

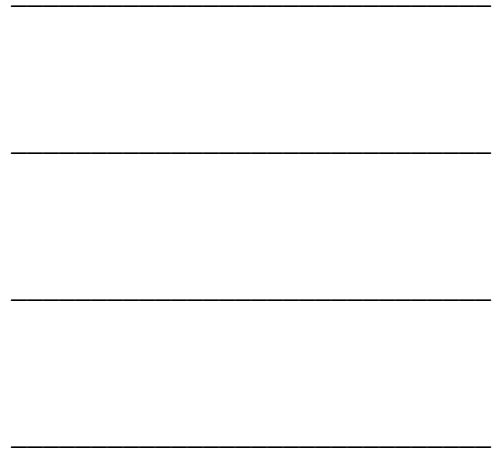
Playing with Propaganda and Patronage: the intersections of masculinity and public
image in early colonial Chilean literature.

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ABSTRACT

RECENT SCHOLARSHIP IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN SUCH AS THAT BY JOSÉ R. CARTAGENA CALDERÓN AND MAR MARTINEZ GÓNGORA EXAMINES SPANISH MASCULINITY IN LITERATURE AND ART. YET WHILE SPANISH MASCULINITY OF THE PENINSULA HAS BEGUN TO BE EXAMINED, MASCULINITY IN THE NEW WORLD HAS RECEIVED LESS SCHOLARLY ATTENTION. IN THE FOLLOWING, I ANALYZE A RANGE OF EARLY COLONIAL TEXTS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES THAT FOCUS ON THE CONQUEST OF CHILE. I DEMONSTRATE THAT NON-VIOLENT VIRTUES SUCH AS LOYALTY, MODERATION, RESTRAINT, AND FATHER-SON RELATIONSHIPS WERE CENTRAL TO UNDERSTANDINGS OF MASCULINITY IN CONQUEST DISCOURSE. THESE NON-AGGRESSIVE VIRTUES WERE A PART OF EUROPEAN DISCOURSE ON GENDER AND MASCULINITY THAT WERE INTRODUCED INTO THE NEW CONTEXT OF THE AMERICAS, CAUSING THEM TO BE ADAPTED AND MODIFIED IN SOME CASES. EACH CHAPTER FOCUSES ON A DIFFERENT VIRTUE OF EARLY MODERN IDEAL MASCULINITY. CHAPTER ONE EXAMINES THE THEME OF LOYALTY AND SELF-FASHIOING IN THE LETTERS OF PEDRO DE VALDIVIA. CHAPTER TWO ANALYZES THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPIRE , CONQUEST, AND MASCULINITY OF SPAIN'S PHILIP II THROUGH AN EXAMINATION OF THE ARISTOTILEAN PHILOSOPHY OF THE MEAN AND THE ERASMIAN CONCEPT OF RESTRAINT IN THE EPIC POEM *LA ARAUCANA* .CHAPTER THREE EXAMINES THE THEME OF MODERATION AND MASCULINITY OF GOVERNOR DON GARCIA HURTADO DE MENDOZA IN

THE EPIC POEM *ARAUCO DOMADO*. CHAPTER FOUR ANALYZES THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN FATHER-SON RELATIONSHIPS AND EMPIRE OF THE MENDOZA, HAPSBURG, AND ARAUCANIAN LEADERSHIP IN THE *COMEDIA ARAUCO DOMADO*. TOGETHER, THESE FOUR CHAPTERS DEMONSTRATE AN EARLY MODERN AND EARLY COLONIAL PREOCCUPATION WITH CREATING A PUBLIC IMAGE OF MEN IN LEADERSHIP THAT REFLECTED AN IDEAL MASCULINITY BASED ON NON-VIOLENT OR NON-AGGRESSIVE VIRTUES.

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Introduction: Non-Violent Representations of Violent Men

“Aqui da fin Arauco domado” is the last line of Lope de Vega’s *comedia* of the same name. The play tells the story of the Governor of Chile, don García Hurtado de Mendoza, successfully subduing a rebellion of the local Amerindian population against what was a fully legitimized Spanish government. The only verifiable detail of this conclusion is that don García Hurtado de Mendoza was governor. The truth about the situation is that the Mapuche people of Southern Chile had never been completely conquered by the Spanish prior to don García’s arrival and that they had never accepted Spanish rule and were not fully subdued until the nineteenth century. The conflict between the Spanish and the Mapuches was not a rebellion of king’s vassals but sustained resistance to Spanish imperialism and, later, the Chilean government. Arauco was never “Arauco domado” and the relationships between Spanish and Amerindian were not resolved during don García’s tenure as governor.

Nevertheless, the texts written about the conquest of Chile from Pedro de Valdivia to don García Hurtado de Mendoza stress the success of these men. They claim that they had been victorious in conquering Chile and incorporating it into the Spanish Empire. They do not attempt to hide the fact that in many cases conflict, violence, trickery, and manipulation were involved in the encounters between Spanish and Amerindian. Despite these admissions, the texts written about this time period also often emphasize the non-violent aspects of the Spanish conquistadors. Even the most violent and cruel men of early Chilean history did not necessarily want to develop a public reputation as such. The ideal male leader was seen as prudent, loyal, just, moderated, forgiving, and compassionate.

The early modern period was fraught with warfare and there existed the expectation that men, especially aristocratic men, were to participate in these conflicts. Therefore, an aristocratic man needed to live up to expectations of martial masculinity. The key aspects of this brand of masculinity were martial prowess and military leadership. However, there was also the expectation that martial masculinity was to be balanced with less aggressive qualities. The ideal military leader practiced justice and clemency not unbridled violence. Furthermore, the court shaped early modern aristocratic masculinity as much as the battlefield. The book *Il Cortegiano* by Baltassar Castiglione stressed not only the need for military skill but also the need for a man to participate in courtly life. This included the reading and writing of poetry, dancing, and superb oratory skills that all had the goal of achieving *sprezzaturra*, a kind of feigned spontaneity in grace and eloquence. Within the social hierarchy of the court there was often fierce competition for positions of prestige and power. However, qualities such as loyalty, friendship, familial love and family duty were often used to frame otherwise competitive situations. Overall, qualities of non-violence were given priority in many texts of the time and take on particular importance in the texts written about the conquest of Chile.

Feminist theory and masculinity studies have often focused on the violent aspects of different varieties of masculinity. Feminist scholarship has long identified how these expectations negatively affect women and children. Work on how these expectations also affect men started in the early 1980s. These discussions have taught us to realize that concern over gender roles and the definition of what it is to be a man is nothing new; reflections on gender and masculinity can be found from the classical period to the early modern to our own time. When peering into the past it seems our ideas on “traditional”

manhood are more grounded in our current assumptions about masculinity rather than some inherited norm. Frequently, this “traditional” masculinity is understood as displaying one or more of the following characteristics: stoicism in the face of adversity, detachment from emotions, physical aggression, hyper-competitiveness, social dominance over women and children and heterosexuality. This is not to say that physical violence, degradation of women and homosexual men, and fierce social competition were not a part of the cultural landscape or were not a part of some men’s behavior. It is to recognize that this “traditional” manhood is only one variant of many possible masculinities. In the past, as in today, there existed different and more complex masculinities that preferred non-aggression and non-violence.

Current masculinity studies is both a branch of, and a reaction to, feminist theory. The founding scholars and writers of masculinity studies (such as R.W. Connell and Victor J. Seidler) come predominately from the field of sociology. Others, such as Warren Farrell, come from political science while others, such as Eve Sedgwick, come from English and gender studies. With the exception of Eve Sedgwick, whose work explores masculinity in the early modern to the nineteenth centuries, early authors in masculinity studies focused mainly on men’s life in the 1980s and 1990s. Some writers, like John Bly, wrote proscriptive texts that outlined new directions for modern masculinity that developed into the mytho-poetic movement. Others, like Kenneth Clatterbaugh, sought to describe and differentiate between the different voices and goals of those involved in masculinity studies and men’s rights. There was also significant overlap with Queer Theory, and two foundational texts of the field, Eve Sedgwick’s *Between Men* and R.W. Connell’s *Masculinities*, both discuss intersectionalities of

gender and sexual orientation. All of these authors continue to inform the field and masculinity studies today still looks to their writings for guidance and direction.

Masculinity studies can be said to have started in academia with the publication of Eve Sedgwick's seminal *Between Men* (1985). In this work, Sedgwick analyzes triangular relationships among men and women and how these relationships help a man define his own masculinity. The triangular relationship described by Sedgwick almost always involves two men and one woman. The woman plays a support role by being the object of desire through which the two men understand one another and come to understand themselves. Sometimes, the men act out their desire for one another through their interactions with the woman. Sedgwick's work is closely tied to early feminist studies in its concern for the secondary role played by the woman, but her work also provided a new direction for approaching gender and gender relations in its handling of men and masculinity. At the time, masculinity was typically understood to be a cultural and societal default, a neutral state of being, the norm from which the "gendered" sex deviates. Sedgwick complicates these assumptions by demonstrating masculinity is not a default, but something that is constructed and negotiated.

In 1989, Victor J. Seidler published his highly influential *Rediscovering Masculinity*. Heavily informed by feminist theory, Seidler's book focuses on the damaging effects that 'rational thinking' has had on men and their relationships with women. He argues that devotion to reason has alienated men from themselves starting in the period of the Enlightenment. Seidler promotes a new contemporary masculinity in which men acknowledge their anger and resentment, trust their intuition, allow themselves to be emotionally vulnerable, and to acknowledge and accept their emotional

needs. He promotes a non-violent masculinity informed by feminist principles. These are continual themes in Seidler's work and he publishes on them again in 1991 with his *Recreating Sexual Politics*.

Publishing shortly after Seidler and giving masculinity studies a new direction, R.W. Connell and her work *Masculinities* came out in 1995. In her study, Connell develops the highly influential idea of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity attempts to explain practices that promote a dominant societal position for men and a subordinate position not only for women but also subordinate masculinities that are perceived as "feminine" and thus perceived as rightly dominated by the hegemonic force. There is an emphasis in her work on the formation of a brutal, violent, tough, pseudo-natural, and crisis-prone hegemonic masculinity. However, her theory has also contributed to the recognition that multiple masculinities exist in competition with one another at any given time and that there are historical and cultural differences that lead to variations in hegemonic and subordinate masculinities.

As can be seen, tensions and contradictions exist in present day theories on masculinity. Some critics view hegemonic masculinity as inherently prone to aggression, violence, and the desire to control others. Others want men to be more honest about their emotions but do not want to do away with the aggressive aspects of masculinity. On the other hand, there is a clear vein of thought that wants to rethink "traditional" masculinity and provide alternative approaches and possibilities. These alternatives are usually rooted in emotional intelligence and non-violent practices. This line of thinking also rejects competition, dominance, power, and control as defining aspects of masculinity and instead promotes cooperation, emotional support and bonding, healthy relationships

between men and healthy relationships between the genders. Following this line of thought in masculinity studies, early modern studies have developed a wide range of scholarship that focus on non-aggressive masculinity. This wave of scholarly interest in non-aggression or non-violence has looked primarily at England, Germany, France, and to some degree, Spain and Italy. Aspects such as age, physical appearance, marital status, fatherhood, and more, figure strongly in understandings of a broader early modern masculinity. How these early modern understandings of masculinity crossed the Atlantic during the time of Spanish colonial expansion has been less studied. Engaging with various models of early modern understandings of masculinity, I seek to demonstrate how these ideas were brought to the New World and the discourse surrounding conquest. Each of the following scholars and themes are important for examining those aspects of non-aggression in the selected texts examined here of early colonial Chilean literature.

Several prominent scholars in early modern masculinity studies come from the field of English, for example, the work of Eve Sedgwick. Her work would not have been possible without the work of another prominent scholar, Stephen Greenblatt, who examines the subjectivity and gendered aspects of self-fashioning in the English early modern world in his *Renaissance self fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (1980). Self-fashioning is the desire to present oneself publicly in a culturally acceptable way; what's more, certain gendered aspects of representation and symbolism come into play in this exercise of identity creation. Art and literature played an important part in informing societal and cultural expectations which were then reflected in the portraiture of the noble classes. Men often displayed symbols of power and control while women often displayed symbols of beauty, chastity and modesty. Attempts at self-fashioning can be as

unsuccessful as they can be successful and the complexities of early modern culture did not always provide a recipe for achieving success. Indeed, many studies of masculinity in the early modern period come back to the theme of self-fashioning and the construction of identity.

The pressure to present oneself in culturally acceptable ways and to construct identity can provoke anxiety, an issue that Mark Breitenburg takes up in his *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (1996). Here, Breitenburg posits that “anxious masculinity” is a redundant phrase. For Breitenburg, anxiety is not a by-product of masculinity but rather an essential component of masculinity as it exists within the patriarchy. He develops the idea that masculinity is unavoidably anxious in any society or culture that privileges patriarchal power. He proposes that in early modern England, despite a discourse that assumed a divine and natural gendered order, a wide range of literary production speaks to an underlying insecurity in this assumption. This theory is important because it questions a line of thought that equates masculinity with power and strength. Breitenburg demonstrates in this work how men experience anxiety while simultaneously holding power.

Themes of self-fashioning and anxiety are also seen in Mark Albert Johnson’s *Beard Fetish in Early Modern England* (2011) in which he examines the role physical features such as the beard played in the construction and understanding of masculinity in the early modern period. Self presentation and perception of a man’s beard defined him for others; the size, shape, color, and other characteristics of his facial hair took on meaning and significance that reflect “varied and competing cultural meanings of manhood” (33). An overgrown beard, for example, may denote either a lack of self

control or a lack of pretension whereas the beardlessness of a young man signified gender subordination and sexual inferiority. Johnson demonstrates how anxiety over self-presentation both created and reflected societal anxiety on masculinity.

Age and physical characteristics are also important elements of Alexandra Shepard's work *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (2003). Shepard identifies three ways in which manhood was understood: age, household status, and social status. These three "axes of difference", as she defines them, are each informed by the others. A man reached adulthood through age (typically starting around age 30-35), marriage, and "self-styled respectability" (246) that included "strength, thrift, industry, self-sufficiency, honesty, authority, autonomy, self-government, moderation, reason, wisdom and wit" (247). She identifies the "counter-codes" of manhood as prodigality, transience, violence, bravado, and debauchery (248). And so, different men would benefit or not from their ability to perform a certain kind of manhood within their own social contexts. Finally, she points that as the seventeenth century continued the importance of age and marital status continued to define a man, but increasingly, so did his class.

Todd Reeser's work focuses on early modern masculinity in France and his *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture* (2006), presents a ternary model of gender, rather than binary, in which moderation is linked with ideal masculinity. Reeser examines writers such as Rabelais, Montaigne, and Erasmus to analyze how theories of moderation played a role in cultural and gendered understandings of the time. His work is based on Aristotle's theory of moderation and in order to define moderation one first needs to define what it is not, in this case it is neither excess nor lack. As he explains: "This approach to sexuality indicates that "immoderation" is not moderation's only

opposite, rather that excess *and* lack are its two “nonmoderate” opposites” (13). Reeser explains that moderation is an inherently gendered discourse because “Throughout Renaissance culture, moderation is either coded as-or assumed to be-masculine, and, conversely, women are coded as inherently nonmoderate” (15). Reeser develops his argument by showing how a moderate man was defined by opposing him to others who represented either excess or lack, including women, the new world Amerindian, an effeminate aristocracy, the hermaphrodite and the sodomite. Reeser concludes: “In the end, because male subjectivity is predicated on the incorporation of the nonmoderate other as well as on its rejection, moderate masculinity ends up in a very precarious position where it never really knows whether it should “reject” the extremes or “participate” in them wholeheartedly” (26).

Across early modern Europe fatherhood was a defining feature of manhood. P.H. Cullum points out that in Germany, as the Middle Ages turned to the Early Modern, there was increasing tension between two competing versions of masculinity: the celibate monastic and the secular father. The latter would gain more prominence in social and religious discourse as the early modern progressed. Turning to Spain, Allyson Poska, points out that the Early Modern expected Spanish men to be “well born, wise, protective of their honor, temperate but willing to employ violence when necessary, generous but good providers for their families” (8). Whatever else a man was, he was a father, a provider and a caretaker of his family. Looking at Italy, Valeria Finucci concludes that the preferred early modern mode of depicting the male was as a “take-charge paterfamilias” (5). She also argues that there was considerable anxiety over procreation, a man who was not in control of his own reproduction was less than a man, and hence women’s

sexuality was to be controlled in order to ensure a child produced from the union was truly that of the husband. Control and authority are emphasized in Karen Spierling's discussion of the importance of hierarchy, subordination, and obedience in relationships between fathers, men, and their families. Spierling also points out that in return for their obedience, it was the man's (the father's) responsibility to take care of his family as part of being a "faithful Christian man" (101). Scott Hendrix extends this concept further by arguing that the role of the father was more than a private, domestic affair, it was also a public and political concern because "a man who could not rule his family was a man who could not exercise authority"(71).

Looking at a pan-European oeuvre of religious art, Charlene Villaseñor Black explores this shift in emphasis on the role of the father through an analysis of the religious paintings of the time. She finds that St. Joseph is transformed from an old man who has little to do with the Holy Family in Middle Age depictions to a young and vibrant man who plays an active role in raising his foster-son, Jesus. One of the most common depictions of Joseph and Jesus in the early modern show Joseph holding the baby Jesus tenderly as the two look lovingly into one another's eyes. Villaseñor Black points out that this came at a time when the Spanish Catholic Church was urging men to become involved in the daily life of their families (89). This came with a renewed valorization of not just fathers, but involved fathers and represented, according to Villaseñor Black, a new kind of masculinity. Images of the Itinerant Joseph, for example, provided fathers with a model to emulate in guiding their children (Villaseñor Black 96). Villaseñor Black also summarizes the role of the father in this extended citation: "Sermons that valorized the authority and importance of fathers proliferated in the Early

Modern Spanish Empire. Preachers compared fathers to Kings presiding over the kingdoms of their families, to the Church fathers and to teachers. According to these sermonists, children owed their parents not only love, veneration, and thankfulness, but also obedience. Parents, in turn, were obligated to raise well their children. To that end, parents (and fathers in particular) were to provide their children with education, vigilance, and good example...Most importantly, however, parents were responsible for their children's religious education" (114).

Fatherhood represented the ideal heterosexual and family structure in the early modern period and offered an example in miniature of what the political system should resemble. Working with notions of gender, politics, and literature in Spain, José R. Cartagena Calderón explores representation of masculinity in his work *Masculinidades en obras: El drama de la hombría en la España imperial* (2008). Cartagena Calderón addresses societal anxiety in the seventeenth century over Spain's place in the world and gendered notions of her former greatness and contemporary decline. The effeminacy of the nobility was blamed for what was interpreted at the time as military defeats, economic decline and weakening political position of Spain in Europe. This effeminacy could be seen in such figures as the "lindo" and other representations on stage. To counter this effeminacy, the theater represented another masculinity that positioned the Spanish man in opposition to "effeminate" masculinities such as the moors, the Jewish, and the Amerindians. However, such representations were not so clear cut with Spanish men sometimes taking on effeminate characteristics, positioning them in a weakened state of superiority or even subordination to others. The objective of his study is to "poner

de realce cómo la construcción de masculinidades estaba no al margen, sino en el centro mismo de la producción teatral, literaria y cultural de la España aurisecular” (26).

The theme of self-presentation and self-fashioning also makes its way into the work of Mar Martínez Góngora and her work *El hombre atemperado* (2005). Martínez Góngora’s approach is grounded in a reading of texts by Erasmus and didactic literature of the time. The second chapter of her book focuses on the Hapsburg dynasty in Spain, especially Charles V and Philip II, and how they served as examples of an idealized masculinity that privileged moderation, self-discipline, and self-control. As king and political father, Charles V and Philip II needed not only to act on these virtues but to visually demonstrate these qualities in portraiture. This self-discipline and self-control was emotional, intellectual, behavioral, and corporal. A man in control of himself was even in control of his facial expressions, his face remaining serene and unmoved in the most difficult of situations. Martínez Góngora also complicates early modern masculinity by examining hegemonic and subordinate masculinities on the Peninsula, revealing different reactions and solutions to gendered expectations according to class, race and religious affiliation.

In the texts to follow, these approaches to early modern manhood are used to examine instances of self-fashioning and the creation of public image of a handful of men who stand out in early colonial Chilean literature. The representations of these men will turn to themes of age, physical characteristics, fatherhood, gender roles, and non-violent virtues. The theme of moderation will play a direct and indirect role in the representation of these men. The texts examined span from the 1540s in Chile to the 1620s in Spain, all of them take as their central point of reference the wars of conquest in 1540s and 1550s

Chile. The three main figures of Pedro de Valdivia, Philip II, and don García Hurtado de Mendoza appear in more than one of the texts, taking on different representations and interpretations of their subjectivity and masculinity.

Chapter one examines the letters of Pedro de Valdivia, the first conquistador of Chile. By exploring the themes of self-fashioning and masculine anxiety, this chapter demonstrates the rhetorical moves made by Pedro de Valdivia to construct his own public image in an attempt to gain personal favor and reward. While at times Valdivia is unruffled by his own brand of violent justice, at other times he is almost apologetic for the most minor of offenses, though he never really offers an apology, just a defense mounted through a series of explanations and excuses. Most importantly, he highlights his loyalty to a variety of different men in the social hierarchy of colonial Peru and imperial Spain. Loyalty informs both his violent and non-violent actions. His rhetoric of loyalty attempts to disguise his political maneuverings as acts of faith, trust and friendship. The rhetoric of loyalty paints competition between men as a series of self-fashioned moments that prove their worth as individuals. Loyalty becomes a defining virtue for the self-fashioned masculinity of Valdivia who uses it to try to climb the social ranks and earn recognition and rewards from the king.

Chapter two studies the theme of moderation in Alonso de Ercilla's epic poem *La Araucana*. Looking to the work of Todd Reeser and his examination of Aristotle in the early modern as well as Mar Martínez Góngora and her examination of Erasmus in the early modern, this chapter examines the representations of two leaders in the poem: the Araucanian military leader Caupolicán and the Spanish King Philip II. The Spanish king is presented as an ideal leader who demonstrates an ideal masculinity informed by the

principle of moderation. In the search for moderation, the king must practice self-control and self-discipline in order to avoid any kind of excess that would lead him off the path of the mean. This self-control enables him to not only control his own body, emotions, and actions, but to effectively control others under his command. But the ultimate goal of the practice of moderation is the attainment of such virtues as prudence, justness, and clemency. Philip II is able to achieve all of this and more in the poem, becoming an exemplar of this brand of early modern masculinity. On the other side of the Atlantic, in Chile, the Araucanian leader Caupolicán also demonstrates his ability to practice moderation, achieve a level of self-control and control over others as well as put into practice prudence, justness, and clemency. Caupolicán is represented as a kind of Philip II in miniature. Given his status as an Araucanian war leader who actively fights against the Spanish this representation may be unexpected. Yet, the parallels drawn between the two men inform the political discourse of the poem and contribute to an argument that insists in the active involvement of Philip II in even the remotest of places in the empire.

Chapter three continues the examination of moderation in the poem *Arauco domado* written by Pedro de Oña, the sequel to *La Araucana*. In this poem it is not the Spanish king who represents the ideal moderated masculinity but the Governor of Chile, don García Hurtado de Mendoza. As governor, don García developed a less than favorable reputation and actively sought ways to address and correct this reputation through official chronicles, poetry, and theater. The propagandistic elements of the poem are also an example of concern over public reputation, not dissimilar to the letters written by Pedro de Valdivia, only in this case don García Hurtado de Mendoza hires out his self-fashioning and public relations campaign to a second party. The poem depicts a

moderated man to counter don García's less favorable reputation and replaces it with a man who exemplifies the moderated ideal and, through it, ideal leadership.

Chapter four follows the Mendoza family's attempts to control public image through artistic production, in particular the theater. Despite Chile's peripheral status in the New World and in the Spanish Empire, and despite the brief time that don García spent there as governor, there are a surprising number of *comedias* written about this time in Chilean history. These *comedias* were written during a span of sixty or more years from the early 1600s to 1665, when the last play about don García was written. This chapter examines the earliest *comedia*, *Arauco domado*, by Lope de Vega. Expanding upon José R. Cartagena Calderón's theory of anxiety over an effeminized Spanish aristocratic man, this chapter analyzes the importance of father-son relationships. *Arauco domado* portrays don García Hurtado de Mendoza as an example as to what Spanish men should aspire to be; a man who is untouched by feminine influences and who can successfully inherit the mantle of responsibility entrusted in him by his father. This *comedia* not only plays into the Mendoza family's interests in public image but also link that public image to an idealized version of Spanish masculinity and leadership.

The primary men examined in each chapter, Pedro de Valdivia, Philip II, and don García Hurtado de Mendoza are figures for which either firsthand accounts or secondhand accounts attempt to develop and control public reputation. In each case, this public reputation is built on gendered notions of ideal masculine leadership. In turn, ideal leadership is linked with socio-political concerns of the Spanish Empire that seek to extend, maintain, or rebuild its influence and power. Chile, even as a peripheral colony, proved to be a testing ground for the Spanish Empire and, as can be seen in the

examination of the texts to follow, played a more important role in the socio-political discourse of the time than may otherwise be thought. In a way, through the literature written about Chile, this geographically peripheral colony was able to move in the political and cultural discourses of the center. What all the texts examined here have in common is the creation of a masculinity that, while practicing martial prowess, also prioritizes non-violent virtues. These non-violent virtues reflect understandings of masculinity and leadership primarily derived from humanistic thought but also reflect an inherited concept of manhood and masculinity from classical to late medieval/early renaissance time periods.

Chapter 1: Valdivia and Masculine Loyalty

A message arrives in the fort town of Concepción, Chile. News of a traitor's rebellion against the royal representative in Peru reaches the then lieutenant governor of the young colony, Pedro de Valdivia. Immediately, he calls his town council to order. He advises them of the rebellion and informs them that he plans on returning to Peru in order to defend royal authority. He asks them to support his mission by supplying him with funds, weapons, and manpower. Though they hesitate at first (Concepción has its own problems) Valdivia either convinces or coerces the majority of the town to help him in his expedition north. He then dispatches a letter to President of the Audiencia de Lima La Gasca, (the new representative of the king), informing him of his eminent arrival. Valdivia is risking the safety of the new colony, which needs all the men she can get to defend herself against frequent attacks. He is also risking his title of Lieutenant Governor of Chile. Should the rebels win, and Valdivia will lose everything. But Valdivia is unconcerned with that, he only wants to serve his king, as he has stated any number of times in his correspondence with various authorities. Valdivia privileges his loyalty to the king above all else, or at least that is what he would have the reader of this episode in his letter believe. Valdivia uses the rhetoric of loyalty to fashion himself a member of the circles of power in Charles V's imperial administration and ingratiate himself to men in power while inserting himself into colonial politics of the greater Viceroyalty of Peru.

Pedro de Valdivia is known as the first conquistador of Chile; under his command the greater part of present day Chile was brought under Spanish control. Yet most stories of the conquest of America have little to say about him or leave his exploits out altogether. This may be because Chile did not hold a rich empire like that of the Aztecs in

Mexico or the Inca in Peru. It may be because Valdivia was not particularly famous during his own time; his letters were not printed and circulated like those of Cortés and he did not gain the levels of infamy, or heroism, of Francisco Pizarro. Or it may be because the geographic location of Chile left it on the periphery of the conquest and of colonial administration. However, Valdivia did play an important role in the shaping of the Viceroyalty of Peru from the early days under Francisco Pizarro to the aftermath of the demise of Gonzalo Pizarro. Valdivia is also a prominent figure in early Chilean history, founding several of Chile's most important cities like Santiago and Concepción. Valdivia also made his way into literature, appearing in the popular poem *La Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla. He was one of the original conquistadors of the Americas, even if he is sometimes overlooked or forgotten.

