en ellos se libraron algunos, de los cuales se había multiplicado el linaje humano.”: Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Amat, *Historia* [56 (1928)], 494.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid.

refuge in times of earthquakes or floodings with sticks in their hands as to build shelters¹⁰⁹⁸. Although deviating from Olivares' headcover theme, the three-pointedness of the mountain especially – that is missing in Rosales – is strikingly similar to Olivares' *Historia* (which was confiscated by Amat).

Concluding on Olivares, we can say that although the author does not debate just war or justify the conquista, we can draw our conclusions from his painting a quite negative picture of the Mapuche. Described as beastlike and stubborn people that do not know idols nor the true Christian god, they are depicted as so ignorant that they cannot even understand their own 'strange religion'. This line of argument – that we already found in a preform in Rosales (who claimed that they do not exactly know what Pillan is) –, does not simply lead to an interpretation of Mapuche Religion as diabolism. The gap of understanding of Mapuche Religion (which in Olivares' logic is caused by the illogicality of Mapuche Religion) is not filled in by an inversion of Christianity. Instead of equating Pillan (or any other supernatural character) with the devil, Olivares' description of Mapuche Religion is one of the most complex in the Mapuche Religion discourse (besides those of Luis de Valdivia and Rosales). On the other hand, the diabolism scheme is not completely missing in Olivares, as the author points out to the religious specialists (i.e. the devil's priests) as culprits for the meagre success of mission activity in the Araucanía.

In difference to the position of discourse of the 'indophile' Bascuñan, Olivares is no particular friend of Mapuche culture. Instead, Mapuche Religion and its representatives are unempathetically conceptualised as threats to the lasting conversion of the Mapuche heathens to the 'true faith'. Moreover, in Olivares there are mainly internal reasons – that is the bad Mapuche character –, which are brought up as being responsible for the setbacks of the mission. Thus, the author's pessimistic descriptions somewhat connect to Sosa and Calderón's rejections of Mapuche culture. Enhancing that ambivalence towards the Mapuche, Olivares is also the first in the Mapuche Religion discourse who explicitly adopts from other author's descriptions (Bascuñan's description of machis especially) and who extensively employs comparative models (Roman religion especially) to approach Mapuche Religion. Another important adaptation from previous authors is the partial introduction – even in the frame of Olivares' rather negative imagery of the Mapuche – of some kind of perspectivity change in the author's narration.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 404-405.

8.3 The hour of the Franciscans

With the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Chilean territory new opportunities arose for other mission orders, such as the Franciscans, who can be said to have practically inherited the Jesuit's mission facilities in that country¹⁰⁹⁹. Following Pinto, in difference to the Jesuits – who entered the Araucanía for a limited time only with the primary goal to baptise the heathens – the Franciscans established themselves permanently among the Mapuche, following the goal to not only formally convert but to irreversibly achieve a lasting conversion to Christianity¹¹⁰⁰. An important marker in the history of the Seraphic Order in Chile was the founding of the “College for the propagation of the faith of St. Ildefonsus in Chillán” [Colegio de propaganda fide de San Ildefonso de Chillán] in June 1756, where Franciscan missionaries received a special training on how to effectively missionise the Mapuche. The founding father of that college was the Franciscan friar Pedro Ángel de Espiñeira (*1727, San Pedro de Villariño/ Spain; †1778, Concepción/ Chile)¹¹⁰¹, who later became bishop of Concepción (1761 to his death). Two of Espiñeira's works – contemporary to Olivares' *Historia* – are of special relevance to us here. First, his diary of a voyage made in 1758 called *Relación del viaje y mision a los pehuenches*¹¹⁰² (first published in 1988). Second, *El obispo*¹¹⁰³, an unpublished report of merits and services written in 1767, which was addressed to the Spanish king Charles III. The second author that we will take a look at is the Franciscan friar Antonio de Sors (*1739, Mella/ Spain; †18~~, ?)¹¹⁰⁴, who worked as a missionary among the Mapuche for various years and became attorney general of the college

¹⁰⁹⁹ Casanova, Presencia, p. 149; Villalobos, Vida, p. 348. Contextual information on that time period is taken from: Aliaga, Iglesia, pp. 81-110; Casanova, Presencia; Cline, Franciscans; Noggler, Misión, pp. 76-83.

¹¹⁰⁰ Pinto, Frontera, p. 99. See also: Foerster, Introducción, pp. 21-22; 31-32.

¹¹⁰¹ Biographical information on Espiñeira is taken from: Medina, Diccionario, pp. 284-285.

¹¹⁰² *Account of the voyage to and the mission of the Pehuenches*: Espiñeira, P.Á. de: Relación del viaje y mision a los pehuenches. - in: Misioneros en la Araucanía, 1600-1900/ J. Pinto et al. (eds.). - Temuco: University of La Frontera Press. - 1988. - 233-250.

¹¹⁰³ Full title: *El obispo de la Concepcion de Chile refriendose a otros informes que tiene hechos a vuestra magestad ejecuta al presente; el de la pacificacion y estado de los yndios rebeldes de su diocesis con documentos concernientes a su gobierno y servicio de vuestra magestad* [The bishop of Concepción in Chile referring to other reports that he has made to your majesty reports the following. Of the pacification and state of the rebel indians of his docesis; with documents concerning his government and service to your majesty]: Espiñeira, P.Á. de: El obispo de la Concepcion de Chile refriendose a otros informes que tiene hechos a vuestra magestad ejecuta al presente; el de la pacificacion y estado de los yndios rebeldes de su diocesis con documentos concernientes a su gobierno y servicio de vuestra magestad. - unpublished manuscript. - in: Fondo Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Chile, Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. - vol. 194. - 1767. - 55-71.

¹¹⁰⁴ Biographical information on Sors is taken from: Medina, Diccionario, p. 831.

of Chillán in the 1780s. In the year 1765 (approximately) Sors wrote a *Historia del reino de Chile*¹¹⁰⁵, which was first published between 1921 and 1923.

Thus, in Espiñeira and Sors we find the first Franciscan actors that make an important contribution to the Mapuche Religion discourse since Sosa's critique of Defensive War 150 years earlier. Like Sosa, Sors' *Historia* as well as Espiñeira's *Obispo* are both addressing the Spanish king and claim to provide a solution to the weary pacification process in the Araucanía. Thus, the authors basically demand an increase of support of the crown for the Franciscan missionary project. Although both authors argue for the extension of the spiritual conquista of the Mapuche, a general critique of the military conquista in Chile (that would directly address the Spanish king!) as we found it in their Jesuit predecessors is missing in those books.

8.4 Espiñeira's and Sors' conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion

Like Olivares, Sors begins his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion with a theological deficiency argument: "[A]ll Chilean Indians do not recognise any uncreated nor created thing as God ..."¹¹⁰⁶. That is augmented by a ritual deficiency argument in the following passage: "[A]s they worship nothing, they do not expect anything good nor fear anything bad [to come, S.E.] after the mortal life that they live ..."¹¹⁰⁷. Thus, Sors' Mapuche have no knowledge of the Christian god, do not worship anything and do not assume any postmortality. That reasoning of defect shows a striking similarity to Markgraf, who also initially assumed that the Mapuche knew no Christian god, festivities days, the resurrection nor that there is any afterlife. The latter point is of special importance for Sors, as it is one of the main reasons that hinder a Mapuche conversion: Convinced that there is nothing after death, the Mapuche do

¹¹⁰⁵ Full title: *Historia del reino de Chile situada en la América Meridional, que hace relación de la población de los españoles en él, de las tierras de los indios naturales, sus costumbres, y ubicación, del sistema conveniente para reducirlos a la obediencia de su majestad* [History of the kingdom of Chile, situated in Southern America, reporting on the population of the Spaniards in it, of the lands of the natural Indians, their manners and location; and of the proper system to submit them under the obedience of your majesty]: Sors, A. de: *Historia del reino de Chile situada en la América Meridional, que hace relación de la población de los españoles en él, de las tierras de los indios naturales, sus costumbres, y ubicación, del sistema conveniente para reducirlos a la obediencia de su majestad.* - in: *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 38 (1921), 19-46; 39 (1921), 163-199; 41 (1922), 250-289; 42 (1922), 320-367; 44 (1922), 254-291; 45 (1923), 49-86.

¹¹⁰⁶ "... todos los indios chilenos no reconocen por Dios cosa alguna increada ni creada ...": Ibid. [42 (1922)], p. 357.

¹¹⁰⁷ "... porque ellos nada adoran, ni después de la vida mortal que viven esperan bien ni temen mal alguno ...": Ibid., p. 359. Similar in another passage: "[A]fter death they do not expect any good nor fear any evil." ["... después de muertos ni esperan bien ni temen mal alguno."]: Ibid., p. 357.

not care for becoming Christians and live a Christian life that leads to salvation¹¹⁰⁸. Finally, Sors comes to a very original conclusion: “[T]hey really seem to be new men or that God created them different from others ...”¹¹⁰⁹.

In Espiñeira’s *Obispo* we find a similar theological deficiency argument: “[T]here is no faith to be found nor a knowledge of anything as dignified as God nor of the Christian Religion ...”¹¹¹⁰; or, in other words, “... there cannot be found any sentiment of religion nor the shadow of an understanding for anything that is not feelable or touchable among them.”¹¹¹¹ Similar to Sors, this implies that they do not have any understanding of the Christian god or of any other basics of Christianity. Corresponding to that logic, they know nothing of religion or of anything that is beyond the material sphere. Pictured in both authors as religious *tabulae rasae* (similar to Rosales), the Mapuche are introduced to the recipients of the texts as a special kind of heathens different from all others, as they do not have the least notion of the ‘universal’ or any other faith but are completely ignorant of religion.

Nevertheless, in the second step Sors claims that they have many “superstitions” [supersticiones]¹¹¹², nonetheless, such as the worship of the devil: “[T]hey recognise the Devil, which they call Pillán that they fear much ...”¹¹¹³. Thus, in Sors Pillán becomes the Mapuche personification of the devil (once again). Espiñeira, in his *Relación* equates “Pillán”¹¹¹⁴ with the devil as well and creatively calls that character “infernal wolf” [lobo infernal]¹¹¹⁵. Both authors thus show some continuity to Luis de Valdivia, Rosales and Bascuñan, who interpreted Pillan as the Mapuche incorporation of the deceitful devil. Consequently, it is Pillán, who is held responsible for all kinds of evils: When there is an epidemic, they attribute it to Pillán¹¹¹⁶ and he also spoils the harvest by putting worms into their seeds¹¹¹⁷. Therefore, the elements of evil in Rosales’ Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu and, moreover, in Olivares’ huecub(u) are transferred onto the Pillán character in Sors. They are assured of those superstitions by the “Machis”¹¹¹⁸, who also convince them in another point: “[T]hey [the Machis, S.E.] have persuaded them that the Pillán causes thunders and lightnings

¹¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 360.

¹¹⁰⁹ “... realmente parecen hombres nuevos o que Dios los crió distintos de los demás ...”: Ibid., p. 359.

¹¹¹⁰ “... no se halla fe ni concepto alguno digno de Dios, ni de Religion Christiana ...”: Espiñeira, Obispo, p. 65.

¹¹¹¹ “... sin hallarse en ellos sentimiento alguno de religion ni sombra de entendimiento para todo lo que no es sensible ó palpable.”: Ibid., p. 66.

¹¹¹² Sors, Historia [39 (1921)], p. 184.

¹¹¹³ “... reconocen al Demonio, que llaman Pillán, al cual le tienen mucho miedo ...”: Ibid., p. 184.

¹¹¹⁴ Espiñeira, Relación, p. 240.

¹¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁶ Sors, Historia [39 (1921)], p. 184.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid. [42 (1922)], p. 359.

¹¹¹⁸ Ibid. [39 (1921)], p. 185.

and other similar things, when he is angry with them ...”¹¹¹⁹. Thus, in Sors Pillán is connected to thunder once more. This is similar in Espiñeira, who states: “[T]he Pillán (i.e. the devil) ... thundered as a sign of victory ...”¹¹²⁰. Thus, in the latter author Pillán also seems to be related to war, as he prognosticates the outcome of a battle by thundering in the sky.

Furthermore, we learn in Sors that to appease Pillán the Mapuche offer meat, chicha and (their own) blood; they do that especially when there is a thunderstorm with “thousand roundels and grimaces” [mil círculos y visajes]¹¹²¹. This strongly reminds one of the descriptions of the Pil(l)an feasts in Markgraf and Baerle, who emphasised a close interrelation between thunder and the dissolute Pil(l)an worshipping feasts. But Sors concludes – enhancing the ritual deficiency argument here – that they do not really worship Pillán because:

“[N]owhere on the soil of those Chilean Indians there is a temple nor a house nor a place dedicated to Pillán nor do they use any idol. Thus, they do not worship Pillán as their God.”¹¹²²

They just worship him out of some kind of “superstition or pastime” [superstición o monería]¹¹²³. Similar as in Ovalle or Olivares, idolatry is inverted here as an absent model. Nonetheless, this interpretation is the exact opposite of that of Ovalle, Markgraf and Olivares, who saw in Pillán some kind of worshipped superior being. In this point Sors stays closer to Rosales, who argued that the Mapuche do not worship Pillan(es)/ pillan. In difference to Sors, who claims that the Mapuche are lacking any knowledge of an afterlife¹¹²⁴, Pillán is, moreover, related to postmortality in Espiñeira. Thus, Pillán “... takes them [the dead, S.E.] to the fire or Quethal¹¹²⁵ of hell ...”¹¹²⁶. Thus, Pillán functions as a *psychopompos* similar as in Toicit and, moreover, this cryptical passage also hints at a Mapuche afterlife, pictured as a kind of Christian hell.

¹¹¹⁹ “... los tienen persuadidos que los truenos, relámpagos y otras cosas semejantes que el Pillán las causa porque está enojado con ellos ...”: Ibid.

¹¹²⁰ “... tronaba el Pillán (que es el diablo) ... en señal de la victoria ...”: Espiñeira, Relación, p. 243.

¹¹²¹ Sors, Historia [39 (1921)], 185.

¹¹²² “... en toda la tierra de estos indios chilenos no se halla templo, ni casa, ni lugar dedicado al Pillán, ni usan ídolo alguno luego no adoran al Pillán como a su Dios.”: Ibid. [42 (1922)], pp. 359-360.

¹¹²³ Ibid., p. 360.

¹¹²⁴ Sors just mentions that they put chicha and meat – and sometimes a horse – into the tomb of the deceased, without interpreting that as a postmortal belief: Ibid. [39 (1921)], pp. 186-187.

¹¹²⁵ Erize’s “quetal”: Erize, Diccionario, p. 353

¹¹²⁶ “... llevase al fuego o Quethal del infierno ...”: Espiñeira, Relación, p. 240.

Turning to religious specialists now, in Espiñeira's *Relación* we briefly learn that the "machi"¹¹²⁷ heal by – here very similar to Olivares – "their superstitious practice" [su supersticiosa usanza]¹¹²⁸. In Sors the conceptualisation of this strand of discourse is somewhat more complex. The Machis are described as "physicians" [médicos]¹¹²⁹ that cure sicknesses and also work as "fortune-tellers" [adivinos]¹¹³⁰. Sors gives a vivid description of their physical appearance – which seems to be inspired by Bascuñan – stating that they have a very ugly face¹¹³¹ and dress like female Indians¹¹³².

Furthermore, we learn: "Some of them have an explicit pact with the Devil ..."¹¹³³, that is they communicate with Pillán on the future¹¹³⁴. The Machis are thus termed "midgets of the Devil" [machos del Demonio]¹¹³⁵, which make the Mapuche commoner believe that there is no natural death but that everyone dies through sorcery¹¹³⁶, an argument very similar to Olivares' discussion of huecub(u). In a passage that shows parallels to Ercilla's and Luis de Valdivia's wizard imposters and Olivares' devil priests, Sors states that the Mapuche firmly believe in what the Machis say¹¹³⁷ "... so firmly as we do believe in the resolutions that teaches us our Holy Mother the Church."¹¹³⁸ But in reality, those Machis are imposters, as their cures do not work: "[M]ost of them [the sick, S.E.] stay as ill as before, which forces them to continue with those superstitious roundels until they die or get better."¹¹³⁹ Similar to Olivares, the Machis are, furthermore, pictured as dangerous because they come to arbitrary and, thus, unjust judgements, as they name innocents as culprits in inquests, which are then severely punished¹¹⁴⁰. This leads Sors to the conclusion: "The damage that those sorcerers or Machis do is unbelievable ..."¹¹⁴¹; consequently:

¹¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 241.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹¹²⁹ Sors, *Historia* [39 (1921)], p. 184.

¹¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹¹³¹ Ibid., p. 186.

¹¹³² Ibid., p. 184.

¹¹³³ "Algunos de éstos tienen pacto explícito con el Demonio ...": Ibid., p. 185.

¹¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 184.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 185.

¹¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹¹³⁸ "... tan firmemente como nosotros creemos los artículos que nos enseña nuestra Santa Madre la Iglesia.": Ibid.

¹¹³⁹ "... los más se quedan tan enfermos como antes, lo que les obliga a perseverar en estos supersticiosos círculos hasta que mueren o sanan.": Ibid., pp. 185-186.

¹¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 186.

¹¹⁴¹ "El daño que hacen estos brujos o Machis es increíble ...": Ibid.

“Those Machis are such a great obstacle to the introduction of the Holy Gospel, as if the Devil uses them as his ministers so that they [the Mapuche, S.E.] would not open the eyes of their souls but close them completely to the eternal truths.”¹¹⁴²

With this well known theme of the deceitful devil priest Sors blames the overinclusively pictured religious specialist (e.g. fortune-teller, wizard, sorcerer, physician) as the foremost obstacle to a conversion of the Mapuche. Similar as in Ercilla, Luis de Valdivia and Olivares, with their superstitious ceremonies and unjust judgements the Machis thus become the main culprits for the weary fiasco in the spiritual conquista of the Mapuche heathens.

Conclusively, in Sors the Mapuche resist their conversion to the ‘true faith’ for three main reasons: (1) They deny that there is another life and thus the need to behave ethically in this world to earn eternal salvation (as cited above); (2) they are (cryptically) pictured as continuously drunk¹¹⁴³; and (3) the Machis with their diabolism mislead the Mapuche commoner. Therefore, the Mapuche are pictured as areligious (or even anti-religious) people, whose resistance to Christianity – here similar to Calderón/ Sosa or Olivares – lies in their (to Christian standards) unethical nature and tradition.

In comparison to the complex and multi-perspectivical approaches of Rosales, Toicit, Bascuñan (and Olivares to some degree), the Franciscans Sors and Espiñeira provide a rather ‘oldfashioned’ conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion, altogether. Originality is widely missing in their accounts that centralise diabolism. Thus, Sors and Espiñeira first discover an absence of religion; second, they equate Pillán, as the only supernatural being they point out in Mapuche Religion, with the devil. Thirdly, they picture the Mapuche ritual dimension as devil worship and, furthermore, conceptualise religious specialists as ministers of the devil.

Expanding only two (Sors) and three (Espiñeira) strands of discourse, the authors do not keep up with the challenging standard provided by their Jesuit predecessors. Being the first Franciscan contribution worth of consideration since 150 years, Sors and Espiñeira draw on themes from old (i.e. outdated) interpretative repertoires (e.g. ignorance, barbarism, superstition, diabolism, deceit) without adding much novel information to the Mapuche Religion discourse.

¹¹⁴² “Estos Machis son un óbstraculo tan grande para la introducción del Santo Evangelio, como que el Demonio se vale de estos ministros suyos para que no abran los ojos de su alma y los cierren totalmente a las verdades eternas.”: Ibid. [42 (1922)], p. 361.

¹¹⁴³ Ibid., pp. 360-361.

9. Two Jesuits in exile: Andrés Febrés and Bernhard Havestadt

Indos Chilenses non habere vocem, quae teneat, comprehendatve totum significatum vocis DEUS.

(Bernhard Havestadt, *Chilidúgú*)¹¹⁴⁴

9.1 Mapudùngun for beginners

The Jesuit Andrés Febrés (*1732, Manresa/ Spain; †1790, Cagliari/ Italy)¹¹⁴⁵ worked from 1759 to 1767 (approximately) as a missionary in the Araucanía, studying Mapudùngun extensively. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, Febrés left for Italy and finally settled on Sardinia. Before his expulsion, Febrés published a language textbook called *Arte*¹¹⁴⁶ in 1765, which (as the title already implies) shows wide similarities to Luis de Valdivia's *Arte*. The parts of most relevance to us are the *Diálogo* [dialogue]¹¹⁴⁷, a religious debate between two Mapuche converts; the *Doctrina Christiana* [Christian doctrine]¹¹⁴⁸, an explanation of Christianity in Mapudùngun, which includes an especially interesting *Confesionario* [confessionary]¹¹⁴⁹; and lastly, the *Calepino Chileno-Hispano* [Chilean-Spanish notebook]¹¹⁵⁰, which is an extensive Mapudùngun-Castilian vocabulary.

The German Jesuit Bernhard Havestadt (*1714, Cologne/ Germany; †1781, Münster/ Germany)¹¹⁵¹ came to Chile in 1746. He worked as a missionary in the Araucanía for more than 20 years and, like Febrés, studied Mapudùngun extensively. With the expulsion of the

¹¹⁴⁴ Havestadt, B.: *Chilidúgú, sive res chilenses vel descriptio status tum naturalis, tum civilis, cum moralis regni populique chilensis*. - 2 vols. - Leipzig: Teubner, 1777, II, pp. 650-651. "The Indians of Chile do not have an expression that would comprise in itself the whole meaning of the word GOD."