A scholar of the early colonial period of the Southern Cone, Fernanda Molina views the early conquistadors that Valdivia belonged to as inherently violent individuals who celebrated warfare. She summarizes the Hispanic conquistador male as “un individuo que vivía para la guerra y que era capaz de realizar grandes proezas en virtud de su capacidad física y de su fuerza de voluntad en el marco de un estricto código de honor” (186). She argues that masculinity in the Americas was shaped by this image of “fieros varones aficionados a guerra” as contrasted with Spanish representations of the Indian as sodomite (186). Her analysis is not without its merits. The Conquest was a violent time that ushered in clashes of arms and clashes of culture. Display violence and the theatrical use of violence was standard procedure for conquistadors in the Americas (Restall 24-25). In *Violent Masculinities: Male Aggression in Early Modern Texts and Culture and Masculinities, Childhood, Violence*, edited by Jennifer Feather and Catherine

Thomas, several essays study in detail how violence shaped a man in this time period. These anthologies deal with a range of topics but focus on the violence of martial masculinities. Given the rampant warfare of the sixteenth century, both in Europe and abroad, it is unsurprising that scholarship should focus on the violence of the time. And given our knowledge of the verifiable violence and destruction waged against the Amerindians by the conquistadors it is also understandable that we should be preoccupied with themes of oppression and abuse.

Pedro de Valdivia was no different from other conquistadors in terms of his violent approach to colonizing Chile. He confesses, and even boasts, of the abuses he committed against the Amerindians there. He is proud to have broken the will and subjugated the peoples in the region of present day Santiago. He shows no guilt or remorse at killing thousands of Amerindians in a single battle and has no qualms in mutilating their bodies as punishment for their “rebellions”. His abuses were denounced to both the Viceroy of Peru and were eventually presented to the King of Spain himself. A *cédula real* of 1549 reminds the conquistadors, and Pedro de Valdivia in particular, that they should not harm the natives they encounter, according to the laws already established to that effect (“Cédulas reales”). Therefore, it would be fair to approach the biography of Pedro de Valdivia as someone who was violent, cruel, and one whom celebrated warfare.

However, this is not how Valdivia presents himself in his letters. He portrays any violence committed on his part as expedient and justifiable. Valdivia was a professional soldier who specialized in warfare who had experience in battle in Italy and Flanders. He was not a green soldier like many of the conquistadors. Valdivia argues that the use of

violence is a means through which he can protect his men and serve his king. Valdivia depicts the violence committed by him and his soldiers as necessary because it helps to secure sites for forts and acts as a form of intimidation that discourages attacks on Spanish encampments by Amerindians native to the area. Valdivia never engages in questions of whether or not violence is necessary in the conquest of Chile. He takes for granted in his writing that the violence in Chile ensures that his own men and the Amerindians submit it to his will and to that of the Crown. Violence is not presented as morally corrupt or something that should be questioned. In his letters it is simply a non-issue. Rather than struggling with the moral implications of violence, Valdivia's primary concern in his writing is that of loyalty. And in this he is not alone. Lorraine White points out that loyalty was of great concern in the military discourses of the sixteenth century. Captains were expected to promote and ensure loyalty to the king in the men they recruited (White 43). And even though there is no evidence of oaths being sworn and no clear evidence that a sense of loyalty to the king was enough to prevent desertion or even mutiny, loyalty to particular captains was much more effective. The most loyal and effective bonds were those between the men of a small coterie (*cuadrilla*), about four or five men who "slept, cooked and ate their food together" (White 45). Loyalty extended beyond these small groups of men and into wider systems of association and patronage; as Restall has said "the principle of reciprocity and mutual interest was at the heart of the Spanish patronage system" (41). Loyalty provided not only camaraderie and protection on the battlefield; if you were loyal to the right person, it could also be an effective means of receiving rewards and advancing in the social hierarchy.

Loyalty in Peru and its subordinate colony, Chile, was ever shifting and played an important role in who profited, and who didn't, from the establishment of new colonies. Consequently, loyalty often found itself in crisis there. Allegiances shifted and former comrades and partners turned on one another. Grievances and personal affronts splintered Spanish cohesion in the region and Pedro de Valdivia found it necessary to navigate the waves of changing loyalty and power centers in order to secure his own position within the social hierarchy. In order to achieve his two goals of repaying his substantial debt accrued while financing his expedition in Chile, along with being named Governor of Chile by the King, he needed to maintain his Chilean colony but also be involved in events in Peru. He needed to show effective leadership as well as choose the correct superior to back. Thanks either to political astuteness or good luck, Valdivia was able to successfully manipulate the shifting sands of loyalty in the greater Peruvian vice-royalty for his own personal gain.

Valdivia uses the rhetoric of loyalty to ingratiate himself to different men in power. In his letters, he develops a keen sense of the virtue of loyalty and what it means to be a man. In Valdivia's letters, loyalty is the mark of a good man, and Valdivia presents himself to be a good man. Loyalty is also a means through which to cultivate associations and acquaintances in the social web of colonial Peru and Chile. Associations with particular men, who are themselves perceived as honorable and loyal, form a part of an individual's identity. Loyalty and disloyalty can make or break the man, so choosing one's alliances is paramount for success. Personal interest played an important role in the chains of loyalty and loyalty could shift from one person to another to better secure profit or reward. And so, what was truly at stake was not necessarily true loyalty to someone

but the appearance of loyalty in the self-fashioning of ambitious men. In the life and writings of Pedro de Valdivia, politics and masculinity are packaged together in the rhetoric of loyalty.

Historical Background

The story of Pedro de Valdivia begins north of Chile during the early years of conquest of Peru. Valdivia was not present for the initial conquest, kidnapping and ransom of the Incan Emperor Atahualpa, but Valdivia's fortunes would be formed by the consequences of that historical moment. The Spanish conquistadors Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro were already in the New World before they made their way to Peru. They would travel through Panama and present day Venezuela before turning their attention south and west where rumors of a great civilization would lead them to the Incan Empire. The two began the expedition to explore lands on the Pacific coast of South America as partners but they would quickly become divided and enter into fierce competition with one another.

The expedition to Peru was broken up into two different stages. Francisco Pizarro would press on into new territory with his group of about two hundred men while Diego de Almagro would organize reinforcements and supplies, with plans to arrive shortly after Pizarro. This agreement would turn out to be disadvantageous for Almagro and a point of contention between the former partners. After Pizarro and his men successfully subdued the Incan emperor and established a base for colonial expansion, they began to divvy up the spoils. Nearly all of the riches and rewards of the expedition went to those who were with Pizarro at Cajamarca when the Spanish kidnapped the Incan Emperor. Those who arrived later, including Almagro, were given scraps. Unsurprisingly, this

caused much grievance and strife among the conquistadors. Almagro came out slightly ahead of his men due to his association, and initial contract, with Pizarro. The result was that Almagro was named governor of the city of Cuzco by Francisco Pizarro. If this has been all, the story might have ended here, but men representing both Pizarro and Almagro made it back to Spain where supporters of Almagro petitioned the king that Almagro be named Governor of a portion of the newly acquired lands. The king agreed and Almagro was given the title of Governor of the Province of New Toledo, an area that extended south of the Peruvian territory governed by Pizarro. The conflict began when Almagro claimed that the city of Cuzco fell within his new jurisdiction and that he now had independent rule of this ancient Incan city. Pizarro saw things differently as he had recently received word that the territory of New Castile had been officially extended further south and east to include the city of Cuzco. The disagreement between the two men over the city of Cuzco was eventually solved through negotiation. Part of the negotiation of 1535 stipulated that Almagro could go south to explore the territory newly granted him, but if what he found was dissatisfying he could return and reclaim governorship of Cuzco and keep all his share of the rewards he earned in the conquest of Peru.

Almagro didn't go to Chile alone; he received the aid of Incan officials such as Inca Manco, who served as guide and interpreter. Inca Manco led the small group of Spanish forces along an Incan route through the mountains that passed east through Bolivia and crossed the Andes in Northern Argentina at the San Francisco pass. There, Almagro could move directly into the valley of Copiapó, where his land claim began. The march through the mountains was devastating for his small contingent of only 50 Spanish

men and maybe 1,000 *yanacona* followers. Anyone caught too far from the group was killed by hostile tribes and the group as a whole suffered hunger, altitude sickness, and frostbite. It was not an auspicious start. But upon receiving a sizeable gold tribute and a friendly reception in Copiapó, they decided to press on knowing that reinforcements were due to arrive by sea. Only the reinforcements they expected did not arrive, and the further south they went, the more aggressive the tribes became.

Eventually, the expedition received news of a rebellion forming against Pizarro in Peru and they returned north. Not only was Chile not what they had hoped it would be, another Incan Empire, but they were afraid of being cut off from supplies and allies in Peru. There, Almagro engaged his former ally, Inca Manco, in a battle for control of the city of Cuzco. Almagro claimed victory and then demanded that the governorship of the city be returned to him. He took hostage Francisco Pizarro's brother, Hernando, and warned he would only release Hernando if his terms were met. In response, Francisco Pizarro challenged Almagro to a battle, that of Las Salinas in 1538. The Pizarro faction emerged victorious and Almagro was condemned to a public beheading. Later, Hernando Pizarro would be imprisoned in Spain for his role in Almagro's death.

It is the battle of Las Salinas where Pedro de Valdivia enters the story. From the age of nineteen, Valdivia had served in the royal forces and fought in Italy, Flanders, and was present at the important Spanish victory at Pavia in 1525. It was in this same year that he returned to Spain and married. There, he lived quietly until 1535, when he joined his long time friend Jerónimo de Alderete in the Americas. Not long after his arrival, there was a call to arms for men to help put down an Indian rebellion in Peru. Valdivia answered the call and, when he arrived in Peru, his military experience and expertise

were soon recognized. Francisco Pizarro named him his Quartermaster General at the battle of Las Salinas. Valdivia's role in the victory there would earn him an estate in the valley of La Canela, an *encomienda* that included a silver mine. The riches of the estate would make Valdivia nearly as wealthy as Pizarro himself. At this time, Valdivia was around thirty seven years old. He could have lived out a life of considerable wealth on his estate in Peru, but instead, Valdivia asked for a commission from Pizarro to begin an expedition south to Chile. Valdivia entered into the agreement with full knowledge of the hardships of the previous expedition, the lack of wealth found there, and the hostile tribes of the region. But in 1539, Valdivia began his plans to head south. To do so, he sold his estate and spent months trying to find funding and men to accompany him. Francisco Pizarro provided him nothing, perhaps worried that the Valdivia expedition might follow the pattern of a Cortés conquest and betrayal. In the end, Valdivia mounted enough money but also took on considerable debt, and the only men he could find to go with him were former almagristas. Around one hundred and fifty men, either due to their poor prospects in Peru with their leader dead, or out of a desire to try again, eventually joined Valdivia.

Valdivia now faced a new problem in Sancho de Hoz, Pizarro's secretary who had returned to Spain, married aristocracy, and maneuvered his way into a position to receive the title of governor of the territories south of Peru. Unaware of Sancho de Hoz's appointment, Pizarro had already named Valdivia his lieutenant governor. Pizarro negotiated a contract between the two men, giving them joint leadership roles in the expedition south. Valdivia would go first and Hoz would organize supplies and reinforcements. But after Valdivia departed, Hoz was imprisoned for months for debts

accrued and upon his release he began an assassination plot against Valdivia. Hoz made his way to Chile with two of his co-conspirators, Antonio de Ulloa and Juan de Guzman. Their plot was ultimately unsuccessful. In a surprising show of clemency, Valdivia spared the lives of both Hoz and Ulloa so long as Hoz signed an annulment of their previous contract on August 8, 1540.

Now in complete control of the colony, Valdivia founded the city of Santiago in February of 1541. The new settlement then formed a town council, of which Valdivia's old friend, Jerónimo de Alderete, was a prominent member. Soon after the first harvest, the indigenous peoples of the area were no longer content to serve the Spanish. Rebellions began to break out. It was rumored the Amerindians were inspired by news of an assassination plot against Pizarro. Valdivia had reason to be concerned that the leader of the plot, Diego de Almagro the younger, was now in power in Peru. This could mean Valdivia's displacement in Chile or even his death for his role in the death of Diego de Almagro the elder. Valdivia's obsession with being named Governor of Chile begins here, once his political allies in Peru were no longer able to support him. Valdivia also had to be careful in his next steps for fear that the rumors were not true and Pizarro was still alive. A petition from Valdivia to the king could seem like a deliberate attempt to thwart Pizarro's influence in the new colony. Valdivia needed to tread lightly. Luckily, he had found a way to provide greater stability and income for his colony.

Peace did not reign long in the new colony. With news of Francisco Pizarro's supposed death, the Amerindians in both Copiapó and the Santiago region began to openly rebel against the Spanish settlements. There were nearly constant attacks that successfully killed and injured many of the Spanish and their Amerindian allies. In one

attack, the settlement of Santiago was completely destroyed, the houses burned, and the animals killed or taken by the attackers. The colonists were left with half a dozen animals to restart the breeding program and they had the clothes on their backs, but little else. In desperation, Valdivia sent a handful of his most trusted men back to Peru in order to bring back reinforcements and supplies. The colony would wait two years for its representative, Alonso de Monroy, to return. Monroy arrived in Peru in time to see the end of the Almagro rebellion put down and the King's emissary, Vaca de Castro take control of Peru. Back in Chile, more than one supply ship independent from Monroy's expedition landed to resupply at supposedly friendly ports, like Copiapó, but were attacked. Finally, Juan Bautista de Pastene arrived with an independent supply ship in 1544. The colony was now relatively well supplied and the additional men added to the defense and fortification of the settlement. Valdivia then turned his attention to further exploration and expansion.

Valdivia was so impressed by Pastene that he named the new arrival his Lieutenant on the Ocean. He was tasked with sailing south and exploring the lands closer to the Strait of Magellan. Meanwhile, Francisco de Villagra was sent south by land with the same purpose. Valdivia wanted reconnaissance in order to expand the colony but he was also looking for a shorter passage through the strait to report back to the king. A shortcut through Chilean territory could prove to be profitable for the colony by providing a quicker route to the East. Valdivia himself would lead an expedition as far south as the Bío-Bío river where he encountered for the first time the tribes that would become known as the Araucanians. He retreated shortly after his initial encounter with them. Back in Santiago and the surrounding areas, where the colony was better secured,

Valdivia set about distributing and redistributing the land in the form of *encomiendas*. However, in the midst of this reorganization he had to reduce the original *encomiendas* from sixty to thirty two. He promised those that had been dispossessed that they would be given land further south once it has been conquered. This was of little consolation for many and a mutiny that included a plot against Valdivia's life was formed. At its head was Sancho de Hoz and his long time supporter, Antonio de Ulloa. These men had not only fomented dissent, but had sent letters back to Peru denouncing Valdivia and calling for his arrest. Valdivia once again found it necessary to spare Sancho de Hoz's life, but this time he banished him from Santiago.

Back in Peru, yet another rebellion was forming, this time headed by Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco Pizarro's brother, against the newly appointed Viceroy of Peru, Blasco Núñez de Vela. Eventually, Gonzalo Pizarro successfully captured the viceroy and killed him. Afterwards, he claimed governorship of Peru as the rightful heir of his brother, Francisco. These were dangerous times, especially for Valdivia. Shifting allegiances and power vacuums that opened during these civil wars were a constant threat to Valdivia's title of Lieutenant Governor. At any time, the current leader in power could revoke the title or see to his execution depending on where Valdivia's loyalties lay. Gonzalo's right hand man, Carvajal, was an old comrade in arms of Valdivia, but this friendship would not prove entirely beneficial for Valdivia. While Carvajal had a minor interest in protecting Valdivia, he was more concerned with extending Gonzalo's empire south. In order to do that, Carvajal ensured that no communication that Valdivia sent to the king was received. Carvajal does, however, allow Alonso de Monroy, who has found himself in Peru looking for reinforcements and supplies again, to return to Chile with news of the

events in Peru. Upon hearing the news, Valdivia made immediate plans to travel to Peru to support to king's emissary, La Gasca, and fight against Gonzalo Pizarro. Once loyally dedicated to Francisco, Valdivia had reason to turn on the Pizarro clan to protect his own claim in Chile. Valdivia claims in his letters to the king that his change in allegiance was due to a deep love and loyalty he has for the king, which may have been true, but immediate personal needs in Peru and Chile superseded any higher calling.

Valdivia made it back to Peru just in time for the final battle between La Gasca and Gonzalo. Upon his arrival, La Gasca named Valdivia his General. The battle of Jaquijaguana on April 9, 1548 was short and decisive. As a reward, La Gasca formally appointed Valdivia Governor of Chile and granted him a small stipend of about 2,000 *castellanos* a year. However, La Gasca also limited Valdivia's territory in the south to the 41st parallel, effectively cutting him off from the Strait of Magellan. Valdivia also managed to recruit eighty more men, mostly former Gonzalo followers, and was able to get three ships on credit due to his associations with La Gasca. All seemed to be going well until a messenger from La Gasca stopped Valdivia just as he was about to sail from Peru to Chile.

While Valdivia was travelling to Peru and fighting in the civil war, old enemies had been sowing the seeds of discontent. Ulloa spent that same time organizing those that held grievances against Valdivia to outfit an expedition to sail south to assassinate Valdivia and take over the colony. Ulloa had also been sure to see that complaints against Valdivia reached the ears of La Gasca. In Chile, Sancho de Hoz was taking advantage of Valdivia's absence and had re-entered Santiago. He and a large group of followers plotted against Francisco de Villagra, left in charge by Valdivia for the duration of his

absence. Villagra received news of the rebellion, squashed it and hanged Sancho de Hoz. Fortunately for Valdivia, he had a strong friend in Villagra in Chile and a powerful friend in La Gasca in Peru. La Gasca was willing to help Valdivia in a number of ways to get him acquitted of all charges. Found innocent, Valdivia returned to Chile where he rewarded his friends Villagra, Pastene, and Alderete with important positions in the colony.

This would begin a new era of successful conquest for Valdivia. In the northwest corner of the colony, Pedro de Villagra, the nephew of Francisco de Villagra, came to peaceful terms with Michimalongo, who had formerly been inciting rebellion against the Spanish. The results of this final negotiation would bring a solid alliance between the Spanish and Michimalongo that would result in Michimalongo and his own forces marching with Valdivia in his campaigns into Araucanian territory. In the northeast, Francisco de Aguirre was at work pacifying the tribes there. His tactics were the opposite of those of Pedro de Villagra. There were no negotiations to be had with him, and even friendly and peaceful Amerindians were killed in his scorched earth tactics. Furthermore, once one of Valdivia's most trusted men, Francisco de Aguirre would prove to be one of his most disloyal. After bringing the northeastern corner of Chile under his command, Aguirre was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the province. While there, Aguirre consolidated territory and power. He eventually wrote to the king asking that his province be named independent from that of Chile proper. The letter would have had disastrous consequences for him if it had not been sent a few days before Valdivia's death. In the south, Pastene sailed by sea and was able to make allies through peace and by force with different tribes along the coast. Valdivia's old friend Alderete also went south by land

and met with little resistance. The path seemed clear for the colony to expand south. And so, Valdivia and his men inched their way south, sometimes fighting, sometimes negotiating.

Valdivia's expansion south would not last long. He had the increasing need to send his men out to secure new forts and consolidate new territory. His fighting forces and his resources were stretched thin. But by the early months of 1552, some of the tribes in the area had been defeated so decisively in battles with the Spanish that they changed their positions and became allies of the Spanish, fighting with them against the tribes of Arauco further south. By September of 1553, even though they had won some native allies, Spanish forces were increasingly under attack by Amerindians native to the region. Valdivia's own *encomienda*, Pucureo, in the vicinity of Tucapel, was under siege by enemy combatants. Valdivia called for forces at the nearby fort of Puren to meet him in Tucapel to neutralize said threat, but on the evening of their departure, the men of Puren found themselves surrounded by Araucanian forces and unable to leave the fort. Their inability to meet Valdivia in Tucapel meant that Valdivia would arrive there with only a small contingent of his own men and no reinforcements to bolster their numbers. Tucapel was a trap and the Spanish forces were ambushed there. The battle of Tucapel would prove fatal and Valdivia lost his life in the battle there on December 25, 1553. Many versions of his death exist but none are supported by evidence. The consequences of Valdivia's death are more certain. The years afterward saw ever increasing aggression and violence between Spanish and Araucanian. After Tucapel, Francisco de Villagra suffered a decisive defeat and the city of Concepción was abandoned. As the Spanish retreated, they lost much of the ground Valdivia had formerly occupied in the south.

Francisco de Villagra eventually takes revenge on Lautaro, the supposed mastermind behind the Tucapel attack, in April 1557. But squabbling between Villagra and Aguirre for governorship of the colony would result in instability in the region and result in the inability to organize a united Spanish front against the Araucanians. The precarious situation would continue until the arrival of the newly appointed Governor, don García Mendoza de Hurtado, in April of 1557.

The Primary Texts

Pedro de Valdivia left a number of letters addressed to a range of people. In total, there are 11 letters, spanning from 1545 to 1552, they recount his early years of conquest and his involvement in the Peruvian civil wars.¹ His last letter dates roughly from one year and two months before his death at Tucapel in the southernmost region of the Chilean territory he had conquered. Six of the eleven letters are addressed to King

¹ The edition of Valdivia's letters used here is that of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, directed by Francisco Esteve Barba and published in 1960 in Madrid. This collection is based on the edition compiled by José Toribio Medina in 1929 in Seville, Spain. The Biblioteca de Autores Españoles also relies on the facsimiles of the original letters to compare or correct the J.T. Medina version. Valdivia's letters also appear in *Cartas de Relación de la conquista de América* edited by Julio Le Riverend and printed in Mexico in 1930. There are more recent editions in 1970 by Mario Ferreccio-Podesta published in Chile and in 1991 by Miguel Rojas-Mix published in Spain, but neither provides new or differing letters from those of the BAE edition. Neither does the archive of the Council of the Indies available through the database PARES offer any new letters.

The PARES database does, however, provide complementary material that documents several litigations brought against Valdivia for the wrongful death of a loved one or for robbing that loved one and their survivors of their rightful inheritance of land or money. There are other documents that testify to the fact that the detractors of Valdivia were eventually heard by the king, and that Valdivia was warned to reform his ways and not to abuse the Amerindians any further. He and other colonists were also reminded in a *cédula real* that they were not exempt from the laws governing the treatment of the Amerindians, and they were to follow the same rules and regulations as all the other *encomenderos* in the Americas ("Cédulas reales"). There are also documents that prove the king, or at least high ranking officials, were aware of Valdivia's actions in Chile. In 1546 there were orders to send aid to Valdivia and in 1544 there was a response to a letter written by Alonso de Monroy (Valdivia's captain) and a royal response written in 1548 to a letter written by Valdivia himself. From Valdivia's own letters, however, it seems he may never have been aware of this correspondence. In the archive there also exists proof that the king finally granted Valdivia his governorship but the news may not have reached Chile until after Valdivia's death in 1553. The first confirmation is in a *cédula* issued in Madrid in May 1552; Valdivia died in December 1553. Other 1554 and 1555 *cédulas* confer the title of Governor on Valdivia and name Francisco de Villagra the governor of Chile once Valdivia's death is confirmed and Jerónimo de Alderete the inheritor of the governorship after Villagra.

Charles V of Spain. These letters are usually the longest and most detailed, informing the king of Amerindian attacks, on established forts and cities, the challenges and suffering the colonists face, and Valdivia's own determination to serve the king and carve out another corner of the Spanish Empire for the sovereign. In the letters, Valdivia is careful to specifically point out his loyalty to the Crown and to emphasize the fact that everything he has done has been in service to the King of Spain. He writes in his correspondence that he surrounds himself with men loyal to the Crown and despises those who are not. On several occasions, he says that he is a *vasallo* and a *criado* of the Crown and he says "que no deseo más". His most repeated phrase in his letters to the king is "no quiero sino descubrir, poblar y sustentar tierras a Vuestra Merced". He is also sure to highlight the fact that even though Chile does not have the same kind of mineral wealth as Peru, that there is at least one active gold mine and that the land is so fertile it can support any manner of European crops. The weather in Chile is exemplary and everything there is in abundance, a veritable Eden. He ends all his letters, however, with a plea for the "mercedes" that the King "acostumbra dar por servicio". In 1552, Valdivia also writes to Phillip II. In these letters he summarizes and condenses the basic information of the letters to Charles V. When Valdivia began his conquest Phillip was the prince of Spain, but also held the official title of Príncipe del Reino de Chile. In just a few years, in 1556, Charles V would abdicate in favor of his son, Phillip II in Spain and in favor of his brother, Ferdinand I as Holy Roman Emperor. Valdivia could not have known the future plans of Charles V, but he could be aware of hedging his bets and ingratiating himself to the next king.

Valdivia also writes a letter to the Council of the Indies in 1548. This letter is surely written as an act of defense against the active campaign by his enemies to denounce him to the highest officials. In it, he explains his actions as defensive and necessary to preserve his life and the life of his men. He also explains that he never took any inappropriate actions towards the Amerindians, but only used force in retaliation against attacks initiated by them. He claims to have treated the Amerindians fairly and well within the established laws governing the behavior of conquistadors and *encomenderos* in the New World. In a similar move, he writes to “A sus apoderados en la corte” in 1550. This letter is not only a detailed description of his deeds and actions, a kind of early modern curriculum vitae, but also gives specific directions on what these *apoderados* should say to the king and what Valdivia wants them to win for him: enough money to cover his considerable debts and the title of Governor of Chile. Finally, two of his earliest letters are addressed to two different Pizarro brothers. His first letter of 1545 is addressed to Gonzalo Pizarro in which he sends his condolences for Francisco’s death and promises to write the king of Spain to ask him to take pity on Francisco’s orphaned children. In the same year, he writes a letter to Hernando Pizarro with much more detailed accounts of events leading up to 1545. This may be because Hernando is in Spain at this time and Valdivia hopes to have an ally in the court that can champion his cause. In all of his letters, he never loses sight of his main goals of being granted more money to fund his colony and to receive the title of Governor as issued by the king. The latter is of utmost importance to him because it would bring the greatest stability to his claim to Chile. As can be seen in the history of Peru, claims to governorship were not to be taken for granted and needed to be safeguarded by careful political maneuvering.

Valdivia and Diego de Almagro

Valdivia's rhetoric corresponds to what Restall calls "the appeal to a higher authority, typically and ideally the king himself" (20). Valdivia's language cultivates relationships with other men; it does not throw them by the wayside. Valdivia and his relationships with other men are like a cluster of stars in the sky that stand apart, but also form a working constellation. He needs to convince others that his star belongs in their constellation. The best constellation to appear in is the one that is headed by the king. To better position oneself nearer the king, there is constant jostling and rearranging, in order for Valdivia to move closer in, someone else needs to be moved further out.

Valdivia's education in loyalty gone wrong began when he first arrived in Peru. Valdivia could not have missed the fact that Diego de Almagro was once Francisco Pizarro's partner. Almagro's dissent and rebellion against his former partner cost him his title and his life. Valdivia knew he had to tread lightly when dealing with the Pizarro clan. This is why he went to great lengths to secure permission from Francisco Pizarro for anything that he did. Valdivia also experienced what loyalty to the right man could provide: wealth and privilege. Before going to Chile, Valdivia was probably one of the richest conquistadors in South America, a reward for his loyal service to Francisco Pizarro. Valdivia had both political and personal reasons to maintain and emphasize his loyalty to such a man. Francisco Pizarro held Valdivia's fortune, future, and life in his hands. With Francisco's death, Valdivia was counting on continued support from the Pizarro clan in order to protect his title, his potential revenue source, and even his life. Rebelling against the Pizarro brothers was a foolhardy gamble, as evidenced by Diego de Almagro's demise.

Valdivia sets off to represent himself as the opposite of Diego de Almagro. Valdivia may set up his rhetorical strategy against Almagro in a deliberate attempt at propaganda. Or, Valdivia may be engaged in both standard procedures while also acknowledging his attempts at propaganda, either way, his language reveals high anxiety to prove himself, even at the expense of others. The first mention of Almagro comes to us in a letter Valdivia writes to Charles V in 1545. A few years previous, Almagro and his followers had been busy fomenting unrest in Peru as they sought to make claims on the city of Cuzco. Valdivia, as Francisco Pizarro's *maestre de campo*, paints Almagro and those in his company as cowards who "huían [de Chile]....como de la pestilencia" (5). According to Valdivia, Almagro and his men have displayed a show of cowardice that results in unforgiveable disloyalty. Their true nature has been revealed to be less than noble. They have severed their relationships with men they previously fought next to in battle, turned their backs on the appropriate social hierarchy and, in rebelling against Francisco Pizarro, have rebelled against the Crown itself.