¹¹⁴⁵ Biographical information on Febrés is taken from: Hanisch, *Historia*, pp. 97-100; Medina, *Diccionario*, p. 288; Medina, *Biblioteca*, II, pp. 580-583.

¹¹⁴⁶ Full title: *Arte de la lengua general del reyno de Chile, con un diálogo chileno-hispano muy curioso a que se añade la doctrina christiana, esto es, rezo, catecismo, coplas, confesionario, y pláticas, lo más en lengua chilena y castellana y por fin un vocabulario hispano-chileno, y un calepino chileno-hispano mas copioso* [Art of the general language of the kingdom of Chile with a very interesting Chilean-Spanish dialogue, to which is attached the Christian doctrine, that is the daily prayer, catechism, songs, confessionary and sermons, mostly in Chilean language and Castilian; and finally a Spanish-Chilean vocabulary and a more extensive Chilean-Spanish notebook]: Febrés, A.: *Arte de la lengua general del reyno de Chile, con un diálogo chileno-hispano muy curioso a que se añade la doctrina christiana, esto es, rezo, catecismo, coplas, confesionario, y pláticas, lo más en lengua chilena y castellana y por fin un vocabulario hispano-chileno, y un calepino chileno-hispano mas copioso*. - Lima: Calle de la Encarnación, 1765.

¹¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-145.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-294.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-239.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 415-682.

¹¹⁵¹ Biographical information on Havestadt is taken from: Brañes, M.J.: *El Chilidúgú del padre Bernardo Havestadt. Introducción y selección*. - in: *Onomázein*, 14 (2006), 65-99; Hanisch, *Historia*, pp. 97-100; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 393-395.

Jesuits in 1767 he returned to Germany and settled in Münster. There he published his *Chilidúgú*¹¹⁵² in 1777 – that is 12 years after Febrés’ *Arte*. The book includes a Mapudungun grammar, a catechism, a Castilian-Mapudungun as well as a Mapudungun-Castilian vocabulary, Christian songs translated into Mapudungun and a diary of a voyage that the author made through the Araucanía from 1751 to 1752. Although we quote from various parts of the work, most important to us here is the Mapudungun-Castilian vocabulary, which includes numerous descriptions of Mapuche Religion¹¹⁵³. A closer look at the conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion in *Chilidúgú* will make clear that Havestadt obviously adopted from Febrés – without explicitly naming him as his model. We have to keep the explicit purpose of those two books in mind: As Luis de Valdivia’s works 150 years earlier, Febrés’ *Arte* and Havestadt’s *Chilidúgú* are meant as manuals for missionaries that primarily aim to help dispersing the “fogs of infidelity” [tinieblas de la infidelidad]¹¹⁵⁴, that is to say Mapuche religiosity.

9.2 Febrés’ conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the *Arte*

The central supernatural character in Febrés’ conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion is “Pillan”¹¹⁵⁵/ “Pillañ”¹¹⁵⁶/ “pillan”¹¹⁵⁷:

“Pillañ, pillan they call the Devil or a superior cause that they say causes thunder, lightning bolts, lightnings and the eruptions of volcanos. And they call those effects themselves Pillañ as well ...”¹¹⁵⁸.

Following that interpretation, Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan is (1) the personification of the devil. That inversive interpretation – also found in Luis de Valdivia, Rosales, Bascuñan and the Franciscans – is enhanced by another passage in Febrés’ *Arte* that describes a ceremony, in

¹¹⁵² Full title: *Chilidúgú, sive res chilenses vel descriptio status tum naturalis, tum civilis, cum moralis regni populique chilensis* [*Chilidúgú or the Chilean things. Or good description of the natural, civil, as well as the moral state of the Chilean kingdom and people*]: Havestadt, Chilidúgú.

¹¹⁵³ Ibid., II, pp. 601-807.

¹¹⁵⁴ Febrés, *Arte*, Dedicatoria, n.p.

¹¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 593.

¹¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁸ “Pillañ, pillan- llaman al Diablo, ò à una causa superior, que dicen hace truenos, rayos, relampagos, y rebentazones de volcanes, y à estos mismos efectos tambien llaman Pillañ ...”: Ibid.

which tobacco smoke is exhaled to invoke the “Devil” [Demonio]¹¹⁵⁹ Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan. On the other hand, similar to his predecessors Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan is more than just the ‘enemy of Christianity’ but becomes (2) the (superior) cause of thunder, lightning and eruptions of volcanos, as well as the personification of those natural phenomena itself. We know from other authors (e.g. Luis de Valdivia, Herckmans, Markgraf, Rosales, Espiñeira) that this character is pictured as somewhat connected to or even the personification of thunder. With the volcano aspect described here, the author relates back to Ovalle’s commander over the volcanos and Rosales’ ancestors converted into volcanos after death; but the most obvious parallel seems to be Luis de Valdivia’s (cryptical) equation of Pillan with volcano.

Furthermore, we learn that besides Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan, the Mapuche worship the lightning bolts, the sun, the moon and other things as if they were the Christian god. Thus, Febrés asks the confessee in the confessionary: “Did you worship or invoke the Lightning bolt, the Sun, Moon and other things like this, as if they were God? Did you invoke the lightning bolt or did you order to invoke it?”¹¹⁶⁰ In Febrés’ Christian system of understanding this is wrong because

“... the sun, the moon, the other stars, the water toad, the thunder, the Pillan, the exhalations and all other things are not God but creations of God and works of God for the good of all Man.”¹¹⁶¹

This describes Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan as (3) some kind of idol god or being of animistic worship, which seems to be influenced by Luis de Valdivia’s confessionary, where we (almost literally) found the same questions and corresponding answers.

Besides Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan, a great variety of supernatural beings is introduced in Febrés (summing up to six characters in total). First of all, there is “Alhue” – another candidate for the role of the ‘enemy of Christianity’ in Febrés – described as the “Devil” [Diablo]¹¹⁶², the “deceased” [difunto]¹¹⁶³, “death” [muerte]¹¹⁶⁴ and as a “... thing from the other life ...”¹¹⁶⁵. Alhue thus is not only (1) the devil but also becomes (2) the personification of death (not only

¹¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 496.

¹¹⁶⁰ “Has adorado, ò suplicado al Rayo, Sol, Luna, y otras cosas assí, como si fuesseen Dios? Has invocando al Rayo, ò lo has mandado invocar?”: Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹⁶¹ “... el sol, la luna, las otras estrellas, el sapo del agua, el trueno, el Pillan, las exhalaciones, y todas las demas cosas no son Dios, sino hechuras de Dios, obras de Dios, para bien de todos los Hombres.”: Ibid., pp. 261-263.

¹¹⁶² Ibid., p. 426.

¹¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁵ “... cosa de la otra vida ...”: Ibid.

related to death and the dead as in Luis de Valdivia and Markgraf). On the other hand, “alhuegey”¹¹⁶⁶ is (3) defined as “a demon” [un demonio]¹¹⁶⁷, characterised as evil, fiery and cruel¹¹⁶⁸. Although the spelling reminds one of Markgraf’s Alverey, the brief definition as devil there does not comply with that; the alhuegey description seems to be influenced by Luis de Valdivia’s plural form alhues, defined in *Sermón* as demons or devils, instead. Thus, the Alhue/ alhuegey and the Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan characters are not sharply distinguished here, as Febrés defines both as euphemisms for devil.

The third supernatural character in Febrés’ *Arte* is “Huecuvu”¹¹⁶⁹, defined as “... the arrows, little sticks and little teeth that the Machis say they suck out ...”¹¹⁷⁰ and, furthermore, as “... any illness or certain Deity or reasonable being that they pretend to be the cause of their deaths, sicknesses and hardships ...”¹¹⁷¹. Huecuvu is thus described as (1) the cause of sickness and death, materialised in small items that are physically extracted from the body by the Machis (similar to Rosales and, moreover, Olivares). But relating to Rosales’ familiar and especially to Luis de Valdivia’s interpretation of that character, it is also identified as (2) a deity or reasonable (i.e. superior) being.

After 160 years of absence from the Mapuche Religion discourse since Luis de Valdivia a fourth character is reintroduced here: “Ivumche are those, which the sorcerers consult in their caves, where they raise them from little on for their witchcraft or enchantments ...”¹¹⁷². That description of Ivumche certainly lives from the imagery of Oña’s obscure ibunché scene (i.e. the undead in the wizard cave) mixed with Luis de Valdivia’s cryptical definition of Ivumche as enchanter.

Fifth, there is the “Gen”¹¹⁷³/ “gen”¹¹⁷⁴, defined in the Chilean-Spanish notebook as the “owner or leader” [el dueño ò principal]¹¹⁷⁵. This character seems to have two different meanings in Febrés: (1) In the Chilean-Spanish notebook Gen/ gen (always in plural) are described as supernatural beings that hold the dominion over certain areals of nature. Thus,

¹¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 506.

¹¹⁷⁰ “... las flechas, palillos, y dientecillos, que los Machis dicen, que les sacan chupando ...”: Ibid.

¹¹⁷¹ “... qualquiera enfermedad, ò cierta Deidad, ò ente de razon, que fingen ser causa de sus muertes, enfermedades, y trabajos ...”: Ibid.

¹¹⁷² “Ivumche- los que consultan los bruxos en sus cuevas, donde los crían desde chiquitos para sus hechizarias, ò encantos ...”: Ibid., p. 523.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 494.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

“Gen huenu”¹¹⁷⁶ reigns over the sky and makes it rain; “gen piru” reigns over the worms and the pests and, finally, “gen pithù”¹¹⁷⁷/ “gen pũnu”¹¹⁷⁸ hold the dominion over pests as well¹¹⁷⁹. On the other hand, Febrés interprets Gen/ gen (2) as some kind of human religious specialists (he calls them “those imposters” [essos embusteros]¹¹⁸⁰) in the confessionary, which also claim to hold the dominion over certain areals of nature. Thus, he distinguishes between “gen huenu”¹¹⁸¹, that is the “owners of Heaven” [dueños del Cielo]¹¹⁸²; “gen piru”¹¹⁸³, that is the “[owners] of the worms” [del gusano]¹¹⁸⁴ and “gen choroy”¹¹⁸⁵, that is the “[owners] of the parrots” [de los papagayos]¹¹⁸⁶. Conclusively, as in the description of Gen/ gen in Luis de Valdivia, it does not become perfectly clear to the reader what Febrés meant by his interpretation of Gen/ gen.

A sixth character is “Amchi malghen”¹¹⁸⁷, translated by “idol” [imagen]¹¹⁸⁸, “... thing from the other life ...”¹¹⁸⁹ or (in plural) by “familiar” [familiares]¹¹⁹⁰. While the identification as idol obviously points to an idol god or creature interpretation, the term “thing from the other life”, a term already known from Febrés’ description of Alhue, seems to hint at the supernaturality of that character, while the familiar aspect reminds one of Córdova’s interpretation of Anchimalgüen as tutelary deity. Generally speaking, Febrés’ conceptualisation of that character is in great disaccordance to Olivares’ description of the woman of the sun.

Finally, in difference to Olivares, “Epunamun”¹¹⁹¹ is not defined as a seventh supernatural being in Febrés. The author translates it by “council of war” [junta de guerra]¹¹⁹² – which, nonetheless, relates to war. The same holds true of the character “Meulen”¹¹⁹³, in *Arte* defined

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 494-495.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 226.

¹¹⁸² Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 226.

¹¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 226.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 428.

¹¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁹ “... cosa de la otra vida ...”: Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁹² Ibid.

¹¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 553.

as “whirlwind” [torvellino de viento/ remolino]¹¹⁹⁴ – that seems to be a literal adoption from Luis de Valdivia’s *Arte*.

Turning now to Febrés’ description of the religious specialists strand in the Mapuche Religion discourse, we also find a great variety of characters there (i.e. five in number). First of all, there is the “Machi”¹¹⁹⁵/ “Machis”¹¹⁹⁶/ “Machís”¹¹⁹⁷, which is briefly defined in the Chilean-Spanish notebook: “Machi is the male or female healer of profession.”¹¹⁹⁸ This is in accordance with Ovalle’s interpretation of the herbolarist-healer of both sexes. Adding to that, we learned above that the Machis suck out Huecuvu as the cause of sickness in healing ceremonies¹¹⁹⁹. As the healing is done with – here a parallel to Olivares’ and Sors’ interpretative repertoire – “... hundred thousand nonsenses and rificules ...”¹²⁰⁰, the Machi(s)/ Machís character is necessarily pictured as an enemy of Christianity. Thus, in the confessionary Febrés asks the confessee:

“Do you hold the Machi profession? Did you machitucate or suck at people? (...) Are you a sorcerer? Did you meet with the Machis to invoke the Lightning bolt? Did you wish to become a sorcerer or Machi?”¹²⁰¹

Thus, Machi(s)/ Machís are described as (1) male and female healers that suck out the Huecuvu and are (2) synonymised with sorcerers or some kind of masters of ceremony that either meet to invoke the lightning bolt or to worship Pillan – similar to Markgraf and Baerle. Conclusively, the Machi(s)/ Machís are the ones made responsible for the worship of the devil – and thus the Mapuche’s aberration from Christianity – in Febrés.

Secondly, there is another religious specialist reintroduced here – after 150 years of absence from the Mapuche Religion discourse since Luis de Valdivia – the “Calcu”¹²⁰², which is defined as “sorcerer” [bruxo]¹²⁰³ and “witch” [bruxa]¹²⁰⁴. Febrés then continues on sorcery, asking in the confessionary: “Did you discover a dark sin in someone else? As in the

¹¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 544.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 506.

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 470.

¹¹⁹⁸ “Machi- el curandero, ò curandera de oficio.”: Ibid., p. 544.

¹¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 506.

¹²⁰⁰ “... cien mil disparates, y ridiculezas ...”: Ibid., p. 544.

¹²⁰¹ “Tienes oficio de Machi? has machitucado, ò chupado à la gente? (...) Eres brujo? te has juntado con los Machis, para invocar al Rayo! Has deseado ser brujo, ò Machi?”: Ibid., p. 227.

¹²⁰² Ibid., p. 436.

¹²⁰³ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁴ Ibid.

sorcerers, sodomites or other bad sinners, did you not report them to the Father, so that he may help it?”¹²⁰⁵ Thus, in this passage – that is clearly influenced by Luis de Valdivia – the sorcerers are associated with secrecy and obscurity (as in Ercilla and Oña), abnormality (as in Bascuñan and Sors) and are finally depicted as criminals offending against the Christian law (as in Luis de Valdivia).

The third religious specialist in Febrés is the “Dugul”¹²⁰⁶/ “dugulve”¹²⁰⁷: “Dugul, dugulve they call the llihua, or fortune-teller because he makes the Devil talk; although most of the time it is all imagination.”¹²⁰⁸ That character is in wide accordance with the devil invoking duguthue of Olivares and the Dungube of Pietas. Dugul/ dugulve is identified as a synonym for llihua¹²⁰⁹/ “Llihua”¹²¹⁰, the fourth – here newly introduced – type of religious specialist. Llihua/ llihua, is defined in the Chilean-Spanish notebook as “... the fortune-teller that they consult.”¹²¹¹ A fifth and final religious specialist character may be found in the second (cryptical) reading of Gen/ gen in Febrés as discussed above.

As other authors before him, Febrés does not sharply distinguish between different aspects or types of religious specialists. In other words, the reader of Febrés’ text is rather confused by the complexity of interrelated characters: The Machi(s)/ Machís are male and female healers and sorcerers that worship the devil, the Calcu is defined as male and female sorcerer, the Dugul/ dugulve talks to the devil and is identical with the llihua, who in turn is a fortune-teller.

Nonetheless, Febrés introduces some new and very original aspects to the strand postmortality, while, furthermore, extending previous descriptions of the Mapuche afterlife: “[G]ullchemayhue¹²¹² is the west and the place, where they say their souls will rest – that is the Isla Mocha – and gullchenman means to go to rest there or to die ...”¹²¹³. This is in close accordance to the postmortal destination described by Ovalle, Frézier, Olivares and – as it is not perfectly clear if gullchemayhue is a place of pleasure or misery – by Rosales.

Furthermore, there is a new character introduced in the Chilean-Spanish notebook:

¹²⁰⁵ “Has descubierto pecado oculto de otro? A los bruxos, sodomitas, y otros muy pecadores nó los has acusado al Padre, que lo remedie?”: *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 481

¹²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰⁸ “Dugul, dugulve- dicen al llihua, ò adivino, porque haze hablar al Diablo, aunque las mas vezes todo es ficcion.”: *Ibid.*

¹²⁰⁹ Erize’s “Llihua”: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 236.

¹²¹⁰ Febrés, *Arte*, p. 541.

¹²¹¹ “... el adivino, à quien consultan.”: *Ibid.*

¹²¹² Erize’s “gullchemaihue”: Erize, *Diccionario*, p. 292.

¹²¹³ “... gullchemayhue- el poniente, y el lugar donde dizen van à parar sus almas, que es la Isla de la Mocha, y gullchenman- es ir à parar alla, ò morirse ...”: Febrés, *Arte*, p. 498.

“Thempùlcahue they call old women for fun. They pretend that when someone dies, there comes one of them in the figure of a whale to take the soul to the other shore of the sea, that is the Isla Mocha.”¹²¹⁴

Thempùlcahue¹²¹⁵, although imagined as an old woman here as well, differs from the odd woman of Olivares’ tribute theme: She has a whale figure and acts as a *psychopompos* rather than a porter, which renders that character more similar to Toict’s and Espiñeira’s Pillán¹²¹⁶.

A similar contribution to Mapuche postmortality comes from Francisco Antonio Cosme Bueno y Alegre (*1711, Belver de Cinca/ Spain; †1798, Lima/ Peru)¹²¹⁷, a physician and royal cosmographer of Peru, who published a chronicle called *Descripción de las provincias de los obispos de Santiago y Concepción*¹²¹⁸ in 1777. In this book we find the following passage:

“There are signs that they believe in the immortality of the soul because they are convinced that after this life they have to go on a journey to the other side of the sea. Thus, they bury their dead with food and put one of their dead horses on top of the tomb, so that they [the dead, S.E.] can make it [the journey, S.E.] with more comfort. And they invoke the pillan and the whale so that they may accompany and help with their voyage.”¹²¹⁹

Interestingly, Cosme blends Toict’s and (to some degree) Espiñeira’s descriptions of Pillan as *psychopompos* with a (depersonalised) whale theme – as found in Febrés – here.

In difference to the other strands of discourse, Febrés does not add much new information to the conceptualisation of Mapuche folk religious beliefs, as he basically provides the two

¹²¹⁴ “Thempùlcahue- dicen por burla à las viejas, y fingen que quando uno muere, viene una de ellas en figura de ballena à llevar el alma à la otra banda del mar, esto es, la Isla de la mocha.”: Ibid., p. 643.

¹²¹⁵ Erize’s “chrempulcalhue”: Erize, Diccionario, p. 135.

¹²¹⁶ We also find descriptions of tomb furnishings in Febrés; but – similar to Sors – without an explicit postmortal interpretation. Thus the author only states (in accordance with Olivares and Sors) that there is the “superstition” [superstición] (Febrés, Arte, p. 667) to spill an enormous quantity of chicha onto the tomb of the deceased: Ibid.

¹²¹⁷ Biographical information on Cosme is taken from: Mcpheeters, D.W.: The Distinguished Peruvian Scholar Cosme Bueno, 1711-1798. - in: *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 35 (1955), 484-491.

¹²¹⁸ *Description of the provinces of the dioceses of Santiago and Concepción*: Cosme Bueno y Alegre, F.A.: *Descripción de las provincias de los obispos de Santiago y Concepción*. - Santiago: Mercurio, 1876.

¹²¹⁹ “Hai señales que creen la inmortalidad del alma, porque están persuadidos de que despues de esta vida, tienen que hacer un viaje al otro lado del mar. I así entierran sus muertos con algunos comestibles, i ponen sobre sus sepulcros uno de sus caballos aviado para que lo hagan con mas comodidad, e invocan al pillan i a la ballena para que los acompañen i ayuden en su viaje.”: Ibid., p. 310.

main themes here. Besides that they believe in dreams¹²²⁰, the Mapuche are also described as interpreters of bird fly: They call the bird “Cleclen”¹²²¹ in their prognostications and interpret the appearance of the bird “Meru”¹²²² as bad omen¹²²³. Despite Febrés’ adding of the Cleclen term here, those general bird fly and dream themes are in complete accordance with his predecessors Luis de Valdivia, Rosales and Olivares.

Turning to the strand mythology, there are also descriptions of a deluge myth in Febrés: “Thegtheg or chegcheg are some hills, on which they say their ancestors escaped the Deluge.”¹²²⁴ In accordance with that is Febrés’ reduced version of the deluge myth of previous authors, found in the following passage (paraphrased here):

Thousands of years ago, when the land of Chile was still young, the rivers flew in broad water ways and the sea rose and rose above the earth, the trees and the hills. Thus, all people drowned except for four men and four women, who survived on a hill called “Theg-theg” and thus became the ancestors of human kind¹²²⁵.

This is in total agreement with the less extensive deluge myth of Córdova. As in that author – as well as in Olivares and Amat –, the combat between the snakes is omitted in Febrés, as the myth seems to be universalistically reduced to some kind of Mapuche stub version of the biblical deluge myth. Nonetheless, similar as in Córdova, the consequence of the myth is the origin of the human species as the human lineage theme is employed.

Moreover, the pre-Spanish evangelist theme returns here, which was missing in the Mapuche Religion discourse since Rosales¹²²⁶. Febrés thus claims that many years after the deluge “... appeared a white man called Thomas, who wore his dress, face and hair similar to those Spaniards ...”¹²²⁷. The placement of that passage inside the account of the deluge myth is very similar to the case of Rosales, while the content reminds one almost literally of Ovalle’s description of the pre-Spanish evangelist Thomas.

¹²²⁰ Febrés, Arte, p. 227.

¹²²¹ Ibid., p. 456.

¹²²² Ibid., p. 552.

¹²²³ Ibid.

¹²²⁴ “Thegtheg, ò chegcheg- unos cerros, en donde dicen se escaparon del Diluvio sus antepasados ...”: Ibid., p. 642.

¹²²⁵ Ibid., pp. 103-105.

¹²²⁶ There is one author in the Mapuche Religion discourse between Rosales and Febrés who commented on the pre-Spanish evangelist theme: The French adventurer Frézier polemically declassified the Spanish argument that Thomas and Bartholomew came to America a long time ago as pitiful (i.e. nonsense): Frézier, Relation, p. 86.

¹²²⁷ “... pareció un hombre blanco, llamado Thomé, que tenia su porte, su cara, y sus cabellos parecidos à estos Españoles ...”: Febrés, Arte, p. 105.

Concluding on Febrés, we claim that his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion is closer to Luis de Valdivia than to any other previous author in the discourse. By introducing several new terms to it (e.g. Ilihua/ Lihua, Gullchemayhue, Thempùlcahue) or by reintroducing several old characters (e.g. Calcu, gen/ Gen), Febrés is a central actor in the Mapuche Religion discourse, whose innovation definitely altered the discourse.

Nonetheless, Febrés also widely adopts various of his predecessors' problems (e.g. the overinclusiveness of characters) and themes of interpretation (e.g. the imposter, secrecy-obscurity, Pillañ/ Pillan/ pillan as devil themes). Although more cautious on those problems, his successor Havestadt is less innovative concerning the Mapudùngun terminology.

9.3 Havestadt's conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the *Chilidúgú*

In difference to Febrés, Havestadt employs a theological deficiency argument initially, stating that the Mapuche lack the knowledge of (the Christian) god and of any superior cause or principle:

“The Indians of Chile do not have an expression that would comprise in itself the whole meaning of the word GOD. They surely have names for some universal causes in one or the other way but not of a universal ... single and only cause ...”¹²²⁸.

Thus, the Mapuche lack a monotheistic (i.e. Christian) understanding of the world and are, furthermore, somewhat pictured as polytheists, as Havestadt continues, altering the first reading of Febrés' Gen/ gen here: “[G]en Huenu, who would govern and preside over the air, the clouds, the rain; gen piru, who would have power over the worms; gen co, who would protect the fountains etc.”¹²²⁹ Thus, extending the first of Febrés' two readings of the Gen/ gen character, the gen are originally pictured as supernatural beings or superior causes in Havestadt.

¹²²⁸ “Indos Chilenses non habere vocem, quae teneat, comprehendatve totum significatum vocis DEUS. Habent quidem nomina aliquarum causarum universalium in uno vel altero genere; sed non causae universalissimae ... & quidem casuae solius & unicae ...”: Havestadt, *Chilidúgú*, II, pp. 650-651.

¹²²⁹ “... gen Huenu, qui moderetur ac gubernet aërem, nubes, pluvias. gen piru, qui in vermes potestatem habeat: gen co, qui fontes conservet, &c.” (Ibid., II, p. 651). In another passage we learn what gen means: “[G]en is the word for Lord; he who looks after things.” [“gen, nom. Dominus, ad quem res spectat.”] (Ibid., II, p. 662) Furthermore, the Mapuche have an “oldish superstition” [anilis superstitio] (ibid., II, p. 748) to believe in “... gen piru, which they understand to have the highest dominion over worms and pests ...” [“... gen piru, qui habent supremum dominium in vermes, pestem ...”]: Ibid.

A second supernatural being is “Pillan”¹²³⁰/ “pillan”¹²³¹ defined as “devil” [diabolus]¹²³². On the nature of that character we learn: “Pillan is the first cause to which they attribute various effects of nature, such as thunders, lightning bolts, lightnings and other things of that kind.”¹²³³ This catalogue – which almost is a literal adoption from Febrés – is then extended: “They also invoke Pillan, to whom they attribute great and strange things, such as lightnings, thunders, earthquakes, floods etc.”¹²³⁴ Thus, Pillan/ pillan is pictured as (1) the first (but not universal) cause as well as the cause of natural phenomena (e.g. earthquakes, floods); and (2) the personification of thunder and lightning, which, in wide accordance with Febrés, shows some relation to the volcano theme, as Pillan/ pillan is cryptically described as lightning up the volcano (i.e. eruptions)¹²³⁵. In further accordance with Febrés is the third supernatural character “Alhue”, translated by the “dead” [mortuus]¹²³⁶ and the “Devil” [Diabolus]¹²³⁷ in *Chilidúgú*. Thus, this character is similarly blended with Pillan/ pillan as in Febrés.

Fourth, there is “Huecubu, the direct cause of all illnesses, in man and also of [other, S.E.] animate beings.”¹²³⁸ Thus, it is said that the “Machi”¹²³⁹ extracts the “huecubu poison” [huecubu veneficium]¹²⁴⁰. The Huecubu is, consequently, not pictured as small material items (as in Febrés) but is generally defined as some kind of poison here. Another passage probably adds to that reduction of Febrés’ description: “Huecubu are also called the monsters and new or unheard things, which cause terror as well as fear among them.”¹²⁴¹ This interpretation mingles Febrés’ description with Rosales’ Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu and, furthermore, with Olivares’ conceptualisation of huecub(u) as cipher for things unknown.

The fifth and last supernatural being in Havestadt is described very innovatively:

“Ivúmche is a man-beast. There is the story among the Indians that their wizards nurture some kind of humans in their caves. Furthermore, that the mouth, the anus and the eyes of those infants are stitch-shut as to enhance the figure and appearance of degeneration.

¹²³⁰ Ibid., II, p. 745.

¹²³¹ Ibid., I, p. 9.

¹²³² Ibid.

¹²³³ “Pillan, causa prima, cui varios effectus naturae E.g. Tonitrua, fulgura, fulmina, aliaque ejusmodi attribuunt.”: Ibid., II, p. 745.

¹²³⁴ “Vocant etiam Pillan, cui attribuunt majora & insolita. E.g. fulmina, tonitrua, Terrae motus, inundationes, &c.”: Ibid., II, p. 651.

¹²³⁵ Ibid., I, p. 202.

¹²³⁶ Ibid., II, p. 604.

¹²³⁷ Ibid.

¹²³⁸ “Huecubu, causa immediata omnium morborum tam hominis, quam animantium.”: Ibid., II, p. 671.

¹²³⁹ Ibid., II, p. 604.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid., II, p. 706.

¹²⁴¹ “Huecubu dicuntur etiam monstra & res novae ac inauditae quae metum atque terrorem incutiunt.”: Ibid., II, p. 671.

Moreover, that those are the Advisors or Consultants whose advice ... is sought by those who come to their cave.”¹²⁴²

This description of Ivúmche contains more elements than that of Febrés and especially the description of the physical appearance of Ivúmche is of great originality. In difference to Oña, Ivúmche is no human corpse but is pictured here as some kind of childlike homunculus or humanoid, although its function is the same as in Oña (i.e. prognostication, oraciling). In comparison to Febrés, Luis de Valdivia’s portrayal of that character seems to be missing here¹²⁴³.

Turning now to religious specialists in Havestadt, the Machi is defined in wide accordance with Febrés: “Machi are the male or female doctors of the Indians (to the greatest part women). Their work is to suck or lick the pain affected part, so that the huecubu poison is extracted ...”¹²⁴⁴. Quite original – but somewhat related to Bascuñan’s endeveled mache(s)/ machis – is Havestadt’s claim that the Machi pretends to be possessed by a “demon” [dæmon]¹²⁴⁵ in healing ceremonies¹²⁴⁶ to gain his/ her powers. Interesting is Havestadt’s statement here that most of the Machi are women, which is in contradiction to the male homosexuality theme that is connected with that character in Bascuñan or Sors. Thus, in Havestadt the Machi becomes completely limited to the benevolent aspects of healing; and although they pretend to be possessed by a demon, the imagery of the Machi sorcerer found in many predecesing texts is omitted in *Chilidúgú*.

Those malevolent aspects are transposed onto the second type of religious specialists in Havestadt: “Calcu is the wizard, imposter and vampire. The name frightens the Indians and creates a maximum of fear [in them, S.E.]”¹²⁴⁷ Thus, that religious specialist becomes further obscured as a vampire-imposter, that the reader may interpret as a fraud, who blood-leeches on the credulity of the Mapuche commoner. The Calcu are probably the wizards [venefici], which are described as masters of Ivúmche in Havestadt. The third and last religious specialist

¹²⁴² “Ivúmche, homo-bestia. Fama est inter Indos; veneficos suos in quadam specu nutrire hominum genus, quibus adhuc lactentibus oculos, os, anumque consuunt, ita ut crescentes in aliam figuram speciemque degenerent; atque hos esse ipsorum Constiliarios ac Consultores, quorum consilium in suis antris ... convenientes exquirant.”: Ibid., II, p. 686 .

¹²⁴³ In Havestadt we also find a short remark on another character that is – similar as in Febrés – not interpreted here in a religiously connotated sense: “Meulen is a whirlwind, swirl ...” [“Meulen, turbo, vorago ...”]: Ibid., II, p. 716.

¹²⁴⁴ “Machi, Indorum medici viri ac mulieres; plerumque tamen mulieres, quarum officium est partem dolore affectam sugere vel lambere; ut ita huecubu veneficium extrahant ...”: Ibid., II, p. 706.

¹²⁴⁵ Ibid., II, p. 642.

¹²⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁷ “Calcu, veneficus, strix, lamia. Horrendum Indis nomen, & maxime formidatum.”: Ibid., II, p. 616.

is the “Ilihua”¹²⁴⁸, defined as “... inventor, speaker, augur, priest ...”¹²⁴⁹. The speaking aspect is very close to Febrés’ Dugul/ dugulve, although in difference to that predecessor it is speculative in Havestadt, which supernatural being it is that the Ilihua communicates with to comply with his function to foretell the future.

Thus, Havestadt distinguishes between the benevolent religious specialists Machi (i.e. the female healer) and Ilihua (i.e. the fortune-teller), on the one side, and the malevolent Calcu (i.e. the deceitful male wizard-vampire), on the other side. Although the three terms are still overinclusive (e.g. Calcu is defined as sorcerer, wizard, imposter and vampire at the same time), we, nonetheless, find a first attempt to distinguish between benevolent and malevolent types of religious specialists in Havestadt.

For his description of the Mapuche afterlife, Havestadt widely adopts from Febrés: “[G]ullchenmaihue are the Elysian Plains – or the place where they think the souls of the deceased go after death – to the west, where the sun sets on the Isla Mocha.”¹²⁵⁰ Deviating from his model by employing the Græco-Roman motif of the Elysian Plains, Havestadt seems to be more in accordance with Ovalle’s and Frézier’s conceptualisations. The ferrywoman theme is also adopted from Febrés but with a slight difference:

“Templcahue is an old woman. Of them it is said that after death one of the templcahue would appear to guide the soul of the deceased to the Isla Mocha, which they call carculafquen ...”¹²⁵¹.

The term carculafquen, that cannot be found in Febrés, certainly relates to Olivares’ carculafquem, implying that Havestadt employed Olivares’ unpublished *Compañía* manuscript. In difference to Febrés, Havestadt also employs the concept “Pllú” in his conceptualisation of the postmortality strand, which is not only terminologically identical with Luis de Valdivia’s second reading of pllú in *Sermón*: “Pllú is the soul, the immortal spirit”¹²⁵². Thus, there seems to be wide accordance with Luis de Valdivia’s and Bascuñan’s Christian reading of that character and the interpretation provided here in the *Chilidúgú*.

¹²⁴⁸ Ibid., II, p. 703.

¹²⁴⁹ “... inventor, auctor, vates, divinus ...”: Ibid.

¹²⁵⁰ “gullchenmaihue, campi Elysii; seu locus quo post obitum mortuorum animas migrare existimant, nempe occidentem versu, ubi sol occumbit in Insula Mocha.”: Ibid., II, p. 668.

¹²⁵¹ “Templcahue, anus, vetula; de quibus fablatur unam ex his templcahue post obitum apparere, ut defuncti animam in insulam Mocha quam carculafquen appellant, abducat ...”: Ibid., II, p. 785.

¹²⁵² “Pllú, anima, mens immortalis”: Ibid., II, p. 752.

In difference to Febrés, there is only one short remark on Mapuche mythology in Havestadt's book: "Tegteg are the mountains, to which their ancestors went as to escape the waters of the deluge."¹²⁵³ Unoriginally, this is almost a literal translation of the respective passage in Febrés' *Arte* into the Latin.

Havestadt's *Chilidúgú* seems to adopt large parts of Febrés' *Arte* and eclectically combines them with other aspects described by previous authors (e.g. the Elysian Plains). But although the book stays far behind Febrés' originality in the point of terminology, it also adds novel aspects to the Mapuche Religion discourse and – what is more important to us – may count as the first fragment of discourse that seriously attempts to sharply distinguish between characters that were overinclusive in Havestadt's predecessors (e.g. religious specialists). Although employing an initial theological deficiency argument, Havestadt draws a rather complex picture of Mapuche Religion in the end. Thus, Mapuche Religion is not merely reduced to diabolism as in his contemporaries Sors and Espiñeira (and to some degree Febrés) but is somewhat depicted as a multi-faceted, polytheistic religion here.

¹²⁵³ "Tegteg, montes in quibus aiunt, majores suos aquas diluvii evasisse." (Ibid., II, p. 784) Similar in another passage: "Mountains to which their Ancestors went as to escape the deluge, tegteg." ["Montes in quibus Majores suos, aiunt, diluvium evasisse, tegteg."]: Ibid., I, p. 365.

10. Reintroducing Mapuche Religion to the world: Juan Ignacio Molina

La mente umana posta nelle medesime circostanze si forma le medesime idee.

(Juan Ignacio Molina, *Saggio civile*)¹²⁵⁴

10.1 The ‘last’ of the Jesuits

Although the Chilean Jesuit Juan Ignacio Molina (*1740, Villa Alegre/ Chile; †1829, Bologna/ Italy)¹²⁵⁵ was trained in the Araucanía to be a missionary, he never worked as one due to the Jesuit expulsion. Molina left Chile via Peru in 1768 for Imola (Italy) and settled in Bologna two years later, where he worked as a professor of natural sciences at the University of Bologna from the year 1803 on. In the same town appeared a book called *Compendio* in 1776¹²⁵⁶. The anonymous writer – as was later speculated – was either Molina himself or his contemporary Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre (*1743; †1818)¹²⁵⁷, another Jesuit exile in Bologna¹²⁵⁸. As the author of the *Compendio* cannot be named with certainty, we will assume as a working hypothesis in our study that it is Molina. Thus, we understand Molina’s later

¹²⁵⁴ Molina, J.I.: *Saggio sulla storia civile del Chili*. - Bologna: Aquino, 1787, p. 85. “When placed in similar circumstances, the human mind forms the same ideas.”

¹²⁵⁵ Biographical information on Molina is taken from: Briones, H.: *El Abate Juan Ignacio Molina*. - Santiago: Bello, 1968, pp. 19-34; Hanisch, Historia, pp. 166-170; Hanisch, W.: *Juan Ignacio Molina y sus obras*. - Talca: University Press, 1999; Jaramillo, R.: *Juan Ignacio Molina. Primer científico nacional*. - in: *Ensayo sobre la historia natural de Chile/ J.I. Molina (auth.)*. - Santiago: Maule. - 1987. - xxv-xli; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 541-544; Ronan, C.E.: *Juan Ignacio Molina. The World’s Window on Chile*. - 2nd ed. - New York: Lang, 2002; Stuardo, J.R.: *Trascendencia del primer ‘Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili’ de J.I. Molina. Su traducción, el ‘Compendio Anónimo’ y el bicentenario*. - in: *Atenea*, 495 (2007), 83-107.

¹²⁵⁶ Full title: *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale, e civile del regno del Chile* [*Compendium of the geographic, natural and civil history of the kingdom of Chile*]: [Molina, J.I.]: *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civili del regno del Chile*. - Bologna: Aquino, 1776.

¹²⁵⁷ Biographical information on Gómez is taken from: Casanueva, F.: *Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre. Un jesuita expulso, chileno y patriota*. - in: *Los jesuitas españoles expulsos. Su imagen y su contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII/ M. Tietz (ed.)*. - Madrid: Iberoamericana. - 2001. - 207-236; Medina, *Diccionario*, pp. 366-367.

¹²⁵⁸ A manuscript attributed to Gómez was finally published in 1889 under the title *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile* [*Geographic, natural and civil history of the kingdom of Chile*] (Gómez de Vidaurre, F.: *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile*. - 2 vols. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1889). It is very similar to the anonymous *Compendio* and also to Molina’s two *Saggios*. Nonetheless, the publishers dated it to be written in 1789 (approximately), that is clearly after the publishing of Molina’s texts. It is a fact that Molina’s two *Saggios* and Gómez’ *Historia* are very similar – at times even identical – to the *Compendio* and, thus, it would certainly require a separate study to dismantle the interrelations between those four books. To make the confusion complete, the first Spanish (Molina, J.I.: *Compendio de la historia geográfica, natural y civil del reyno de Chile*. - 2 vols. - Madrid: Sancha, 1788; 1795) and English (Molina, J.I.: *The geographical, natural, and civil history of Chili*. - 2 vols. - London: Longman, 1809) translations bind both of Molina’s *Saggios* into one book and, furthermore, the titles are also very similar to the *Compendio*. For a detailed discussion on these interrelations see: Ronan, Molina, pp. 164-188; Stuardo, *Trascendencia*.

works on the topic to be extensions of the *Compendio*, such as his *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili*¹²⁵⁹ published in 1782. That work focuses on the geology, flora and fauna of Chile but also makes valuable contributions to the Mapuche Religion discourse¹²⁶⁰. As that book was very successful in Europe, Molina published a sequel in 1787 called *Saggio sulla storia civile del Chili*¹²⁶¹, which – as the title implies – is concerned with the civil history of Chile. The fifth chapter *Sistema di religione, e funerali* [System of religion and funerals]¹²⁶² is the most systematic description of Mapuche religiosity in the Mapuche Religion discourse in the time period considered in this study.

The two *Saggios* had an enormous influence in Europe¹²⁶³. In difference to the works of Ercilla, Ovalle, Markgraf and Baerle (which at their time of publishing were more or less well-known in Europe), as well as to the language textbooks of Febrés and Havestadt (which basically reached no wider public), the *Saggios* address a general audience and their reach of influence goes far beyond the date of their first appearance. Moreover, we can say that Molina's studies drew Europe's wide attention onto Chile for the first time and with that on the Mapuche people and their religion. In fact, to (re)introduce Chile – pictured as the “Garden of South America” [Giardino dell’America Meridionale]¹²⁶⁴ in Molina – to the world, was the exact purpose of the *Saggios*¹²⁶⁵. Similar to Ovalle's *Historica relacion*, which was intended to generally serve as an ‘advertisement’ for Chile (and the missionary project there), the exile Molina aimed for a broader European acknowledgement of his home country (and, thus, the author's national identity) that was yet absent in Europe at that time.

As a consequence, the imagery of the Mapuche is rather positive and complex in Molina, as the author aims at providing a wholesome representation of the Mapuche, that is a

¹²⁵⁹ *Essay on the natural history of Chile*. For our study, we will employ the Italian original and – for the translations – additionally the only to date (and very incomplete) English translation of 1809: Molina, J.I.: *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili*. - Bologna: Aquino, 1782; Molina, History, I.

¹²⁶⁰ Molina, *Saggio naturale*, pp. 357-367.

¹²⁶¹ *Essay on the civil history of Chile*. For our study, we will employ the Italian original and – for the translations – additionally the English translation of 1809: Molina, *Saggio civile*; Molina, History, II.

¹²⁶² Molina, *Saggio civile*, pp. 79-87.

¹²⁶³ Both books were translated into the German, Castilian, French and English – among other languages – soon after the original appearance of the first Italian edition (Ronan, Molina, pp. 28-84). Parts of the *Saggio civile* – including the chapter on religion – were reprinted in the influential *El viagero universal* [*The universal traveller*], a Castilian collection of numerous ethnographic descriptions of the world, published in 43 volumes between 1795 and 1801 ([Estala, P.]: *El viagero universal, ó, noticia del mundo antiguo y nuevo*. - 43 vols. - vol. 20. - Madrid: Villalpando, 1798). In Germany, the part on the Mapuche in that collection was published in 1814 in the popular journal *Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden* [*General geographic almanac*] without naming Molina as the author, under the title *Schilderung der Araukanen eines von Chili unabhängigen Volks* [*Description of the Araucanians, a people independent of Chile*]: [Molina, J.I.]: *Schilderung der Araukanen eines von Chili unabhängigen Volks*. - in: *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden*, 44, (1814), 3-53.