In a 1550 letter to Charles V, Valdivia blames Almagro for the bad reputation that Chile has gained when he tells the King that when Almagro "dió la vuelta" that it left the land "mal infamada" (42). In other words, Chile does not deserve its reputation as inhospitable. Valdivia insinuates that a braver, more loyal and more capable man will be able to conquer and populate the land south of Peru. That man, of course, is Valdivia. In order to show that he is the man for the job, Valdivia wants to make it clear that he will not abandon Chile in the same fashion as Almagro. In a letter written to Hernando Pizarro in 1545, he reminds the Pizarro brother that he has taken up the Chilean challenge when others wouldn't (16). He highlights his bravery, but also how his bravery connects to his

loyalty. He went to Chile in the name of Francisco and the King, to “descobrir, poblar y sustentar” the new colony. Perhaps most importantly, as he signals in nearly every letter, he was careful to first get permission from Francisco Pizarro before he left Peru. In this way, he either consciously or unconsciously assures the reader that he is no Cortés: while he claims the right to governorship of Chile, he does not want to appear to go against authority. After witnessing the events of the Almagro rebellion, Valdivia knows the consequences of going against authority and, so, everything he has done in preparing for the expedition south has been by the book. His rhetoric attempts to show that he has engaged in transparency in regards to his intentions and preparations. His letters also attempt to show that he had never planned on undermining any high ranking official. His statements may reveal a truth about how he felt, but they also fall in line with his own grab for power and wealth. It was his loyalty and service to Francisco Pizarro, after all, which awarded him his original *encomienda*. Valdivia must temper his ambition with humility, though, and was keen not be seen as greedy or power hungry. He only ever carefully presents himself as a “humill súbdito, vasallo, criado” of the Crown and the Crown’s authority and declares “que no deseo más” (13). His choice of vocabulary has the effect of attempting to erase differences of personal interest and position himself as the perfect vassal.

Valdivia uses Almagro as an evil foil against which he contrasts his own noble and loyal actions. In so doing, Valdivia carves out a place for himself in the social hierarchy of colonial Peru. His own self-representation has a rounding up effect on those higher ranking than him as well. If Valdivia is the anti-Almagro, and has proven himself loyal to the Pizarro clan, then his loyalty also reflects well on the Pizarros, who come to

absorb and project loyalty themselves. The loyalty-whether it be real or feigned-moves up and down the hierarchy. Thus, a chain of loyal men proceeds down the line from the king to his closest representatives, to his less important representatives, and right down to the soldiers who fight for his cause. This chain of loyalty must be maintained not only for political reasons, but because this chain represents an ideal masculinity, one that is noble and loyal, with connections, albeit far-reaching, to the King. Associations with the king are prestigious and are a mark of a man in the early modern period. For Valdivia, proving his loyalty within the social web of the king's extended court and representatives, gives him ties to the king and loose claims to association. Politics and masculinity become two sides of the same coin. There is no effective political control without loyalty, loyalty's effect is political control.

Valdivia and Gonzalo Pizarro

As important as it is for Valdivia to contrast himself against Almagro early on in his letters, another traitor will consume Valdivia's attention and serve as the ultimate foil against which Valdivia develops his self-representation: Gonzalo Pizarro. A chain of events occur after Almagro's death, in which Francisco Pizarro was assassinated by Almagro's son, who in turn was defeated by the king's forces, and Blasco Nuñez would be appointed viceroy. Blasco Nuñez's appointment provoked Gonzalo Pizarro to rebel against the representatives of the king in a new civil war. In this second rebellion, Valdivia found himself in a delicate position. His previous associations with the Pizarro clan were no longer beneficial; relationships between men can carry on in memory long after associations have ceased. Valdivia could only be too aware that he would be defined by those with whom he has associated. A man can only control his image up to a certain

point; he is also defined by those around him. With his patron and protector, Francisco, deceased and the remaining Pizarro clan committing treason, his previous friendship with the Pizarro men looks suspicious. It does not help that he has written letters to both Gonzalo and Hernando while he has been governing Chile, nor does it help that in his first letter to the king, he begs the king to have mercy on the orphans left behind after Francisco's death. Valdivia up to this point has invested in pushing his way into the Pizarro inner circle, but now he needs to differentiate himself and extract himself from the Pizarro sphere of influence. He cannot risk being assumed a natural ally of Gonzalo, whether he is physically present to aid Gonzalo or not, his associations with the man could potentially be enough to undo him. Valdivia needs to reestablish new relationships in order to redefine himself. Valdivia will use the virtue of loyalty as a basis for his new self-fashioning. He needs to shift his loyalties without seeming like it; he needs to reinvent his past to align with his new self-fashioning. He needs to change the pattern of the constellations his star is found in, and as importantly, erase memories of where his star used to be found. This means framing his allegiance with Francisco Pizarro as a part of his loyalty and service to the crown and his subsequent betrayal of the Pizarro brothers as a continuation of this loyalty.

Valdivia wants to be sure that despite his previous associations with the Pizarro brothers, the readers of his letters never think he has returned to Peru to aid Gonzalo. In a 1550 letter to Charles V, Valdivia uses strong language to condemn Gonzalo Pizarro. He says of Gonzalo's actions "Parecióme tan feo e abominable...que atapé los oídos...y me temblaron las carnes" (48). Explaining why he felt he needed to return to Peru to fight for the king, he says he desires to be the "instrumento para le abajar de aquella

presumptuosa frenesí, causada de enfermedad y falta de juicio y superaba luciferina” (49) Disloyalty to the king in the form of Gonzalo’s rebellion is comparable to devilish deeds. Gonzalo falls from grace and plays the part of Lucifer; and just like Lucifer, he will lose in his rebellion against a higher power. In comparison, Valdivia credits God for his victory over Gonzalo and returns authority to the rightful holders of power (54). He is quick to point out that even though he had command of the armies and had a decisive victory over Gonzalo that he almost immediately handed back authority to the new royal representative, President de la Gasca. Even though he had the opportunity to rebel and claim Peru and Chile for himself with a sizeable army under his command, he highlights not only that he chose not to do so, but that such a thing never crossed his mind. In other words, he did not attempt to repeat the maneuvers of Gonzalo; kill the leader in power and then fill the power vacuum oneself. The fact that Valdivia needs to explicitly demonstrate that he did not attempt to claim power in the region may speak to insecurities about how others have represented him to the king. He quite rightly fears a version of his reputation of which he is not the author has preceded him. Valdivia is aware that his enemies have been working against him ever since he first headed to Chile. Sancho de Hoz and his co-conspirators have been hard at work denouncing Valdivia to anyone that will listen. And so, Valdivia’s rhetoric of loyalty strives to counter the rumors spread by these men and seeks to provide Valdivia the space to define himself before royal authority.

Valdivia has more at stake than just his title of Lieutenant Governor of Chile; he has his reputation as a man of which to think. Should Valdivia be associated with Gonzalo Pizarro in any way, Valdivia’s reputation as a man could potentially be forever

tarnished. Clearly, in his representation and denunciation of traitors like Almagro and Gonzalo, there is more than just political maneuvering. His attacks are personal and take on particular vehemence in accusing Almagro of cowardice and Gonzalo Pizarro of being Lucifer-like. These men have fallen from political graces, but have also fallen from Valdivia's constructed ideal of masculinity in which nobility, courage, a dose of humility, and loyalty prevail. Valdivia's version of ideal masculinity is that of the perfect vassal. In order to maintain his image as a perfect vassal, he needs to move himself away from the political downward spiral of Gonzalo Pizarro but also move away from Gonzalo's less than ideal masculinity. In the social webs of colonial Peru, the one is necessarily linked with the other. To save his title and his reputation he needs to emphasize that he has been consistent with royal interests all along.

Starting with letters written after the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion, Valdivia uses his role in the royalist forces to contrast himself against traitors and cowards. His participation in the civil war comes to serve as an exemplary moment for him in which his service to the Crown shines best. Valdivia wants to make clear that not only did he fight in these battles, but also that he was appointed head of the royal forces by President La Gasca. The victory against Gonzalo Pizarro then turns into a personal triumph for Valdivia. However, in his letters written after the civil war, he is careful to emphasize that all his accomplishments have been done out of a sense of duty to the king. He uses this same strategy of hierarchical association he used previously in his dealings with Francisco in order to reframe himself a good vassal of the king. His loyalty to the king is what saves him politically from being associated with Gonzalo and also maintains his ideal manhood. Two elements of Valdivia's sense of loyalty come through in his letters:

using his experience in the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion to highlight his own loyalty and good character and how his good character attracts a contingent of good and loyal men who want to serve the Crown as much as Valdivia.

Beginning with a letter to Charles V in 1549 and continuing in letters to a variety of recipients, Valdivia's central argument for deserving favors, rewards, and titles such as governor and the *oficio de aguacil*, are based on his service to the Crown. For Valdivia, while other events, such as serving in the royal forces in Europe, then in Venezuela and Peru, not to mention expanding the Crown's territory in Chile, are all important but none quite compare with his service in the royal forces in during the Gonzalo rebellion. His role in Peru serves as both justification and defense of anything he has done before or after the event. The loyalty shown to the king in this moment is depicted as more important than anything else that Valdivia may have done. Valdivia describes his actions in Peru as "servicio a V.M." (26). When explaining why he returned to Peru to fight for the king, Valdivia says he felt "la obligación con que nací de cumplir primero con mi Rey" (27). Valdivia wants the king to believe that he is above all a good and loyal vassal who puts the needs of the Crown before his personal needs. In this one line, Valdivia expresses both his loyalty and subtly contrasts himself with the treason of Gonzalo Pizarro and the disloyalty of Almagro.

In this move, Valdivia tries to manipulate the social hierarchy. Gonzalo Pizarro is now considered a traitor to the Crown and, due to Valdivia's previous associations with the Pizarro clan, Valdivia finds himself on the losing side of a political showdown. Those who lose will come to be seen much as Valdivia has described Almagro; cowardly and imprudent. These qualifications push a man into a less than ideal, and subordinate,

position within the masculine social hierarchy. In this subordinate position, men become associated with qualities typically used to describe women at the time: cowardly, lacking in reason, morally weak etc. The more a man becomes associated with feminine characteristics, the less of a man he becomes in the eyes of others. If Valdivia remains true to the Pizarros and they lose, Valdivia will not only lose his colony, he will also potentially lose an important part of his manhood. But by choosing to side with the king, Valdivia is backing the man that he sees as most likely to win. By being associated with the winning side, Valdivia will not only reap political and financial rewards, he will maintain his dignity and be associated with qualities such as courage, nobility, prudence and loyalty to the highest ranking man in the Spanish empire. This will assure him of maintaining his image of perfect vassal and also pull him into spheres of Charles V's influence. Because as the king, Charles V represents the highest attainment of power and masculinity, Valdivia's associations with him bring Valdivia that much closer to those ideals.

And so, Valdivia is very careful as he prepares to depart Chile and makes his way to Peru to support the king's troops in this civil war. He makes declarations, records them in documents, and has witnesses sign and swear to testify to his good intentions. He specifically points out in letters to the *apoderados*, and to Charles V, that he can supply original documents and witnesses that testify to the fact that he left for Peru with the intention to fight against Gonzalo (33, 50). Though left unsaid, Valdivia implies that he proactively made the decision to back the King rather than see what opportunities might present themselves if his former friend were to win the civil war. He drives it home when he recounts a conversation he had with el Presidente de la Gasca in which Valdivia says

“yo prometí a su señoría de darle aquel día la Victoria de sus enemigos” (34). Valdivia is fighting against the Crown’s enemies, making him the Crown’s friend and the Crown’s faithful servant. The event has much in common with his previous service to Francisco Pizarro when putting down the Almagro rebellion. Valdivia in each case chooses the side that has the backing of royal authority. Either consciously or unconsciously, Valdivia does not want these parallels lost on the recipient. When a threat to royal authority rises in Peru, Valdivia chooses to back the royal forces in order to defeat those men that would be disloyal to the Crown. Valdivia’s representation of his behavior is nothing but consistent in this regard.

After the royal forces win the battle, President La Gasca names Valdivia Governor of Chile. Now that the civil war is over in Peru, Valdivia outfits a group of men and much needed supplies to return to Chile. When Valdivia is about to depart for Chile, he is stopped by a representative of de la Gasca with news that accusations have been brought against him and that he needs to return to Cuzco. Valdivia has a decision to make in this moment because his loyalty is yet again in question. Either he can ignore the orders to return and become a new Gonzalo Pizarro or he can return to Cuzco and hope for the best. It is perhaps unsurprising given his previous commitment to royal power that he chooses to obey. And whatever Valdivia’s real reasons for returning to Cuzco to face the charges brought against him, Valdivia uses the word “obedecer” to frame his decision. When Valdivia explains why he returned to Los Reyes to face the charges, he says it is because “yo era obligado a obedecer y cumplir aquella provisión como criado de V.M.” (55). That is, unlike Almagro and unlike Gonzalo, Valdivia portrays himself as choosing to obey rather than to rebel. And in a letter to the *apoderados en la corte*, he

explicitly links his decision to return to Cuzco with the virtue of loyalty: “porque a mí me convenía como leal vasallo de S.M. volver a su mandado” (35). He even mentions in his letter to the apoderados en la corte that President La Gasca himself said his return to Los Reyes was a “señal de la perfecta lealtad” (35). In another letter of 1550, he reports that President La Gasca says Valdivia “se holgaba por que con tanta paciencia y humilldad había obedescido y dado muy gran ejemplo para que los demás supiesen obedescer” (56).

Valdivia’s strategy at first potentially seems contradictory. His emphasis on obedience and humility place him in a subordinate position to the king. Politically, this may not seem out of the ordinary. In terms of masculinity, however, it is curious that in order for Valdivia to secure his position in the social hierarchy that he must deliberately place himself in a subordinate position to others. Yet, while politics and gender are intertwined with one another, Valdivia’s masculinity is only partially dependent on his political subordination. If anything, his rhetorical strategy and very real military actions have proven what kind of man he is: a trustworthy and capable vassal of the Crown who can competently lead the Chilean colony in the name of the king. His loyalty demonstrates what a good man he is and why he deserves to move within the influential spheres that move closest to the king. As he approaches ever closer to the king, his political status rises and his masculinity is bolstered and secured.

Valdivia needs to demonstrate that his loyalty proves that he is a good leader, a good vassal and a good man. He also needs those higher up in the social hierarchy to believe he deserves to be rewarded to for being that good man. Because he would like to see himself as moving in spheres that orbit that much closer to the king, he needs to fashion not just his character, but his appearance to correspond to a man in that position.

Masculinity is not just about attaining certain virtues and characteristics of a man, it is about showing that masculinity to others. Valdivia uses rhetoric to demonstrate the kind of man he is, obtaining his coveted title of Governor of Chile, and reaping the financial rewards that title brings with it. He can then use his new social status and financial ability to dress his person in the accoutrements of power, prestige and early modern manhood. Valdivia's virtue of loyalty is not something to be modestly hidden, but something to be used to demonstrate to others one's position in the political and gender hierarchy.

Valdivia and his associates

Valdivia defines himself by the men with whom he chooses to associate. More importantly, he defines himself in his letters by the sphere of loyalty in which he operates. Valdivia needs to demonstrate that these spheres of loyalty extend out into the associations he has with men who serve under him. The constellations that he forms are not just between himself, the king and royal representatives, but there are sub-constellations that connect Valdivia's star and his fortunes with those of his men. If Valdivia is defined by his relationships with men higher up in the hierarchy, then he is just as defined by his relationships with men lower in the hierarchy. He needs to show that his men are the opposite of such traitors as Almagro and Gonzalo Pizarro. In order to do so, he employs the same method of comparison he uses with himself in order to highlight the loyalty of his own men and the disloyalty of men who maintain friendships with either Almagro or Gonzalo Pizarro.

Valdivia is eager to denounce one traitor in particular, Antonio de Ulloa. Shortly before the events leading up to the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion, Ulloa was entrusted by Valdivia to be a messenger to the royal representatives in Peru and in Spain. In letters to

the Council of the Indies in 1548 and in his 1550 letter to Charles V, Valdivia paints a clear picture of the low character of Ulloa. Instead of delivering the official letters to the corresponding individuals, Valdivia accuses Ulloa of opening the letters himself and reading them out loud to those gathered around him. To make matters worse, Valdivia accuses Ulloa of making fun of the contents, and worse, the recipients of the letters, including the king himself. Valdivia then describes how Ulloa betrayed Valdivia and joined Gonzalo's cause, all the while spreading vicious rumors about Valdivia. Valdivia claims that Ulloa doesn't stop there and even plans to assassinate Valdivia and turn the territory of Chile over to Gonzalo Pizarro, expanding Gonzalo's illegal empire even further. Ulloa and his partner are so awful that even Carvajal, a member of Gonzalo's faction, tells Valdivia's *teniente general*, Juan Bautista de Pastene, then stuck in the middle of the rebellion and civil war, that these men are known as "cabtelosos y no nada valiente e muy presumptuosos en demasía" and later referring to them as "conejos" (47). These men have no honor or humility. Carvajal says that these men are rabbit-like, an insult that compares them to female genitalia, an analogy that indicates that these men are not brave, but rather run away from danger. This is a dramatic insult because in its gendered implications, likens these men to feminine cowardice. A "real man" stands his ground and fights. In his own descriptions and those that he chooses to relate of the treacherous followers of Almagro and the cowardly, arrogant followers of Gonzalo, Valdivia shows that negative attributes of leaders spread among their followers. Valdivia will be sure to explicitly point out the brave, loyal and noble men attracted to his own person and the heroic deeds they carry out as a counterpoint.

If identity and masculinity are defined and developed by the relationships men have with one another, Valdivia is in need not only of proving himself, but proving his men as well. When it comes to demonstrating that the men around him are good and loyal men, the case of Antonio Ulloa is an embarrassment for Valdivia. The behavior of Ulloa does not only reflect poorly on Ulloa, it has the potential to tarnish or even discredit Valdivia. Valdivia's relationship with Ulloa makes it appear as though Valdivia lacks prudence. In the long run, this perceived character flaw may leave him an undesirable choice for governor. With a strong contingent of his own men having come from the Pizarro faction, Valdivia needs to walk a careful line. He needs to show that Ulloa is a rare mistake and that Valdivia has surrounded himself with men loyal to the crown and to the crown's interests. In this way, he saves his own reputation and that of his new colony. Valdivia is careful to craft himself as the opposite of the traitors and cowards described above. Some of the key features of his self-fashioning are to highlight how he is a "vasallo, subdito and criado" of the crown. And just as importantly, that the men he has surrounded himself with are loyal vassals and servants of the Crown. In his first letter to the King, he explicitly points out how he has taken on men loyal to the King in his expedition south (8-9). Two of the men he takes pains to present in a positive light are Pastene and Monroy.

Juan Baptista de Pastene arrived in Chile in 1544 as the captain of a ship sent by the Governor Vaca de Castro. In a 1545 letter to Charles V, Pastene is described as a Genoese navigator who is very skilled at his profession. Perhaps more importantly, Valdivia esteems him to be a person of "mucha honra, fidelidad y verdad, y que sirvió mucho a V.M. en las provincias del Perú y al Marqués don Francisco Pizarro, y después

de muerto, en la recuperación dellas debajo la comisión del gobernador Vaca de Castro...” (9). Pastene proves himself loyal to the representatives of the Crown, and thus to the Crown itself. He is not like the men who plotted against the life of Valdivia and Francisco Pizarro. Pastene serves as proof of the quality of men that are attracted to Valdivia. Valdivia then sends Pastene to explore south, to find a shorter passage through the Strait of Magellan and to explore the land there. Later, Valdivia will show his faith in Pastene by sending him as a representative to Peru to ask the governor there for more aid. Pastene serves as a counter-example to Antonio Ulloa who also went to Peru. Pastene never betrays Valdivia and never betrays the king. Instead, he uses the influence he has with certain members of the Pizarro party to secure release so he can rush back to Chile to inform Valdivia of the events in Peru. It is also through these contacts that he is able to learn that Ulloa is planning to kill Valdivia. Ulloa wants to return to Chile ahead of Pastene in order to foment rebellion there and give the colony to Gonzalo Pizarro to govern. Pastene’s timely arrival in Chile prevents such an uprising and helps to protect Chile from any spreading of disloyalty as found in the Gonzalo faction. In the tangle of relationships between men, Pastene’s loyalty to the Crown reflects well on Valdivia. Pastene’s exemplary behavior is a kind of apology for Valdivia’s lack of judgement with Ulloa. Pastene will go on to serve Valdivia and the Crown faithfully. He continues to explore south for Valdivia and is the first to report on the fertility and beauty of the Arauco region. Valdivia also reports that Pastene has also successfully contacted the natives of the area peacefully (38-39). These accomplishments imply further extension of the Crown’s territory and a possibility to speed trade with the East if a shortcut can be found. Pastene is loyal and his loyal service is presented as invaluable.

Alonso de Monroy is another trusted member of the Valdivia expedition that Valdivia comments on in length. Monroy serves at various different times as messenger and also second in command when Valdivia must leave the colony. Monroy is presented as integral to the functioning of the colony. Monroy is the first messenger that Valdivia sends back to Peru after Santiago has been established. This is a show of faith on Valdivia's part because he ran the risk that Monroy would desert the colony and the challenges there. It was not uncommon for leaders of expeditions and colonies to deny their followers the right to leave the colony. The practical reasons behind this are that if too many men were to leave, it would leave the newly established colony weakened and prone to attack. But Monroy proves faithful and returns to Chile with fresh recruits and supplies. And he doesn't return with just any recruits, but ones he knew were loyal to the King and "celosos de su real servicio" (8). Monroy will also be trusted as a messenger to Peru carrying gold destined to pay for supplies and to pay off accumulated debts of the colony. On the way, the gold is stolen and Monroy is taken captive. He manages to get away, however, and returns at once to his mission. He, again, serves as a counter-example to men like Ulloa who desert their mission and do not fulfill their obligations. Monroy is also so trusted by Valdivia that he is left in charge of cities like Santiago when Valdivia must leave for defensive purposes or exploration purposes. Monroy is an exemplar of loyalty, courage and dedication, the kind of man with whom Valdivia wants to be associated.

Conclusion

All of the men Valdivia commends to the King or other high ranking officials are loyal to Valdivia and loyal to the Crown. The actions of his men reflect positively on

him. Not only has he conquered Chile and put down the Pizarro rebellion in the name of the King, but he can command loyalty from others. In this framework, there are interlocking spheres of loyalty than connect one man to another. These interconnections serve to define one man according to their association with another; masculinity is defined and understood through relationships among men. The relationship is not direct, but instead spins in ever changing constellations, with stars moving in and out of formation. A man can thus be associated with the king through the indirect associations made. There is also not a one on one correspondence. Loyalty is the common denominator that connects these men to one another, but loyalty exists in degrees and shades. In other words, relationships exist in the letters of Valdivia as star formations that connect and reflect one another. Valdivia has a social and personal need to define himself and his masculinity within a complicated hierarchy. Importantly for Valdivia, these interlocking social spheres allow for a certain degree of social mobility and self improvement. In order to achieve his goals of moving up in the social hierarchy, he must make his star in the constellation shine brighter and realign its relationship with other stars in the formation. He achieves this through presenting loyalty in service.

Chapter 2: Moderate Man in Ercilla's *La Araucana*

The young king of Portugal has died in battle and his elderly uncle has taken the throne but has proven to be less than up to the challenge. Across the border in Spain, Philip II gathers together a council and asks them whether or not he has any legal claim to the Portuguese throne. After some deliberation it is determined that he does have a legitimate claim. In a great many stories of contested European thrones, this situation would lead to war. However, Philip avoids a violent confrontation with his Portuguese rivals and settles the matter through diplomacy and negotiation. Instead of entering Portugal as a triumphant war hero he enters as a new king eager to get to know his new vassals. He stops by towns and villages to allow himself be seen and to establish a relationship with the people. Philip ultimately claims the crown of Portugal peacefully and with the consent of the people, or at least this is how canto XXXVII of *La Araucana* portrays this historical event ending the conflict. As the last canto of *La Araucana*, this episode reflects on the poem as a whole and attempts to offer an explanation to the riddles and contradictions found therein. It is an example of a king who can successfully engage in imperial conquest but on peaceful terms, an example of a moderate man who practices self-discipline and self-control. Philip's ascent to the throne of Portugal represents the marriage of the two Iberian nations and the marriage of ideal masculinity and politics in the early modern time period.

This episode of *La Araucana* directly addresses the annexation of Portugal but also reflects upon events in Chile and offers an idealized vision of what conquest could look like. Philip II inherited the providential tone that had accompanied his father's reign (Charles V), anticipating that his military efforts would eventually unite the Christian

world, defeat her enemies and usher in a period of peace. In the Americas, projecting success became as important for conquistadors as it was for the Crown. Matthew Restall identifies several different aspects of myth making during the Conquest that made the victory of Spain seem complete and inevitable. These myths set up a dichotomy of inferiority and superiority between Amerindians and Europeans, the latter being destined to conquer and control the Americas. But in order to do this, these myths also had to try to erase inconvenient truths about the Conquest that would have challenged assumptions of superiority. One myth that Restall identifies is the myth of completion, yet, during his reign Philip II found himself involved in wars that seemed to have no end, such as that of Flanders and what would be called the Flanders of the Indies, Chile. Chile was not as quickly conquered as other places in the Americas. This prolonged fighting reflects what Henry Kamen has pointed out as a commonplace about the Conquest; that much of the expanse of the Americas only slowly came under Spanish control and even those places that had been “conquered” often continued to put on forms of resistance (121-125). In this way, Chile was not entirely an atypical case, but the prolonged war there did receive more attention than other regions of the Americas. Chile butted against what Spaniards wanted to believe about the Americas and the European presence there; that they were needed in the Americas to bring civilization to barbarian peoples and that they had been chosen by God to spread the true faith of Christianity.

Despite the desire on the part of many to believe these myths, there also existed a form of opposition to the kind of conquest taking place in the Americas. The situation in Chile was not exempt from moral and theological debates of the time that were concerned with the status of the Amerindians and the version of imperial expansion that was being

carried out in the Americas. There were some who were critical of the violence of the Conquest, the enslavement of the native population and other abuses committed against them. Prior to Ercilla's arrival, the abuses against the Amerindians in Chile had already been noticed by the king and several *cédulas reales* were issued condemning those abuses and calling for reform. Later, Fray Gil González, who is often heralded as Chile's Bartolomé de las Casas, openly criticized the wars in Chile and the treatment of the Amerindians there. Even those less concerned with the treatment of the Amerindians and more concerned with the ongoing warfare made their criticism known using the epithet "Flanders of the Indies" to describe Chile. And still others were concerned with the warfare in Chile because it potentially went against the preferred *pax christiana*. All of these elements would find their way to greater or lesser extent into the work of Alonso de Ercilla.

Ercilla received a humanist education and would be deeply influenced by it. His humanistic education would have included the Aristotelian philosophy of virtue as the mean. Aristotle returns to the ideal of the mean in much of his writing but it becomes the most fleshed out in *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics*. In these texts, Aristotle defines virtue as the mean between two extremes. The mean, for example, between the extremes of rashness and cowardice is courage. The mean as it concerns people deals with the relationships between passions (rashness, cowardice, and courage), how a person experiences those passions and how a person reacts to those passions. In one of his earliest examinations of the ideal of the mean, Aristotle emphasizes that a person cannot be judged for being either good or bad solely on the passion they experience, a person can only be judged by how they act. He says that virtues, or excellences, are modes of

choice (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 116).² Therefore, a person may feel the urge to rush to war and thereby give into the extreme of rashness but be judged badly for it. Likewise, a person might shrink back from entering into battle and give into the extreme of cowardice also being judged badly for it (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 115-116). Or, a person can feel those same passions as strongly, but restrain himself from both rashness and cowardice and instead enter battle at the “right time, the right place and in the right way” (Aristotle, *Ethica Nichomachea*, 2.6) and find the ideal mean of courage.

In Chapter 6 and 8 of *Nichomachean Ethics*, Aristotle further that it is easy to mistake one passion that is an extreme for the mean or mistake the mean for an extreme. He goes on to explain that rashness is the opposite of cowardliness, but rashness is more similar to courage than courage is to cowardliness and so we oppose courage to cowardliness when the two are not actually opposites. In this pairing, it is forgotten that rashness is the opposite extreme of cowardliness. Yet Aristotle makes room for individual interpretation of the mean when he explains relativity as such: “This is why those at either extreme try to distance themselves from the one between them, associating him with the other extreme: the courageous person is called rash by the coward, cowardly by the rash person” (Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 120). The mean must be defined relationally by what it is not. These complications make the mean difficult to identify. The ideal of the mean, then, is vague, not easily defined or applied.

To act in accordance with the mean, or to act moderately, was to act ethically. According to Todd Reeser Aristotelian theory of the mean was meant to apply only to

² More than one translation was used to consult the texts of Aristotle. Translations differ and consulting more than one offers a more complete understanding of the original. The two translations consulted here are *Ethica Nichomachea* translated by W.D. Ross and *Nichomachean Ethics* translated by Christopher Rowe.

men. The free Athenian man was “the functional center of Aristotle’s political program” (50). Women were not capable of moderation and many of the passions defined in Aristotle’s works as extremes are associated with the feminine. Reeser argues that according to Aristotle’s philosophy “the man can be ethical while the woman cannot” (51). Or, the man can be moderate while the woman cannot. Reeser goes on to say that according to Aristotle, “self-mastery and moderation are techniques of self-discipline that imply mastery of the other, especially woman, slave and child...” (52). Thus, the ideal of the mean becomes a *de facto* examination of what it means to be an adult man. The difficulty comes in defining what exactly the mean is in relation to man and how a man can act accordingly.

Offering a binary rather than an Aristotilean ternary model for men’s behavior, Mar Martínez Góngora finds that the ideal of self control was extremely important for Spanish men in the early modern period. Martínez Góngora connects the qualities of self control and self discipline with followers of Erasmus. She says that “Los humanistas españoles incorporan en sus textos importantes elementos del código de conducta ideado por Erasmo en el que se trata de reconciliar normas de procedencia noble y burguesa, pero en cuyo resultado predominan los elementos de auto-control y la disciplina corporal...” (10). Furthermore, she offers some examples on how discipline and self control were to be achieved: in self control when consuming food and drink; controlling sexual impulses; having good manners; repressing aggression; dominating one’s passions; austerity in habits and manners; along with stoicism and strength when faced with adversity (10-12).

Philip II received an education on how to be an effective prince that stressed the importance of moderation. The didactic treatises of the time on the education of princes like the *Enchiridion* attempted to establish a code of conduct that highlighted the association between self control and masculinity (Seidler 45). Recommendations made by writers of the time, like Francisco de Monzón and Antonio de Guevara, for achieving self control included moderation when eating or drinking and controlling one's sexual appetites. Control over the body reflected the prince's ability to exercise power over his vassals (Góngora 66). Claudine Haroche concludes that the discourse contained in didactic literature for princes at the time stressed that the monarch needed to control himself in order to govern over others, and to do so he must dominate and control his face, his body, and language (66). The need for not only acting on moderation, but demonstrating to others through body language that one is a moderate man came to be represented in the plastic and fine arts in depictions of the king. Martínez Góngora offers an examination of portraits and statues of Charles V and Philip II that depict these men as moderate figures. She says of those depictions of Charles V influenced by Erasmian thought that he is portrayed as moderate in his refusal to humiliate those he has conquered, by comforting the injured, and as a wise king (67). She goes on to say that Philip II's moderation was routinely portrayed in his status as a *paterfamilias* of the Spanish people (68). As the head of a political family, Philip II was responsible for the well being of his people, a trait that distinguished a king from a tyrant (Góngora 74). In order to be a good monarch, he needed to be moderate, calm, just, in control of his emotions, in control of himself, in control of pleasure, rational, and as attentive to religious matters as to secular ones (Erasmus, *Education*, 35).

In Ercilla's *La Araucana* both the Aristotelean ternary model of the moderate man as well as the binary model based on Erasmian concepts of self control and self discipline coexist alongside one another. The two models help to define masculinity in the poem by highlighting preferred characteristics and behaviors of men such as bodily self control, control over others, courage, and by achieving these things, ideal masculine leadership. This masculine leadership is based on moderation and discipline, avoids excess, and searches for justice. Those men in the poem who are unable or unwilling to live up to these expectations serve as foils against which this superior brand of masculinity can be compared in the poem. Two men stand out in their achievement of this ideal masculinity: the Araucanian leader Caupolicán and the Spanish King Philip II, though the poem positions the latter as the ultimate ideal.

Philip II is portrayed as the just and moderate king in *La Araucana*. Philip himself appears only infrequently in the poem, his most important appearance occurring in the last canto of Part III in which Ercilla describes how he came to inherit the throne of Portugal. Ercilla's representation of Philip is that of an ideal leader and a moderate man. Philip II of *La Araucana* becomes an ideal for Aristotelean and Erasmian virtues of moderation. He is at all times in control of himself, in control of others, calm, just, and like the depictions of his father analyzed by Martinez Gongora, he refuses to humiliate his enemies, he protects the injured and defeated, and proves himself to be a wise king. His model of governance in Europe is one that the poem also seems to suggest for the New World. Chile is a place that needs the positive influence of Philip II's leadership.

Caupolicán, though not as ideal of a leader as Philip, is able to exercise some forms of moderation including control of his body, control over others, and the

application of justice informed by moderate principles. As an Araucanian he does not easily conform to Aristotelian or Erasmian concepts of what kind of man is supposed to be capable of moderation. In accordance to classical theory, because he is a “barbarian”, an ethnic other, he should not be able to achieve moderation. In classical theory, ethnic others were considered to be as prone to the extreme and vices as women and were not considered to be equals to free Athenian men (Reeser 50, 216). But in demonstrating his ability to achieve moments of moderation, Caupolicán destabilizes the balance between the conqueror and the conquered. His moderation reflects that of Philip though in slightly less equal terms; Caupolicán achieves moments of moderation even though he cannot quite achieve the same levels of ideal leadership as Philip. Nevertheless, Caupolicán’s moderation demonstrates his potential for localized political authority and the potential to be considered a high ranking vassal of an overseas territory of the Spanish Empire. But his moderation does not make any claim for independence of the Amerindians from the Spanish Empire, merely a respected place within it. In the end, the poem makes it clear that all territories need the guiding influence of Philip II’s moderation in order to maintain stability and strength.

Self-control, Restraint, and Claims to Leadership: Portugal and Arauco

Canto XXXVII of *La Araucana* was added to the poem posthumously by Ercilla’s widow and has only received passing attention from by scholars. There are generally two different approaches to the poem either interpreting it as a justification of the annexation of Portugal or as a final lamentation by the poet. Juan María Corominas describes it as Ercilla’s attempt at a defense of himself and an explanation of just war (16-18, 55). J.T. is of the opinion that the last canto ruptures the unity of the poem but focuses on the themes

of justice and clemency (“La vida” 188-189). In the introduction to their translation of *La Araucana*, Charles Maxwell Lancaster and Paul Thomas Manchester find the “desolation of the concluding stanza” hard to understand considering Ercilla’s successful life (23). Isaías Lerner has more to say about the canto and summarizes it as “Las melancólicas quejas al final al poema...deben entenderse como una formula retórica del autor que apunta a la vanidad de las cosas del mundo que se buscan con afán de éxito” (18). Lerner also says of this canto that it is “un comentario sobre la justicia de la Guerra y, en especial, la justificación de la de Portugal. Los problemas del derecho de los pueblos, que no habían despertado ninguna necesidad de justificación en la sangrienta campaña chilena, resultan de obligatorio mención en territorio europeo...La colonización y sujeción de los araucanos, por su carácter redentor, solemnizado por apariciones celestiales cuidadosamente documentados, no necesita justificación en el plano poético” (38). Beatriz Pastor views canto XXXVII as an addition that Ercilla wrote because of his awareness of ideological tensions in his poem and that this canto was his attempt to resolve them. The first conflicting position she identifies is the “general condemnation of the violence of the conquest and a refusal to accept the presumed legitimacy of imperialistic aggression” (268) and the other “reflects recognition of the necessity of war as an instrument to maintain peace” (268). Pastor goes on to say that the last canto attempts to resolve the tensions of Araucanian representation that depicts them as either a noble people or brave barbarians (269). As scholars have pointed out, canto XXXVII does deal with the themes of justice and clemency. The canto also acts as a justification of the annexation of Portugal. And it can also offer an explanation for certain tensions found in the poem. Despite being a later addition to the poem, canto XXXVII is not

peripheral to the body of the text but rather plays a central role in explaining seemingly contradictory stances of the poem.

The canto also elucidates the theory of moderation as it pertains to ideal leadership and ideal masculinity in the poem. In this canto, Philip II demonstrates how moderation is the key to unlocking justness and clemency, the foundations for wise leadership. And so, the poem explicitly defines the ideal king, his ideal actions and who that ideal is: Philip II. In this canto, Philip II exercises restraint in order to avoid a bloody war between Portugal and Spain. This earns him the respect of the people of Portugal high and low. It is emphasized in the poem that even though Philip II has the right to violence and to punishment, he only exercises these when no other choice is presented or when it is merited. This canto also represents Philip II as the ideal moderate mean to two extremes that had previously occupied the Portuguese throne. By embodying and exemplifying characteristics and behaviors of the moderate mean, Philip II further legitimizes his claim to the throne.

The annexation of Portugal was not as smooth or as uncontroversial as the poem would suggest. It occurred on the heels of a mixed bag of military and political success and failure, a period that Geoffrey Parker refers to as “The Years of Failure” of Philip’s reign (119). This included increased aggressions in the Netherlands, financial crisis, the Turkish seizure of Lepanto in 1574, and a murder scandal in the court. Then, in August 1578, Philip’s nephew Sebastián, the king of Portugal, died at the battle of Alcazarquivir in Morocco. He was childless and left his childless uncle, Cardinal Enrique to inherit the throne. After the Cardinal, this made Philip II the closest male relative. Within days, Philip II had assembled a council of advisers. In some circles, it was

disputed that Doña Catalina, the niece of the Cardinal, was an equal contender for the throne, but in the end, Philip's council found validity in Philip's claim. The council advised that Philip was the preferred choice because his ascent to the throne would promote security in both kingdoms, strengthen the Catholic Church, and enable Catholic states to better unite against Protestant challenges (Parker 143). Portugal was meant to be a "peace offensive" but as challenges against Philip's claim grew, especially those from another faction that supported yet another contender, Dom Antonio, Philip mobilized troops along the border. Parker describes Philip as "a reluctant convert to the use of force" but notes that his troops also "brutally sacked" the town of Setúbal and the city of Lisbon (144-45). Philip then ordered the execution of all those involved in the opposition (Parker 145). Soon afterward, Philip would have to turn his attention back to the Netherlands where rebellion opened again and negotiations with the English for an alliance against Spain were in play.

The Philip of canto XXXVII is not like the Philip described by Parker. The Philip of *La Araucana* eschews violence and is forgiving of the people of Portugal. The Philip of *La Araucana* is concerned with justice and moderation in all things. The exordium to the canto outlines not only rules for just war but also how striking a balance between extremes makes a king's actions just before, during, and after war. Some of the proscriptions for just war and leadership are as follows: in a just war, the taking of slaves is permitted and the winner can do as they wish (Part III, canto XXXVII, 2), but it is only the king himself who can decide to go to war, not the soldier (Part III, canto XXXVII, 12), Christian princes should never go to war in hate, vengeance, or in competition (Part III, canto XXXVII, 10) and should exercise clemency and just punishment when they win

a battle (Part III, canto XXXVII, 19), he should also pardon but do so discriminately (Part III, canto XXXVII, 19), and reminds us that clemency can make friends out of enemies (Part III, canto XXXVII, 22). All these things, even going to war in the first place, should only be done to maintain the peace, especially a Christian peace among Christian nations. In Aristotilean terms, all of these recommendations guide the way to the mean and encourage moving away from the extremes of rashness and hatred. Likewise, the recommendations also warn against forgiving too much or too easily. Very importantly, the right amount of clemency, here understood as the mean, can lead to friendship. Moderation can create equals and it is only between equals that true friendship can grow.

It is not only the justice of Philip's actions that are important in the canto, but also the matter of the justice. Just as the exordium recommends a balance in extremes when engaging in just war, Philip's person balances extremes of age and personality, making him the ideal choice:

Todos los cuales claramente viendo

(...)

el varón a la hembra prefiriendo,

y al de menos edad el más anciano,

yendo la sucesión y precedencia

por derecho de sangre y no de herencia. (Part III, canto XXXVII, 45)

Other contenders, such as Doña Catalina, are unable to bring moderation to their claim since women were considered theoretically unable to attain moderation in the Aristotilean model. A person unable to practice moderation is also unable to practice prudent

leadership. This lack of moderation results in the weakened ability to lead as seen in the two extremes of the Portuguese court, Sebastián and Enrique.

On the one hand, Sebastián, the King of Portugal, is a young man who falls to one side of the extreme in age and personality. He is described as “juvenil” (Part III, canto XXXVII, 33), an “orgullosa mozo” (Part III, canto XXXVII, 36) and “un mozo ardiente” (Part III, canto XXXVII, 37). This rash and hot headed youth ends up being killed when he rushes into battle. Sebastián’s temperament can be explained by the theory of moderation and moderation’s relationship to age. Young men were thought to have not yet mastered control over their passions or over their body. They were also prone to imbalances in the humors that contributed to their inability to exert self control. They were seen as being prone to extremes, especially rashness. Sebastián lives up to assumptions about the behavior of young men in his inability to restrain his actions or to control the passions results in his death. This kind of rashness and immoderation make him an imprudent individual and a less than wise king.

On the other hand, upon Sebastián’s death, his great-uncle inherits the throne. Don Enrique is described as being a very religious man, a positive characteristic, but in important ways he cannot live up to kingly expectations. He is described as “de años y enfermedades agravado” (Part III, canto XXXVII, 40) and “más que para este mundo para el cielo” (Part III, canto XXXVII, 40) and finally “con poca vida y sucesión ninguna” (Part III, canto XXXVII, 40). Again, theories on moderation help to explain Don Enrique’s inability to properly govern. Just as young men were thought to suffer from extremes, so were older men thought to be more prone to extremes. At sixty-seven years old, Don Enrique may not be considered all that old today, but in *La Araucana* he is

a weak and feeble man unable to support the burdens of kingship. Yet despite his advanced age and waning vitality, Don Enrique refuses to give up the crown. His imprudence and pride put the Portuguese crown, and greater Iberia, in jeopardy.

In considerations of age, Philip is in a good position when it comes to moderation. At fifty two, he is considered to still be in his prime³ and this will help him to practice moderation which will lead to just rule and prudent leadership. In his claim to the throne he balances out the rashness of youth and the weakened vitality of old age. He does not rush into battle like Sebastián, but he is also not apathetic. Instead, Philip II forms a council to advise him in legitimacy of his claim in an attempt to peacefully and rationally approach the situation:

con celosa y loable providencia
 hizo juntar doctísimos varones
 de grande christiandad y suficiencia,
 desnudos de interese y pretensiones,
 que conforme a derecho y a conciencia,
 no por torcidas vías y razones,
 mirasen en el grado que él estaba
 si el pretendido reino le tocaba. (Part III, canto XXXVIII, 42).

While he waits on the deliberations of his council, Philip shows self-control and restraint by not invading Portugal with military force. The binary model of self control and restraint complements the discussion on age, behavior and moderation in the canto. Here, Philip holds back and waits for the theological and legal debates to come to a conclusion

³ For more on age and masculinity, see Alexandra Shepard, “The Constant Age” in *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*.

on the validity of his claim. According to the poem, Philip is forced to act even though he would prefer an entirely peaceful outcome, but that he must also follow the law of the land and his obligated to claim the throne of Portugal:

Como Felipe en la ocasión presente,
 que de precisa obligación forzado,
 en favor de las leyes justamente
 las permitidas armas ha tomado;
 no fundando el derecho en ser potente
 ni de codicia de reinar llevado,
 pues se estiende su cetro y monarquía
 hasta donde remata el sol su vía. (Part III, canto XXXVII, 14)

In this moment, he demonstrates one of recommendations made at the beginning of the canto such as avoiding motives of hatred, vengeance, or competition. Philip here is not covetous of the throne of Portugal, he is obligated by law to make his claim and even take up arms to defend it if necessary. His cause and the war in Portugal are just. The poem even defends any punishment that the opposition in Portugal may deserve:

Que no está en perdonar el ser clemente
 si conviene el rigor y es importante,
 que el que ataja y castiga el mal presente
 huye de ser cruel para adelante.
 Quien la maldad no evita, la consiente,
 y se puede llamar participante
 y el que a los malos públicos perdona

la república estraga e infinciona. (Part III, canto XXXVII, 19)

These punishments are only deserved, however, because the war is just. And punishment, when merited, is not seen as an extreme, but rather necessary and prudent for maintaining the peace. The poem goes on to further explain its stance on punishment and clemency:

No quiero yo decir que no es gran cosa
 la clemencia, virtud inestimable,
 que el perdonar vitoria es gloriosa,
 y en el más poderoso más loable;
 pero la paz común tan provechosa
 no puede sin justicia ser durable,
 que el premio y el castigo a tiempo usados
 sustentan las repúblicas y estados. (Part III, canto XXXVII, 20).

Punishment is not to be dealt out in hate, but rather as a means to maintain the peace and the common good. And when applicable, clemency is a glorious virtue. The poem then goes on to explain the benefits of clemency:

La clemencia a los mismos enemigos
 aplaca el odio y ánimo indignado,
 engendra devoción, produce amigos,
 y atrae el amor del pueblo aficionado;
 que el continuo rigor en los castigos
 hace el príncipe odioso y defamado:
 oficio es propio y propio de los reyes
 embotar el cuchillo de las leyes. (Part III, canto XXXVII, 22)

Though punishment, when deserved, can help to maintain the peace, there is ample room for clemency and “blunting the blade of the law,” or practicing forgiveness even if one has the right of the law to punish the guilty. A king who knows to strike a balance between just punishment and the exercise of clemency will find himself in the middle of the extremes of cruelty and too much forgiveness. In finding this balance, he finds moderation and ideal masculine leadership.

The poetic voice goes on to criticize the opposing faction in Portugal, asking them how they could take up arms to break the law, how they can ignore the common good and peace between nations (Part III, canto XXXVII, 27). The opposition is described as rebels with an unjust cause who not only arrogantly deny the rights of Philip, but also ignore the cost of war on the populace. The poem tells of the magnanimity Philip has shown the people of Portugal:

Mirad con qué largueza os ha ofrecido
 hacienda, libertades y esenciones,
 no a término forzoso reducido,
 mas con formado campo y escuadrones;
 y casi murmurando, ha detenido
 las armas, convenciéndose con razones,
 cual padre que reduce por clemencia
 al hijo inobediente a la obediencia. (Part III, canto XXXVII, 28)

Philip stays his hand and chooses to exercise a degree of clemency instead of cruelty, even though the opposition is cruel in its own tactics. Philip does not come to Portugal to

conquer and enslave the people; he is there to uphold their traditional rights and establishes generous terms for their annexation.

Afterwards, the poem demonstrates another point made earlier in the canto: clemency can make friends out of enemies:

Vista, pues, don Felipe su justicia
 por tan bastantes hombres declarada,
 sospechoso del odio y la malicia
 de la plebeya gente libertada,
 y la intríntrica y vieja inimicicia
 en los pechos de muchos arraigada,
 quiso tentar en estas novedades
 el ánimo del pueblo y voluntades.

Y con piadoso celo, deseando
 el bien del reino y público sosiego,
 en la mente perpleja iba trazando
 cómo echar agua al encendido fuego,
 por todos los caminos procurando
 aquietar el común desasosiego
 que ya con libertad, sin corregirse
 comenzaba en el pueblo a descubrirse (Part III, canto XXXVII, 48-49).

Instead of harboring animosity towards the Portuguese populace who Philip II suspects of “el odio y la malicia...y la intríntrica y vieja inimicicia” he holds back any violent tendencies and goes out among them and “comenzaba en el pueblo a descubrirse”. Philip

practices the right amount of forgiveness in his gesture of trust and goodwill. His presence is important in ameliorating the situation. And his practice of restraint instead of revenge ensures peace among friends.

Philip II's triumph in Portugal is finally described as:

y enterarse del cello y sano intento
 tantas veces por él representado,
 entendiendo la fuerza y fundamento
 de su causa y derecho declarado;
 no traído por término violento
 ni deseo de reinar desordenado
 mas por rigor de la justicia pura,
 por ley, razón, por fuero y por natura.
 (...)

Con que en el suelto pueblo cesaría
 el tumulto y escándalos estraños
 y su declaración atajaría
 grandes insultos y esperados daños
 haciendo que en la forma que solía
 para después de sus felices años
 el reino le jurase según fuero,
 por legítimo príncipe heredero. (Part III, canto XXXVII, 51, 53)

Philip was not brought to Portugal with violent ends, says the poem, he has been brought by pure justice, law, reason and nature. The imperial expansion of Philip is one based on

justice as practiced by balancing extremes of aggression and apathy. This is why he is able to put an end to the disputes and win over the Portuguese people, who in the end welcome him as their legitimate king. Philip II has claimed his rightful title through peaceful means and has shown clemency towards those who otherwise held animosity for him. He has followed the recipe described at the beginning of the canto and by doing so proves himself to be the ideal king. More than that, by following the recipe, he is able to prove his own self-control and restraint by not rashly engaging in violence or aggression. He moves towards the mean and away from the extremes. He can provide what the young Sebastián and the older don Enrique could not: moderation.

The recipe for good leadership in canto XXXVII and Philip II's moderated ideal based on the models of the Aristotilean moderate mean and Erasmian model of self control reflect a parallel scene in Part I, canto II. In this canto, the tribes of Arauco have gathered to discuss the growing threat of the Spanish and to find a new leader for the combined Amerindian military forces. In the gathering, there is heated disagreement about who is more qualified to lead their people in an assault on the Spanish. Some, like Tucapel, claim that *valentía* makes him the best choice. Others quickly challenge Tucapel and threaten physical violence in order to secure their position at the head of the confederation of tribes. The contenders are described as “de cólera...y rabia insana” (Part I, canto II, 23) and “furioso y arrogante” (Part I, canto II, 24). There are likenesses in their description with that of the young Portuguese king, Sebastián. Tucapel and the other young caciques are eager for battle and due to their youth more likely to choose to act on the extremes of pride and rashness. Sebastián and Tucapel also enter into battle without consideration for just war. They both act out of hate, vengeance, or competition. Neither

of them shows discipline, self-control or restraint. Without these characteristics, they are unable to control themselves and can therefore not effectively lead others. It is clear that neither Sebastián in Portugal nor Tucapel in Arauco are ideal candidates to lead their people.

The power struggle momentarily dies down upon the arrival of Colocolo. He is the oldest cacique to arrive and makes it clear that his age, and hence experience, makes him the ideal candidate. However, he admits that despite his legitimate claim, he also lacks the “codicia de mandar” (Part I, canto II, 28). Like Don Enrique in Portugal, Colocolo is beginning to wane in vitality. He simply does not have the will to lead. In his wisdom, however, he steps aside and does not prevent a better man from taking his place. He chastises the young caciques for the violence and aggression they have shown towards one another instead of saving it for the battlefield against their true enemies, the Spanish. He also calls for calm and respect for the customs and laws that govern the confederation. In Arauco claims for authority are not made by individuals and defended through violence; their own version of legal recourse determines who will lead the Araucanian people. Colocolo says to them:

No me pesa de ver la lozanía
de vuestro corazón, antes me esfuerza,
mas temo que esta vuestra valentía
por mal gobierno el buen camino tuerza;
que, vuelta entre nosotros la porfía,
degolláis vuestra patria con su fuerza;
cortad, pues, si ha de ser desa manera,

esta vieja garganta la primera.

(...)

En la virtud de vuestro brazo espero

que puede en breve tiempo remediarse;

mas ha de haber un capitán primero,

que todos por él quieran gobernarse.

Éste será quien más un gran madero

sustentarse en el hombro sin pararse,

y pues que sois iguales en la suerte,

procure cada cual de ser más fuerte. (Part I, canto II, 32,35)

Colocolo calls for restraint in the camp, to cease the aggression. He fears that the calls for *valentía* may lead to imprudent decisions, leading them away from good path and, in their imbalance of passions, lead them into “mal gobierno”. He demands that one man rise above the rest and prove himself in a competition of physical endurance. The custom of the competition is based on bodily strength. Bodily endurance is also an opportunity to manifest inner strength and virtues such as discipline, self-control and restraint. These virtues will be highlighted in the person of Caupolicán. Caupolicán, who is neither a young man nor as old as Colocolo, presents an ideal age for attaining moderation. But not every man who is middle aged is capable of choosing and acting on the mean. Caupolicán must first prove himself. Like Philip II in canto XXXVII, he eschews violence and calmly accepts the custom and law of the land in his claim for leadership. Following the Aristotilean model, in this he shows that he is not rash and his willingness to enter the competition shows he is not lacking in vitality or courage. Nonviolence in this context

does not necessarily indicate cowardice, but rather a confident moderate mean. It is towards this moderate mean that Caupolicán will strive. He is described as:

Era este noble mozo alto hecho
 varón de autoridad, grave y severo,
 amigo de guardar todo derecho,
 áspero y riguroso, justiciero;
 de cuerpo grande y relevado pecho,
 hábil, diestro, fortísimo y ligero,
 sabio, astuto, sagaz, determinado,
 y en casos de repente reportado. (Part I, canto II, 47)

Caupolicán is described as respecting all that is just. In his restraint and his calm and peaceful claim to leadership may also point to how he conforms to Erasmian ideas, such as the philosophy that a ruler should lead through pacifist and nonviolence practices (*The Complaint of Peace*, 46). He is not just physically strong, but also wise, clever and resolute. He is a man of authority and well born. In a different circumstance, most of the description could easily apply to a European courtier or nobleman. The description also rings as a condensed and parallel description of Philip II's own love of justice, his wisdom, authority, and noble breeding. In this description we see the tensions that Pastor highlights: Caupolicán is simultaneously a barbarian but also noble in his bearing and breeding.

In this scene, the grave countenance of Caupolicán recalls Mar Martinez Góngora and her argument that portraiture and paintings provide evidence for how self control was visually expressed in the early modern. She describes the austere and grave countenance

of Philip II in particular as exuding self discipline (68). Likewise, the grave countenance of Caupolicán while undergoing the customary challenge for Araucanian leadership demonstrates a similar restraint as represented in the portraits of Philip II. We are told that while holding aloft the tree trunk, Caupolicán's countenance never changes "y el bárbaro, en el hombre la gran viga, / sin muestra de mudanza y pesadumbre, venciendo con esfuerzo la fatiga" (Part I, canto II, 57). His demeanor and countenance never change; he approaches the challenge with stoicism and strength. Visually, he exits the competition as he entered it. His physical strength is coupled with an emotional and mental discipline that reveal his self-control. This self-control is essential for controlling others, as discussed previously. He has therefore demonstrated multiple qualities that make him an ideal candidate for leading the Araucanian people; an ideal age, dedication to justice, respect of custom and tribal law, restraint from rash violence and aggression, and self control under physical duress. He is even said to be admired almost as a king: "casi como a rey le respetaban" (Part I, canto II, 59).

These cantos that bookend the poem, and were written decades apart, nevertheless reveal the similarities between Philip II and Caupolicán in regards to their moderate qualities and, thereby their ability to lead. Both exhibit virtues that move towards the mean such as the characteristics of authority, justice, and respect for the law. These qualities are expressed in both individuals through self-control and restraint. Through self-control they are able to balance the extremes of the passions. The practice of justice and clemency is possible when the passions are in control. The connection between the virtues of discipline and self control display the need for moderation. And it is through

moderation that the two men will achieve attributes of an ideal leader: wisdom and prudence. Thus, they are ideal leaders because they are ideal men, and vice versa.