¹²⁶⁴ Molina, *Saggio naturale*, p. 3.

¹²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

complete picture of their physical and mental state of being. Thus, after describing their physiognomy, Molina claims: “The advantageous constitution of their bodies corresponds to the nature of their souls.”¹²⁶⁶ That claim is extended in the following passage:

“They are intrepid, animated, ardent, patient in enduring fatigues of war, ready to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, foremost lovers of liberty – which they consider as an essential constituent of their existence –, cautious of their own honour, courteous, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, grateful for benefits, generous and humane towards the vanquished.”¹²⁶⁷

This positive imagery of the heroic Mapuche barbarian – obviously a plagiarism of the respective passage in Ovalle’s *Historica relacion* (cited above) – is somewhat modified in the following passage: “Those noble qualities stay obscured by the vices inseparable from the semi-savage state of life they live, without culture nor scripture.”¹²⁶⁸ Thus, the Mapuche are not pictured as completely barbarous – that would be in contradiction to the general positive image of Chile that Molina intends to create in the reader – but become half-barbarians (i.e. half-civilised), which already encloses the possibility of their complete conversion to civilisation (i.e. becoming ‘fully civilised’). Although they are on the right way, this does not imply that they are equals with the Christians – solely claimed by Spilbergen. Consequently, a self-explaining list of Mapuche vices (also characteristic of barbarians in general) follows in the next passage: “Those vices are the drunkenness, the debauchery, the presumption and the arrogance, by which they depreciate all other nations.”¹²⁶⁹ This imagery of the Mapuche as half-civilised people is not that far from Olivares’ depiction of the Mapuche as half-brutes.

But, there is still hope, following the Jesuit missionary because: “If the laudable manners and the innocent European knowledge would be introduced among them, they would soon become a people deserving universal esteem.”¹²⁷⁰ Thus, the author shows his belief in

¹²⁶⁶ “Alla vantaggiosa costituzione de’ loro corpi corrisponde l’indole de’ loro animi.”: Molina, Saggio civile, p. 53.

¹²⁶⁷ “Sono intrepidi, animosi, arditi, costanti nelle fatiche della guerra, prodighi della loro vita, quando si tratta del ben della patria, amanti soprammodo della libertà, che stimano come un costitutivo essenziale della loro esistenza, gelosi del proprio onore, accorti, ospitali, fedeli ne’ contratti, riconoscenti de’ benefizj, generosi, e umani verso i vinti.”: Ibid., pp. 53-54.

¹²⁶⁸ “Ma tante belle qualità vengono offuscate da’ vizi inseparabili dallo flato di vita semiselvaggia, che menano tuttora senza coltura, e senza lettere.”: Ibid., p. 54.

¹²⁶⁹ “Questi vizj sono l’ubriachezza, l’infingardaggine, la presunzione, e l’alterigio, con cui disprezzano tutte le altre nazioni.”: Ibid.

¹²⁷⁰ “Se i lodevoli costumi, e le innocenti cognizioni europee s’introducessero mai fra di loro, si formerebbe ben presto un popolo meritevole della stima universale ...”: Ibid.

progress by colonisation, which will come automatically with the certainty of an inexorable clockwork to the half-civilised Mapuche, in form of the conversion to the ‘true faith’. In disaccordance with the pessimistic Olivares, for Molina the semi-civilised Mapuche only need to embrace the (innocent) progresses of Europe’s Christian civilisation to advance from semi-barbarism to full civilisation.

10.2 Molina’s conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion

In 1782, the Spanish captain Pedro de Usauro Martínez de Bernabé (*1733, Cádiz/ Spain; †1789, Valdivia/ Chile)¹²⁷¹ published a book called *La verdad en campaña*¹²⁷², in which he states:

“[I]n those Indians there is no other deity nor religion than their habitual vices (...) They believe in the devil but they do not have an image of him but just the fear of the damage that they perceive he can do to their seeds.”¹²⁷³

In harsh difference to that unempathetic description of his contemporary Usauro as well as various of his predecessors who represented Mapuche Religion rather by deficiency, the Christian missionary Molina accepts that the Mapuche do have their own independent religion. Thus, the author states: “The religious system of the Araucanians is simple and well adapted to their free manner of thinking and living.”¹²⁷⁴ This is very similar to Rosales’ line of argumentation that the Mapuche do not bend for anyone and then become ‘superstitious religious beginners’. But Molina – although picturing Mapuche Religion as simple and unrestrictive here – abstains from centralising an absence or deficiency argument in his depiction of Mapuche Religion.

Instead, he continues with the first systematic conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the discourse. He describes a three-leveled Mapuche pantheon that is said to correspond to the

¹²⁷¹ Biographical information on Usauro is taken from: Anrique, N.: El autor. - in: *La verdad en campaña*/ P. de Usauro Martínez de Bernabé (auth.). - Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana. - 1898. - 41-42.; Medina, Diccionario, pp. 511-512.

¹²⁷² *The truth in the field*: Usauro Martínez de Bernabé, P. de: *La verdad en campaña*. - Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1898.

¹²⁷³ “... en los indios no hai mas deidad ni relijion que sus vicios acostumbrados ... Creen en el demonio, pero no lo adoran ni tienen otro ídolo en él que el temor de los daños que conciben puede hacerles en sus sembrados.”: *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹²⁷⁴ “Il sistema di religione degli Araucani è semplice, accomodato alla loro maniera libera di pensare, e di vivere.”: Molina, *Saggio civile*, p. 79.

political system of the Mapuche (as found similarly in Ovalle): (1) “Pillàn”¹²⁷⁵ is described as the “Toqui”¹²⁷⁶ that holds the command over the invisible world. (2) Subordinated to him are his “Apo-Ulmeni”¹²⁷⁷ and (3) his “Ulmeni”¹²⁷⁸, who administer and manage the things of lesser importance¹²⁷⁹.

(1) Molina continues with describing the first Toqui-level of that supernatural hierarchy: “They recognise a supreme Being, the creator of all things, to which they give the name Pillàn, a word derived from pùlli or pilli (the soul), which signifies spirit par excellence.”¹²⁸⁰ This first interpretation of Pillàn as supreme being and creator is enhanced by a passage in the *Saggio naturale*, where the character is described as “God” [Iddio]¹²⁸¹ and by other passages in the *Saggio civile* that define Pillàn as the “great being” [grand’essere]¹²⁸², the “Creator of all” [Creatore di tutto]¹²⁸³, the “Omnipotent” [Onnipotente]¹²⁸⁴, the “Eternal” [Eterno]¹²⁸⁵ and the “Infinite” [Infinito]¹²⁸⁶. Obviously, these attributive terms seem to be inspired by Molina’s understanding of the Christian god as an absent model here. But, furthermore, they show a relation to Markgraf’s supreme being and especially to Ovalle’s god interpretation of that character. What is striking here is that the devil equation of numerous previous authors in the discourse is not only denied but turned upside down: Pillàn becomes a supernatural being described with the attributes of the Christian god, which is an extension of the Christian god competitor theme of previous authors (e.g. Toict, Bascuñan). On the other hand, Pillàn is related to the soul pùlli/ pilli, hinting to some kind of spirit. This reading is enhanced by Molina picturing the character as “Guenu-pillàn”¹²⁸⁷, that is the “spirit of Heaven” [spirito del Cielo]¹²⁸⁸ and as the “Thunderer” [Tonante]¹²⁸⁹, which, on the other hand, relates to Oña’s and Ovalle’s spirit interpretation and, on the other hand, connects that character to the sky and to thunder (as in Ovalle and Luis de Valdivia prominently).

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁰ “Essi riconoscono un Ente supremo, autore d’ogni cosa, a cui danno il nome di Pillàn: questa voce deriva da pùlli, o pilli (l’anima), e denota lo spirito per eccellenza.”: Ibid.

¹²⁸¹ Molina, *Saggio naturale*, p. 357.

¹²⁸² Molina, *Saggio civile*, p. 79.

¹²⁸³ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁹ Ibid.

(2) On the second Apo-Ulmeni-level are the “... first class of those subaltern Gods ...”¹²⁹⁰:
 (a) “[T]he Epunamun, which is their Mars or perhaps the God of war ...”¹²⁹¹. That character is here not only connected to war as in Ercilla and Oña (for example) but becomes the god of war in a polytheistic pantheon – employing an explicit Greek religion analogy here (i.e. Mars). Thus, Molina relates back to early actors in discourse, while omitting Olivares’ goblin description and Febrés’ reduction of that character onto the mundane sphere. (b) There is “... the Meulen, benevolent Deity and friend of human kind ...”¹²⁹². In the *Saggio naturale*, “meulen” is furthermore defined as “whirlwind” [turbine]¹²⁹³. Thus, Olivares’ interpretation of that character is blended with Luis de Valdivia’s brief translation as whirlwind. (c) The last supernatural being on that level, following Molina, is “Guecubu”¹²⁹⁴, which plays an important role in Mapuche Religion¹²⁹⁵: “The Guecubu [is a, S.E.] malignant being and author of all evils that appears to be not different from Algue.”¹²⁹⁶ This shows some parallels to the personification of that character as cipher for the unknown or novel prominently found in previous authors since Olivares. Nonetheless, Molina does not follow the latter author’s centralisation of that character in his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion as it is Pillàn in his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion. “Alhue”¹²⁹⁷ is furthermore defined in the *Saggio naturale* as “Devil” [Diavolo]¹²⁹⁸. Although still pictured as an euphemism for devil here, Algue/ Alhue is no synonym for Pillàn (as in various of Molina’s predecessors) but is related to Guecubu in the *Saggio civile*. As in other authors before him, the identification of Algue/ Alhue with the devil is all the reader learns about that character. As a clear adoption from Olivares, Molina’s Guecubu becomes “... the sufficient reason for all evils that happen down here.”¹²⁹⁹ If a horse tires down, Guecubu sat on his back; if the earth trembles, Guecubu hit it; moreover, no one dies without Guecubu’s contribution¹³⁰⁰. Indeed, this clearly shows Molina’s acquaintance with the unpublished work of Olivares and his description of huecub(u) there. Following Molina, the relation between Meulen and Guecubu needs to be

¹²⁹⁰ “... prima classe di questi Dei subalterni ...”: Ibid.

¹²⁹¹ “... l’Epunamun, ch’è il loro marte, o sia il Dio della guerra ...”: Ibid.

¹²⁹² “... il Meulen Dio benefico, e amante del genere umano ...”: Ibid.

¹²⁹³ Molina, *Saggio naturale*, p. 359.

¹²⁹⁴ Molina, *Saggio civile*, p. 79.

¹²⁹⁵ Molina adds polemically: “[I]f his [Guecubu, S.E.] power was real, he would be the most active agent that existed in this valley of tears.” [“... se la sua potenza fosse reale, ei sarebbe l’agente più operoso, che esistesse in questa valle di lagrime.”]: Ibid., p. 80.

¹²⁹⁶ “... il Guecubu, ente maligno, e autore di tutti i mali, il quale non pare diverso dall’Algue.”: Ibid., pp. 79-80.

¹²⁹⁷ Molina, *Saggio naturale*, p. 357.

¹²⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁹ “... la ragion sufficiente di tutte le disgrazie, che accadono quaggiù.”: Molina, *Saggio civile*, p. 80.

¹³⁰⁰ Ibid.

understood as a dualistic system of two opposite principles, which is comparable to “Manichaeism” [Manicheismo]¹³⁰¹.

(3) On the last Ulmeni-level of the “celestial Hierarchy” [Gerarchia celeste]¹³⁰² are the “Genii” [Genj]¹³⁰³, “... who preside over the created things, particularly, and who, in accordance with the good Meulen, form a balance to the great predominance of the Guecubu.”¹³⁰⁴ Thus, the genii support the benevolent Meulen in his dualistic combat against the powerful and evil enemy Guecubu. Those genii, moreover, differ in function depending on their sex: (a) The male ones are called “Gen”, that is “lords” [signori]¹³⁰⁵ or, as Molina adds, they could also be identical with the “Gin”¹³⁰⁶ of the “Arabs” [Arabi]¹³⁰⁷. Thus, the Gen of Molina are supernatural beings in the sense of Febrés’ first reading and also in that provided by Havestadt. (b) The female genii, on the other hand, are called “Amei-malghen”¹³⁰⁸/ “Amchi-malghen”¹³⁰⁹, which means “spiritual nymphs” [ninfe spirituali]¹³¹⁰. Those serve men as “Lares”¹³¹¹ or “Spirit familiars” [Spiriti familiari]¹³¹², of which every Mapuche claims to have one at his service¹³¹³. In difference to the Gen, the function of Amei-malghen/ Amchi-malghen is clear in Molina: As in Córdoba and Febrés, they are employed as tutelary deities or familiars here – which may also stand in some distant relation to Rosales’ interpretation of Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu as familiar. Thus, in Molina the Gen and Amei-malghen/ Amchi-malghen characters are blended into one genius or familiar character.

After giving such a complex account of Mapuche supernatural beings, Molina comes to a somewhat contradictive conclusion: That celestial government has no influence on the human sphere, as the Mapuche do not worship them at all¹³¹⁴. Conclusively: “They have neither temples nor idols nor priests nor are they used to offer some sacrifice except in case of severe

¹³⁰¹ Ibid. Following Molina, the Guecubu of the Mapuche is the same being as the “Mavari” (ibid.) of the Orinoco and the “Abariman” (ibid.) of the Persians: Ibid.

¹³⁰² Ibid.

¹³⁰³ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁴ “... i quali presiedono particolarmente alle cose create, e d’accordo col buon Meulen procurano di bilanciare l’enorme prepotenza del Guecubu.”: Ibid.

¹³⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 81.

¹³⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹³¹⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹¹ Ibid.

¹³¹² Ibid.

¹³¹³ Ibid., pp. 80-81. Somehow disconnected from the supernatural pantheon system described here are the “Ivunce” (ibid., p. 82), the “man-animals” [uomini animali] (ibid.), pictured as the disciples of the religious specialists (see below in this chapter).

¹³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 81.

calamity or on making peace ...”¹³¹⁵. Thus, the author clearly follows Olivares’ deficiency argument here that claimed that there are no rituals and a lack of religious specialists in Mapuche Religion. But not at all times, as in times of need and hardship the Mapuche try to appease the “Numeni” [Numi]¹³¹⁶ by sacrificing animals or by offering tobacco smoke to them¹³¹⁷. In a second step, that ritual deficiency in the Mapuche becomes the main reason for the hardships of the missionary project because: “From this irreligiosity comes the indifference, with which they have looked upon the introduction of Christianity among them ...”¹³¹⁸. No matter how sophisticated his representation of Mapuche Religion, the admiration of the Jesuit missionary Molina for the Mapuche culture seems to come to an end here. Like Olivares and others before him, Mapuche Religion is thus depreciated as irreligiosity and primary obstacle to the spreading of the ‘true faith’.

Although it was said that religious specialists were generally absent in Mapuche Religion, Molina distinguishes three types of religious specialists, nonetheless: The first type is the “Maci”¹³¹⁹/ “Machi”¹³²⁰, described in the plural as “superstitious Physicians” [Medici superstiziosi]¹³²¹, which, according to the author, can be found among all the “savage People” [Popoli selvaggi]¹³²². In a passage that clearly relates to Ovalle, we learn: “The plants and most of all herbs form the basis of the pharmacy of those Chileans, particularly of those, who still live in paganism. Their physicians are called Machi ... and are herbal experts ...”¹³²³. As the Mac(h)i maintain that all serious evils are caused by “sorcery” [fattucchieri]¹³²⁴, they can thus pretend to be able to cure by “supernatural means” [mezzi soprannaturali]¹³²⁵. Thus, the Mac(h)i – in a mixture of Ovalle and Havestadt – are here described as herbolarists and healers pretending to possess supernatural powers. Despite the hint at the deceitful nature of those religious specialists, further malevolent elements and the devil priest theme are, nonetheless, omitted here.

¹³¹⁵ “Non hanno templi, nè idoli, nè sacerdoti, nè usano oferire alcun sacrificio, fuorchè nel caso di qualche grave malattia, o quando fanno la pace ...”: Ibid.

¹³¹⁶ Ibid.

¹³¹⁷ Ibid.

¹³¹⁸ “Da questa irreligiosità proviene l’indifferenza, con cui riguardano l’introduzione del Cristianesimo ...”: Ibid.

¹³¹⁹ Ibid., p. 97.

¹³²⁰ Molina, *Saggio naturale*, p. 147.

¹³²¹ Molina, *Saggio civile*, p. 97.

¹³²² Ibid. Thus, the Mac(h)i are comparable to the “Shamans of Kamskadali” [Shamani de’ Kamskadali] (ibid.), to the “Mokkisi of Africa” [Mokkisi dell’Africa] (ibid.) and the “Piaci of the Orinoco” [Piaci degli Orinocchesi]: Ibid., p. 98.

¹³²³ “I vegetabili, soprattutto gli erbacei, formano il capitale della farmacia di quei Chilesi, che vivono ancora nel paganesimo: i loro medici chiamati Machi ... sono periti erbolaj ...”: Molina, *Saggio naturale*, p. 147.

¹³²⁴ Molina, *Saggio civile*, p. 97.

¹³²⁵ Ibid.

A second type of religious specialists are the “Calcus”¹³²⁶, introduced as “pretending Sorcerers” [pretesi Stregoni]¹³²⁷. Those ‘imposters’ live in caves during the day with their disciples, the Ivunce and at night convert into nocturnal birds, shooting invisible arrows at their enemies; that is why the Mapuche commoner lives in great fear of them¹³²⁸. This seems to be a mixture of Febrés’, Havestadt’s and Olivares’ obscure arrow-shooting sorcerer, as well as Oña’s and Havestadt’s *ibunché/ Ivùmche* imagery.

Thirdly, there is the “Gligua”¹³²⁹, which is also called “Dugul”¹³³⁰:

“In all affairs of consequence they consult their fortune-tellers or imposters that pretend to have knowledge of the future, who are sometimes called Gligua, and sometimes Dugul (the speakers).”¹³³¹

As in Febrés, the Gligua is thus synonymised with the Dugul. Similar as with Havestadt’s *Ilihua*, it is not clear in Molina with which supernatural being that character communicates. Similar as in the case of the *Mac(h)i*, it would certainly have been counter-productive to Molina’s general intent of the book to follow Febrés and introduce a devil theme here. Furthermore, Molina continues, some of the Gligua/ Dugul call themselves “Genguenu”¹³³², “Genpuñu”¹³³³, “Genpiru”¹³³⁴, which means “... lords of the Heaven, the epidemy and of the worms ...”¹³³⁵. They are called like this because – like the “Lamas”¹³³⁶ of Tibet – they can make it rain, cure diseases and prevent that worms spoil the seeds¹³³⁷. This reading blends Luis de Valdivia’s and Febrés’ religious specialist reading of *Gen/ gen* with Febrés’ *Ilihua/ Dugul/ dugulve* character. Consequently, in the strand religious specialists, Molina follows Havestadt’s systematic scheme of two benevolent (i.e. the *Mac(h)i*, the Gligua/ Dugul) versus one malevolent (i.e. the *Calcus*) type of religious specialists.

¹³²⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

¹³²⁷ Ibid.

¹³²⁸ Ibid.

¹³²⁹ Ibid.

¹³³⁰ Ibid.

¹³³¹ “Consultano in tutti gli affari di conseguenza gl’Indovine, o sieno i Ciarlatani dell’avvenire, che s’appellano ora Gligua, ora Dugul (i parlanti) ...”: Ibid.

¹³³² Ibid.

¹³³³ Ibid.

¹³³⁴ Ibid.

¹³³⁵ “... padroni del Cielo, dell’epidemie, e de’ vermi ...”: Ibid.

¹³³⁶ Ibid.

¹³³⁷ Ibid.

The postmortality strand of discourse in Molina is equally complex. First of all, we read: “They all ... agree on the immortality of the soul.”¹³³⁸ Moreover, Molina claims that the Mapuche believe that man consists of two distinct substances, the body and the “soul” [anima]¹³³⁹, which is called pùlli/ pilli (as cited above). Thus, Molina joins the camp of authors ranging from Luis de Valdivia to Havestadt, who assumed that there is the Christian concept of the soul in the Mapuche. But on the destination of the souls after death the Mapuche have no uniform opinion, following the author, although they

“... concur in saying with the other Americans that after death they go westwards to the other shore of the sea, to a certain place called Gulcemàn, that is the beyond of the men behind the mountains.”¹³⁴⁰

This description seems to be an eclectic combination of the conceptualisations of Mapuche postmortality of Ovalle with the unpublished manuscripts of Olivares and Bascuñan. Especially the expression “beyond of the men behind the mountain” shows relations to Bascuñan’s high and snowy cordillera. Molina continues that there are two different descriptions of Gulcemán: (a) Some believe that it is divided into two parts, “... one filled with delights for the good and the other deprived of anything for the wicked.”¹³⁴¹ Others hold that (b) all dead enjoy eternal pleasures no matter what type of life they have lived on earth¹³⁴². By presenting those two alternatives concerning the judgement of the dead, Molina shows once more his extraordinary talent for accomplishing an eclectic compromise between otherwise contradictive positions.