Self-control and control over others

The virtues of restraint and discipline are important for the individual man but also important for an ideal masculine leader. Control over one's own behavior facilitates control over others. In the poem, Philip II's presence brings with it authority, discipline, and self-control that have a positive influence on his troops. Another scene in which Philip II appears is the episode of San Quentin. The overarching pro-imperial theme of the poem as a whole necessitates this event be depicted in a positive light. But as Craig Kallendorf has pointed out, pro-imperial does not mean blind obedience to imperialistic strategy or practice. The description of the battle of San Quentin begins with a critique of the excessiveness of violence, greed, and destruction on the part of the mass of Spanish soldiers. The battle only becomes exemplary triumph upon the arrival of Philip II.

In the aftermath of the battle of San Quentin, the Spanish troops descend into lawlessness, debauchery and greed. The moment is described as “vuelto en codicia aquel furor sangriento,/ al esperado saco de la tierra,/ premio de la común gente de guerra” (Part II, canto XVIII, 17). Their behavior was not atypical for early modern soldiers. Thomas Arnold and John Keegan point out that starting in the late fifteenth century, European states began to depend more and more on mercenaries, adventurers and otherwise desperate men looking for a pay day, but that by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it became harder and harder to financially support such armies (38). Many military forces raised in the sixteenth century were commonly under a “fight now pay later” system (Tallet 12). Supplies, food and other necessities were often in short supply

and enlisted men would resort to “more or less well regulated plunder to supply themselves” (Tallet, 55). Typical pay for a Spanish soldier was usually just over half the daily wage of a laborer (Tallet 94). Even though pay was scant, soldiers were lucky to even receive payment for their services. The people they fought for usually had chronic financial problems and struggled to raise the funds necessary for war. Soldiers could go months unpaid, if they were paid at all. And so, looting and pillaging on the part of the winning forces was considered a much needed bonus with or without steady pay. Nevertheless, the canto condemns the behavior of the Spanish troops. The chaos and barbarity ring out in the following verses:

No los ruegos, clamores y querellas
 que los distantes cielos penetraban
 de viudas y huérfanas doncellas
 la insaciable codicia moderaban;
 antes, rompiendo sin piedad por ellas,
 a lo más defendido se arrojaban,
 creyendo que mayor ganancia había
 donde más resistencia se hacía.

Viéranse ya las vírgines corriendo
 por las calles, sin guardia, a la ventura
 los bellos rostros con rigor batiendo,
 lamentando su hado y suerte dura;
 y las míseras monjas, que rompiendo
 sus estatuos, límite y clausura,

de aquel temor atónito llevadas,
 iban acá y allá descarriadas.

(...)

Súbito allí la llama alimentada,
 arrojando espesísimas centellas,
 del fresco viento céfiro ayudada
 procuraba subir a las estrellas;
 la miserable gente afortunada
 con dolorosas voces y querellas
 fijos los ojos en el cielo,

desmayando, esforzaban más el duelo. (Part II, canto XVIII, 21-22, 26)

The behavior of the Spanish forces acting “sin piedad” (Part II, canto XVIII, 21) towards women and children, with its implications of rape, was also not uncommon behavior in early modern warfare. Neither is the destruction of the city, set aflame in stanza 26 uncharacteristic. The description is moving, but the content is not out of the ordinary. Given the historical and cultural context of the poem, there is no need to justify the actions of the Spanish troops. But in a poem where moderation and self control are keys to ideal masculinity and leadership, these stanzas lead to a sharp criticism. The barbarity of the Spanish troops is highlighted when compared to the actions of the Araucanians, true “barbarians”, in their attack on the Chilean city of Concepción.

Quién a su casa corre pregonando
 la venida del bárbaro guerrero;
 quién aguija a la silla, procurando

chincharla en el caballo más ligero;
 las encerradas vírgines llorando
 por las calles, sin manto ni escudero,
 atónitas, de acá y de allá perdidas,
 a las madres buscaban desvalidas.

(...)

Nunca fue de Nerón el gozo tanto
 de ver en la gran Roma poderosa
 prendido el fuego ya por cada canto
 vista sola a tal hombre deleitosa;
 ni aquello tan gran gusto le dio, cuanto
 gusta la gente bávara dañosa
 de ver cómo la llama se estendía,
 y la triste ciudad se consumía. (Part I, canto VII, 14, 62)

In both cantos there are themes of the mistreatment of non-combatants, particularly young women. And in both cantos the destructive force of fire is brought down upon the cities, its cruelty reflected in the reference to the story of Nero watching the city of Rome burn. In both cantos, the soldiers/warriors at San Quentin and Concepción act immoderately. They do not follow any of the proscriptions for demonstrating self control or restraint. They do not repress their aggression, they do not dominate their passions, and they do not show clemency. The Spanish soldiers are as equally immoderate as the Araucanian warriors. The barbarity of the one is reflected in the other. The excessiveness

in both camps in these very different locations and battles threatens to turn what should be a triumphal victory of just war into moral chaos.

There is one thing that separates the events of San Quentin from those of Concepción: the arrival of the king. Upon his arrival, Philip II orders that all the women, children, and religious houses be respected and protected. He orders that all the women that have run away or gone into hiding be collected and housed in a safe place under trusted guard:

Mas el pío Philip, antes que entrasen
 había mandado a todas las naciones
 que con grande cuidado reservasen
 las mujeres y casas de oraciones,
 (...)

 Las mujeres, que acá y allá perdidas,
 llevadas del temor, sin tiento andaban,
 por orden de Philip recogidas
 en seguro lugar las retiraban,
 donde de fieles guardas defendidas
 del bélico furor las amparaba
 que aunque fueron sus casas saqueadas,
 las honras les quedaron reservadas. (Part II, canto XVIII, 23-24)

Not only does Philip II not engage in any of the same behaviors as his men, he curbs the frenzy of debauchery and excessiveness of the troops. The result is described:

que los fieros soldados, obedientes

al cristiano y espreso mandamiento,

se mostraban en esto continentes,

renando aun el primero movimiento

(...)

Mas el piadoso Rey la gran clemencia

había las fieras armas embotado

que con remedio presto y diligencia

todo el furor y fuego fue apagado. (Part II, canto XVIII, 25, 28).

Philip II has shown his own self-control in not giving into excess. His own discipline and restraint are what gives him the ability to positively lead his troops in the recuperation of the mean. Under Philip II's guidance, the Spanish troops control their initial impulses and obey the King's orders. Philip II makes virgins and other women unavailable for the troop's sexual impulses, thus restraining the men's behavior while simultaneously protecting the women. He also successfully curbs their aggression and frenzy by commanding them to set down their arms and by putting them to work to put out the flames. Self-control as practiced by Philip II in San Quentin has wider consequences than merely reigning in his marauding soldiers. His application of discipline, restraint and obligations of a moderated Christian king extend beyond the battlefield. Even though Philip II has won a decisive victory at San Quentin, he negotiates the rest of the conflict through a peaceful treaty that will end decades of warfare. The treaty will return lands claimed by the Spanish Crown back to the King. Likewise, France will reclaim some of its land previously occupied by England, an ally of Spain during the conflict. The description of the battle ends on the note that between France and Spain

“...quede asegurada / la paz, con hermandad y firme asiento” (Part II, canto XVII, 32). Philip II’s clemency and peaceful negotiations following the battle have paved the way for peace and fraternity between former enemies.

Like Philip II, Caupolicán faces the challenges of warfare. But Caupolicán must deal with a threat to his enterprise that Philip II does not: in-fighting amongst his people. Caupolicán handles the situation in similar ways as Philip II. Both men demonstrate self discipline in their choice to act on the mean. And their self control, according to Aristotlian theory of the mean, is what enables them to exert influence and control over their men and bring calm to their troops. Caupolicán’s ability to do so does not appear in a single incident, however, but is spread over several cantos. In these episodes, Caupolicán’s patience is tested by subordinate caciques. In each, he must first choose to follow the path of the mean and not give into his anger or impatience before he is able to take control of the situation and his men.

The first instance of Caupolicán exerting a similar influence over his people as Philip II does at San Quentin happens in Part I, cantos X-XI. In this canto, the Araucanians have just won an important victory against the Spanish at Concepción and are celebrating with a feast. In keeping with classical themes of the epic, these celebrations include games, one on one combat, dances, and other general festivities. Caupolicán is named judge of the games. The games go well until some of the combatants who were meant to be engaged in “friendly” competition go too far. Aggression breaks out, threatening the peace between the caciques and the festivities of the day. Caupolicán, as judge and leader of the Araucanian people intervenes to reestablish calm and order:

Caupolicán en esto era llegado,
 que del supremo asiento viendo aquello
 había bajado a la sazón confuso
 y allí su autoridad toda interpuso.
 Leucotón y Orompello, conociendo
 que el gran Caupolicán allí venía,
 las enconosas voces reprimiendo
 cada cual por su parte desvíá;
 mas Tucapel la maza revolviendo,
 que otro acuerdo y concierto no quería,
 lleno de ira diabólica no calla,
 llamando a todo el mundo a la batalla. (Part I, canto XI, 19-20)

Just as the presence of Philip II at San Quentín is enough to bring calm over the situation, news of Caupolicán's arrival is also enough to calm most of the Araucanian competitors. The exception, of course, is Tucapel. His rashness and rage were previously discussed in examining in canto II where these qualities revealed his immoderation and, due to this, his lack of candidacy for leadership of the Araucanian people. Once again, Tucapel's rashness and rage arise to create conflict and confusion. His intemperance is such that it tests Caupolicán to the extreme and Caupolicán, for the first time, momentarily loses his patience. In this moment he almost gives way to the extreme and risks losing control. The lapse is only momentary, however, and he does not act on it. In the theory of the extreme and the mean, having an emotion is not what an individual is judged for; it is how he acts upon it. Here, Caupolicán demonstrates will power not to act

on his impulses and restrain from aggression, violence and speaking rashly. He is described as successfully “frenando el furor” (Part I, canto XI, 28), curbing, checking or moderating his anger. By not giving into his passions, Caupolicán is able to avoid escalating tensions and rein in Tucapel’s rage. From here, the winners of the games are awarded their respective prizes and the celebrations come to a quiet close. Caupolicán shows that virtues of self control are a choice. A man chooses to control himself and in so doing comes closer to reaching an ideal masculinity.

Caupolicán intervenes in a similar manner in Part III, canto XXX. Here, the Araucanians are planning a surprise attack on a Spanish fort. But once again, Tucapel and Rengo have allowed their tempers to flare and are more interested in fighting each other than preparing to battle the Spanish. Of the three parts of the poem, the final third is the most concerned with the justice of violence; many of the cantos explicitly define the right way and the right time for aggression. Overall, Part III criticizes immoderated violence and calls for the taming of passions. Canto XXX opens Part III of the poem. Early on the canto qualifies when violence and aggression is not acceptable.

Mas si es el combatir por gallardía,
 o por jatancia vana o alabanza,
 o por mostrar la fuerza y valentía,
 o por rencor, por odio, o por venganza;
 si es por declaración de la porfía
 remitiendo a las armas la probanza,
 es el combate injusto, es prohibido,
 aunque este en la costumbre recibido. (Part III, canto XXX, 6).

These are general prohibitions against unwarranted violence that reflect some of the same rules of engagement in canto XXXVII, such as war/battle should not be entered into for reasons of hate, vengeance or competition. Violating the cardinal rule that violence and aggression are unacceptable when done out of hatred, vengeance or competition sullies the war or battle. Violence can only be just when it is done in the right way and at the right time. Discipline and self control as revealed in the rules of engagement in canto XXXVII will dictate the justness of the violence. The sharp criticism of engaging in battle in the wrong way in the opening of canto XXX can be directed at both the general Spanish campaign in Chile and more immediately within the canto, addressing the battle between Rengo and Tucapel. The two have long been rivals in the poem and it is in this canto that they truly come to blows. Their discord and violence are clearly considered unjust, unwarranted, and exemplify their lack of self mastery and, hence, their lack of moderation.

Tenemos hoy la prueba aquí en la mano
de Rengo y Tucapel, que peleando
por sólo presunción y orgullo vano
como fieras se están despedazando;
y con protervia y ánimo inhumano
de llegarse a la muerte trabajando
estaban ya los dos tan cerca della
cuanto lejos de justa su querella.

Digo que los combates, aunque usados,
por corrupción del tiempo introducidos,

son de todas las leyes condenados
 y en razón militar no permitidos,
 salvo en algunos casos reservados (Part III, canto XXX, 7-8)

Rengo and Tucapel, like the Spanish troops at San Quentín, have crossed the line in terms of acceptable and unacceptable violence. They fight out of vanity and pride; their actions are “far from just” and are condemned by “all laws”. Their disagreement and aggression threaten the stability of the Araucanian confederation and risk putting their victory in the larger war in jeopardy. The two continue to fight until Caupolicán intervenes.

El gran Caupolicán, que asistiendo
 como juez de la batalla estaba,
 el grave caso y pérdida sintiendo,
 apriesa en la estacada plaza entraba;
 el cual, sin detenerse un punto, viendo
 que alguna sangre y vida les quedaba,
 los hizo levantar en dos tablones
 a doce los más ínclitos varones. (Part III, canto XXX, 20).

Caupolicán intervenes just in time to save both men’s lives. When Philip II arrives in San Quentín, the bloodshed and the violence end, he rescues those threatened by violence and reestablishes peace in the city. Caupolicán achieves similar ends though on a smaller scale. Once he saves the lives of Rengo and Tucapel by ending the battle, he continues to work to bring calm back to the encampment.

Pasado el punto y término temido,
 iban los dos a un tiempo mejorando,

aunque del caso de Tucapel sentido,
 no dejaba curarse braveando;
 pero el prudente General sufrido,
 con blandura la cólera templando,
 así de poco en poco le redujo
 que a la razón doméstica le trujo. (Part III, canto XXX, 22)

Through patience and the positive influence of his own conduct, Caupolicán is able to calm Tucapel and bring him back to a state of reason. As noted previously, the ability to reason was heavily marked as a masculine trait, women and “barbarians” were considered incapable of it. To be unable to reason pushed one to the edge of masculinity and potentially into the category of femininity. Caupolicán not only restores the ability to reason in Tucapel, but also his masculinity. He also reestablishes the peace “quedó entre ellos la paz establecida” (Part III, canto XXX, 23) and Rengo and Tucapel from then on acted as “amigos generosos” (Part III, canto XXX, 24). The language here is not dissimilar from the language used to describe the “asegurada paz” and “la hermandad” established at the end of the battle of San Quentin. Caupolicán and Philip II, then, have attained similar ends. Both bring calm, peace, compassion, and clemency to otherwise violent and aggressive situations.

Clemency and Caupolicán’s execution.

At San Quentin, Philip II shows the relationship between restraint and clemency towards one’s enemies, even when one stands the victor. Unnecessary violence and revenge is not condoned. He does not kill the Duke of Savoy and instead arranges a peaceful negotiation to bring an end to the violence and political dispute between Spain

and France. His actions reflect a similar situation at Pavia in the year 1525 in which Charles V took Francis I of France prisoner and effectively ended the Italian Wars. When Charles V came out the victor, he spared the King of France's life. Even in victory, killing one's opponent is not always honorable. Resisting the passions of rage and vengeance, a good leader and a good man should control himself and extend clemency, pardoning when it is prudent.

In Part I, canto III, Caupolicán has a moment where he too begins to demonstrate the virtue of clemency and forgiveness. In this canto, Caupolicán has earned his place as the leader of the Araucanian confederation. Under his leadership, they have seen several victories against the Spanish. A culminating moment for the Araucanians is the capture of Pedro de Valdivia, then governor and leader of the conquistador forces. Valdivia is then brought before the Araucanian senate:

Caupolicán, gozoso en verle vivo
 y en el estado y término presente,
 con voz de vencedor y gesto altivo
 le amenaza y pregunta juntamente;
 Valdivia como mísero captivo
 responde, y pide humilde y obediente
 que no le dé la muerte y que le jura
 dejar libre la tierra en paz segura. (Part I, canto III, 64).

Caupolicán is happy to see his opponent is alive. With the other descriptions in this verse that speak to Caupolicán using threats when speaking to Valdivia, it is not immediately clear that this is a moment in which Caupolicán will show clemency and forgiveness.

However, the next canto begins “Cuentan que estuvo de tomar movido / del contrito Valdivia aquel consejo” (Part I, canto III, 65). In other words, Caupolicán considered sparing Valdivia’s life, possibly bringing about a more peaceful resolution to the conflict between Spanish and Amerindian. With Valdivia’s life spared, a peaceful treaty like those made by Charles V and Philip II may have been possible. However, another member of the tribe takes things into his own hands and kills Valdivia with a blow to the head. Any chance at a peaceful ending to the war is over in that moment. Stanza 68 describes Caupolicán’s anger at the young man and the murder he committed is described. Ceding to the pleas of the tribe, he does not inflict any violent punishment on the murderer. The passage suggests that given the opportunity, Caupolicán may act similarly to the Spanish Kings. These lines indicate that Caupolicán may be rational and someone to negotiate with, someone who understands the virtues of clemency and forgiveness.

Caupolicán never gets the opportunity to prove these things, however, because in Part III he faces a parallel situation to that of Valdivia in Part I. Neither Caupolicán nor Valdivia will walk away with their lives. In part III, canto XXXIII, the Spanish find the Araucanian hold out in the mountains. Here, they take Caupolicán prisoner. In canto XXXIV, Caupolicán laments his fate in a speech given before the Spanish. In this speech, the theme of peace rings out. Caupolicán says:

La paz está en mi mano y albedrío
y el hacer y afirmar cualquier asiento
pues tengo por mi cargo y providencia
toda la tierra en freno y obediencia. (Part III, canto XXXIV, 7)

Coupled with the theme of peace is the idea that it is due to Caupolicán's ability to control his people and command their obedience that any peace would be possible. Like Philip II in San Quentin, Caupolicán's presence is needed to bring about calm, stability and reason. Caupolicán warns the Spanish that in the wake of his death, he will be replaced by "otros mil caupolicanos" (Part III, canto XXXIV, 10). These thousand other caupolicanos are fierce warriors, but lack the caution of the true Caupolicán. By killing him, Caupolicán warns that the Spanish kill any moderating force in the Araucanian camp. He tells them "La paz común destruyes con mi muerte" (Part III, canto XXXIV, 11). Caupolicán tells the Spanish that if they let him live, the Araucanian people will remain under his command and authority. They will follow him and obey his orders. And so, Caupolicán says he will convert to Christianity "haré yo establecer la ley de Christo" (Part III, canto XXIV, 14), with the implication that the Araucanian people will do so as well, following their leader's example. Francisco Cevallos points out that this type of conversion immediately preceding execution was a common trope in colonial literature, meant to justify Spanish actions in the New World by bringing the word of God and justifying war against the Amerindians. Caupolicán's representation here is not without a degree of justification, for his moderation is not a call for the independence and liberty of the Araucanian people, but rather a call to recognize them as vassals with rights under the King of Spain. This is reflected in Caupolicán's next words when he declares himself a willing vassal of Philip II "a dar al Rey Felipe la obediencia" (Part III, canto XXXIV, 14). Caupolicán willingly converts and pledges allegiance to Philip II in order to save the lives of his people and to establish the peace with which he is so preoccupied. Like the

King of France at Pavia with Charles V and the Duke of Savoy with Philip II, Caupolicán submits to the authority of the King of Spain.

In his speech, Caupolicán not only speaks of peace, obedience, and conversion, but warns the Spanish present that immoderation will not bring them honor in their victory. He recognizes that the Araucanian war is one of rebellion, one that is not just, just as the war in Portugal is considered unjust in canto XXXVII. But Caupolicán warns that though the rebellion may be unjust, so are the actions of the Spanish; their cause may be just but their actions are not, making their war effort as unjust as that of the Araucanians.

Cuando mi causa no sea justa, mira
que el que perdona más es más clemente
y si a venganza la pasión te tira,
pedirte yo la vida es suficiente.
Aplaca el pecho airado, que la ira
es en el poderoso impertinente;
(...)

Mira que a muchos vences vencerte,
frena el ímpetu y cólera dañosa:
que la ira examina al varón fuerte,
y el perdonar, venganza es generosa. (Part III, canto XXXIV, 10, 11)

He reminds them that he who pardons is the most clement. The most clement being the most Christian knight and a man in control of his passions: a moderate man. He tells them to calm their hate and vengeance and to check their anger before they make a

decision on what to do with him. He implores the Spanish men not to sink to barbarity and to remember the virtues of self control and restraint. Even at his own execution, his concerns with upholding Erasmian ideals are pressing. The execution of Caupolicán is yet another moment lost in which peace and reason could prevail. But as with the parallel situation in which Valdivia was the captive, the passions prove too strong to resist and the moment is lost.

Instead of exercising restraint and clemency, the Spanish condemn Caupolicán to be impaled. Caupolicán approaches his death with the same self control with which he approached the competition for the Araucanian leadership in canto II. As he draws near the spike that will impale him, he is described as never changing in his countenance: “sin mudanza y señal de sentimiento / por la escala subió tan desenvuelto / como si de prisiones fuera suelto” (Part III, canto XXXIV, 21). And when the spike is finally pushed through his body, he remains in control “que con sereno término y semblante / sin que labio ni ceja retorciese” (Part III, canto XXXIV, 28). After he has also been shot through with arrows, Caupolicán finally succumbs to death. His death mask retains the self control it had in life, inspiring fear and respect by those who view it:

Quedó abierto los ojos y de suerte
 que por vivo llegaban a mirarle,
 que la amarilla y afeada muerte
 no pudo aún puesto allí disfigurarle.
 era el miedo en los bárbaros tan fuerte
 que no osaban dejar de respetarle,
 ni allí se vio en alguno tal denuedo,

que puesto cerca dél no hubiese miedo. (Part III, canto XXXIV, 32)

His eyes remain open and despite the horrors of his torture and execution, his face has not been disfigured. He retains dignity in the form of bodily control in death. Furthermore, the reference to the yellow and ugly death condemns the vengeance taken out on Caupolicán. The poetic voice emphasizes that this is a barbarous incident, one for which he was not present:

Paréceme que sienta enternecido
 al mas cruel y endurecido oyente
 deste bárbaro caso referido
 al cual, Señor, no estuve yo presente,
 que a la nueva conquista había partido
 de la remota y nunca vista gente;
 que si yo a la sazón allí estuviera,
 la cruda ejecución se suspendiera. (Part III, canto XXXIV, 31)

The execution of Caupolicán runs counter to expectations established in the poem in similar episodes of victory. His death nullifies the possibility of peaceful negotiations. His death does not follow in the tradition and custom of clemency of the Spanish Kings when winning victory over their enemies. His death represents descent into the passions of rage and vengeance. Rage is a quality that the Araucanians, the “barbarians”, are often criticized for in the poem. But in this canto, the Spanish have become the barbarians, losing control and forgetting what makes just war and a Christian knight. The Spanish have moved away from the category of “us” and closer to the category of “other”. They have joined the Araucanian masses in their barbarity. And one of the men who could

have brought discipline and restraint to the situation is now dead, the other far away in Spain. Without the guidance and presence of a moderated man, the war in Chile has no solution.

Conclusion

Caupolicán's representation breaks the rules for how a "barbarian" should be depicted. He demonstrates the virtues of discipline, self control and restraint. These are coupled with related virtues of just war such as clemency and forgiveness. Caupolicán is given a representation that at times could be confused with one of a European nobleman and within the context of the poem this representation may be seen as a compliment. But Caupolicán's representation is also being manipulated to fit within the framework of a European debate on the nature of the Spanish Empire in the Americas. His complimentary and positive representation is intended to say more about Philip II and his imperial policies than to say anything about the Araucanians themselves. The New World is in need of the same considerations as territories in the Old World and it needs the active consideration of Philip II. The New World is in need of moderation in its application of war and in need of moderation in its governing figures. Moderation in the form of clemency, a refusal to humiliate the conquered, the protection of the weak, and a reluctance to use violence should be applied in Chile as they have been in Europe.

The appeal for these considerations is made to Philip II. The poem depicts him as a wise and prudent leader who is concerned with justness. Philip II is depicted as being fully in control of his mind, body and actions, easily practicing restraint under the most difficult of circumstances. He is also shown practicing clemency and forgiveness of the vanquished. But clemency and forgiveness have not been extended to the wars in Chile.

The success and survival of Spanish imperial agenda in Chile depends on Philip II's presence there. He is called upon to bring his virtues of discipline and self control to the Americas and allow his positive influence to extend over the peoples there, just as it has in Europe. It is Caupolicán's moderation and self control that serves as part of the evidence for this argument, but it is Philip II's moderation that is needed to fulfill it.

Chapter 3: Pedro de Oña's *Arauco Domado*, Moderation and Justice.

It is the night after a long and strenuous battle at the site of Penco, Chile, in late 1557. The Spanish are making repairs to their fortifications, resting, and keeping watch over the surrounding hills. Men have been posted to keep watch through the night. While his remaining troops sleep, then Governor of Chile and leader of this group of men, don García Hurtado de Mendoza, is awake and reviewing the state of affairs. He happens upon a soldier who has been dozing at his post. Mendoza is at first angered by the man's lack of fortitude, but then remembers what a difficult battle they have just endured and instead of reprimanding him, offers words of encouragement and continues to walk by, with the hopes that the man will correct his ways. Upon returning, however, Mendoza finds the sentinel asleep once again. He wakes him with a harsh blow to the arm and threatens to punish him with death, but at the last minute Mendoza forgives the soldier and spares his life. More importantly, the lesson has worked; this same soldier becomes a model of diligence and duty. He personally sees to it that other sentinels are trained in their duties and makes sure that no one else falls asleep at his post.

This episode from Pedro de Oña's 1596 epic poem, *Arauco domado* exemplifies its handling of the poem's hero, don García Hurtado de Mendoza, a scion of one of Spain's most influential aristocratic families. In it, we see how Mendoza administers justice, simultaneously chastising and guiding the soldier. He also demonstrates his own prudence in knowing when to take action and when to pardon. Other episodes of the *Arauco domado* depict Mendoza in similar ways, portraying him as an ideal leader who exercises moderation in his application of justice and clemency throughout his career in colonial Peru and Chile.

García Hurtado de Mendoza: The Poem's Hero

Pedro de Oña is often considered the heir to Alonso de Ercilla, and his poem, *Arauco Domado*, a sequel to *La Araucana*. Both poems take as their theme the Chilean wars against the Araucanians and both poems are considered foundational texts of Chilean literature. Critics have studied both poems for the ways they represent Amerindians and the ways they handle the conflict between the *encomenderos* and the Crown. They have also studied their historical contexts and their place in literary history. Some critics consider *Arauco domado* a poor imitation of *La Araucana*. Others consider it to be a truer representation of the Araucanians and more sympathetic towards the Amerindians than *La Araucana*. But critical approaches to the two poems also differ; one important line of scholarship of *La Araucana* has been concerned with identifying the central hero of the poem whereas *Arauco domado* has no need for such an analysis because it has a clearly defined hero, García Hurtado de Mendoza.

Don García Hurtado de Mendoza started his career in the New World as Governor of Chile in 1557. Sent to pacify the Araucanian uprising, don García did not leave the region any more stable than he had found it. In the process of fighting this war, he depleted the treasury of Santiago and forced recruitment of local men into his forces, despite their opposition to his plans. He was unwelcome in Chile by Amerindian and Spanish alike, having intervened in a contested bid for the governorship between former conquistadors Aguirre and Villagra. Despite the petitions of these men, don García's father, who was at the time himself Viceroy of Peru, took it upon himself to appoint his son governor. The combination of political betrayal of former conquistadors and nepotism earned the resentment of the colonists in Chile, many of whom had served

under Aguirre and Villagra during the 1540s campaigns. Don García set out two contingents of men who were to go to Chile, one of which would go by sea and be led by don García, the other of which would go by land and arrive later with reinforcements and provisions. Upon landing in Arauco, don García would choose to strike inland before the reinforcements could arrive. This decision would lead to the fierce battle at Penco against a large Araucanian force. Though the Spanish were able to secure the fort, their manpower and supplies were depleted.