On tomb furnishings the readers learn that the Mapuche put arms for the men and women’s implements for the women – together with great quantities of provision, jars full of chicha or wine – into the tomb, which “... should serve them during their passage to eternity.”¹³⁴³ The postmortal *agens*, following Molina, does thus not employ the tomb furnishings in the postmortal world then (as found in Vivar, Rosales and Olivares) but needs them for the journey to the afterlife here (as found in Ovalle, Córdova and Cosme).

Then follows Molina’s version of the ferrywoman theme:

¹³³⁸ “Tutti ... sono d’accordo circa l’immortalità dell’anima.”: Ibid., p. 83.

¹³³⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

¹³⁴⁰ “... convengono nel dire con gli altri Americani, che dopo morte vanno dall’altra banda del mare verso l’Occidente, in un certo luogo appellato Gulcemàn, cioè la dimora degli uomini tramontanti.”: Ibid., p. 83

¹³⁴¹ “... una piena di delizie per li buoni, e l’altra priva d’ogni cosa pe’ cattivi.”: Ibid.

¹³⁴² Ibid., pp. 83-84.

¹³⁴³ “... debbono servirli pel suo passaggio all’eternità.”: Ibid., p. 85.

“Immediately after the relatives have left the dead, an old woman called Tempulcague comes in form of a whale, to transport him to the Elysian fields. But before his arrival, he must pay the toll to another worse old woman, which is at a certain isthmus. She takes out an eye of the passengers if she is not wholly satisfied.”¹³⁴⁴

Thus, Molina artfully blends the Tempulcague and the tribute themes of Olivares, Febrés and Havestadt into one. He continues with another adoption from Olivares, saying that the “souls” [anime]¹³⁴⁵ execute the same functions in the “other life” [altra vita]¹³⁴⁶ as in this life, although they do not tire. Additionally, they have the same wives as in life but without parental reproduction¹³⁴⁷. Furthermore – similar to Ovalle’s materialism reproach concerning the Mapuche conceptualisation of the soul –, Molina argues that “... the souls, notwithstanding their new state of life, never lose their primitive affects ...”¹³⁴⁸. Because of that the Mapuche souls fight battles in the sky against the souls of their enemies, which are the cause of thunder and lightning. Thus, when there is a thunderstorm, the living interpret the outcome of the sky battle by the direction the storm takes and encourage their troops in the sky to fight harder and win over the enemy¹³⁴⁹. All in all, this description adds nothing new to the thunderstorm battle theme as proposed by Rosales and Olivares.

Concerning folk religious beliefs, Molina claims that although the Mapuche show little regard for “their Divinity” [loro Divinità]¹³⁵⁰, they are “superstitious” [superstiziosi]¹³⁵¹ in other aspects of lesser importance¹³⁵². Thus he claims: “Their idle observations are particularly directed to dreams and the singing and flight of birds that are esteemed by the whole nation as the truest interpreters of the Gods.”¹³⁵³ Furthermore: “Their credulity is particularly manifested in the serious accounts that they give on apparitions of ghosts and hobgoblins, about which they spread innumerable tales.”¹³⁵⁴ Thus, the author adds the aspect

¹³⁴⁴ “Subito che il defunto è abbandonato da’ parenti, una vecchia detta Tempulcague viene ... in forma di balena a trasportarlo a’ Campi elisj, ma prima di arrivarvi deve pagare il pedaggio ad un’altra pessima vecchia, che stà in certo passo stretto, la quale cava un occhio a’ passeggeri, qualora non venga puntualmente soddisfatta.”: Ibid.

¹³⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 85-86.

¹³⁴⁸ “... le anime, malgrado il loro nuovo stato di vita, non si spogliano delle primitive affezioni ...”: Ibid., p. 86.

¹³⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 82.

¹³⁵¹ Ibid.

¹³⁵² Ibid., pp. 81-82.

¹³⁵³ “Le loro vane osservazioni si raggirano specialmente su i sogni, e sul canto, e volo degli uccelli, stimati da quasi tutte le nazioni gl’interpreti più veraci degli Dei.”: Ibid., p. 82.

¹³⁵⁴ “La loro credulità si manifesta particolarmente ne’ serj racconti, che fanno delle apparizioni de’ fantasmi, e degli spiriti folletti, insorno a’ quali spacciano infinito favole.”: Ibid., pp. 82-83.

of the belief in ghosts and hobgoblins to the two main themes as introduced by Luis de Valdivia. The fox omen theme is missing here, nonetheless.

For the last strand of discourse, Mapuche mythology, Molina claims:

“Their ideas about the origin of the creation of things are so crude and bizarre that to relate them could serve for little else than to demonstrate how high the insufficiency of the human mind is, when left to itself.”¹³⁵⁵

Thus, there is Molina’s depiction of the Mapuche’s ‘bizarre’ (i.e aberrant from the Christian model) myth of the deluge (paraphrased here):

They remember a great deluge from which only few people could save themselves onto a three-pointed high mountain called “Thegtheg”, that is the “thundering one” [romoreggiante] or the “lightning one” [scintillante], which could float on the water. Thus, everytime the earth trembles, the people run up pyramide shaped mountains that thus are believed to have the ability to float as it is feared that after the quake the sea might rise again and flood the earth. They, furthermore, pick up much supplies, including wooden plates, which mean to protect their heads from the heat that is caused by Thegtheg rising up to the burning sun¹³⁵⁶.

As with the thunderstorm battle theme, this is a reduced version of Rosales’ and, moreover, Olivares’ deluge myth, combined with Febrés’ terminology. As in Córdova, Olivares and Amat, Rosales’ combat of the snakes interpretation is omitted here, while the author focuses on the consequences of that myth for the present Mapuche (i.e. earthquake). At the beginning of Molina’s conceptualisation of that strand of discourse it is just briefly alluded to the human lineage theme.

The ‘illogical beliefs’ described in the strands mythology and folk religious beliefs or, as the author calls it, their “childish debility” [puerile debolezza]¹³⁵⁷, are quite incompatible with the picture of the Mapuche’s braveness¹³⁵⁸. But there is still hope for some of them (again): “Nevertheless, they have some born philosophers among them, who are good enough to

¹³⁵⁵ “Le loro teorie sull’origine delle cose create sono cotanto inette, e bizzarre, che dal riserirle non se no potrebbe ricavare altro frutto, che quello di palesare vieppiù la isufficienza della mente umana, quando è abbandonata a se stessa.”: Ibid., pp. 86-87.

¹³⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 87.

¹³⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 82.

¹³⁵⁸ Ibid.

despise such a frivolity and laugh at the folly of their countrymen.”¹³⁵⁹ This latter point leads us full circle to Ercilla’s praise of the brave Mapuche warriors as enemies of superstition, although in Molina it is not the warriors, who are the enemies of superstition but the ‘noble savage philosophers’.

Concluding this chapter – and with it our analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse –, we can say that Molina’s *Saggios* brought back a European interest to Chile, which was somewhat lost after the waves of *La Araucana* flattened more than two centuries earlier. Although Ovalle’s *Compañía* and the works of the Dutch-Germans certainly drew some attention at their particular time, Molina convinces by being the first author to give a complex systematic overview of Chile to European readers, of its landscape and history – and with it, of its original inhabitants. This urge to systematisation becomes especially visible in Molina’s depiction of Mapuche Religion: Various contradictions and the terminological overinclusiveness of his predecessors – that kept the reader from even approaching an understanding of Mapuche Religion – are resolved by Molina into a sophisticated eclectic system. The author thus adopts from Olivares’ and Havestadt’s first attempts to systematise the discursive knowledge of Mapuche Religion and, furthermore, accumulates almost all of the previously discussed conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion discourse into one system. One consequence of this eclectic approach is that descriptions of authors that are contradictive to each other are often smothered down to fit the author’s (and the general reader’s) logic and conclusivity.

Additionally, Molina extends Olivares’ initial comparison elements to some kind of encyclopaedic comparative approach¹³⁶⁰, which associatively relates Mapuche Religion to different religions from all over the world. By doing this, Molina expands the scope of analogous models in the Mapuche Religion discourse from idolatry and Christianity onto Zoroastrianism, Islam, Tibetan Lamaism and other indigenous American religions. A side-effect of such a comparison is the overlooking of differences between the religion of the Mapuche and that of other Christian or non-Christian people. Part of this normalisation strategy in Molina’s conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion is the omission of the devil and other related themes (only *Algue/ Alhue* is briefly defined as the devil here), which certainly would have contradicted the author’s goal to create a ‘noble savage’ imagery of the original

¹³⁵⁹ “Ciò non ostante vi sono fra di loro certuni nati filosofi, i quali disprezzano siffatte frivolezze, e si burlano della balordaggine de’ loro compatriotti.”: *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹³⁶⁰ For a discussion of the encyclopaedic type of comparison see: Smith, J.Z.: *In Comparison a Magic Dwells*. - in: *Imagining Religion. From Babylon to Jonestown/ J.Z. Smith (ed.)*. - Chicago: University Press. - 1982. - 19-35, p. 23.

inhabitants of Chile. Thus, Pillàn is not depicted as the devil but becomes a supreme being equipped with the attributes of the Christian god. Or the Mac(h)i character: Instead of being pictured as a diabolic wizard, it becomes a benevolent physician-herbolarists. To approach a positive picture of his home country, Molina is eager to show that the Mapuche are ‘ordinary’ (i.e. controllable in their otherness), half-civilised people inexorably on the move to become ‘fully civilised’. Thus, the Mapuche almost turn into ‘ordinary Europeans’ in Molina’s *Saggios*, that is a people – as the author assures his readers again and again – not more or less superstitious than other people around the world.

Their only ‘intolerable mistake’ is the ‘stubborn’ resistance to conversion. Conclusively, Molina is in complete accord with most of his predecessors in one point: Although he describes Mapuche Religion as a (still ‘simple’) polytheistic religion independent from Christianity, the setbacks in the mission process lead him to depreciate Mapuche Religion as superstition at the end of his description on Mapuche Religion. As a consequence, Molina contradictively points out that there is a lack of religious cult in the Mapuche and thus comes back full circle to Ovalle’s ritual deficiency argument, which had been introduced to the discourse almost one and a half centuries earlier.

11. The discourse beyond Molina

Voilà tout ce qu'on observe chez les Araucaniens en fait de religion.

(Jules Sebastián César Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage*)¹³⁶¹

The Mapuche Religion discourse does not end with Molina's *Saggio civile*. Instead, compared to our period of study, the post-Molina discourse even gains much in complexity and variety. Moreover, it can be said that Molina's texts helped to initialise a 'boom' of (colonial) narratives on Mapuche culture, which extends far beyond the formal end of colonialism in Chile with the Chilean independence from Spain (1818 approximately).

Thus, besides further filling in the gaps of our discourse analysis – which necessarily evolved considering the necessity of a pragmatical text selection – future research may continue our work by providing an analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse that follows after Molina to, at least, the time of pacification. To help initialising such a study project, we briefly hint at the following tendencies in the post-Molina discourse to the pacification (from 1787 to 1883): (1) Texts of soldiers or other state officials¹³⁶², which played a crucial role in our study period, lose their influence in the post-Molina Mapuche Religion discourse. (2) As the Jesuits were expelled from Chilean territory, there is a decrease of Jesuit contributions to the discourse and a further increase of texts written by Franciscans¹³⁶³. (3) The most obvious

¹³⁶¹ Dumont D'Urville, J.S.C.: Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée. Exécuté par ordre du roi pendant les années 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, sous le commandement de M.J. Dumont D'Urville, capitaine de vaisseau, histoire du voyage. - 23 vols. - Paris: Gide, 1837-1840, III, p. 21. "So, all this can be found as religion in the Araucanians."

¹³⁶² For example: Carvallo y Goyeneche, V.: Descripción histórico-geográfica del reino de Chile. - 3 vols. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1875-1876; Cruz, L. de la: Viage a su costa, del alcalde provincial del muy ilustre cabildo de la Concepción de Chile. Desde el fuerte de Ballenar, frontera de dicha Concepción, por tierras desconocidas, y habitadas de indios bárbaros, hasta la ciudad de Buenos Aires; auxiliado por parte de s. m. un agrimensor, del práctico don Justo Molina, de dos asociados, tenientes de milicias, don Ángel y don Joaquín Prieto, de dos dragones, un intérprete, y siete peones para el servicio y conducción de víveres, en 27 cargas. - Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Estado, 1835; Pérez García, J.A.: Historia natural, militar, civil y sagrada del reino de Chile en su descubrimiento, conquista, gobierno, población, predicación evangélica, erección de catedrales y pacificación. - 2 vols. - Santiago: Ferrocarril, 1900.

¹³⁶³ For example: Anonymous: Relación diaria de lo acaecido en la sublevación de los indios llanos y de la costa de Chile en diciembre de 1766. - manuscript. - in: Fondo Antiguo del Archivo Nacional de Chile. - vol. 32. - no. 4. - 29-44; Ascasubi, M. de: Informe cronológico de las misiones del reino de Chile hasta 1789. - Santiago: Archivo Franciscano, 1997; Brancadori, Q.M.: Documentos relativos a la Araucanía 1837-1852. - Santiago: Archivo Franciscano, 2006; Errante, V.: Aventuras de un religioso exclaustrado por la impía revolución demagógica del 35 en España arregladas por el mismo en forma de cartas familiares. Comprenden un periodo de 32 años, de 1834 hasta 1866, que en resumen no son sino una memoria de sus principales acontecimientos, o más bien dicho, la historia de su vida durante el citado período. - in: Memorias/ S. Ciré (ed.) - Santiago: Archivo

tendency is an increase of travel writing in that time period; thus, there are accounts of German¹³⁶⁴, British/ U.S.-American¹³⁶⁵ and French¹³⁶⁶ travellers especially, who – often extensively – describe the Mapuche and their religion.

This discourse period may be concluded with Medina's book *Los aborígenes de Chile* published in 1882¹³⁶⁷. In this work, the historian gathers the available information on the Mapuche from various colonial texts, ranging from the beginning of the conquista to 1882. By doing so, Medina follows a trend that sets in with the first proto-historical studies of colonialism in Chile in the second half of the 19th century¹³⁶⁸. Those studies were then employed by the influential Latcham¹³⁶⁹ and Guevara¹³⁷⁰, who – as the first authors that extensively studied Mapuche Religion from an (proto-)anthropological perspective – laid the

Franciscano. - 2002. - vol. 1. - 51-124 - vol. 2. - 5-144; Palavisino, V.: Memoria sobre la Araucanía por un misionero del colegio de Chillán. - Santiago: Opinión, 1860.

¹³⁶⁴ For example: Bibra, E. von: Reise in Südamerika. - 2 vols. - Mannheim: Bassermann and Bathy, 1854; Poeppig, E.F.: Reise in Chile, Peru und auf dem Amazonenstrom während der Jahre 1827-1832. - 2 vols. - Leipzig: Hinrichssche Buchhandlung, 1835-1836; Treutler, P.: Fünfzehn Jahre in Süd-Amerika an den Ufern des Stillen Oceans. Gesehenes und Erlebtes. - 3 vols. - Leipzig: Weltpost, 1882.

¹³⁶⁵ For example: Boyd, R.N.: Chili. Sketches of Chili and the Chileans during the War 1879-1880. - London: Allen, 1881; Gardiner, A.F.: A Visit to the Indians on the Frontier of Chile. - London: [...], 1841; Miers, J.: Travels in Chile and La Plata. Including Accounts Respecting the Geography, Geology, Statistics, Government, Finances, Agriculture, Manners and Customs, and the Mining Operations in Chile, Collected during a Residence of Several Years in these Countries. - 2 vols. - London: Baldwin, 1826; [Prince, G.]: Rambles in Chili and Life among the Araucanian Indians in 1836. - Thomaston: Starrett, 1851; Smith, E.R.: The Araucanians. Or Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chili. - New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853; Stevenson, W.B.: A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years Residence in South America. - 3 vols. - London: Hurst, 1825.

¹³⁶⁶ For example: D'Orbigny, A.C.V.M.D.: Voyage dans l'Amérique meridionale. - 10 vols. - Paris: Bertrand, 1836-47; Dumont, Voyage; Maynard, F.: Voyages et aventures au Chili. - Paris: Jaccottet, Boudilliat et Cie, 1858.

¹³⁶⁷ Medina, J.T.: Los aborígenes de Chile. - Santiago: Gutenberg, 1882.

¹³⁶⁸ For example: Barros, Historia; Gay, C.: Historia física y política de Chile segun documentos adquiridos en esta republica durante doce años de residencia en ella y publicado bajo los auspicios del supremo gobierno. - 8 vols. - Santiago: Museo de Historia Natural, 1844-1848; Lara, Crónica; Lenz, R.: Estudios araucanos. Materiales para el estudio de la lengua, la literatura y los costumbres de los indios mapuche o araucanos. - Santiago: Cervantes, 1895-1897.

¹³⁶⁹ Latcham, R.E.: Ethnology of the Araucans. - in: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 39 (1909), 334-370; Latcham, R.E.: Antropología chilena. - in: Ciencias naturales, antropológicas y etnológicas/ C.E. Porter (ed.). - Santiago: Barcelona. - vol. 2. - 1911. - 24-84; Latcham, R.E.: Creencias religiosas de los araucanos. - in: Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, 46 (1923), 5-52; Latcham, R.E.: La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos. - Santiago: Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile, 1924; Latcham, R.E.: La prehistoria chilena. - Santiago: Universo, 1928.

¹³⁷⁰ Guevara, T.: Historia de la civilización de Araucanía. - 3 vols. - Santiago: Cervantes, 1898-1902; Guevara, T.: Psicología del pueblo araucano. - Santiago: Cervantes, 1908; Guevara, T.: Folklore araucano. Refranos, cuentos, cantos, procedimientos, industriales, costumbres prehispánicas. - Santiago: Cervantes, 1911; Guevara, T.: Las últimas familias i costumbres araucanas. - Santiago: Barcelona, 1913; Guevara, T.: Historia de Chile. Chile Prehispánico. - 2 vols. - Santiago: Cervantes, 1925.

foundation for the work of the first generation of academically educated anthropologists in Chile¹³⁷¹.

The analysis of almost two and a half centuries of Mapuche Religion discourse presented in our study, can certainly stand alone and be employed by contemporary researchers of religious studies and of other disciplines (e.g. anthropology, history, linguistics) in itself. Nonetheless, a discourse analysis that would fill in the time gap from Molina to the pacification – or even to the present day – could certainly augment our knowledge of Chilean (post-)colonialism. It would undoubtedly be of great scientific gain to compare, then, the discursive elements of our discourse and the general results of our analysis with those of the post-Molina and the post-Medina periods of the Mapuche Religion discourse. Thus, we would finally be equipped with a continuous analysis of the interreligious relations between Europeans and Mapuche that would shed further light on recent developments in the interreligious relations of contemporary Chile.

¹³⁷¹ For example: Faron, Structure; Hilger, M.I.: Araucanian Child Life and Its Cultural Background. - Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1957; Koessler-Ilg, B.: Cuentan los araucanos. - Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1954; Titiev, Araucanian.

D Conclusion

Como no sabían de letras
llenaron de cruces la mesa,
el papel, los bancos, los muros.

(Pablo Neruda, *Canto general*)¹³⁷²

By presenting an analysis of the descriptions of Mapuche Religion in the colonial context, we introduced Mapuche religiosity as a research topic to the field of religious studies. We set two foci in our study: First, we aimed at providing a detailed analysis of the colonial Mapuche Religion discourse, which may serve as a basis for further research in the field. Second, by applying methods of postcolonial studies and discourse analysis, we analysed discursive elements in the Mapuche Religion discourse that permit general conclusions on the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion and, furthermore, on Chilean colonialism. In this concluding part of our study we will thus provide (1) a summary of the analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse, (2) discuss the general results of the study and (3) argue for taking a step towards a global postcolonial religious studies.

(1) Analysing the five strands of discourse Mapuche (a) supernatural beings, (b) religious specialists, (c) postmortality, (d) folk religious beliefs and, finally, (e) mythology, we found the strand supernatural beings to be the most complex and heterogeneous of all five strands, involving nine specific characters (i.e. pilláñ, huecuvü, meulen, epunamun, alhue, ivùmche, anchimalguen, mareupantü, nguen)¹³⁷³.

(a) Ercilla, as the first author considered relevant for the conceptualisation of that strand, centralises epunamun in his conceptualisation of Mapuche supernatural beings. That character is furthermore described as ‘obscure idol’ and incarnation of the deceitful devil, which the religious specialists employ as oracle in war matters. Those elements basically stay unaltered in the succeeding Oña, who, nonetheless, initiates a transferring process of interpretative schemes from the epunamun onto the pilláñ character by (cryptically) synonymising those two supernatural beings. Accordingly, the central position that epunamun had in Ercilla is definitely transposed upon pilláñ from the succeeding actor Arias on and epunamun thus plays no role in the Mapuche Religion discourse for one and a half centuries. Ivùmche, a

¹³⁷² Neruda, *Canto general*, p. 357. “Because they knew nothing of letters they cluttered the table, the paper, the benches, the walls with crosses.”: Neruda, *Canto English*, p. 54.

¹³⁷³ We use Erize’s orthography of Mapudungun terms in the following discussion.

character introduced by Oña, is described as an obscure human corpse, employed by the Mapuche religious specialists – here in competition to Oña’s epunamun and pillán – as some kind of oraciling vessel.

The Ivùmche character then reappears in Luis de Valdivia’s cryptical description as enchanter, which seems to show some similarities to Oña’s conceptualisation. Closely related to the god of earth and sea huecuvü, it is pillán which is central to Luis de Valdivia’s conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion, nonetheless. Thus, the author adds the elements of god of heaven, healing force and force of nature (i.e. volcano and thunder) to Oña’s and Arias’ interpretation of that character as diabolic war prognosticator. Despite of those clear hints at a polytheistic Mapuche pantheon in Luis de Valdivia, all supernatural beings are defined as mere incorporations of the devil in his books, such as the novel characters of lesser importance alhue (i.e. the devil, which is somewhat connected to the dead) and mareupuantü (i.e. the devil and son of the sun). The succeeding Ovalle then continues Luis de Valdivia’s animistic polytheism argumentation but omits a diabolism interpretation: By introducing a Mapuche administrative system analogy, the author defines pillán – the central character of his depiction as well – as ‘their God’, superior being and commander over the (rather unspecific) huecuvü (in plural).

Markgraf presents pillán as the most important character in Mapuche Religion as well, defining it as supreme or divine essence. Like Ovalle, he widely omits an explicit diabolism interpretation of pillán and, furthermore, adds the new interpretation of pillán as airy spirit – which connects this character once more to the air (as in Luis de Valdivia and Ovalle). Nonetheless, Markgraf enhances Arias’ reading of pillán as idol god that is worshipped by human sacrifice (involving cannibalism). He also adopts other traits, such as Luis de Valdivia’s force of nature (i.e. thunder and lightning), as well as Oña’s and Arias’ war prognosticator interpretation. Rather in accordance with Luis de Valdivia, Markgraf defines the character alhue, first, as devil and, second, as the dead. Mareupuantü – pictured here as numen, spirit and fertility being – basically deviates from Luis de Valdivia’s son of the sun conceptualisation.

Relying heavily on the diabolism scheme and on the devil deceit theme throughout his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion, Rosales’ description of supernatural beings relates, foremostly, to Luis de Valdivia. Thus, he defines the central character pillán as incorporation of the devil, which is imagined by the Mapuche as force of nature (i.e. volcano and thunder) and, here adopting from Ovalle, speaks of pillán as ‘their god’. But the author also adds two

new interpretations, which both relate somewhat to Markgraf's airy spirit description: The Pillán character (in plural) is, first, pictured as ancestors and, second, as souls of the soldiers in the thunderstorm battle theme, which is newly introduced here. Similar to Ovalle, the second and last supernatural being in Rosales is huecuvü, influentially defined, first, as something extracted from the body and, second, as a familiar that provides secret knowledge to its owner (i.e. prognostications).

After one hundred and forty years of absence from discourse, the epunamun character reappears in Olivares, where it is – singular in the discourse – described as a goblin. The second supernatural being in Olivares is the pluralised pillán, pictured as souls of the soldiers in the thunderstorm battle and as genii – which somewhat blends Rosales' pillán and huecuvü interpretations into one. Besides Ercilla, Olivares is the only author in the Mapuche Religion discourse who does not define pillán as the central figure of that strand of discourse. Thus, it is the huecuvü character that becomes central in Olivares' conceptualisation, described – in extension of Rosales – as cipher for unknown things and evils. Olivares also introduces a new supernatural character to the Mapuche Religion discourse: First, meulen is described as superior benevolent being or healing force; second, there is anchimalguen, conceptualised as the woman of the sun but in reality is the virgin Mary.

With his linguistic approach, Febrés relates back to Luis de Valdivia's description of pillán, first, as force of nature (e.g. thunder, lightning, volcano eruption), second, as the personification of those phenomena and, third, as the incarnation of the devil. Taking up another (minor) line from Luis de Valdivia, the novel nguen character (in plural) is defined as supernatural lords over natural dominions. Further relating to Luis de Valdivia, alhue is defined as death (not the dead) and, moreover, the devil. Furthermore, Rosales' and Olivares' cause of sickness as well as Luis de Valdivia's superior being interpretation of huecuvü are combined in Febrés. The anchimalguen character is not pictured as the woman of the sun (like Olivares) but is described as familiars (in plural) or idol (in singular), which is more similar to the interpretation of Córdova. Finally, combining Luis de Valdivia with Oña here, ivùmche is reintroduced as enchanter and oracle of the wizards.

In Molina we basically find a cumulative combination of Ovalle's, Olivares' and Febrés' conceptualisations of the Mapuche beings. Employing an administrative system analogy similar to Ovalle, pillán becomes the superordinated spirit of heaven, the supreme being, the creator, God (as in Olivares) and the thunderer (as in Febrés). In accordance with Olivares and Febrés, the multi-layered huecuvü character becomes the subordinated cause of evil in Molina

and – this is a new element – is depicted as the dualistic adversary of the benevolent meulen. Also new in the discourse is Molina’s equation of alhue – conformly described as the devil – with huecuvü. Moreover, the anchimalguen character is described as female genii or spirit familiars (in plural), which is in wide accordance to Febrés’ understanding. The male genii (in plural), on the other hand, are singularly equated with nguen in Molina. Coming back full circle to the conceptualisations of Ercilla and Oña, epunamun is defined as god of war by that author.

(b) In contrast to Mapuche supernatural beings, the religious specialists strand of discourse shows less variety in the studied time period. The seven specific characters described in that strand (i.e. machi, calcu, boqui(-)buyes, huye, ðungulve, llihua, nguen), as well as the extensive unspecific descriptions of religious specialists are rather blurry until Havestadt’s and Molina’s attempts of systematisation. Certainly being the least intelligible of the five strands, the different religious specialists are often described at the same time as wizards, fortune-tellers, devil priests, sorcerers (i.e. as malevolent agents) and as physicians, healers, peacemakers (i.e. as benevolent agents). Equally, the normative description of religious specialists as imposters surrounded by obscurity and secrecy is basically maintained throughout wide parts of the discourse from Ercilla to Olivares.

Ercilla provides two somewhat distinct interpretations of Mapuche religious specialists. While the first part of *La Araucana* depicts a rather unempathetic wizard and fortune-teller character (i.e. Puchecalco), the late Ercilla changes that previous description to the imagery of wise magician. While the former is generally pictured as an obscure imposter – whose main functions are to communicate with the devil and mislead the Mapuche commoner (i.e. wizard tyranny) –, the latter is free of those negative elements and even becomes an estimated advisor to the author. Oña and Arias do not follow that differentiation but – by enhancing the secrecy-obscurity theme – settle on Ercilla’s first interpretation of the religious specialist as deceitful imposter.

Luis de Valdivia then introduces machi as the first specific character, which from there on dominates that strand of discourse. Overinclusively described as healer, wizard and, rather enigmatically, as lord of the water (i.e. rainmaker), Luis de Valdivia thus introduces the two dominant aspects of that character in Mapuche Religion discourse: That is healer (i.e. benevolent) and wizard (i.e. malevolent). As the second character is the calcu, in Luis de Valdivia cryptically defined as wizard, it does not become clear for the reader what the exact differences between calcu and machi are.

The succeeding Ovalle further enhances Luis de Valdivia's machi interpretation but emphasises the benevolent healer, herbolarist and inquestor aspects, while at the same time adding a malevolent sorcerer element to that character. Nonetheless, especially with the description of the initiation to restricted secret knowledge, Ovalle enhances the effect of secrecy and obscurity, which is already well-known to the reader from Ercilla and successors. Similar to the early Ercilla and Luis de Valdivia, Ovalle pictures religious specialists – especially the machi – as the persons responsible for the failure of the mission as they are described as constantly misleading the Mapuche commoner to follow the cult of the devil.

Bascuñan combines Ercilla's unspecific characterisation with Luis de Valdivia's and Ovalle's interpretations of the machi, defining that character as wizard, fortune-teller and healer. Focusing on this latter aspect, the malevolent aspects are widely transposed upon the newly introduced character hueye described as exoticised sodomite, which in Bascuñan seems to be somewhat identical with machi. Quite similar to Ercilla's and Oña's conceptualisations of the cave wizards, the third and last character in that author is huecubuyes/ renis (in plural), pictured as priests or peace augurs that live an abstinent life. Concerning that character, Rosales is in accordance with Bascuñan as boqui(-)buyes are also defined here as devil priests and peacemakers. Rosales' main attention, nonetheless, is drawn to the machi, depicted as wizard, devil priest, healer and fortune-teller. Following the devil deceit theme, that fuzzy character is thus described as imposter empowered by the devil. Furthermore, the enigmatic lord of the rains, seemingly a third religious specialist in Rosales, may relate to Luis de Valdivia's equally cryptical description of the rainmaker.

Olivares' depiction of religious specialists as unspecific ministers of the devil, fortune-tellers and sorcerers, as well as the description of the machi as healer, do not add much new information to that strand of discourse. Nonetheless, the character ðungulve is introduced as diabolic fortune-teller here, which makes a distinction of religious specialists by types as impossible as in predeceasing authors. Olivares is, furthermore, in accordance with the imposter theme of Ercilla, Luis de Valdivia and Ovalle, as he assigns the reasons for the setbacks of the mission to the wizards' tyranny over the Mapuche commoner.

Febrés reintroduces the calcu character to the Mapuche Religion discourse, here described as sorcerer, contradicting the wizard depiction of Luis de Valdivia. On the one side, the machi is conformly defined as physician, which, first, focuses on the benevolent aspects of that character and, adding malevolence similar to Ovalle, is, second, described as sorcerer. The ðungulve is equated with the newly introduced Ilihua character and – as in Olivares –

becomes a communicative link between the Mapuche and the devil. The last character is *nguen* (in plural), which as lords over natural dominions somewhat relates back to Luis de Valdivia's (and Rosales') unspecified rainmakers. Molina expands the religious specialists typology initially provided by Havestadt, as he (more or less sharply) defines the characters *machi* as physicians, *calcu* as sorcerers and *dùngulve/ Ilihua* as fortune-tellers, which are also equated with *nguen* (in plural), described as lords over natural dominions. Conclusively, only little effort is put into a systematisation in the strand religious specialists until the very end. The majority of actors presents a rather colourful mixture of multiple elements, which often makes it impossible for the reader to orientate in, leave alone approach a deeper understanding of the descriptions in that strand of discourse.

(c) The postmortality strand of discourse, on the other hand, involves much originality and detail. Ovalle gives the first extensive account of Mapuche postmortality and already establishes a dominant model for the description of that strand. Thus, the Mapuche afterlife is pictured as a place of recreation and pleasure at the other shore of the sea (i.e. westwards), where the souls feast and live in polygamy. As the afterlife is a place of abundance, the tomb furnishings are not necessarily used in the postmortal world itself but are pictured as provision for the postmortal journey. This conceptualisation is not in accordance with the predeceasing Vivar, who pictured the Mapuche afterlife as some kind of semi-recreational place of less abundance and pleasure and, consequently, the tomb furnishings as additional supply in that postmortal world. Accordingly, with those two early conceptualisations we already have the two main poles of description in that strand of discourse. A unique element in the Mapuche Religion discourse is Ovalle's description of *pillán* as the judge of the dead; thus, the question whether there is a judgement of the dead (e.g. Ovalle, Molina) or not (e.g. Markgraf, Olivares) – and thus distinct postmortal areas for the good and the wicked – becomes a controversial issue in the discourse.

Rosales presents a very systematic approach to Mapuche postmortality. Disagreeing with Ovalle's positive imagery, he enhances the negative elements of Vivar's description. The first type of afterlife of the noblemen as transformation into returning flies is singular in the Mapuche Religion discourse. More influential, indeed, is the introduction of the thunderstorm battle theme, pictured as the afterlife of the *pillán* (in plural) of brave soldiers; depicted in its entirety by Rosales, succeeding authors (e.g. Olivares and Molina) do not add any new information to that theme. Furthermore, this point entangles the conceptualisation of that character once more with postmortality although this time not as judge of the dead (as in

Ovalle) but as postmortal *agens*. Rosales' common men's afterlife is situated at the other side of the sea and, in difference to Ovalle, the Mapuche afterlife here becomes a place of lack; consequently, the tomb furnishings are needed in that postmortal realm itself to add to the meagre diet of black potatoes. Toict's first type of afterlife for the noblemen and soldiers as a place of abundance is more in accordance with Ovalle's conceptualisation. Nonetheless, his threefold classification by social status also relates to Rosales' model. Especially the soldiers' afterlife shows a close connection to Rosales' thunderstorm battle theme. Influentially, pillán plays the role of the *psychopompos* in Toict, in difference to the judge of the dead interpretation of Ovalle. Despite his relation to the black potato theme, Bascuñan breaks with all previous interpretations by locating the Mapuche postmortal world eastwards (i.e. behind the cordillera). Nonetheless, the author somewhat relates to Luis de Valdivia and Herckmans, when he describes pillü as postmortal *agens* – although that character changes from soul to spirit in Bascuñan.

Basically, Olivares continues Ovalle's positive approach to postmortality and adds various new elements, such as the exact location of the afterlife as Isla Mocha or carculafquem (which both are still at the other side of the sea, nonetheless). Introducing the tribute theme, Olivares describes some kind of porter – in explicit analogy to the Græco-Roman ferryman myth. Somewhat contradictory to this rather positive imagery, the interpretation of the function of the tomb furnishings in Olivares rather follows Vivar and Rosales, picturing them as supply in the postmortal world here. Although in accordance with the location at the other side of the sea, the succeeding Córdova contradicts Olivares as concerns the furnishings, holding that they are used during the journey. Olivares' rather cryptical depiction of a second type of afterlife as the pillán (in plural) of soldiers in a thunderstorm battle furthermore relates to Rosales. Nonetheless, it does not become clear to the reader, in which relation that thunderstorm afterlife may stand to Olivares' first type of postmortality.

While Espiñeira still relates to Toict depicting pillán as *psychopompos* to the hell quetal, Febrés develops a unique ferrywoman theme. It is not pillán (as in Toict and Espiñeira) but chrepulcalhue that is described as *psychopompos*, pictured as an old woman with a whale figure. Moreover, in accordance with various of his predecessors, Febrés locates the postmortal world westwards. Following Olivares in defining its exact location as the Isla Mocha, he furthermore introduces the Mapudungun term ngullchemaihue for the Mapuche postmortal world.

The whale aspect of *chrempulcalhue* appears depersonalised in Cosme, who presents two *psychopompoi*, the (nameless) whale and – more relating to Toict and Espiñeira – pillañ. It is not clear if the Mapuche afterlife is a pleasant or sad place in that author, although the fact that tomb furnishings are described as provision for the journey seems to hint at a rather pleasant place. Molina then eclectically mixes elements from various previous approaches. He blends Fébres' *chrempulcalhue psychopompos* with the tribute theme of Olivares, as well as Bascuñan's conceptualisation of *püllü* with Fébres' *ngullchemaihue* description. Furthermore, he follows Olivares' enigmatic differentiation between a general Mapuche afterlife and a second one for brave soldiers in the thunderstorm battle.

As a conclusion on that strand, we can hold that there are two basic (absent) models to the conceptualisations of Mapuche religious specialists: Christian and Græco-Roman religions. On the one side, Mapuche postmortality becomes an inversion of the Christian concepts of the immaterial soul (e.g. Valdivia, Olivares) and of the pleasant paradise (e.g. Rosales, Espiñeira). On the other side, Mapuche postmortality is conceptualised similar to those concepts, expanding the Mapuche's understanding of the soul's immortality (e.g. Molina) and of a pleasant life of abundance (e.g. Ovalle, Olivares). The Græco-Roman model is more dominant than the Christian model in this strand of discourse. Thus, the authors employ, for example, the imagery of the Elysian Plain (e.g. Frézier, Havestadt), Hades/ Orcus and its creatures (e.g. Ercilla, Oña) or the ferryman theme (e.g. Olivares, Molina) as explicit analogies. Moreover, the Mapuche afterlife is identified as some kind of island of the blessed (e.g. Isla Mocha, *carculafquem*, the other side of the sea, westwards) or – in analogy to the Christian and Græco-Roman understanding of the celestial sphere – above the earth (e.g. authors employing a thunderstorm battle theme) or – in analogy with Christian and Græco-Roman underworld concepts – beneath the earth (e.g. Ercilla, Espiñeira).

(d) The fourth strand of discourse Mapuche folk religious beliefs is the strand with the least complexity and variation of the Mapuche Religion discourse. This may be due to – similar as in the strand religious specialists – the lack of interest of the authors (and their readers) in the exact details of that topic and, furthermore, to the author's heuristically disadvantageous conceptual distinction between religion and superstition. Generally speaking, this strand of discourse seems to be a means for all contributing authors to show to their audience how high the grade of superstition among the Mapuche and – thus taking Mapuche folk religious beliefs as an exemplary model – how 'false' Mapuche Religion as a whole is (a point to be further discussed below).

The first author who alludes to Mapuche folk religious beliefs is Oña, describing religious specialists as interpreters of the movement of foxes, which works as an omen for the outcome of a future battle. With Luis de Valdivia the two core themes in this strand are then introduced, that is, first, the belief in the prognosticative powers of bird flight and, second, the belief in dreams. Those three themes are combined in Rosales, who describes the belief in bird flight, dreams and fox movement. While Olivares adds the belief in the prognosticative powers of whirlwinds, Molina introduces the Mapuche belief in ghosts and hobgoblins as a fifth theme of that strand.

(e) The fifth and last strand mythology is the most sporadic and, furthermore, universalistic of all strands of discourse, as the (absent) model Christianity is very dominant here. Beginning with Rosales, the strand sets in latest in the Mapuche Religion discourse. That author provides the most complex description of a Mapuche deluge myth in the discourse, pictured as the combat between the snakes *chrenchren* – furthermore depicted as floating mountains – and *caicaivilu*. Those two, nonetheless, are interpreted in Rosales as masquerades of the devil, by which he manipulates the Mapuche. In Rosales' description we already find complex descriptions of dominant discursive themes, including the human lineage and the headcover theme (picturing the headcover here as potsherds). The deluge myth is tightly knitted to the human lineage theme by employing the exoticising cannibalism and human sacrifice themes here.

Córdova provides the next major description, leaving out the combat and the headcover themes. As the *chrenchren* character (in plural) is simply pictured as floating mountains that facilitated the origin of the human lineage, the reader is left with no (mythological) explanation for the origin of the Mapuche beliefs and behaviour concerning Mapuche creation mythology. Olivares focuses less on the mythological than on the current purpose of the floating mountain *chrenchren* (i.e. earthquake refuge). Like Córdova, he presents a reduced version of Rosales' myth and, thus, the combat and the human lineage themes are missing. But in contrast to Córdova, the author uses Rosales' headcover theme, here not defined as potsherds but as wooden plates. The only novel element in Olivares' description of that strand of discourse is the three-pointed shape of the mountain, which is adopted by Amat, who generally stays very close to Olivares' description of the *chrenchren* character; nonetheless, he alters the headcover to a shelter building theme, which stays singular in the discourse.

In Febrés, who seems to be influenced by Córdova rather than Rosales or Olivares, that shape element is missing, as well as other details of Olivares' or Rosales' description. Thus,

the author simply describes chrenchren as hill, on which some people escaped the deluge, who then formed the human lineage. Molina combines the conceptualisation of Olivares with that of Febrés in this strand of discourse. Thus, the chrenchren character (in plural) is described as three-pointed floating mountains on which people escaped the deluge that then formed the human lineage (including the headcover theme). An additional description of chrenchren as thunderer and lightning one does not clarify in which relation that character stands to pilláñ, which is equally described as thunderer in Molina. Conclusively, in all conceptualisations of Mapuche mythology considered here, chrenchren is the central character – described as hill(s) or mountain(s) (Rosales, Córdova, Olivares, Amat, Fébres, Molina), snake (Rosales), the devil (Rosales) or the cause of thunder and lightning (Molina).

(2) Considering the detailed analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse we can furthermore come to general conclusions on the colonial encounter between representatives of ‘the European’ and ‘the Mapuche religiosity’. Interpreting the Mapuche Religion discourse as a discourse of alterity conditioned by certain Eurocentric simplifying mechanisms, we set out to sketch the limits of colonial conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion in our study. As the colonial texts did not originate in a vacuum, we considered it fundamental to analyse the socio-biographical background of a particular actor in the discourse. Furthermore, we worked with the assumption that this background of an actor, his position of discourse and his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion are somewhat interrelated. Thus, we focused on the actors’ strategies of discourse, interpretative repertoires, as well as the positions of discourse in our analysis. As a general consequence, we deduced that authors who are indifferent or unempathetic towards Mapuche culture (e.g. Oña, Olivares, Sors) may conceptualise Mapuche Religion differently than authors with a somewhat positive opinion of Mapuche culture (e.g. Ercilla, Bascuñan, Molina).