When reinforcements arrived, don García set off almost immediately to cross the Bío-bío River, the historical divide between Spanish settlement and Araucanian territory. The land south of the river had been in Araucanian hands since the death of Valdivia in 1545. In the poem several mishaps occur while don García is in enemy territory that lead to impromptu battles between Spanish and Araucanian. After one of these struggles, the Spanish take captive the Araucanian Galbarino. The Spanish punish him by having his hands cut off and sent back to his people as an example. Such shows of intimidation were not alien in other parts of the Americas nor were they absent from European warfare. Physical mutilation was hoped to strike such fear in one's opponents that they would surrender or withdraw from future battles. The punishment does not have the desired effect, however, and Galbarino is able to inspire renewed resistance just as the desire to fight the Spanish is beginning to dwindle. At this point, however, the poem turns to Peru nearly fifty years later when don García is Viceroy of Peru, emphasizing the role don García had in putting down a rebellion in Quito taxation. Following the Quito episode, the poem then tells the story of a thwarted pirate attack by Richard Hawkins. The poem ends as peace and stability are returned to the Viceroyalty in 1596, with no return to

earlier events in Chile. The events in Peru and Ecuador are of equal importance to the events in Chile, even though future literary representations of don García will focus on his time in Chile and all but ignore his time as viceroy.

Though not mentioned in the poem, it is known that during his time as Governor of Chile, don García gained a reputation for cruelty and imprudent leadership from men under his command as well as religious men who formed a part of his company. These men, including the royal advisor Santillán, don García's right hand man, Juan Remón, and fray Gil González, would later denounce him in Santiago and then Peru, bringing legal claims against the governor. (Encina 502, Korth 48-54). Furthermore, he received little attention and a less than flattering depiction in Ercilla's *La Araucana*, a poem that had become extremely popular. Don García and the Mendoza clan resented his representation in the poem and wanted to reclaim and re-fashion the Mendoza family image.

The Mendozas claimed to be of an ancient aristocratic line that linked them to El Cid. While this family myth cannot be verified, it is true that they came to power as a family dynasty during the years of civil war among members of the Trastámara house. They were prudent or lucky enough to side with the winning faction and would go on to become a very wealthy and powerful family on the peninsula, with their base in Guadalajara. The Mendozas prided themselves on their military acumen and celebrated the men in their family who engaged in military enterprises, especially their involvement in the Reconquest. Mendoza men would also become important members in Spanish society in prominent roles such as cardinal, viceroy, and other leading positions at court. As Helen Nader has pointed out, it was important to the Mendoza family to control their

public image; in the early years of their family dynasty they accomplished this mainly as patrons of art and architecture. Later, don García Hurtado de Mendoza began to more directly intervene in the creation of public image through commissions of chronicles and literature. Oña's poem rewrites the events in Chile and Peru in order to counter criticism of don García while laying the foundations for a more glorious memory of his deeds. In order to counter the reputation don García had developed for poor leadership, a quick temper, and unjust practices, the poem *Arauco domado* attempts to smooth over his more infamous deeds and re-writes others. The poem reframes don García as a charismatic and prudent leader who commands love and respect from both the Spanish and the Amerindians. Those actions that were denounced in Santiago and Lima are painted as wise and just decisions made with the best interest of others in mind. Don García is portrayed as taking measured steps to ensure the proper administration of the territories under the Peruvian viceroyalty. As in Ercilla's *La Araucana*, moderation lies underneath the surface of the discussion of good leadership and is used to proscribe and describe don García's application of justice.

The Mendozas turned to Pedro de Oña to address their public image. Pedro de Oña's biography begins with his father, Gregorio de Oña, who was born in Burgos and came to the New World in 1552. Gregorio was perhaps following his own father, who was also named Pedro, and who had served under Francisco Pizarro. Not much is known about Pedro de Oña the elder except that he may have lived in Quito. Gregorio, upon his arrival in Peru, quickly made his way south to Chile and joined the Spanish forces there in 1553 at La Imperial. His arrival overlapped with the death of Pedro de Valdivia, so it would be don García Hurtado de Mendoza who would play a more important role in

Gregorio's life. Distinguishing himself under Mendoza's command, Gregorio eventually moved to Angol, a fortified town at the edge of Spanish territory. There, he served as *procurador* and then *regidor* of the town. Later, while traveling from Angol to La Imperial with a contingent of men, Gregorio was ambushed by a group of Araucanians and killed in 1570. Vial, Medina, Matta Vial, and Iglesias all conclude that Pedro de Oña, Gregorio's son, was born this same year in Angol. Despite his roles in the governance of the town, Gregorio left his family poor and with almost no inheritance. Shortly after her husband's death, Pedro's mother would marry one Cristóbal de la Cueva, securing stability and financial support for her three children, including Pedro. Cueva had been present in Peru during the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion and had served under Pedro de Valdivia in Chile as *regidor* and *alcalde* of the town of Concepción. He was also related to the wife of don García Hurtado de Mendoza. So despite his modest beginnings, Pedro de Oña would end up well connected to those in power in Peru and Chile, particularly by the time Mendoza was named Viceroy of the territory in 1589.

Pedro de Oña counted on his connections with the Mendoza family to advance his own career. Coincidentally or not, Oña first traveled to Lima from Santiago, Chile in 1589 in order to enroll in the newly formed University of Lima, beginning his studies in the faculty of arts and then later enrolling in the faculty of theology at the Colegio de San Felipe y San Marcos, an institution founded by Viceroy don García Hurtado de Mendoza. There, Oña would earn the degree of *licenciado*. During Oña's time in Peru, he and his family were favored by the Mendozas. Oña's brother was given a position in the Viceroy's guard and numerous loans were made by the Mendozas to Oña family members. The financial support of the Mendozas would become ever more important for

Pedro and his family when his step father, Cristobál, died sometime between 1592 and 1594. Further favors were administered to Pedro de Oña at the end of Viceroy Mendoza's term; before leaving for Spain in 1596, don García Hurtado de Mendoza would name Pedro *corregidor* of Jaén, Ecuador. Clearly, Oña had personal and political reasons for wanting to defend the image of don García Hurtado de Mendoza. He did this by writing his *Arauco domado*, beginning after the arrival of Mendoza in Lima, and finishing it by 1596, within months of the Viceroy returning to Spain at the end of his term.⁴

Unfortunately for Oña, by the time he finished and don García Hurtado de Mendoza had left Peru, the political climate in the region had changed, and Oña was without his patron and protector. Within months of Mendoza's departure, representatives of the city of Quito called for the retraction of Oña's poem. They claimed that he had represented them inaccurately and that the poem was an act of libel; the *quiteños* protested at being depicted as rebels and traitors against the Crown. Their denunciation of the poem brought the texts and Oña himself under the scrutiny of Doctor don Pedro Muñiz, the Dean of the Cathedral of Lima and Vicar General of its Archbishopric. After review, the poem was recalled and its reading prohibited. Only a little over one hundred copies out of a printing of eight hundred were in circulation at the time of the review. Oña tried to escape a personal trial and attempted to sail for Jaén the same day the

⁴ Oña began writing *Arauco domado* in 1589 and it was printed in Lima in 1596 but it was then retracted from publication, first in Peru and then in Spain. In 1605, the publisher Juan de la Cuesta printed a new edition but failed to first get permission from the *Consejo de Indias*, the official reviewer, editor, and censor for all material written in and about the New World. Failure to obtain permission resulted in a trial brought against the publisher and a halt in publication. The poem wouldn't be published again until 1849 in Valparaíso, under the direction of Juan María Gutiérrez, in an edition that has also become rare. A fourth edition was published in 1864 by the Biblioteca de Rivadeneira in the collection *Poemas épicos*. Finally three twentieth-century editions exist, the first published in 1917 by the Academia Chilena of the Real Academia Española and directed by J.T. Medina, a second in 1944 by Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, and a third published in 1979 by Colección Escritores Coloniales de Chile. Here, I use the critical edition published by the Academia Chilena and directed by J.T. Medina.

prohibition was made public. He didn't make it far, however, and faced charges of heterodoxy for his depiction of Lautaro returning from the dead in order to aid Tupacel in the poem. The consequence of the trial was the censoring of the poem, but Oña was released from custody and faced no further charges. He then resumed his voyage to Jaén, where he stayed until 1605, when he returned to Lima with a reputation restored by the production of a poem praising the Real Colegio. Oña would go on to write several more poems, two of the most important being *El temblor de Lima* (1609) and *El Vasauro* (1635).

Moderation and Justice

The defense of don García begins in the opening canto, where the local community of Lima celebrates his call to arms to put down the Araucanian rebellion in Chile. The defense based on don García's perceived moderation and justice begins as early as canto III. But it is the episode of the Quito rebellion in cantos XIV-XVI that best reveals the moderate characteristics, prudent governance, and wise application of justice in the poem. These cantos stand out in the poem because almost all of *Arauco domado* centers on don García's deeds in Chile in the 1550s. Of the nineteen cantos, thirteen are entirely dedicated to this time period. The remaining six reflect principally on don García's time as Viceroy of Peru and the two main events his is credited with handling: the rebellion of Quito and the thwarting of a pirate attack by Richard Hawkins.

Arauco domado continues to be compared with its predecessor, *La Araucana* and critics such as Roberto Castillo Sandoval recognizes that many interpret Oña's poem as the polar opposite of Ercilla's work, the latter of which he claims is often seen as clearly anti-*encomendero*. Castillo Sandoval argues that contrary to popular interpretations, it is

Oña's poem that is more anti-*encomenderista* as well as more inclusive of the Araucanians due to Oña's more intimate knowledge of Araucanian culture. He argues that Oña views the Araucanians as compatriots rather than simply enemies (241). According to this interpretation, the Araucanians receive an ambiguous treatment that establishes them as a people with a legitimate claim to the land and who live alongside the Spanish colonists. Other critics such as Augusto Iglesias view the poem as more sympathetic with royalist agenda that sought to curb the autonomy of the *encomenderos* who frequently took advantage of their distance from the central points of power in the empire to make the most profit, sometimes ignoring royal decree to do so. Iglesias views the episode of Quidora as being particularly royalist in its sympathies (217).

The story of Quito is told by the Amerindian woman Quidora in cantos XIV-XVI. Jaime Nicolopulos, one of the poem's most recent critics interprets the figure of Quidora as a deliberate allusion to Ercilla's Fitón in *La Araucana*. According to him, Quidora is not a Renaissance mage like Fitón in *La Araucana*, but simply a witch. She is not a positive figure, but a negative one. He argues that Oña and other writers of the 1590s "perceived the implications of Fitón for the royalist ideology then actively struggling with the unbridled ambitions of the *encomenderos* and slave raiders" (115). The representation of Quidora as understood by Nicolopulos is a "systematic parodic destruction of the most memorable indigenous character created by Ercilla" with the goal of supporting *encomenderista* ideology (115). I deviate from this line of criticism by turning away from an analysis of royalist or *encomenderista* ideology and turning my attention to issues of public image and propaganda. I consider the episode of Quito as told by Quidora as having the possibility to support both an *encomenderista* and a royalist

agenda, but that the most important aspect of these cantos is to create an idealized version of don García Hurtado de Mendoza as a masculine political leader rather than an adherence to any other ideological agenda. The poem is not about the conquest itself but about the proper administration of the American colony. Therefore the poem cannot be understood in terms of an Amerindian versus European binary, but rather in terms of the proper roles of each in the administration and governance of this region. In the poem, the key attribute that makes don García the ideal colonial administrator is his commitment to the pursuit of moderation.

The discussion of moderation first appears in Canto III where the poem gives various definitions of this concept and describes how don García is exemplary in his pursuit of it. This canto recounts the story of the reforms that don García brought to the *encomienda* system upon arriving in Chile. The first lines of this canto begin:

¡Oh cuánto se requiere, cuánto importa
haber moderación y medio en todo!
pues lo que va límite ni modo,
¿Qué limitada fuerza lo soporta?
Ni es bueno que la capa queda corta,
ni que de larga frise con el lodo:
virtud está en el medio como en quicio,
y siempre en los extremos anda el vicio. (canto III, 97)

In cantos I and II, don García makes a call to arms and travels to Chile with his recruits to claim his title of Governor of Chile. In order to do this, he must take into custody the leaders of the colony, Aguirre and Villagra. His actions are justified, however, because

Aguirre and Villagra are depicted as unsuccessful in addressing the continual violence between Spanish and Araucanian in the region. This violence on the part of the Araucanians is partially explained in the poem as a reaction to the abuses suffered by the Amerindians living on *encomiendas* and the greed and insolence of the *encomenderos* there. The exordium to canto III chastises the *encomenderos* for falling into excess and vice, which has contributed to the prolonged conflict in the region. According to Aristotelian idea about moderation, a man who is prone to excess is also prone to vice. This is because excess leans toward that which is morally unsound: greed, sloth etc. In their abuses against the Amerindians living on the *encomiendas*, the Spanish colonists in Chile are judged to have fallen away from the mean and given into vice. Importantly, the poem distinguishes between the Amerindians living on the *encomiendas* and the rebelling Araucanians. Those Amerindians suffering abuses at the hands of Spanish colonists are judged innocent and deserving of protection. They are distinguished from the Araucanians by their acceptance of vassalage under the king and their living peacefully under Spanish administration of the colony. The Spanish, on the other hand, are less deserving of sympathy because, like the Araucanians, they have ignored royal decrees and lived outside the administration of the viceroyalty. Don García must correct the extremes of the situation in Chile and return to the mean in order to apply justice and improve the living conditions of the Amerindians. The Spanish in this situation are not further punished, however, because though they have erred in their judgment they are portrayed as misguided rather than inherently corrupt. The canto continues as it fleshes out what is meant by moderation:

Jamás, si duerman tres en una cama,

sucede que al de en medio falte ropa,
 ni al que por medio afierra de la copa
 el líquido licor se le derrama;
 menos se mareará la tierna dama
 en medio de la nao que en proa ni en popa;
 mejor irá el discípulo de Marte
 donde es el batallón, que en otra parte. (canto III, 97-98)

The first three metaphors provide visuals that explain why the middle is always the best: there is always blanket to keep you warm, something to drink, and balance in the swaying ocean so as not to get sick. The ending lines suggest that someone more inclined to Mars should find his place in a battalion. This follows Aristotelian moderation in its discussion of the mean in relation to courage and cowardice. The most important aspect of this Aristotelian concept of moderation is its relativity; the mean is relative to that which it is compared. Aristotelian moderation also makes room for contextual considerations. For example, a belligerent man in a time of peace is acting on the extreme of misplaced aggression, but a man who shirks away from his responsibilities to defend his city-state in a time of war suffers the extreme of cowardice. The perfect mean of these extremes is for a man to act with courage in the proper time and place. What is suggested by the poem is that moderation is not only contextual, but it also has to do with natural inclination and ability. The Mendoza family prided itself on its martial history and their role in prominent battles on the Peninsula, in Europe, and here, in the New World. It is important that the poem praise don García's military experience within the proper context to honor him as an individual and as a member of such a prominent and powerful family.

These lines also anticipate the balancing act that the poem will attempt to create in order to showcase how don García's martial abilities are informed by moderation and its relationship to justice, and prudent leadership.

Canto III goes on to further clarify what is meant by moderation and extremes turning away from secular concerns to religious ones:

En sólo amar a Dios ha de afirmarse
que ni es ni puede ser el medio bueno,
y en esto sólo el tépido condeno,
y es esto será lícito extremarse;
en todo lo demás el moderarse,
y aquel saber usar espuela y freno,
el que descanso quiere lo procure,
pues el bien soléis decir, paso que dure. (canto III, 98)

In all things, moderation and choosing the middle path is the best. However, one exception can be made for the love of God. Only in this can a person move to the extreme and not be prone to vice. In everything else, a person must use moderation and know when to use the spur and when to use the rein. The poem then explains why excess is dangerous:

El siervo no ha de ser tan mal tratado
que siempre sus espaldas mida un leño
pues suele revolver contra su dueño
el animal doméstico apurado;
quien ha la noche entere trasnochado,

está después cayéndose de sueño;
 al fin conviene en todo tanto el orden,
 que la bondad es mala con desorden. (canto III, 98-99)

Both abuse and over indulgence are extremes and vices to be avoided. They bring with them chaos, disorder, and injustice. They are symptoms of poor leadership and excessive masculinity that has forgotten to tread the middle ground. Extremes and abuse lead to unacceptable behavior on the part of inferiors, the slave will rebel and the domestic animal will fall asleep. In the end, order and discipline is needed in all while neither and overly strict or an overly generous approach is prudent in situations of disorder. But don García does not suffer from extremes or from a lack of moderation, the poem finishes its explanation of moderation with the following stanzas:

Esto conoce bien el joven sabio,
 pues visto el desigual que en Chile había
 sobre tratar al indio que servía,
 le satisface luego deste agravio;
 y dado que era viejo el mal resabio
 que acerca desto el héspero tenía,
 sola su blanda mano, medio y modo
 bastó para quitársele del todo.

Él fue moderador de tanto exceso,
 de tanta libertad y exorbitancia,
 y el que redujo a temple y consonancia
 lo que sonaba mal acerca de eso;

aligeró a los pobres de su peso,
 solicitando en todo su ganancia
 por el mejor camino y fácil vía
 que luego toparéis en esta mía. (canto III, 99)

These lines foreshadow the mature man in Quito while reflecting to other couplings of youth and maturity later in the poem. These couplings also appear in Quidora's retelling of her vision in canto XIV of a man who is simultaneously young and old.

In these stanzas it is explained that despite his youth, don García is no stranger to moderation. This is unexpected and for the time even contradictory. Youth was thought to be prone to excess and a state in which one was unable to control the passions, therefore making young men unable to attain or practice moderation. When he arrived in Chile, don García was only twenty-one years old, on the cusp of manhood. He is frequently described in the first thirteen cantos as "*joven*" and mention is made several times to his lack of a beard or to the "*velo*" along his upper-lip, highlighting his adolescence. According to Mark Albert Johnston, beards were an important symbol of manhood in early modern Europe and critical for a man to be seen as a man. The age and physical appearance of youth contradicts the achievements in moderation don García is professed to have attained.

But the first line of the second stanza makes it clear that these contradictions do not apply to don García: "Él fue moderador de tanto exceso." He was the man who moderated all the excess demonstrated by others. Don García must apply the spur and the rein in Chile at the proper times in order to bring order to disorder and replace abusive extremes with moderated justice. In canto III, some of the reforms that don García enacts

are age restrictions on hard physical labor, requirements for rations, and a requirement for workers to be served meat at least once a week. His also stipulates that the Amerindians should have religious days free to worship as well as have proper religious instruction made available to them. In improving the lives of the Amerindians he not only relieves them of some of their physical burden but also ensures their Christian education, two of the policy recommendations made by the royal adviser Santillán who travelled with don García. The poem makes no mention of Santillán or of the royal decree issued that sought to bring these reforms to the *encomienda* system. Instead, it credits Don García with these accomplishments and his enactment of these royal decrees is depicted as the correct application of justice. Don García proves he has the qualities of a good leader who can properly oversee the administration of the Chilean colony and correctly apply both clemency and justice. He is able to bring about justice because of the moderation he is able to follow, a foreshadowing of a mature, moderate man.

The pairing of moderation and justice also appears later in the poem in canto VIII. Between canto III and canto VIII, don García has imprisoned and exiled Aguirre and Villagra. He has also begun to recruit men from towns in the Chilean colony to reinforce the few hundred men with whom he has arrived in Chile. Supplies have been arranged and the company breaks into two groups: one will go with don García by sea and arrive on the coast of Arauco, the other will travel over land and meet the former south of the Bío-bío River. At the end of the sea voyage, don García's group endures a violent storm that crashes their ships along the coast, the men on board barely surviving. They land on an island off the mainland and there encounter Amerindians. Many of them flee from the approaching Spaniards but others stay behind and cower in fear of don García and his

men. But don García makes attempts to befriend the Amerindians and shows them kindness by giving them clothes and other items. The poem shows don García as a compassionate man who reforms abuses against Amerindians on the *encomiendas* and who greets other Amerindians with peace and friendship. This not only re-writes the reputation of don García as a cruel man, but also highlights the poem's view of Araucanian imprudence and irrationality for resisting don García's efforts to bring them civilization and Christianity. Rather than divisions along an Araucanian-Spanish binary, the poem divides the indigenous population into innocent Amerindians and rebellious Araucanians alongside a divide between loyal and treasonous Spaniards. In each case, don García is needed to mete out justice.

The poem continues as it recounts how don García makes his men perform military exercises and maintains morale and discipline in his ranks on the island. It then tells of don García's decision to move to the mainland despite the fact that the reinforcements traveling by land have not yet arrived. *Arauco domado* depicts this as a strategic decision made by a leader concerned for the well-being of his men and desirous to demonstrate Spanish military might. Once the decision is made, don García takes a small group of men and makes a move to take the hill on the mainland, leaving behind some of his men on the island and along the coast. The Araucanians send a representative in order to gain information on the size and ability of these new Spanish arrivals. The messenger returns to the tribe and it is determined that they will take the offensive. The Araucanians arrive at the fort at the break of dawn and a long, hard battle ensues in which many Araucanians lose their lives. The canto highlights the martial abilities of don García and his brother, Felipe, in particular; their bravery is exemplary and they defeat some of

the strongest Araucanian warriors in hand to hand combat. In the end, the Araucanians retreat back to the mountains, several of them severely injured and on the brink of death.

Canto VIII tells the aftermath of this battle. On the Spanish side, men have been stationed throughout the fort to execute repairs and to keep watch in case the Araucanians should return. One sentinel falls asleep while on duty, provoking the ire of don García. The poem describes what don García does next:

Hirióle, cuanto justa, malamente,
mandándole colgar al punto luego;
más, alcanzó perdón mediante el ruego
y la necesidad que había de gente;
que en tierra como aquella tan reciente
no ha de llevarse todo a sangre y fuego,
como en las ya políticas famosas,
donde tan en su punto están las cosas.

Usó con esto el joven de clemencia,
sin cuyo acompañado, la justicia
apenas es virtud, porque se invicia
con parecer crueldad o malquerencia;
y es donde se requiere más prudencia,
porque si deste medio el juez desquicia,
en un extremo viene a dar forzoso,
si de remiso no, de riguroso.
de entreambos se apartó como prudente

siguiendo el justo medio don Hurtado
 por do ganó de justiciero el grado
 y no perdió la borla de clemente;
 cumplió consigo propio y con su gente. (canto VIII, 294)

Several different points are made here. The first is that physical punishment of someone who has done wrong is not unjust; it is merited and should be administered by a prudent leader. Secondly, a leader should not rashly punish someone, but instead contemplate the pros and cons of doing so. Thirdly, clemency plays a part in justice but neither should that clemency be misplaced. To avoid the excess of cruelty and the excess of unwarranted forgiveness, one must choose the mean. Here, that results in a lesser physical punishment. By weighing the pros and cons and by following the path of the middle route, don García is able to achieve justice in this situation. As can be seen, because the theory of moderation can lead to ambiguity in the definition of what is extreme, there is significant room for interpretation and modification in order to fit the message of the poem. In its predecessor, *La Araucana*, moderation is defined in much different terms and physical abuse and punishment have a more ambiguous depiction than they do in *Arauco domado*. The just punishment of the sleeping sentinel foreshadows the just punishment of other rebels and traitors in the poem. But in both poems clemency and justice come as a pair and can only be applied prudently through a moderate approach to the situation.

The next few cantos describe the aftermath of the battle at Penco for the Araucanians. It tells the story of Gauleva, who is searching for her beloved, Tucapel, in the stream of Araucanian warriors retreating from the scene of the battle. Just as she begins to lose hope, she sees Tucapel in the distance. He is severely injured and on the

brink of death. Gualeva helps to nurse him back to health and saves his life. They are soon joined by Tucapel's friend, Talgueno, who is also returning from battle. The small group decides to seek shelter at a nearby inn. There, they meet a group of local shepherds and are informed that Talgueno's beloved, Quidora, is sleeping in a room at the same inn. They are unaware of the fate of those Araucanians who were unable to escape from the Spanish at Penco. The stories of the captured Araucanians are told in canto XII, just before Quidora begins to tell her friends of a dream she has had, the story of the Quito rebellion.

Back at the site in Penco, Galbarino is taken prisoner by the Spanish. There, don García oversees the punishment of the captured Araucanians. He is not directly involved in Galbarino's punishment but he also does not impede it. Other members of the Spanish company cut off Galbarino's hands to serve as an example to the others that would rebel against the Spanish Crown. Here, the poem says of justice: "Es el inmenso Apó tan justiciero / Que no hay dejar amigo ni enemigo, / Aquel sin premio ni éste sin castigo" (411). The *Apó* is don García and the enemy is Galbarino. His punishment is considered just and not an extreme response nor is it considered a cruel act. The flexibility of the definition of moderation serves to contain the violence of this act. Galbarino's actions are not depicted as those of a man trying to maintain his liberty and way of life, but rather as someone who already accepted vassalage under the king and is now rebelling against a legitimate government. In the poem, his acts are treasonous, not heroic. Previously, when don García helped improve the lives of the Amerindians on the *encomiendas*, there was a connection between moderation, justice and the love of God. In this canto a similar

connection is made by linking the justness of Galbarino's punishment with the punishment dealt out by God or by the father of a rebellious child:

No teme verse Dios necesitado
 para que no castigue en su hacienda,
 aunque cual justo padre en la contienda
 castigue más al hijo que al criado;
 mas, cuando vive el tal desenfrenado,
 y el hijo sujetándose a la rienda,
 no quiere Dios, ni debe hacer tal yerro,
 que quite al hijo al pan por dallo al perro. (canto XII, 413)

The children in this metaphor are the Spanish, the servants the Amerindians, the dog the Araucanians, and the father don García. It is his duty and responsibility to follow divine will and punish those who deserve to be punished and to treat well those that deserve to be treated well. The reference to the "perro" in the last line is a clear reference to the Amerindians, who in colonialist rhetoric were routinely referred to insultingly as dogs. The Araucanians, in their "desenfrenado" behavior should not be treated with the clemency as represented by giving bread to the dog, but should instead be brought to justice. A distinction is made between the well behaved "criados" on the *encomiendas* and the "perros" who won't accept Spanish rule. Punishing the Araucanians is prudent, just, and in keeping with moderation as explained in canto VIII. Their punishment for rebelling against the king and against the authority represented by don García is considered as merited as the punishments of the sleeping sentinel and Galbarino reveal.

While Galbarino is suffering his punishment and making his way back to the tribe, the Araucanians at the inn try to stir the slumbering Quidora. She is in a deep sleep and it is not easy to wake her. When she finally awakens, she embraces her friends and her lover and tells them of a strange dream she has just had. Everyone present wants to hear her story and they settle in to hear what she has to say. She tells them she has seen the great *Apó* (don García) in a distant land, accomplishing great deeds. The next three cantos contain her story of the rebellion of Quito. She tells them:

Al mismo nuevo Apó, caudillo raro,
 que, como me pintáis, vosotros vistes,
 he visto yo también como pudistes,
 y aun por ventura yo le vi más claro;
 mas hay un punto sólo en que reparo
 por donde conocerle no debiste,
 y es dalle verde edad vuestra pintura,
 habiéndole yo visto en la madura. (canto XIV, 496)

Quidora marvels at the fact that in her vision she has seen don García not as the youth they know him but as an older man in a different place. The don García of their present is paired with the don García of the future. Quidora then recounts the story of the rebellion of Quito and don García's role in subduing it as the Viceroy of Peru. Quidora's story moves the reader from events in Chile in the 1550s to events in Peru and Ecuador in the 1590s.

The Quito rebellion began upon don García's arrival as Viceroy because he decided to enforce a pre-existing royal decree that would increase taxes on the inhabitants

of the Peruvian Viceroyalty. Even though the tax had already been in place, it had not been collected or not collected in a consistent manner. When don García enforced this tax, people throughout the viceroyalty protested. However, the people of Quito were the most opposed to the new tax policy and protested that it was an undue burden on them.⁵ Don García begins his dealings with the people of Quito by attempting to reason with them. He points out that Quito is not being singled out and that other cities, such as Cuzco and Lima, must also pay this additional tax (canto XV, 513). But despite his attempts at diplomacy the *quiteños* will not yield. The poem tells us “Porque, después de haberles acudido / El Visorrey con cuanto le pedían / Al fin ninguna cosa le cumplían” (canto XV, 513) The rebels then turn violent and attack the city of Quito, holding the people there hostage until their demands are met. The violent rebellion is seen as more than a local grievance; it is described as war: “Resucitando allí la civil guerra” (canto XV, 515). The people are described as malevolent, ignorant, treasonous, and vile (canto XV, 515-516). The *quiteños* won't relent; in this way, they are not unlike the Araucanians who were perceived as rebelling against Spanish rule, the authority of the King, and behaving like “savages”.