Moreover, we paid attention to the aspect that Mapuche Religion is conceptualised in consideration of the expectations of the recipients to some degree, consisting of, first, a particular European reading audience and, second, other actors of discourse. Thus, besides the position of discourse of a particular actor, we focused especially on the interpretative repertoire and discursive strategies employed by an author to convince his recipients of the truthfulness of his conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion. Assuming that the authors were somewhat aware of the impact that a certain wording or binary might have on their readers, we interpreted those discursive elements, first, as an attempt of a particular actor to provide the recipient with an orientation or a predefined image of his understanding of the ethical

nature of the Mapuche people; second, we claimed that discursive elements are employed to finally win the recipients for the author's particular position of discourse. Thus, we hold that the authors act strategical by trying to lead the future course of discourse into a desired direction of interest, as to interfere in the socio-political processes of their time (for example). Accordingly, a particular conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion could be employed by an author as a means towards accomplishing his strategic goal(s). Thus, we saw, on the one hand, how Luis de Valdivia's 'poor Mapuche heathen' conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion aimed at convincing the Spanish court to boost (and later sustain) the peaceful Jesuit mission project in Chile. On the other hand, Sosa's deficiency-centred conceptualisation advocated for a relaunch of military warfare in Chile.

Taking a closer look at the details of the Mapuche Religion discourse, we can thus figure out three modes or types of conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion, to which an author may tend in the discourse. We will call those three conceptualisation modes: (a) The absence approach, (b) the anti-religion approach and (c) the simple religion approach to Mapuche Religion.

(a) There is the tendency to claim that the Mapuche have no religion at all, which we term the "absence approach" to Mapuche Religion. Thus, by extensively employing theological and ritual deficiency arguments, the author may describe the Mapuche as areligious people – that is religious *tabulae rasae* – lacking crucial elements of the theological and/ or ritual dimension(s). This conceptualisation mode often works hand in glove with the depiction of the Mapuche as 'war people' (i.e. 'freedom loving hedonist barbarians') that do not care for anything, including religion, but their own pleasure and war. Nonetheless, most authors in the Mapuche Religion discourse who tend to that absence approach abandon it in the final consequence and begin to describe Mapuche Religion (often with much detail). Thus, it seems that the discovery of an absence of religion in the Mapuche context often means detecting that the Mapuche have no religion that is like Christianity. This corresponds – and often relates in the texts – to the civil government argumentation, which deduces from the absence of a European type of government in the Indians that they have no government at all (as discussed in chapter one). 'Prototypes' of that absence approach to Mapuche Religion – we will point out below that there are no 'pure' representatives of any of the three modes – would be González, Ovalle, Brouwer or Sors.

(b) There is a second mode of conceptualisation, which tends to depict the Mapuche's religiosity as a religion opposed to Christianity and thus can be called "anti-religion

approach” to Mapuche Religion. Following an inversive mirroring strategy, Mapuche Religion is generally equated with the object category of the Christian/ heathen binary, which incorporates in a conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion as either superstition, diabolism or idolatry. Thus, a dominant theme in authors tending to that type of conceptualisation is to expatiate on the lack of ‘religious talent’ in the Mapuche as to emphasise the distance between the Mapuche’s religiosity and the Christian faith.

One basic assumption related to this mode of conceptualisation is the Eurocentric equation of ‘Mapuche heathendom’ with other heathen religions in the world. This finds an application in the authors’ extensive (implicit or explicit) use of – to the European reader – historically well known models of analogy (e.g. Græco-Roman religions). As a consequence, the further discussion of the ‘original aspects’ of Mapuche Religion – that is the spike of otherness, which may ‘sting’ into the ego’s religious identity – thus becomes superseded, as the European writers and their European readers agree on conceptualising Mapuche Religion as being alike or even being the same as something else.

Part of this agreement is the effort the authors put into convincing the audience that Mapuche Religion is equally ‘dreadful’ as all the other ‘heathen religions’ by extensively providing exotic details on Mapuche culture and religion. Thus, basic exoticising themes – considered typical for ‘heathen barbarians’ in general – recur again and again in the Mapuche Religion discourse, such as: Dissolute drinking feasts, blasphemy, human sacrifice, cannibalism, incest and sodomy (etc.). Those ‘unethical disguises of the barbarians’ may arouse distrust, disgust and horror towards the Mapuche and their culture in the audience. Enhancing that ‘pedagogic effect’ in the recipient, religious themes and schemes like the worship of the devil, the devil deceit or spirit incorporation (etc.) may be combined with those basic exoticising themes to an exotic conglomerate. Thus inverting European values and Christian ethics, these complex exoticisms in the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion show to the reader how unbridgeably opposed the ‘false religion’ of the Mapuche is to the ‘true faith’.

The binary distinction between insider and outsider, which lies at the heart of all three conceptualisation modes in the Mapuche Religion discourse, may be extended to a binary formula containing the chain elements right/ wrong, true/ false, good/ evil, ethical/ unethical, rational/ irrational, logical/ illogical, bright/ dark, powerful/ powerless (etc.). That – further extendable – formula finds its application throughout all five strands of the Mapuche Religion discourse. Thus, Mapuche supernatural beings may be declassified as powerless, evil and

deceitful; the Mapuche religious specialists may become unethical, dark and irrational liars; Mapuche postmortality may be pictured as an illogical, unethical and irrational misrepresentation of the 'true faith'; folk religious beliefs may become irrational and false; and, finally, the Mapuche deluge myth may be conceptualised as an illogical and irrational aberration from the Christian understanding of creation.

A crucial consequence of the application of the binary formula is an affirmation of the ingroup religion: The more pejorative the object category of the binary formula, the more assenting becomes the diametrical opposite subject category to the readers. Thus, Christian supernatural beings are pictured as powerful, full of light, good, right and ethical; the Christian religious specialists turn into the rational and ethical keepers of truth; Christian postmortality is rendered logical and just; by reading the descriptions of Mapuche folk religious beliefs the reader notices that Christianity is free of any 'irrational superstition'; finally, by demonstrating the falseness of Mapuche mythology the Christian deluge myth is reconfirmed as the only true and logical norm. Conclusively, by employing this binary formula, the Christian authors and readers of the colonial discourse on Mapuche Religion are affirmed in their basic assumption that Christianity is the universal, rational and ethical standard of the world.

The dichotomous distinction between insider and outsider may be extended by rendering Mapuche Religion an active enemy of Christianity. First, the people following the devil may thus turn into demonic adversaries of the Christian god. Second, the place where the diabolists worship the devil becomes the 'dark land of the devil' then, which is a colour-symbolical inversion of the 'Christian realm of light'. As a consequence of that 'demonisation' of the Mapuche Religion territory, the Christian pacification of these 'devil lands' turns into a necessity and thus leaves the Eurocentric argumentation in pro of the conquista untouched.

To underline the unquestionability of the spiritual and military conquista and, moreover, to further affirm the reader's expectations concerning the superiority of the ingroup religion, a divine will theme may be employed. Often vividly pictured as a parallel battle between opposing supernatural parties (e.g. 'our god' versus 'their god[s]'), the outcome of that unbalanced fight complies with the Christian reader's anticipation that the human battle is predestined to end in favour of the representatives of the 'universal true faith'. The 'battle of religions', which corresponds symbolically to the martial relations of the two human parties, aims to show to the recipient (as a member of the authors' ingroup) that no matter how strong 'they' are, 'we' are stronger: We have the support of our powerful Christian god against their

powerless devil or heathen god(s). To unmistakably prove that it really is the divine hand of the Christian god that intercedes on behalf of the Christians in the conquista, authors from Pedro de Valdivia to Rosales extensively describe miraculous events, especially divine intercessions. The effect that those ‘practical proofs’ for the existence (and persistence) of the divine will might have on the Christian reader is often enhanced by letting the astonished Mapuche themselves report about those – for them rather disadvantageous – miracles.

Besides those tendencies to equalise Mapuche Religion with all other heathen religions, our analysis of the discourse shows, nonetheless, that various authors tending to this conceptualisation mode lay special emphasis on describing the Mapuche as an extraordinarily ferocious ‘war people’. Similar to the absence approach, the second mode of conceptualisation often pictures Mapuche Religion as a religion of war, which is then said to correspond – once more – to the Mapuche’s ‘free way of living’. Thus, supernatural beings with war aspects (e.g. a war god or supporter) may be centralised and the topic of battle prognostications (e.g. omens, fortune-tellers) is extensively expanded in the conceptualisations of those authors. As prototypes of that anti-religion approach to Mapuche Religion in the discourse would count Ercilla, Luis de Valdivia or Rosales.

(c) There is yet another third mode of conceptualisation in the discourse, which tends to picture Mapuche Religion as a simple religion and, thus, may be called the “simple religion approach” to Mapuche Religion. The religion of the Mapuche Other is conceptualised as a simplified form of or a degenerated aberration from the complex model of the Christian religion. Although that type of conceptualisation finally admits that the ‘unbent barbarians’ have their own religion, the reasons for their degeneration are found – similar as in the first two modes of conceptualisation – in the Mapuche people’s simple-mindedness and ‘war nature’. Thus, the argumentation has it that the Mapuche’s religion is so simple because there is no urgent need for complexity in a degenerated (i.e. ‘half-brute’), sinful and materialistic life. Once more deduced to correspond to the Mapuche’s ‘free nature’, Mapuche Religion may be described as an unsophisticated, primitive religion without restrictions or rules. Thus, exoticising schemes and themes of the first two modes may be employed – although less extensively –, which mean to demonstrate to the recipients that Mapuche Religion lacks essential elements of the ritual and/ or theological dimension(s), nonetheless.

A special, more complex form of this third mode of conceptualisation is the depiction of Mapuche Religion as a simple polytheistic religion somewhat independent from Christianity. In difference to the first two types, the special status of Mapuche Religion as brutal war

religion may be ‘normalised’ here, as exoticising themes are generally avoided. Thus, Mapuche Religion is conceptualised as an autonomous religion with similarities and differences compared to other polytheistic and/ or monotheistic religions in the world, including Christianity. A prototype for the simple form of this conceptualisation mode would be Olivares; the only representative of the more complex form in our discourse may be found in Molina.

Obviously, the complexity in the Mapuche Religion conceptualisations progresses from the first to the second, to the simple third and, finally, to the complex third mode of conceptualisation. Nonetheless, this heuristical distinction of three (or respectively four) modes of conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion in the discourse does not permit a secure systematisation of the authors discussed here. The borders between the conceptualisation modes are not clear-cut but rather blurry and, thus, the authors often use elements of various modes in their descriptions of Mapuche Religion. Moreover, as we described these modes as tendencies of description, it is questionable if there is only one author in the discourse, who unites (and stays limited to) all of the elements of one of the three conceptualisation modes and could thus count as a ‘pure’ (or prototypical) representative of it.

Speaking from the experience of our analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse, it would certainly be a reduction of complexity if we attempted to draw a sharp line between three phases of conceptualisation, corresponding to the three modes of conceptualisation (i.e. an early, a middle and a late phasis of the discourse). Instead, we claim that the choice of the conceptualisation mode rather depends on the strategies of the particular author in the discourse than on the time period in which he is writing. Thus, Markgraf – quite early in the discourse – provides a conceptualisation that often comes close to the third conceptualisation mode, while the late Franciscans rather work with an interpretative repertoire typical for the absence and anti-religion approaches to Mapuche Religion.

Asking ourselves, nonetheless, why there are three differently complex tendencies in the conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion, we claim that there is a narrative change in the discourse, which sets in with Rosales and Bascuñan in the 1670s approximately. We can point out to three interrelated narrative variations, which may be said to comprise that change. First of all, both authors say ‘no’ to just war decisively and, furthermore, criticise the military conquista in Chile with an extraordinary intensity. Second, related to that is the fact that the divine will and other related themes and schemes employed to underline the necessity and righteousness of the military conquista, are widely avoided from then on.

Still more important for our focus of study is that, third, Rosales and Bascuñan initially permit a certain degree of Mapuche self-representation in their conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion. While the only change of perspective in earlier authors was the Mapuche's (rather bizarre) report of Christian intercessions, this perspectivity change enriches the discourse by partially interrupting the bird's-eye view or eyewitness perspectives in the narrative. Although this somewhat facilitates an alteration in the general direction of narration from outsider-talking about Mapuche Religion to speaking from a Mapuche point of view, we emphasise here that this perspectivity change is rather elusive, nonetheless. The self-descriptions of the Mapuche on their religion are still provided by the colonial writer who safely filters the information – whatever their source – for the reader. Furthermore, that narrative perspectivity change is a discursive element applied to Mapuche Religion in consideration of the author's position of discourse and strategic goal(s). Thus, while the Mapuche's self-representation means to show the mental capability of the Mapuche in Bascuñan, Olivares employs it to demonstrate the Mapuche's 'stubborn ignorance' towards understanding their own simple religion, leave alone the complexities of the Christian faith.

At the same time, we need to consider that the narrative change is rather a partial alteration than a harsh rupture in our discourse. Not only do Rosales and Bascuñan (as the initiators of the change) themselves 'clinch' to the limitations of the second conceptualisation mode and constantly picture Mapuche Religion as inverted Christianity. But furthermore, none of the succeeding authors from Febrés to Molina follows Rosales' model of narrative variation in all of its aspects. Although they ban the divine will theme and the extensive use of the diabolism scheme from their texts, they do neither explicitly criticise the conquista nor permit a perspectivity change in their narrations. Nonetheless, it can be generally asserted that their conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion certainly profited from that changing process. Thus, we claim that those three variations catalysed more complex conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion – provided by representatives of the simple and complex third mode – in post-Rosales authors.

The wide omission of 'interesting' (i.e. exotic) interpretative schemes (e.g. divine will theme, binaries) combined with a harsh critique of the military conquista and, furthermore, the permission of the 'amiable barbarian' speaking from 'his' point of view may wind up to a complicated conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion that is anything but entertaining to the readers. In fact, the introduction of those narrative variations would not comply with the general European reader's demand for a highly exoticised – and, thus, safe concerning its

sting of otherness – imagery of the Mapuche Other. Consequently, by providing complex descriptions of Mapuche Religion beyond the exoticisms of the first two conceptualisation modes, post-Rosales authors certainly risked to disappoint the expectations of their Christian recipients.

Moreover, writers risked their participation in the discourse when picturing Mapuche culture too sophisticatedly. Travelling along the – for the author and for the reader – threatening border of the acceptable in the discourse could have very practical consequences for an author: Putting himself in disagreement with the official assumption of a wholesome European superiority – generally held, as we claim, unchangeably throughout the discourse period in Europe – might have hindered the wide reception or even the publication of his text (e.g. Rosales' *Historia*, Bascuñan's *Cautiverio*). Assuming that post-Rosales authors were aware of that demand (to some degree), we furthermore claim that a rather unempathetic conceptualisation of Mapuche Religion often may have served as a means to resolve that dissension and to profile the author's position of discourse (and his strategies) in the eyes of his readers. Therefore, it can be said that Mapuche Religion often became the last stronghold of consent between an actor of discourse and his recipients or, in other words, the demand for exoticism could be generally satisfied by neatly picturing Mapuche Religion as the basic cause of all the – nonetheless 'interesting' – 'barbaric aberrations' of Mapuche culture from the ego's standard.

Conclusively, we argue that Mapuche Religion marks the limit of the sayable in the colonial discourse on Mapuche culture. That is to say, in the colonial texts from Pedro de Valdivia to Molina, Mapuche Religion becomes a 'pinnacle of exoticism'. Whatever their interpretative repertoire, discursive position or membership in a community of discourse: The Mapuche's religiosity marks the end of tolerance and admiration towards Mapuche culture in the descriptions of the authors presented here. Thus, 'indophile' and Mapuche unempathetic actors alike use Mapuche Religion as a common ground, on which their descriptions of Mapuche culture could harmoniously meet with the stereotypical expectations on 'heathen barbarism' presupposed in their Christian audience. Consequently, no matter to which mode of conceptualisation he may tend to, every author in the considered period employs Christianity as a model, which Mapuche Religion is either denying, opposing or aberring from. The only exception from that is the (rather unsophisticated and general) judgement of Spilbergen – that the Mapuche are like Christians in manners and morals –, which is singular in the discourse and opposed to the conceptualisations of all other authors.

We thus claim that Mapuche Religion is no side-topic at the ‘discursive periphery’ of the general colonial discourse on Mapuche culture but a central element of it. As a religion deviating from the Christian ideal, Mapuche Religion is conceptualised as the very root of an intolerable mechanism that keeps the Mapuche heathens ‘stumbling on in the shadows of heathendom’. Consequently, Mapuche Religion is depicted as the prime obstacle in the way of the Mapuche’s conversion to the ‘true faith’. Although they follow different strategies concerning the description of Mapuche culture, the fundamental goal of the conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion provided by missionaries and all other types of actors in the discourse period thus is: Conversion. In detail, this means that the only rational and logical decision that – in the eyes of the Christian participants and recipients of the discourse – a Mapuche person seems to have, is to give in ‘rationally’ to conversion and thus use the ‘promising opportunity’ to become a ‘good’ (i.e. tamed) Indian by abandoning the position of the ‘bad’ (i.e. untamed) Indian, who ‘irrationally’ clinches to the ‘false’ Mapuche tradition. Surpassing their ‘insufficient talent’ for religion to embrace the ‘gift of the Gospel’, the only possible chance for the Mapuche heathens to become ‘fully human’ is then to abandon Mapuche tradition – neatly pictured as brutal war religion – and embrace Christianity. As they share the conversion goal as a general consensus that transcends the borders of the different communities of discourse, we claim that pre-Rosales as well as post-Rosales authors share an anti-position towards Mapuche Religion basically, which finally demands the disposal of the ‘false faith’.

As a consequence, not only professional missionaries but also laymen like Ercilla or Bascuñan turn into dedicated ‘lay missionaries’ in their conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion. Pedro de Valdivia, as the chronologically first actor in the discourse, explicitly conceptualises Mapuche Religion as diabolism that needs to be extirpated ‘by fire and blood’ (i.e. by military intervention). While the spiritual and the military conquista go rather hand in glove in the beginning of the discourse, the ‘liberation from the night of barbarism’ often turns into a personal act of Christian charity in post-Rosales authors. As the only representative of the complex third mode of conceptualisation, the Jesuit Molina considers Mapuche Religion an intolerable aberration from Christianity in the end. Assuming a proto-evolutionary model of cultural progression, Molina advocates for the replacement of Mapuche Religion by Christianity as the means to achieve the Mapuche’s advancement from pagan (semi-)barbarism to Christian civilisation. Thus, we assert that throughout the discourse an

actual critique of the conquista is limited to the military side of it, while its religious dimension (i.e. conversion) stays untouched.

A practical consequence of that conversion goal is the strategy to picture religious specialists in the texts as ‘ministers of the devil’ responsible for the failure of the mission project. The ‘diabolic wizards’, such is the argument, keep the Mapuche commoner enthralled in ‘false superstition’ by having established some kind of wizard tyranny. By their ‘abusive’ application of power, the Mapuche religious specialists keep the Mapuche aspirants to lasting conversion – either pictured as warriors (e.g. Ercilla), naive commoners (e.g. Luis de Valdivia, Ovalle) or philosophers (e.g. Molina) – away from the influence of the Christian missionaries (inversely turned into the ‘keepers of truth’). By distinguishing between the hopelessly lost religious specialists (i.e. the ‘bad Indians’) and those promising aspirants (i.e. the ‘good Indians’), the authors create a ‘grey area’, in which mission can plant the Christian faith. Furthermore, it seems that the opinions towards a possible success of the conversion project are somewhat related to the positions of discourse of the authors and thus range from optimistic confidence (e.g. Luis de Valdivia, Ovalle) to pessimistic capitulation (e.g. Oña, Olivares).

Accordingly, we propose the hypothesis that with their conceptualisations the actors in the Mapuche Religion discourse – in the time period discussed here – do not primarily attempt to understand or thoroughly explain Mapuche Religion to their audience. Instead, they provide conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion that facilitate an affirmation of the basic (Euro-) ethnocentric assumption of their ingroup: That European Christianity is superior to Mapuche Religion. But by dismantling Mapuche Religion as ‘false heathen religion’ either denying, opposing or aberring from Christianity, the authors do not only comply with the readers’ demand for safely spiced exoticisms but, furthermore, generally aim to show a way, in which the Mapuche’s ‘poor spiritual state of being’ may be altered to Christianity.

Therefore, we claim that it is the assumption that their own religion is exclusively universal (i.e. Christian universalism and exclusivism) that hinders, blocks, or even prevents an understanding of Mapuche Religion in the authors and recipients of the discourse. It can be said that the authors do not primarily attempt to understand Mapuche culture and religion by conceptualising it but rather intend to provide their Christian readers with a filtered – and thus safe – representation of Mapuche otherness, which furthermore shows that the Mapuche are unstoppable on their way to conversion.

Consequently, we find it legitimate to speak of the Mapuche Religion discourse – limited to the period of time analysed here – as “Mapuche Orientalism”. By employing an exoticising, limited and repetitive interpretative repertoire of predictable clichés, binaries and stereotypes, the authors provide their recipients with the appropriate means for controlling the stinging spike of otherness that the confrontation (i.e. reading) with the Mapuche Other might provoke and thus keep the Eurocentric basic assumption in place. Through this reduction of complexity, Mapuche Religion is misrepresented, as the authors provide an exoticised image of Mapuche Religion as an unintelligible element of Mapuche culture that cannot be understood – not by the Christian writers nor their readers. However, as it is not understanding but conversion that is at the centre of attention of the discourse, there is no need to comprehend Mapuche Religion at all, as the Mapuche’s religion is inescapably destined to be exchanged by the ‘true faith’ in the process of conversion.