The poem presents, the tax in question as prudent and necessary. Furthermore, it portays the *quiteños* as having no right to rebel against this royal decree or against don García's attempts to enforce it: “Allá el remoto Quito se alteraba / Sobre pagar lo justo que debía” (canto XIV, 502); it is determined: “Y que ninguna excusa les quedaba / Con qué dejar su crimen excusado” (canto XV, 514). According to the poem, the *quiteños*

⁵ For Quito rebellion see Salvador Dinamarca, *Estudio del 'Arauco domado' de Pedro de Oña*, Augusto Iglesias, *Pedro de Oña: Ensayo Crítica e Historia*, Enrique Matta Vial and J.T.Medina, *El licenciado Pedro de Oña: Estudio biográfico crítico* and John Leddy Phelan *The Kingdom of Quito in the seventeenth century: beaurocratic politics in the Spanish Empire*.

have no legal or moral base for opposing the tax and that there can be no excuse for their villainous behavior. It then makes frequent mention of the need for justice.

Canto XIV concludes with the words of don García speaking to that need:

Que como la Justicia aquel desnudo
y alborotado espíritu notase,
temiendo que su vara se quebrase,
le pareció tener el brazo quedo;
pues cuando aquésta tiembla y tiene miedo,
que es del sosiego público la base,
ya el edificio y fábrica se inclina
amenazando súbita ruina. (canto XIV, 510)

Don García criticizes the Audiencia of Quito for its cowardice in giving into the protester's demands and not effectuating a better defense of the city and tax policy. In his condemnation he sets the stage for his own prudence and governance to be celebrated. The themes of justice and clemency play as important a role in the discussion of leadership in the episode of the Quito rebellion as they did in earlier episodes of the poem such as with the reforms of the *encomiendas*, the punishment of the sleeping sentinel, and the punishment of Galbarino.

These themes continue as Canto XV opens with a reflection on justice and leadership:

¡Oh cuánta fuerza tiene la justicia
cuando la dejan libre y en su fuerza!
Mas, ¡cuán por el contrario, si por fuerza

de su lugar y quicio se desquicia!
 que entonces sin su freno la milicia
 en su corrida rápida se esfuerza,
 y entrando por los términos vedados
 destruye libremente los sembrados.
 (...)

No porque la justicia de su esencia,
 siendo virtud, al vicio dé cabida,
 sino que, como dél se ve oprimida,
 a su pesar le da mayor licencia:
 como Quidora dice, que la Audiencia,
 temiendo aquella gente removida,
 dejó que se saliera con su hecho,
 perdiendo por la fuerza su derecho. (canto XV, 511-512)

The canto makes it clear that the situation in Quito is the result of two extremes: the violent reaction of the *quiteños* and the cowardly inaction of the Audiencia of Quito. As with the *encomenderos* in Chile, choosing extremes has led to chaos, confusion, and instability. The same may be said of the Araucanians who rebel in Chile. In all these situations, don García must use military acumen but also apply moderation in his decision making in order to choose the middle path, true justice, and restore peace and stability to the region.

Don García is a model of ideal leadership in these cantos. Before making any decision, he follows the advice of many didactic treatises on princely behavior of the time

that recommended consultation with wise men (canto XV, 522) and then, as he did when considering the punishment of the sleeping sentinel, he weighs the pros and cons of sending in military force to bring the city under order:

En ínclito Virrey, considerado
 en cuánto riesgo estaba Quito puesto,
 y cómo por motivo y causa desto
 andaba el reino de uno y otro lado,
 habiéndole primero consultado
 el pro y el contra, medio y fin propuesto,
 hallaba por forzoso y conveniente
 enviar con brevedad fuerza de gente. (canto XV, 558)

Instead of sending a large army, he sends only a small band of fifty men to put down the rebellion, aiming to punish those who are bringing violence to the city but also avoiding total war conditions. He orders the arrest and execution of leaders of the rebellion, not the annihilation of the people involved. The poem presents his choices as reasonable and moderated. And in their balanced approach they are just; the punishment of the rebels of Quito is described as: “Castigo merecido y justa pena / Del que contra su rey se desenfrena” (canto XV, 572). The parallel of the small group of 50 men and the small group of men that don García had under his command at the fort at Penco is not lost. The only difference is that in Quito, the contingent of men attacks a city under siege whereas in Chile the small contingent of men hold their position against thousands of Araucanian fighters who are also portrayed as rebelling against the king and deserving of punishment. Don García’s strategy eventually pays off and the *quiteños* are punished while the leader

of the rebellion, Bellido, is put to death. His punishment is recounted in the following way:

Mas era por demás, que el pueblo ingrato
 del todo pertinaz y endurecido,
 y entonces más revuelto y removido,
 solicitaba el bélico aparato;
 en medio destos ruidos y rebato,
 el principal autor, que era Bellido,
 pagaba justamente con la vida
 la deuda por mil títulos debida. (canto XV, 541)

We see here that the poem portrays the death penalty as a justifiable action and a just punishment for Bellido's rebellion. Bellido is considered a rebellious vassal and, following Oña's interpretation of events in Ecuador, is brought to justice by paying with his life. Bellido's assassination also runs parallel to an episode in the poem that includes another rebel: the punishment of Galbarino. Both Galbarino and Bellido are judged and condemned for their actions and each will suffer a harsh punishment. Both Galbarino and Bellido are punished for more than their actual crime: they are punished to serve as an example to those that would continue in their rebellion. Bellido's death is described and justified in the following stanza:

Debiera ser ejemplo el deste caso
 para que la rebelde compañía
 dejase el mal camino que seguía,
 sabiendo ya cuán malo estaba el paso;

mas, no le pareció volver el paso,
 por bien que vió el suceso de su guía,
 que el hombre, hasta que en sí lo experimenta,
 por ver el mar en otros no escarmienta. (canto XV, 541-542)

Bellido's assassination is not only considered just punishment; it is considered an example intended to dissuade the rebels from continuing in their violent confrontations with royal representatives. Again, the poem does not treat this as excessive in any way but rather as a balanced and reasonable approach to the situation, ideology provides a means to contain the violence. Connections may be drawn with earlier explanations of just punishment, such as the metaphor of the father and the rebellious child in canto XII.

If there was any doubt about don García's prudence in the matter or any doubt that he may suffer from cowardice by not entering into battle himself, a debate is staged at the end of canto XVI between the Araucanian men Tucapel and Talgueno. These two men have just listened to Quidora's prophecy and each are impressed for different reasons with don García's deeds and the results he was able to obtain. Their debate repeats a discussion found in canto III on the merits of intelligence and courage. Talgueno is of the opinion that intelligence and cleverness are more important in a man:

Con gran ventaja pienso yo que ecede,
 y no hay para qué en ello se litigue,
 lo que por arte y maña se consigue,
 a lo que la absoluta fuerza puede;
 pues el saber, del ánimo procede,
 mas el vigor al cuerpo sólo sigue,

por donde tanto más la industria vale
 cuanto es mejor la causa de do sale. (canto XVI, 577)

Tucapel disagrees with Talgueno and instead argues that courage and military might are more important attributes in a man:

Y para mí, más pienso que hacía
 en esperar que el pérfido viniera,
 que, si saliendo acaso, le rompiera
 en parte que excusallo no podía;
 pues mucho más arguye de osadía
 el que de intento bravo toro espera,
 que quien sin intentar ponerse al trance
 hace necesitado algún buen lance. (canto XVI, 577)

What both Tucapel and Talgueno fail to see is that neither of these attributes alone is sufficient. They have both missed the point that don García is able to achieve all that he does in Chile and Peru because he has both intelligence and courage. The inherent characteristics of don García help him to approach situations prudently and the lack of these inherent characteristics on the part of Tucapel and Talgueno are why neither can accept what the poem sees as what is best for them: willing vassalage under the King of Spain and adherence to local law as established by his representative, the Governor of Chile, who in this case is don García.

These characteristics also help don García in his pursuit of the moderate mean in the exercise of the virtues of justice and clemency. Justice and clemency come as a pair and the proper exercise of one necessitates the proper exercise of the other. Moderation is

needed in order to find the proper application of each. Don García demonstrates this in pausing before decision making to weigh pros and cons, in his restraint when angered by the disobedience of the sleeping sentinel, and in his balanced approach to reforms to the *encomienda* system. His pursuit of the moderate mean guides him in his application of justice as in the punishment of Galbarino and the execution of Bellido, neither of which is depicted as cruel or an extreme form of punishment, but rather as a reasonable sentence in order to bring about justice to those that have rebelled against the Crown, a treasonous act. Don García's pursuit of the moderate mean also informs moments of clemency such as sparing the sleeping sentinel's life or sparing the lives of the mass of *quiteño* rebels, punishing only their leader for inciting rebellion. In all these instances justice cannot be had without the proper amount of clemency assessed by the context of the situation. And neither justice nor clemency can be achieved without a mind to the moderated mean. In choosing the mean, don García chooses moderation, and this makes him not just an ideal man but an ideal leader.

Conclusion

In the poem, the dichotomy between Araucanian and Spaniard is broken down not along lines of race but along lines of loyal or disloyal vassals. There are disloyal and rebellious Araucanians just as there are Spaniards, likewise, there are loyal and deserving Amerindians just as there are Spaniards. Both Amerindians and Spanish colonists are treated simultaneously with sympathy and criticism. There are parallels and comparisons drawn between groups that break down ethnic and racial divisions such as in the case of Galbarino's punishment which draws comparison with the punishment of the colonist Bellido and the Spanish sleeping sentinel at the fort at Penco. In all three cases, the men

are rightly punished for crimes committed against don García's administration. But even when the punishment is potentially violent and brutal, it is justified through a portrayal of don García as fair, prudent and just when committing these action. The poem does not represent any kind of cruelty behind don García's actions and there cannot be when his decision making and sense of justice are so tied to the ideals of moderation and prudent leadership. Likewise, the *quiteños* invite comparison to both the Araucanians and the Spanish *encomenderos*. In all three cases, these groups go against royal decree and royal representatives. They are all portrayed as misguided and having fallen into excess. That excess is represented by untempered violence, greed, or a mix of the two. Don García's intervention is needed to restore moderation in all three situations and draw these groups back from the extreme.

This is because the ideology of the poem has little to do with establishing either a *pro-encomenderista* or a truly pro-royalist agenda. The question at hand in this poem is not the proper way to conduct the conquest of the Americas, but rather the proper way to set up administration in the Americas and who that administrator should be, a Mendoza. Proper administration will be achieved by a man who has achieved an ideal masculinity that includes loyalty to the King of Spain and recognize the authority of royal representatives in the Viceroyalty, be they viceroys, governors, or some other position in the administration. An ideal administrator will apply those aspects of moderated masculinity and know how to apply to spur and the rein, he will be able to walk the fine line of justice and clemency, and he will be able to protect the Crown's interests through force if necessary. All of these requirements for the job depend on the administrator's pursuit of masculine moderation in order to inform him of the appropriate approach to

each situation. Don García is modeled as the ideal man of this type of administration. The figures of the Amerindians and the Spanish colonists are both used as foils against which the figure of don García can showcase his superior masculine qualities and virtues. The propagandistic tone of the poem appropriates discourse on moderation and manipulates it to suit its own needs. The flexibility in the definition of moderation allows for the narrative voice to create its own interpretation of moderation and use it to praise the memory of don García's deeds. In doing so, the poem establishes a link between moderation, ideal leadership and masculinity in order to explain episodes of justice in the greater Peruvian Viceroyalty while under don García's command.

Chapter 4: Seventeenth Century Theater, the Mendoza, and Leadership

A series of hard fought battles has ended in Arauco. The Araucanians have conceded defeat and the great Caupolicán has been impaled as punishment for leading the rebellion. But from his execution site, Caupolicán calls out to Spanish Governor don García that he apologizes for his barbarous ways, he didn't know any better, and that he dies having accepted the Christian faith. There are murmurs of disappointment from some of the assembled Araucanians but they are cut short when the Spanish soldier Rebolledo tells everyone "Oy celebra don García el nuevo Reyno heredado de Filipe" (p.60-61). Emerging from a large container a portrait of their new king, Philip II, is raised before the crowd. Don García gives a speech announcing the nine battles of Arauco that he has won in Philip's name and the nine cities he has founded or freed from Araucanian control. He then calls on his soldiers to kiss the hand of Philip in the portrait, an act of loyalty and vassalage, as substitution for Philip's physical presence in Chile. This final scene of Lope de Vega's *Arauco domado* succinctly summarizes the main theme of the play: the need for successful succession between father and son in order to maintain empire. Caupolicán's execution and acceptance of Christianity signals the end of Araucanian resistance in the comedia and the end of his family line. Meanwhile, Philip's presence through his portrait signals the unbroken succession of father to son and the continuance of the Hapsburg family line and empire. Written during the transition of power from Philip II to Philip III though not performed until the succession of Philip IV, the play simultaneously celebrates the continuation of the Hapsburg line while also bringing forward anxiety over the same. The play emphasizes that biological succession is not enough the son who inherits positions of power from his father must prove himself

worthy of them. To do so, he must prove himself a man on and off the battlefield. Thus, masculinity becomes entwined with successful succession that is as dependent on the performance of the son as it is on the biological line from father to son.

Arauco domado is one of five *comedias* dedicated to the conquest of Chile written in the seventeenth century.⁶ Four of them take Mendoza as their central figure. These *comedias* include *Arauco domado* (1607-1609) by Lope de Vega, *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete* (1622), written by nine different authors, *El gobernador prudente* (1663) by Gaspar de Ávila, and *Los españoles en Chile* (1665) by Francisco González de Bustos. The first full play to be written, Lope's *Arauco domado*, was actually commissioned by the Mendoza family. *Arauco domado* celebrates don García as a hero of the Spanish nation in his idealized martial masculinity and ability to subdue the Amerindians for Crown and for Christianity. *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete* represents don García as a strong-willed leader with a sharp temper but with an eye towards justice and whose masculinity is dependent on his martial prowess and maintaining his honor. In *El gobernador prudente* don García is again celebrated as an idealized hero who, as the title suggests, governs prudently and whose masculinity is based on what don García himself calls a union of arms and letters. Finally, in *Los españoles en Chile* the overarching tone may support Spanish imperialistic projects, but there is also a criticism of a declining and increasingly feminized aristocracy for which don García is positioned as the solution in his prudence and martial masculinity.

⁶ Don García also appears in the epic poem *La Dragontea* (1597) written by Lope de Vega. The poem is about a thwarted pirate attack in ?Panama? in ?year?. Public opinion had made XXXX the hero of this event. He received rewards and compensation for his efforts. The governor of ?Panama? took issue with this and commissioned Lope to write this poem to vindicate his name and to rewrite recent history in the governor's favor.

I will examine only one of these *comedias*, Lope's *Arauco domado*. This *comedia* was the first to be written about don García and its importance lies in the fact that it was commissioned by the Mendoza family. It follows Mendoza efforts to control their family public image first presented in Chapter 3. Unlike *Arauco domado* the poem, *Arauco domado* the *comedia* moves beyond propaganda. The Mendoza family interest in cleaning up their name and reputation becomes the ground upon which Lope will build a larger argument concerning the state of the Spanish Empire and matters of succession of the Hapsburg family line. Lope turns the question of the Mendoza family line into one that encompasses issues of biological inheritance, performance and masculinity.

Lope's *Arauco domado*

At the turn of the seventeenth century the state of the Spanish empire was being questioned not only by those outside of Spain, but by those within its confines. There were rising concerns over the strength and viability of the empire as Felipe III ascended to the throne. Some were dismayed at the peace treaty made in 1598 as a sign of things to come; a Spain that conceded and compromised with her enemies instead of dominating them with superior military might. Like the poem by Pedro de Oña that shares its name the storyline of *Arauco domado* centers on the events in Chile during the governorship of don García Hurtado de Mendoza. In this *comedia*, don García arrives in Chile to subdue the ongoing rebellion of the Araucanians. After sustaining many victories, however, the Araucanian camp has fallen into disarray, and its leader, Caupolicán is given to lust and sloth. There is disagreement in the Araucanian camp about how to proceed once don García arrives. Some want to enter into peace negotiations, while others want to continue the war. Ultimately, Caupolicán decides to continue the war effort, even though there are

those in his camp that believe this to be imprudent. Don García's martial abilities shine in the battles that follow and his prudent leadership brings about a series of victories over the Araucanians. After the final battle, Caupolicán recognizes don García's superiority and submits to his authority, even accepting his execution at the hands of the Spanish. Caupolicán's son, Engol, who had previously rejected his father, now reclaims him and swears he will not rest until his father is avenged.⁷

Jose R. Cartagena Calderón explores the representation of masculinity in this play and others like it. He theorizes that on stage there were two different kinds of masculinity: one that displayed martial prowess and prudent leadership and another that displayed effeminate characteristics. Those that displayed effeminate characteristics could be either Spanish or an ethnic minority. When a Spanish character takes on these traits it acts as a critique of what was considered an increasingly feminized aristocracy, one that put at risk the reputation of Spain and threatened to further weaken its political and military power. Ethnic Others, on the other hand, take on effeminate qualities to assure the audience of the masculine qualities of the Spanish, which they acquire practically by default. In these cases the effeminate ethnic other and the masculine Spaniard serve a didactic purpose of demonstrating what men of Spain should aspire to

⁷ Francisco Ruiz Ramón says of *Arauco domado* that Lope could not ignore the cultural, political, and religious need to praise the Spanish enterprise in Arauco, but neither could he ignore admiration for the Araucanians (17). Fausta Antonucci categorizes *Arauco domado* as a typical "*drama de hechos famosos*" and that "*El heroé español está presentado, en efecto, como expresión máxima de las virtudes militares, políticas y religiosas, que constituyen el núcleo del sistema de valores al que hace referencia la ideología de la comedia*" (27). He views any sympathy with the Araucanians as fleeting and that the public is never in doubt of their inferiority to the Spanish (Antonucci 32). Teresa J Kirschner views Lope's portrayal of the Araucanians as ambiguous and defines the play as a "*comedia guerra*" in which two competing bands fight one another and the military skill of the superior band leads them to victory; in these plays the Spaniard is not a colonizer but a soldier fighting his enemy, the Araucanian (55). Guillem Usandizaga argues that despite the apparent sympathy for the Araucanians, *Arauco domado*'s basic purpose is to serve as a part of the Mendoza propaganda machine (105, 115).

attain, or to reject, in order to preserve her reputation, power etc. It is necessary for the effeminate Other to be conquered in these plays in order to reestablish the proper social order. Other times, a tension exists between the effeminate ethnic Other and their likeness to the Spanish which causes anxiety over gender and nationality.

According to José R. Cartagena Calderón, Lope's *Arauco domado* feminizes the Other in precisely the same way that other literature of this time does. The critic draws parallels between effeminate representations of the Moors and of the Amerindians in a number of Lope de Vega plays concluding that "la entrega de Caupolicán al amor y a la pasión por una mujer, es decir, a una actividad que dentro del discurso épico es incompatible con la guerra, revela una deficiencia en la virilidad del héroe araucano que es extensible, como hemos visto, a la alteridad masculina que Lope escenificó no sólo en sus comedias de moros y cristianos, sin en El Nuevo Mundo [descubierto por Cristóbal Colón]" (185-186). Caupolicán's effeminacy cries out for a Spanish man untouched by effeminate ways, one who represents the Spanish nation, to intervene and put back in order those places that have been touched by the feminine. That imagined masculinity is at once strong, martial, and in command, but it also betrays a certain anxiety over masculine lineage and the political order.

I argue the binary of masculine-feminine representation is only one part of the gendered discourse in the Lope *comedia Arauco domado*. There exists a complementary discourse that operates entirely within a masculine framework. This gendered discourse concerned with masculinity can be seen in the father-son relationships that appear in the play. There are three father-son pairs, that of Charles V and Philip II, that of don Andrés and don García and that of Caupolicán and Engol. These father son pairs highlight issues

of biological heirs, merited inheritance, and the continuation of political power within a family. The Spanish pairs work together to demonstrate what successful succession of power and family lineage should look like while the Araucanian pair of Caupolicán and Engol serve as a foil against which idealized characteristics of the Spanish father-son pairs can be highlighted. The central father-son pair is that of don García, Governor of Chile, and his father don Andrés, Viceroy of Peru.

Don García belonged to a noble family that had enjoyed prestige and power in the Peninsula since the late fifteenth century. He is the biological heir of the Mendoza family name, and legacy. However, in this *comedia* it is not enough that he be born into this prestigious family, he must earn his place within it. In order to ensure the continuation of the masculine family line, don García must prove himself worthy of his inheritance. By proving himself, don García not only secures his place within his family, but successfully continues the power, prestige, and public reputation of the Mendoza family. In the *comedia* and serving as a foil against don García's successful succession, Caupolicán breaks the Araucanian line of succession when he willingly submits his authority and person to don García. Though Caupolicán's son, Engol, makes claim to his own position of leadership in the tribe, it is unclear whether he will be able to reclaim what has already been lost. Since the majority of the Araucanians also willingly submit to don García's authority it is unclear if any expectations even exist for Engol to claim leadership of the tribe.

Anxieties over lineage and inheritance go beyond the action of the play and reflect monarchical lines of succession in the Peninsula. The unbroken lineage and success of the Mendoza line reflects the transition of power that takes place during the

action of the plays between Charles V and Philip II. Caupolicán and Engol, on the other hand, reflect anxiety over contemporary politics on the Peninsula. The play was written shortly after the transition of power between Philip II and Philip III, but was not staged until years later during the time of transition between Philip III and Philip IV. The play reflects, then, a double concern over monarchical lines of succession. During the reign of Philip III, there was anxiety over the proper role and relationship between the king and his advisors. Some feared that Philip III's favorite, the Duke of Lerma, had gained too much power in the court. These fears continued into the reign of Philip IV and his favorite, the Duke of Olivares. Many also feared that the reign of Philip IV was not to be as successful as that of his father and grandfathers. Many viewed Spain in a state of cultural decline, represented by the failures of the king. Sons unable to measure up to their fathers risked less than ideal masculinity and, in turn, less than ideal political leadership. These fears play out in a similar situation between Caupolicán and Engol in *Arauco domado*. The gendered aspects of the relationships between fathers and sons in the play and between the different father-son pairs reveal anxiety over the links between an effeminized leader and unsuccessful lines of succession.

Lope wrote *Arauco domado* between 1598 and 1603, most likely at the behest of don García Hurtado de Mendoza upon finishing his appointment in Peru as Viceroy from 1590-1596.⁸ While there, he had already started a propaganda campaign by commissioning a re-writing of a chronicle and the epic poem *Arauco domado*. Don García was already aware of his less than favorable public image in Spain and in the Viceroyalty. When he returned to Spain, don García expected to be recognized and rewarded for his service to the king. He also expected some sort of compensation for the

⁸ For Lope de Vega's patterns of patronage see Elizabeth Wright, *Pilgrimage to Patronage*.

encomiendas that various family members had left vacant in the New World upon their deaths. For whatever reason these financial rewards and honors were never distributed to the family (Usandizaga 107).⁹ This lack of recognition did not match what don García saw as his important achievements as governor and viceroy. Though his propaganda campaign began before his return to Spain, it intensified after his return. It was during and after his time as viceroy that don García and other members of the Mendoza clan actively began to control his image and to commission propagandistic works of art that praised both his character and accomplishments. This began in 1595 with the rewriting of the *Crónica del reino de Chile*, originally written by Pedro Mariño de Lobera, the new editing undertaken by Bartolomé de Escobar. This editorial work was complemented by the epic poem *Arauco domado* by Pedro de Oña, published in 1596. These two sources are also the most apparent influences on the text written by Lope de Vega who began to write the play in 1598, shortly after being appointed secretary of the Marqués de Sarria, a nephew of don García and son-in-law/nephew of the Duke of Lerma.¹⁰

It is well established that Lope de Vega used historical events and exotic destinations to write allegories to comment upon contemporary Spanish social, political, and economic situations.¹¹ *Arauco domado* carries on in this didactic and allegorical

⁹ For reasons on why don García was not compensated for his work, see Guillem Usandizaga, *La representación de la historia contemporánea en el teatro de Lope de Vega*.

¹⁰ For Lope's participation in the Mendoza and the Duke of Lerma's propagandistic activities at the turn of the seventeenth century, see Miguel Herrero García, "La nobleza española y su función política en el teatro de Lope de Vega." *Escorial* 19 (1949): 509-47. See also Guillem Usandizaga, *La representación de la historia contemporánea en el teatro de Lope de Vega*.

¹¹ Melveena McKendrick emphasizes the moral aspect of seventeenth century theater and its connection to didactic literature of *speculum principis* (17, 30-31). She also highlights the general belief in this time period of the relevance of history to contemporary politics (30). The allegorical and didactic nature of early modern theater is also studied by Antonio Carreño-Rodríguez. He identifies five "types" of kings or leaders that appear in Lope's plays and serve a variety of didactic purposes. Likewise, Miguel Herrero García offers ten points that outline the didactic function of the king or leader in Lope's plays. Also studying the historical elements of Lope de Vega's plays, Richard A. Young identifies Lope's goal as a playwright to write *comedias* with a didactic function that meditated on how a king should rule (19). To do this, Lope did

tradition. Just as with other historical plays, the *Arauco domado* was written under circumstances that reveal an allegorical relationship between the description of Arauco and the state of affairs in Spain upon the succession of Philip III to the throne. When the play was written there was considerable concern over the role played by Philip III's favorite, the Duke of Lerma, in the administration and governing of the empire. The Duke of Lerma, the uncle and father-in-law of Lope's employer, was also related to don García Hurtado de Mendoza. The Duke of Lerma was criticized for overstepping his bounds and taking on too much responsibility within the court. Many saw him as taking on roles and making decisions that should be reserved for the king. His power increased considerably after the Peace Treaty of Vervins with France in 1598. This treaty provoked anxiety and ire from different sectors of society as it was viewed as a sign of weakness and a loss of Spanish military might. Because of the Duke of Lerma's increased activity in political affairs and the administration of the monarchy, there were those who saw the increasing power of the Duke of Lerma as a threat to traditional monarchy in the Peninsula. A faction developed that opposed the Duke of Lerma and advocated for the restoration of the direct governance of the king. And so, the Duke of Lerma could gain in praising his relative through marriage, don García, and absorbing some of his good reputation. Circles of kinship and associations amongst men helped to create reputation and garner support, or criticism, in the courtly political atmosphere.

not rely on historical accuracy, but rather took liberties with historical truths in order to better exemplify his point. As Richard A. Young puts it with regard to Lope's historical drama: "Lo importante en cada caso no es la verosimilitud histórica, sino la verosimilitud y la coherencia temáticas, lo que permite al dramaturgo cambiar o exagerar, e incluso suprimir, los rasgos más característicos de un personaje histórico para que se ajuste a la presentación del tema de su comedia" (30).

Lope had reason to represent his patron and his patron's family member in a favorable light. In praising the deeds of another Mendoza family member, Lope could indirectly praise the extended family members of the Mendoza circle, including the Duke of Lerma. Just as these ties of kinship were important to the creation of the play, ties of kinship were also expressly highlighted throughout the play, particularly the connections between father and son. *Arauco domado* stresses a father-son relationship that is both biological and political. This relationship reflects upon contemporary Spanish politics and issues of inheritance and governance in the Peninsula. The father-son relationships of the play stress the importance of good leadership as achieved through a set of masculine virtues. Some of these virtues echo those of previous texts written about the conquest of Chile, including justice, compassion, and military might. By adhering to these virtues, the father-son relationships and leadership as exemplified by the Spanish come to show the superiority of the Spanish empire. What is at issue, though, is whether the Empire can survive overseas. The clear lines of succession of the Peninsula are contrasted with an Araucanian father-son relationship between Caupolicán and his son Engol that reveal a crisis in leadership and succession, the break between father and son breaking the family line and breaking the Araucanian resistance. In this way, it is not just the opposition of the masculine to the feminine that plays a role in gendered representation, but also the need to prove that one is deserving of the inherited masculinity of one's forbears. It also reveals anxieties over monarchical succession in the Peninsula and fear that the growing feminization of the nobility could cause a break in Spanish succession and political power, just as with Caupolicán and Engol.

The Spanish camp in Lope's *Arauco domado* demonstrates military strength yet also exhibits Christian piety, a combination that will result in military victory and inform acts of justice and compassion in the play. The masculine military might of the Spanish is meant to be used to reestablish the peace and bring rebel vassals back under control. Though don García Hurtado de Mendoza is hailed as the second most important conquistador of Chile, picking up where Valdivia left off, this play represents the Conquest not as an invasion but as a strained relationship between a ruling nation and its colony that is already a part of Spain's Empire. The Spanish will subdue the rebellion and remind the vassals of Arauco of their duties and obligations. Don García and to an extent, his brother Felipe, are responsible for carrying out this plan and enabled in their victory by their lineage. Even though Felipe is only don García's half brother, they both share a common Mendoza family line and each are expected to live up to their family's heritage, securing a continuation of power, prestige and reputation. As the Mendoza legitimate heir, however, the line of succession between don García and his forbears is more important than that of Felipe. In this dynamic of father-son inheritance Felipe's role as illegitimate half brother is to aid and support don García.

The first scene of the play makes an explicit connection between father and son by highlighting the fact that don García has been sent to Chile by his father, then Viceroy of Peru "Este es aquel Hurtado de Mendoza / que a gobernar su padre a Chile ambia" (p.13). These very simple lines reveal a larger point: don García's father has faith in his son and his ability to succeed where so many others have failed. This first scene then discredits the captains Villagra and Aguirre, who were jointly governing Chile in the interim between the death of Valdivia and the arrival of Mendoza. According to the play,

Villagra and Aguirre have cast aside their responsibilities to Philip II and are responsible for the current rebellion in Chile. Don García, on the other hand, is another Caesar or Alexander the Great. He has inherited the military might, prudence, nobility, and leadership abilities of his ancestors and the greatness of these historical leaders are reflected in him.

When don García and Caupolicán meet in battle for the first time, Caupolicán attempts to strike fear in don García by telling him that he, Caupolicán, is the son of the Araucanian Sun-god:

Sabes que está al Sol asida
 en cuyos rayos estoy?
 Sabes que es mi padre, y que es
 suyo este cetro que rijo? (p. 25)

Caupolicán fashions himself the inheritor of a bloodline that begins with the Sun-god himself. However, don García is not threatened by this and in return he warns the Araucanian leader: “Sabes tú que yo soy hijo / del gran Virrey don Andrés?” (p. 25-26). Despite his father’s mortal status, don García is not intimidated by Caupolicán’s assertions. In his own threat, he confidently claims that his own father is the equivalent or superior of the Araucanian Sun-god. Don García’s retort semi-deifies his father and the Mendoza lineage.

Later in the play, a link is established with this rhetorical back and forth between Caupolicán and don García and the celebration of San Andrés day. Don García reminds his men why this day is so important to him: “Pues yo me voy con esto, Caballeros, / mirad que Andres es oy el patron mio, / y que es mi padre Andres” (p. 40). The Saint and

the father are celebrated at dawn, with the coming of the sun. This symbolically equates don García's father, Andrés, with the sun and to the Araucanian sun-god. The semi-deification of the father becomes a complete deification or, at least, saintly canonization. While the Spanish are celebrating this saint's day, the Araucanians are planning a surprise attack for the same time. However, the Spanish are ready for the attack because instead of sleeping in, they have risen with the dawn in order to pray and celebrate. In this way, Saint Andrés, and through him, don García's father, have provided them with a kind of divine protection. Waking early to pay reverence to biological and spiritual father is not only a demonstration in respect and humility; it has turned out to be militarily prudent.

The associations between saints, fathers, and sons are reinforced when don García will earn the unofficial title of San García:

No me llaman San García
 los indios por que soy santo;
 pero porque en profecía
 adivino y digo quanto
 intenta su rebeldía,
 quando me habló Elicura
 de paz, embié tras el,
 dixistes que era locura,
 y fue una guerra cruel,
 y una vitoria segura,
 quando estaba en la Imperial

al fuerte gente embié,
 que llegó en ocasión tal
 que a los cercados libré
 de muerte y desdicha igual (p. 54).

Don García demonstrates modesty as he downplays his saintly status, even though it is made clear throughout the play that he regularly practices humility and Christian piety. These displays begin with the first scene in which he appears, kneeling humbly in prayer, continues in his celebration of his patron saint, and ends with his successful conversion of several Araucanians to Christianity. Paired with his religious conviction are his martial abilities. He is boastful as he lists the many ways in which he has proven himself on the battlefield against the Araucanians and that his victories were more than just luck or prudence, the Araucanians themselves believe them to be the result of prophecy.

The connection between religious and military conquest calls to mind references to Mendoza genealogy and their role in the Reconquest of Spain. The audience is reminded of the role the Mendozas played in the Reconquest in a speech given by Rebolledo in which he recounts the deeds and greatness of the Mendoza family:

Rebolledo: Toma veinte y tres generaciones
 la prosapia de Mendoza.
 no ay linaje en toda España,
 Tucapel, de quien conozca
 tan notable antigüedad,
 de padre a hijos se nombran,
 sin interrumpir la línea

tan excelentes personas,
 y de tanta calidad,
 que fuera nombrarlas todas
 contar estrellas al cielo,
 y a la mar arenas y ondas:
 desde el Señor de Vizcaya,
 llamado, Zuria, consta
 que tiene origen su sangre.

Tucapel: Yo no entiendo de estas cosas, que es Vizcaya?

Rebollado: Aquella parte
 de España, que limpia y sola
 se libró del Africano
 en su pérdida llorosa. (p. 49)

The Mendoza line has lasted twenty three generations, the lineage from father to son remaining unbroken, the quality and nobility of their blood preserved, and the deeds and greatness of the family multiplying beyond stars in the sky or sand in the sea. Their origin is as great in terms of religion as in terms of military might. The origin story of the Mendoza family begins in this myth making of the family tree that has roots in a region of Spain that was never conquered by the Moors. In other words, their family line is untarnished by Jewish or Moorish blood; they can prove their *limpieza de sangre*. Later, the Mendozas would play prominent roles in the Reconquest which added to their prestige and myth making as true and loyal Old Christians. Because don García has inherited all of these same qualities from his ancestors past, he will succeed in retaking

Chile from rebel vassals and converting them to Christianity just as his ancestors retook land viewed as rightfully Spanish and Christian from what were perceived as alien invaders. The irony that the Spanish act as the alien invaders in Chile and bring with them a new religion just as the Moors did is completely lost in the play. As Christians and as loyal vassals of the king, Spanish behavior, under Mendoza at least, is irreproachable. While there is mention of Spanish greed in the past, it is also emphasized that Mendoza has not come to Chile with this goal in mind: “ni plata intenta buscar / que viene a pacificar / su bárbara rebeldía” (p.25). He is both a reformer and a savior of Chile for Araucanian and Spanish alike just as his ancestors were in Spain. This version of events rewrites much what we see in *La Araucana*, where there is scathing criticism of the greed of Spanish colonists, including that of Mendoza.

Of course, it is not just don García who shines as a Mendoza star in this play, his illegitimate half-brother Felipe also plays an important role. Felipe shares all the same characteristics of his brother, and serves as an auxiliary for his brother’s plans and deeds. The affection and recognition of their shared family line is recognized by both men who frequently refer to one another as “*hermano*,” with the double meaning of biological brother and brother at arms. And just as don García calls upon his lineage to strike fear in his opponents, so too does Felipe. When confronting Rengo on the battlefield, Felipe warns “Barbaro, sabes que soy / don Filipe de Mendoza?” (p. 25). Felipe is constantly at his brother’s side and is often in the role of second in command, echoing García’s orders while issuing his own when Garcia is absent.

The other Spanish father-son pair of the play is that of Charles V and Philip II. This father-son pair reflects back the father-son pair of Andrés and García Hurtado de

Mendoza. The two different lines of succession run parallel to one another and prove to be strong and stable. These father-son relationships of both the Mendozas and the royal family are positioned as ideal and connected. Don García aligns himself with both king and prince, stating his goals early on as:

Dos cosas en Chile espero
 que su gran piedad me dé
 porque con menos no quiero
 que el alma contenta esté.
 La primera, es ensanchar
 la Fe de Dios; la segunda
 reducir y sujetar
 de Carlos a la coyunda
 esta tierra y este mar,
 para que Filipe tenga
 en este Antártico Polo
 vassallos que a mandar venga (p. 16).

Later on, García declares that:

Que la libertad que goza
 Chile rebelde y traidor
 se reduzga a Carlos Quinto
 y a Felipe su heredero (p. 16-17).

Even though Charles is the king when Mendoza is sent to Chile, don García anticipates the line of succession and places emphasis on this father-son connection. He will conquer

Chile for the present king and the future king, anticipating a successful succession. He has no anxiety over the inevitability of this occurrence. He also has little anxiety over his ability to live up to his own family expectations and continue the Mendoza family lineage. There is confidence in these Spanish father-son pairs in the play.

At another point in the play, the Araucanians practice a ritual that is to be understood as a part of their traditional, pagan, religion. In this ritual, they call upon Pillán, who is actually the devil disguised as the sun-god, to give them advice on how they should proceed in the war against the Spanish. In his warnings to the Araucanians, the devil makes it clear that don García is destined to win this affair. He comes to Arauco backed by divine powers as well as the power of the King of Spain. Don García, and implicitly his father who has sent him to Chile, are linked to the royal father-son pair of Charles and Philip by the devil when he warns the Araucanians of their inevitable demise:

Este Capitan que viene,
 puesto que le veis tan mozo,
 en vuestros rebeldes cuellos
 pondrá el yugo poderoso
 de Carlos Quinto y Filipe (p. 20).

The pairing of king and prince appears alongside the pair don Andrés and don García as the devil continues:

No mas de en dos años solos:
 es el Virrey del Pirú
 su padre, aquel generoso

Marques de Cañete, que el
le embia contra vosotros (p.20).

The relationship between don Andrés and don García reflects that between Charles V and Philip II. Don Andrés has faith in his son to send him to Chile as governor, perhaps on a larger scale, Charles V had faith in his son to abdicate in his favor and retire to a monastery in his late years. The relationship between Mendoza and Hapsburgs is not just parallel, they also cross and overlap one another. Both don Andrés and don García hold powerful positions in the overseas administration of the Empire, but ultimately they are still subordinate to the king and prince. Their power derives, in part, from their loyal adherence to this subordinate position. There was often a common analogy made at the time between the father of the family and the father of the state. As king and prince, Charles V and Philip II also act as political fathers to don Andrés and don García. And so, their relationship runs on along a lateral line in the ways in which their relationships echo one another, but they also exist in a vertical line of social and political hierarchy.

At the end of the third act, the Spaniards receive news that Charles has abdicated in favor of his son, Philip. The Spanish troops celebrate Philip's crowning and inheritance of the empire. The stable line of succession helps to guarantee the stability of the Empire. Philip will now have to live up to the standard and example set by his father, Charles, in order to secure a strong Spain. He must aim to live up to the same masculine virtues that have set his father apart and to govern prudently. Don García is keen to make it clear that his loyalty and submission to the new king is shown in his success in pacifying this rebellion in Chile and securing the borders of the Empire for the Crown (p.

56). He then celebrates the achievements that other conquistadors have accomplished for the Spanish Crown, adding his name to this illustrious list:

Invictísimo Filipe,
nuevamente Coronado
por Rey de España y del mundo,
que a vuestros abuelos santos
halló Colon, y después
tantos españoles brazos,
a costa de sangre suya
os dieron y conquistaron:
veys aquí nueve banderas,
nueve batallas de Arauco,
que en vuestro nombre he vencido
pacificando su estado (p. 60).

By linking his own deeds to those of other Spanish conquistadors, don García positions himself in a line of succession of those considered to have accomplished great deeds. His biological lineage is through his father and part of his political lineage is through both family members but also those conquistadors who came before him. Biology, politics, empire, and inheritance all become tangled up in what are seemingly simple assertions made by don García. Again, the pairing of the Mendoza line of succession and that of the royal family is made clear when don García follows his speech with some of the very last lines of the play, “Viva el Rey Felipe,” signaling that the monarchical line of succession

is secure and celebrated. Don García Hurtado de Mendoza lives up to the expectations of his own lineage by securing Arauco for the next generation of Hapsburg monarchs.

The continual father-son pairings suggest that don García is also ready to pass on the noble characteristics of his lineage to his son, to whom this play is dedicated. The play highlights the successful passing down of family traits and reputation in the father-son pairs of don Andrés/don García and Charles V/Philip II. The projection into the future of the Mendoza family and the father-son pair of don García/don Hurtado also links the Mendoza line to the father-son pair of Philip II/Philip III. In the action of the play, these father-son pairs are a part of the future, but during the staging of the play, these father-son pairs are a contemporary reality. Though there is anxiety over the transition between the Philips, the link established between Mendoza and Hapsburg lineages provides an example for the monarchical family to follow as well as hope for the future of this royal line.

However, anxiety over lines of succession cannot be completely smoothed over with this link. Whereas the Spanish father-son pairs of Andrés/García and Carlos/Felipe are ideal models of masculine virtue and biological/political inheritance, the Araucanian father-son pair of Caupolicán/Engol falls short of this ideal. Caupolicán's son appears in the third act and his relationship with his father contrasts sharply with those displayed by the Spanish. The play begins by emphasizing Caupolicán's ancestry originating in the Sun deity. Caupolicán uses his deified father as proof of his greatness and proof of his manhood. He also uses it as a threat, as previously seen when he first encounters don García. Caupolicán will also use his deified father to make the claim that "yo soy el Dios de Arauco, no soy hombre" (p. 18). Caupolicán as God should make him unstoppable

and all powerful. Yet, Caupolicán proves to be insecure and falters in his decision making. In the eyes of some of the tribe, he even becomes a coward, proving that he is no heir to the Sun-god.

Upon receiving news that Caupolicán has retreated from battle instead of dying honorably, Caupolicán's wife, Fresia, is outraged. She herself has taken up arms, just in case (p. 43). She then gives her very young son, described by another character as "muy niño" (p. 45), permission to go to war to take vengeance on his father and to restore honor to their family line. In this moment, Caupolicán and Fresia's son, Engol, rejects his bloodline through his father and instead claims it through his mother:

Que bien sé que aunque me dan
por padre a Caupolicán
soy hijo del Sol...
Guarda, y aguarda Español
que baxa Engol sobre ti,
hijo de Fresia y del Sol (p. 45).

Engol draws a line between father and son in an attempt to distance himself from Caupolicán's dishonor. In rejecting his paternal lineage he is also trying to save himself from inheriting those characteristics he abhors in his father. Engol tries to maintain his deified lineage through the Sun, but the line of succession is broken and his claims ring hollow. By claiming his maternal line, he throws the line of succession into gendered disorder. His masculinity is no longer claimed through his father, but through his mother, who turns the tables in a carnival-like display when she says that she will organize a

squadron of women to take up arms since the men have proven themselves unable to protect and defend the liberty of Arauco:

Que si por pareceres
 quereis rendir vuestros nombres
 dexad las armas los hombres
 y dadlas a las mugeres
 que yo seré Capitan
 de muchas, a quien faltaron
 sus maridos, que emplearon
 mejor que los aquí están,
 que irán contra don García
 y contra el mundo (p. 51).

It was not uncommon for writers of the early modern to locate the legendary Amazons in the Americas. Like what was imagined to be other monstrous flora and fauna, the Amazon is unnatural, a threat to the stable order of things. Fresia's threat is more than just exotic decoration. Fresia as an Amazon shows how morally corrupt the Araucanians have become in their worship of the devil and in their upside down gender relations. Her threat also further destabilizes the Araucanian leadership. By turning the tables and making the women of the tribe masculine, she feminizes the men, making them not only inferior to the Spanish but also inferior to the women of the tribe.

His refusal or inability to live up to the deeds necessary to maintain his reputation has made others view Caupolicán as a coward and in the process he has lost his position in the tribe; he has broken his covenant with the Sun-god and has put into jeopardy the

line of succession in Arauco. The nail is sealed on the coffin of the Araucanian war program when Caupolicán recognizes don García as the true heir of the sun-god, replacing the Araucanian General himself in this sacred position: “porque tu eres Sol, Hurtado”(p. 57). In this moment, Caupolicán recognizes don García’s superiority. If don García is the sun-god then the Spaniard has surpassed Caupolicán in military strategy and skill and he has proven himself to be the more effective leader. Furthermore, don García has been able to achieve all of this because he has been able to resist feminine temptations like those to which Caupolicán has fallen prey. Such moments include a bathing scene that echoes the same scene in the poem *Arauco domado* in which Caupolicán abandons himself to earthly pleasure. In both the poem and the *comedia*, Caupolicán is criticized by members of his own tribe for ignoring the war program at such a critical time. Don García’s adherence to masculine virtues is what has enabled those deeds and actions that have secured his leadership position and the continuance of his family reputation as one of power and prestige. His deeds have matched his biological inheritance. At a time when there existed a debate on whether nobility was inherited or enacted, don García proves that his own inheritance begins as biological and is confirmed when acted upon. Contrasting with this is the Araucanian line of succession that has been removed from Caupolicán’s biological line and placed into that of the Mendozas. Caupolicán recognizes he no longer deserves to lead his people and that don García has rightful claim to it:

Señor,
del Sol de tu gran valor
aunque nace en Polo extraño

hurté la luz que he tomado
 que aqueste rayo español
 es hurtado de tu sol,
 porque tú eres sol, Hurtado (p. 57).

Don García is moved by the plight of Caupolicán and tells him “Pesame, Caupolicán, que perdonarte no puedo” (p. 57). But Caupolicán recognizes the justness of his punishment and says to don García:

Agradecido te quedo,
 generoso Capitán.
 ni te aconsejo me des
 la vida, porque seria
 conservar la rebeldía
 que en estos barbaros ves (p. 57).

Caupolicán concedes all authority to don García, the new Sun-King of Arauco. He even accepts his punishment and death. When Engol learns of his father’s capture, imprisonment and impending death sentence, he echoes the words of his mother and spares no sympathy for him: “O cobarde afeminado, / que es del Corazon valiente? / Que se dexasse prender!” (p. 59). After witnessing his father’s execution, however, Engol seems to have a change of heart and reclaims his father in his last monologue of the play:

Padre yo te vengaré
 si cubre el bozo mis labios,
 yo te juro por el Cielo
 y el Sol que me está mirando,

de no me llamar tu hijo,
 de no dormir en tu tambo,
 de no vestirme de armas
 que a español has quitado,
 de no mirar a mujer,
 y de no salir del campo
 hasta que vengue su muerte
 pasando este mar a nado,
 que de matar a García
 pequeña venganza aguardo,
 a España tengo de ir
 donde están Felipe y Carlos,
 allí verás que en su trono
 pongo mis dorados rayos,
 que si soy el Sol, bien puedo
 llegar al Polo contrario (p. 60).

Despite having previously rejected his father and his paternal lineage, here Engol lays out all the ways in which he cannot be a man until his father's death is avenged and Engol can finally claim his manhood. If he is successful, it would seem that he would be able to reestablish the lineage and line of succession of his family. Engol says that he cannot call himself the son of Caupolicán, that he cannot sleep in his dwelling, he cannot dress as a warrior, and he cannot look at a woman until his manhood is restored, and can only be restored with vengeance. Engol refuses Caupolicán's disavowal of his position of Sun-

god, refuses to accept that his succession has been usurped by don García and refuses peace with the Spanish. From Engol's point of view, Caupolicán's final acceptance of Spanish superiority and acceptance of the Christian religion are dishonorable, but these same acts restore honor to Caupolicán from a Spanish perspective. Caupolicán has learned his place as a vassal of Charles and Philip, he has recognized the superior leadership of don García, and has accepted conversion to Christianity; an act in which he must give up his pagan belief that he is the descendent of the Sun. By not accepting these things, Engol deepens the broken line of succession in Arauco and alienates himself from Spanish and Araucanian alike.

Fresia has the final word spoken by an Araucanian in the play in which she praises her son for his oath of vengeance "Que bien pareces mi hijo!" (p. 60) and calls on him to avenge her husband: "Si crece, Engol, del aguardo / la venganza de mi esposo / muerto en la flor de sus años" (p. 60). Their threats fall on empty ears in the play, however, and the other characters seem unruffled and unconcerned with them. They move directly to a celebration of don García's triumph in Arauco and the coronation of Philip II. The Araucanian line of succession completely broken and the Spanish lines of succession deep and strong, the Spanish father-son relationships have won the day and have proven the superiority of Spanish masculine leadership, at once inherited and performed.

The play *Arauco domado* is about more than the conquest of Chile. It is also about more than the relationship between Spaniard and Araucanian, though this is, of course, an important element in the *comedia*. These interracial relationships in the play take on gendered representations that cast the Araucanian as an effeminized Other, as José. R.

Cartagena Calderón has argued by casting the Araucanian as an effeminized Other, the Spanish are able to address their own gendered anxieties over a perceived feminization of the Spanish aristocracy contemporary to the production of the play. By contrasting the Spanish with an effeminate Other, it places the Spanish in the masculine role in the play. In doing so, the effeminate ways of the Spanish aristocracy are criticized, but are also offered an alternative and a return to what was perceived as a more appropriate behavior code.

The father-son relationships that develop in the play are informed by this gender binary but also go beyond it. The theme of lineage and succession become central to the discussion on gendered representation and the links between the different father-son pairs. In the play the three father son pairs include Charles V/Philip II, don Andrés/don García and Caupolicán/Engol. The two Spanish pairs have successful lines of succession and their blood lineage as well as their political lineage is secured. In both cases the father shows faith in his son to live up to expectations and to perform the deeds necessary to continue the family line. In the play, don García achieves this through his deeds in Arauco. In the play, Philip has only just inherited the throne, but it is implicitly acknowledged that he too will have success. Their Araucanian counterpart, Caupolicán/Engol is not able to maintain their family lineage or political line of succession. These two things are broken when Caupolicán submits to don García and puts into question when Engol goes back and forth in his claim to be Caupolicán's son. The title of the play and the last line of the third act "Aquí da fin Arauco domado" (p. 61) suggest that despite Engol's attempt to assert himself after his father's death that the submission of the Arauco region and people is a done deal. The inability or unwillingness

of Caupolicán to maintain his leadership position and assure his line of succession is based on his “effeminate” ways of lust and luxury that distract him from his leadership duties and from military affairs. Don García does not fall prey to such temptations and through his focus on leadership and military strategy is able to dominate the Araucanian leader.

Conclusion

Arauco domado addresses societal concerns over gender and its relation to Spain’s imperial status. In *Arauco domado*, the Spanish men consistently conform to masculine virtues of bravery, martial prowess and dedication to king and country. The masculinity of the Spanish men is represented as being inherited through noble lineages that pass down to them characteristics such as valor, strength, martial savoir-faire and leadership skills. These virtues are not guaranteed, however, the Spanish men like don García must live up to expectations and prove their worth, and their masculinity, through deeds. When the Spanish men like don García successfully prove their worth, they help to secure a line of succession that ensures prestige and power. This contributes to a stable line of succession in politics and administration as fathers pass on to their worthy sons positions of authority. The Araucanians, on the other hand, lose their most important line of succession represented by Caupolicán and Engol. Engol’s rejection of his father, Caupolicán’s recognition of don García as the true inheritor of the Sun-god, and finally Engol’s declaration he can never be a man until his father’s death is avenged leave Araucanian masculinity as broken as the Caupolicán family line. The play speaks to the anxieties at play in early modern Spain and the role that gender played in these concerns. Ultimately, the plays supports the reformist and moralist call to arms in order to restore

the masculinity of the aristocracy and, through it, the political and military greatness of Spain.

Conclusion

The texts examined here span a time period of roughly eighty years, approximately from 1540-1620. Some were written in Chile and others in Spain, but all are concerned with the conquest and wars in Chile during the sixteenth century. The points of view represented in these texts are varied including that of an unapologetic conquistador, a complex pro-imperial but deeply critical writer-soldier, a propagandist, and a politically engaged playwright. What all these texts have in common is a gendered discourse concerned with matters of masculinity. These matters of masculinity are intimately connected with self-fashioning and public reputation of the men represented in the texts.

In chapter one, Pedro de Valdivia writes a series of letters that set out to achieve a complex set of goals. He wants to make claim to the title of Governor of Chile, he wants to protect and build his colony, he wants to earn favor and reward for his deeds in Chile and, most importantly, he wants to protect his public image from the damage it was receiving from discontents inside and outside the colony. He seeks to achieve all of this not by necessarily by claiming it through right of force, but through right of loyalty. Though he has made a career as a professional soldier and has been engaged in warfare his entire adult life, Valdivia seeks to contain the violence of his actions by employing a rhetoric of loyalty. It is important that in his self-fashioning he does not construct an image of himself that is overly aggressive or overly violent. Non-aggression is a central theme of his letters, used as rhetorical strategy when constructing his public image.

Chapter two deals with the themes of justice and clemency in times of war. Neither of these can be successfully applied to a situation without the guiding influence

of an ideal leader. To achieve ideal leadership a man must pursue masculine virtues such as moderation, self-control and restraint. The concepts of moderation and restraint, though slightly different, complement one another as necessary characteristics of ideal masculinity in the poem *La Araucana*. Here, Philip II is portrayed as the ideal leader in his attainment of ideal masculine virtues. His counterpart, Caupolicán, demonstrates similar capabilities, but is unable to fully equate himself with the Spanish king. Philip II's ideal leadership and Caupolicán's ability to pursue a similar leadership speak to a need to reassess the situation in Chile. What is needed there is the guiding influence of Philip II in order to restore preferred masculinity and to go about imperial expansion in a more just and clement way. This will address the excessive aggression and violence taking place there and replace it with a moderated and restrained conquistatorial model.

Chapter three continues a discussion of moderation in the poem *Arauco domado*. This propagandistic text seeks to defend and rewrite the reputation of don García Hurtado de Mendoza. It replaces a reputation for cruelty, unwarranted violence, and injustice with a depiction of a just and clement man. The poem explicitly outlines its own definition of moderation, why that moderation is an appropriate model to follow, and who has successfully followed that model: don García. Moderation is linked with masculinity and leadership in the poem, making don García an ideal man and an ideal governor. Just as in the letter of Pedro de Valdivia, elements of violence are contained in a rhetoric of non-aggression.

Finally, chapter four contains a gendered discourse concerned with the connection between masculinity and leadership. While the main character of the *Arauco domado* is don García, the *comedia* is about more than Mendoza family reputation. The greater issue

at stake is successful succession that relies not only on biological heirs but on those heirs proving their merit. Without both biology and merit, successful succession is not possible. While don García is able to live up to expectations and earn his right as the heir to the Mendoza patriarch's position, the *comedia* is also about dynastic tensions of the Hapsburg family. Written during one moment of succession and performed during another, *Arauco domado* speaks to anxieties over the state of the Spanish monarchy. The need for Philip III and, later, Philip IV to have a successful succession and reign is as much a part of his *comedia* as is don García's public image and reputation. Both issues hinge on father-son relations, masculine inheritance, and masculine leadership.

Despite the fact that the main figures of all the texts were men engaged in warfare, acts of violence do not necessarily form the base for the masculinity seen in these texts. Masculinity in sixteenth and early seventeenth century texts about the conquest of Chile is one that privileges non-aggression. Loyalty, moderation, restraint, justice, and clemency are those virtues highlighted in these texts. Men are represented as more than violent-prone, they are capable of and expected to live up to higher standards. This early modern non-aggressive masculinity is a far cry from the one imagined by today's gender theory, but speaks to a similar impulse to question, and even replace, violent hegemonic masculinity with an alternative model.

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