It can be assumed that the degree of misrepresentation in the discourse alters somewhat after the narrative change. Besides the omission of various exoticising schemes, it is permitted from then on that the Mapuche talk from ‘their perspective’ about Mapuche Religion to some degree. Thus, the Mapuche’s status changes somewhat from silent Other to (pseudo-)speaker. That change can then be interpreted as a first beginning of communication between the coloniser and the colonised in the Mapuche Spanish context. Nonetheless, our analysis shows that Mapuche Religion maintains its discursive role as bastion of unintelligibility throughout the studied period: There is not one pre-Rosales or post-Rosales author in the Mapuche Religion discourse, who surpasses the limitations of the Mapuche Orientalism. Thus, in the texts from Pedro de Valdivia to Molina, Mapuche Religion continuously functions as a cipher for the Mapuche’s cultural aberration from the Christian standard and thus stays in charge as the main obstacle to be overcome before accomplishing the highest goal, the Mapuche’s conversion to Christianity. Looking at the results of our analysis of colonial representations of Mapuche culture, we claim, conclusively, that Mapuche Religion was conceptualised in a colonial discourse of alterity as an unintelligible religion that either denies, opposes or aberrs from the ego’s Christian standard and, thus, worked as a crucial element in sustaining the ego’s exoticising mechanisms towards the Mapuche Other in the discourse.

(3) On a more general level, our study proposes to open up the promising field of colonial discourse analysis of religion, on the one hand, by employing postcolonial methods and, on the other hand, by applying current results from discourse theory to colonial texts. By underlining the relevance of postcolonial questions and, furthermore, of questions that have

evolved from the Orientalism debate, our study means to contribute to establishing a sensitivity for postcolonial topoi in our discipline, which we find essentially necessary for the future of our science.

Consequently, we stress that Foucault's demand for finding the 'more of the discourse' does not simply mean to uncritically use the texts that conceptualise indigenous religions as if they were eyewitness accounts of the indigenous religion's *status quo* at a particular time and place. Instead, we demand to turn this approach onto its feet and analyse the descriptions of indigenous religions against the background of the context, from which they have evolved. Trying to take a further step beyond modern Orientalisms with our study, we mean to demonstrate how to break with colonial schemes of interpretation (i.e. the implanting of European models of understanding on distant conceptual territory) by considering who is talking when about what to whom and for what reason in a colonial discourse.

Additionally, we pledge for a more careful approach towards the investigation of indigenous religions in general. As scholars of religion we need to abandon our present position, which light-heartedly fades out our own colonial history – including the proto-history of our science as well. Instead of understanding this responsibility as a burden that slows down the research process, we see the work in the field of colonialism – and especially the work with colonial texts – as a prospective area of future investigation for religious studies. As scholars of religion we may employ our expertise and focus on religion to analyse interreligious relations in colonial conflict situations around the world, as to sketch the similarities and differences in the complex mechanisms of colonialism.

To give a practical impulse to that endeavour, we provide the following exemplary set of research questions, which may help initialising a comparison of representations of indigenous religions in colonial contexts around the globe: (a) What are the similarities and differences between the three modes of conceptualisation in the Mapuche Religion discourse and the conceptualisations of indigenous religions in other colonial contexts in the same and beyond that period of time? (b) Are there similar narrative changes in other discourses? (c) How do the interpretative repertoires that the authors in other contexts employ to represent the religious Other differ from those discussed here? What are the similarities and differences concerning their strategies of discourse? (d) Which role do indigenous religions play in other colonial contexts, that is, what are the similarities and differences compared to the role of Mapuche Religion as the stronghold of exoticism in our context? (e) On a more general level, what are the similarities and differences between Spanish conceptualisations of indigenous

religions and those found in other (e.g. British, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Portuguese) colonising nations?

By rejoining the similarities and differences discovered between the religious dimension of colonisation in various regions of the world into a global colonial discourse analysis, we can open up a spacious 'new' field of scientific investigation. Approximating a truly global approach to (indigenous) religion(s) by initialising a global dialogue between different – that is Western and non-Western – perspectives on colonial and post-colonial interreligious processes, our discipline can resolve the investigative point of view dilemma by expanding further beyond the artificial us-them-line. Moreover, we consider it essential for maintaining the relevance of religious studies in the future academy to apply that insight onto the history and basis of our discipline as well. By employing the various analyses of colonial situations as a common basis from which to conduct a global scientific communication on religion, we can guarantee a continuous dialogue on historical and current interreligious relations. Doing so, we cannot only prevent that our discipline is kept enthralled by the prevalence of thought-stopping Eurocentric barriers of understanding but also that we may fall back into the unfortunate condition of (Euro-)ethnocentrism in the future.

As a matter of cultural exchange that sets out to go beyond Orientalist misrepresentations, a global study of religion can finally alter the perspective of religious studies from a one-dimensional monologue held from a God's-eye view to a multi-perspectivical dialogue on religion.

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F Appendices

Appendix 1: Chronological list of authors and texts in the Mapuche Religion discourse, 1545 to 1787¹³⁷⁴.

Date of writing or publishing	Author	Short title
1545-52 [1850]	<i>Valdivia, Pedro de</i>	<i>Cartas</i>
1552 [1861]	Miñez	Cabildo
1552 [1861]	Citizens of Santiago	Capitulos
1558 [1966]	<i>Vivar</i>	<i>Crónica</i>
1569	<i>Ercilla</i>	<i>La Araucana (first part)</i>
1575 [1850]	Góngora	Historia
1578	<i>Ercilla</i>	<i>La Araucana (second part)</i>
1589	<i>Ercilla</i>	<i>La Araucana (third part)</i>
~1590s [1865]	<i>Mariño</i>	<i>Crónica</i>
1594 [1852]	Olaverría	Informe
1596	<i>Oña</i>	<i>Arauco domado</i>
1597	<i>Santisteban</i>	<i>Quarta y quinta parte</i>
1599 [1862]	<i>Arias</i>	<i>Purén indómito</i>
1599 [1960]	Lizárraga	Parecer
1600 [1960]	Ocaña	Relación
1601-1615	Herrera	Historia
1606	<i>Valdivia, Luis de</i>	<i>Arte</i>
1607 [1898]	<i>Valdivia, Luis de</i>	<i>Copia</i>

¹³⁷⁴ The authors and texts in italics are discussed in this study; posthumous publishing dates are listed in square brackets. The reader may refer to the primary sources bibliography for detailed references.

Appendix 1: Chronological list of authors and texts in the Mapuche Religion discourse, 1545 to 1787 (continued).

Date of writing or publishing	Author	Short title
~1607	<i>Calderón</i>	<i>Tratado</i>
~1607 [1960]	Vascones	Petición
1610 [1898]	<i>Valdivia, Luis de</i>	<i>Señor</i>
1611	Fernández	Historia
1612 [1852]	<i>Valdivia, Luis de</i>	<i>Relación jornada</i>
1612 [1898]	<i>Valdivia, Luis de</i>	<i>Relacion reyno</i>
1613	Lizárraga	Descripción
1613	Suárez	Hechos
~1613/ 1614 [1898]	<i>Sosa</i>	<i>Señor guardian</i>
~1614 [1898]	<i>Sosa</i>	<i>Señor predicador</i>
1614 [1866]	<i>González</i>	<i>Desengaño</i>
~1616 [1898]	<i>Sosa</i>	<i>Memorial</i>
1621	<i>Valdivia, Luis de</i>	<i>Sermón</i>
[1621]	<i>Spilbergen</i>	<i>Historisch journal</i>
1622 [1898]	<i>Valdivia, Luis de</i>	<i>Señor viceprouincial</i>
1625 [1897]	Vega	Parte
~1625 [1864]	Tribaldos	Vista
1634 [1852]	Arbieto	Informe
1643 [1907]	<i>[Herckmans]</i>	<i>Vocabulario</i>
[1646]	<i>Brouwer</i>	<i>Journael</i>

Appendix 1: Chronological list of authors and texts in the Mapuche Religion discourse, 1545 to 1787 (continued).

Date of writing or publishing	Author	Short title
1646	<i>Ovalle</i>	<i>Historica relacion</i>
1647	Tesillo	Guerras
1647	Aguirre	Población
1647	<i>Baerle</i>	<i>Rerum</i>
[1648]	<i>Markgraf</i>	<i>Historia</i>
1652 [1983]	<i>Schmalkalden</i>	<i>Wundersame Reisen</i>
~1664 [1897-1898]	<i>Eguia</i>	<i>Señor</i>
1671	<i>Berghe</i>	<i>De nieuwe en onbekende weereld</i>
1673	<i>Toict</i>	<i>Historia</i>
~1673 [1863]	<i>Bascuñan</i>	<i>Cautiverio</i>
~1674 [1877]	<i>Rosales</i>	<i>Historia</i>
1683	Fernández de Villalobos	Estado
~1680s [1902]	<i>Fernández de Pulgar</i>	<i>Historia</i>
1692 [1979]	Quiroga	Memorias
1708 [1846]	Covarrubias	Memorial
1710	Fanelli	Relatione
1717	<i>Frézier</i>	<i>Relation</i>
1729 [1846]	<i>Pietas</i>	<i>Noticias</i>
~1738 [1864]	<i>Olivares</i>	<i>Compañía</i>
~1739 [1861]	<i>Córdova</i>	<i>Historia</i>

Appendix 1: Chronological list of authors and texts in the Mapuche Religion discourse, 1545 to 1787 (continued).

Date of writing or publishing	Author	Short title
1744	Azúa	Informe
1754-1755	Lozano	Historia
1758 [1988]	<i>Espiñeira</i>	<i>Relación</i>
~1758-1767 [1863]	<i>Olivares</i>	<i>Historia</i>
1760 [1924-1927]	<i>Amat</i>	<i>Historia</i>
1765 [1921-1923]	<i>Sors</i>	<i>Historia</i>
1765	<i>Febrés</i>	<i>Arte</i>
1767 [1871]	García	Diario
(1767) [unpublished]	<i>Espiñeira</i>	<i>Obispo</i>
1774	Falkner	Description
1775	Laporte	Voyageur
1776	[Molina]	Compendio
1777	<i>Cosme</i>	<i>Descripción</i>
1777	<i>Havestadt</i>	<i>Chilidúgú</i>
1777-1778 [1846]	Delgado	Diario
1781 [2003]	Rodriguez	Colegio
1782 [1898]	<i>Usauro</i>	<i>Verdad</i>
1782	<i>Molina</i>	<i>Saggio naturale</i>
1782-96 [1888]	Moraleda	Esploraciones
1783	Dobritzhofer	Historia
1787	<i>Molina</i>	<i>Saggio civile</i>

Appendix 2: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche supernatural beings.

Approximate time	1569	1596	1606	1646	1648	1674	1738	1765	1782-1787
Actor	Ercilla	Oña	Luis de Valdivia	Ovalle	Markgraf	Rosales	Olivares	Febrés	Molina
Conceptualisation of supernatural beings	<p>(1) Eponamon as: (a) devil (b) war prognosticator</p> <p>[(2) Pillan(o) as surname]*</p>	<p>(1) Eponamón as: (a) infernal spirit (b) devil (c) war prognosticator</p> <p>(2) Pillán/ Pillano as: (a) devil (b) evil spirit (c) war prognosticator [(d) = Eponamón]</p> <p>(3) ibunché as wizard oracle</p>	<p>(1) Pillan as: (a) devil (b) war supporter (c) god of heaven (d) healing force (e) thunder (f) volcano</p> <p>(2) Ivumche as enchanter</p> <p>(3) Huecuvoe as: (a) devil (b) god of earth and sea</p> <p>(4) Alhue/ alhue(s) as: (a) devil(s)/ demons (b) the dead</p> <p>(5) Mareupua(n)te as: (a) devil (b) son of the sun</p> <p>[(6) Gen/ gen as gods of corn and wheat]</p> <p>[(7) meulen as whirlwind]</p>	<p>[(1) Epunamón as Ercilla plagiarism]</p> <p>(2) guenupillan as: (a) their God (b) commander over the guecubus and volcanos (c) judge of the dead</p> <p>(3) guecubus as guenupillan subordinates</p> <p>Toqui-Lonko-Ulmenes analogy</p>	<p>(1) Pillan as: (a) supreme/ divine essence (b) airy spirit (c) thunder/ lightning (d) war supporter</p> <p>(2) Alverey as: (a) devil (b) the dead</p> <p>(3) Maruapoante as: (a) numen (b) spirit (c) fertility being</p>	<p>(1) Pillan(es)/ pillan as: (a) devil (b) ancestors (c) soldiers in thunderstorm battle (d) their god (e) thunder (f) volcano</p> <p>(2) Gucuibu/ Guecubo/ Guecubu as: (a) thing extracted from body (b) familiar</p>	<p>(1) epunamun as goblin</p> <p>(2) pillanes as: (a) soldiers in thunderstorm battle (b) genii</p> <p>(3) huecub(u) as cipher for the unknown/ evils</p> <p>(4) meulen as superior, benevolent healing force/ being</p> <p>(5) anchumallacin as woman of the sun</p>	<p>[(1) Epunamun as war council]</p> <p>(2) Pillan/ Pillañ/ pillan as: (a) devil (b) force of nature (c) thunder/ lightning/ volcano eruption</p> <p>(3) Ivumche as wizard oracle</p> <p>(4) Huecuvu as: (a) superior being (b) cause of evil</p> <p>(5) Alhue/ alhuegey as: (a) devil (b) death</p> <p>[(6) Meulen as whirlwind]</p> <p>(7) Amchi malghen as: (a) idol (b) familiars</p> <p>(8) Gen/ gen as lords over natural dominions</p>	<p>(1) Epunamun as god of war</p> <p>(2) Pillàn as: (a) spirit of heaven (b) supreme being/ creator/ God (c) thunderer</p> <p>(3) Guecubu as: (a) cause of evil (b) adversary of Meulen (c) = Algue/ Alhue</p> <p>(4) Algue/ Alhue as: (a) devil (b) = Guecubu</p> <p>(5) Meulen as: (a) whirlwind (b) benevolent deity (c) adversary of Guecubu</p> <p>(6) Amei-malghen/ Amchi-malghen as: (a) female genii (b) spirit familiars</p> <p>(7) Gen as male genii</p> <p>Toqui-Lonko-Ulmenes analogy</p>

* Minor traits or vague aspects in the conceptualisation of an author are listed in square brackets

Appendix 3: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche religious specialists.

Approximate time	1569	1606	1646	1673	1674	1738	1765	1782-1787
Actor	Ercilla	Luis de Valdivia	Ovalle	Bascañan	Rosales	Olivares	Febrés	Molina
Conceptualisation of religious specialists	(1) wizard, fortune-teller (Puchecalco) (2) wise magician (Fiton) imposter theme secrecy-obscurity theme	(1) Machis as: (a) healers (b) wizards (c) lord of the waters (rainmaker) (2) Calcu as wizard [(3) nesues/ neges as peace augurs (?)]* imposter theme	Machi(s)/ machis as: (a) herbolarists/ healers/ physicians (b) inquesters (c) sorcerers imposter theme secrecy-obscurity theme	(1) mache(s)/ machis as: (a) wizards (b) fortune-tellers (c) healers/ physicians (2) hueies/ huyes [= mache(s)/ machis] (3) huecubuyes/ renis as: (a) priests (b) peace augurs	(1) Machi as: (a) wizards/ devil priests (b) healers/ physicians (c) fortune-tellers (2) Boqui(-)buyes as: (a) devil priests (b) peacemakers (3) lord of the rains imposter theme	(1) ministers of the devil, fortune-tellers, sorcerers (2) machis as healers (3) duguthue as fortune-teller imposter theme	(1) Machi(s)/ Machís as: (a) physicians (b) sorcerers (2) Calcu as sorcerer (3) Dugul/ dugulve as fortune-teller = Llihua/ llihua (4) Llihua/ llihua = Dugul/ dugulve (5) Gen/ gen as lords over dominions	(1) Mac(h)i as physicians (2) Calcus as sorcerers (3) Gligua/ Dugul as: (a) fortune-tellers (b) lords over dominions

* Minor traits or vague aspects in the conceptualisation of an author are listed in square brackets

Appendix 4: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche postmortality.

Approximate time	1558	1646	1673	1673	1674	1738	1739	1758	1765	1777	1782-1787
Actor	Vivar	Ovalle	Toict	Bascuñan	Rosales	Olivares	Córdova	Espiñeira	Febrés	Cosme	Molina
Conceptualisation of postmortality	semi-recreational place tomb furnishings as supply in the postmortal world	place of recreation and pleasure at the other shore of the sea tomb furnishings as provision for the journey guenupillan as the judge of the dead	three types of afterlives: (a) noblemen and brave soldiers are guided to the postmortal world of pleasure by Pillán [(b) soldiers' blood as rain from red clouds]* [(c) no afterlife for common men]	the spirit pilli goes to the other side of the cordillera	three types of afterlives: (a) noblemen as returning flies (b) soldiers as Pillanes in thunderstorm battle (c) common men in sad place at the other side of the sea tomb furnishings as supply in the postmortal world	two types of afterlives: (a) endless life in pleasure in carculafquem/ Isla Mocha at the other side of the sea [(b) pillanes as soldiers in thunderstorm battle] tomb furnishings as supply in the postmortal world tribute theme	other side of the sea tomb furnishings as provision for the journey	Pillán as guide to the hell Quethal	gullchemayhue in the west/ Isla Mocha ferrywoman theme: Thempùlcahue as soul guide in whale figure	pillan and whale as guides to the other side of the sea tomb furnishings as provision for the journey	two types of afterlives: (a) the soul pùlli/ pilli goes to Gulcemàn in the west (b) soldiers in thunderstorm battle ferrywoman theme: Tempulcague as soul guide in whale figure tribute theme tomb furnishings as provision for the journey

* Minor traits or vague aspects in the conceptualisation of an author are listed in square brackets

Appendix 5: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche folk religious beliefs.

Approximate time	Actor	Conceptualisation of folk religious beliefs
1594	Oña	fox movement
1606	Luis de Valdivia	(1) dreams (2) bird flight of Loyca and Meru
1674	Rosales	(1) dreams (2) bird flight of Meru (3) fox movement
1758	Olivares	(1) dreams (2) bird flight (3) whirlwind
1765	Febrés	(1) dreams (2) bird flight of Cleclen and Meru
1782-1787	Molina	(1) dreams (2) bird flight (3) ghosts and hobgoblins

Appendix 6: Main traits of conceptualisation in the strand of discourse Mapuche mythology.

Approximate time	1674	1739	1758	1760	1765	1782-1787
Actor	Rosales	Córdova	Olivares	Amat	Febrés	Molina
Conceptualisation of mythology	<p>deluge as combat between the snakes Tenten and Caicai-Vilu/ Caicai</p> <p>Tenten as: (a) devil (b) snake (c) floating mountains on which people escaped the deluge</p> <p>headcover theme</p> <p>human lineage theme (cannibalism, human sacrifice)</p>	<p>Thegtheg as floating mountain on which people escaped the deluge</p> <p>human lineage theme</p>	<p>ten, ten as three-pointed floating mountain on which people escaped the deluge</p> <p>headcover theme</p> <p>earthquake focus</p>	<p>Tentero/ Tentenes as three-pointed floating mountain(s) on which people escaped the deluge</p> <p>shelter building theme</p> <p>earthquake focus</p>	<p>Theg-theg/ chegcheg as hill on which people escaped the deluge</p> <p>human lineage theme</p>	<p>Thegtheg as: (a) three-pointed floating mountain on which people escaped the deluge (b) thundering/ lightning one</p> <p>headcover theme</p> <p>human lineage theme</p>

Summary

The study analyses the conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion in colonial Chile, focusing on texts written by European soldiers, sailors, government officials, missionaries, chroniclers, (proto-)scientists and travellers between 1545 and 1787. Applying methods of postcolonial studies and discourse theory to the Chilean colonial context, the study interprets the descriptions of Mapuche Religion as a discourse of alterity, which needs to be analysed against the background of colonial mechanisms of interpretation (e.g. Eurocentric binaries, exoticisms, stereotypes). By providing an analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse, the study has two general objectives: (1) Introducing Mapuche Religion to religious studies and thus provide a basis for future research in that area of investigation. (2) The study may also serve as a practical model for the further investigation of indigenous religions in other colonial contexts. The first part of the study thus provides a general overview on tendencies of interpretation in the Mapuche Spanish colonial context, discusses current results of the postcolonial and the Orientalism debates, argues for the necessity of taking the postcolonial turn in our discipline and, finally, debates the application of discourse analytical methods to the context of Mapuche Religion. The results of that first part are then employed in the second part of the study, which presents a detailed colonial discourse analysis of the Mapuche Religion discourse. Here our attention focuses on the doctrinal dimension of the conceptualisations of Mapuche Religion, which is further subdivided into five strands of discourse: Mapuche supernatural beings, religious specialists, postmortality, folk religious beliefs and mythology. Summarising and further analysing the results of the study in the third conclusive part of the book, we claim that Mapuche Religion was conceptualised in a colonial discourse of alterity as an unintelligible religion deviating from the ego's Christian standard and, thus, worked as a crucial element in sustaining the ego's exoticising mechanisms towards the Mapuche Other. Conclusively, we argue for a future religious studies that, by initialising a multi-perspectivical dialogue on religion, faces the challenges of a global comparison of religious colonialisms.