



Provided by the author(s) and University of Galway in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite the published version when available.

Title	Representations of genders and ethnicities in the historical fiction of Mercedes Valdivieso and Gustavo Frías
Author(s)	Broderick, Céire
Publication Date	2016-08-26
Item record	http://hdl.handle.net/10379/5998

Downloaded 2024-04-25T10:07:00Z

Some rights reserved. For more information, please see the item record link above.



**Representations of Genders and Ethnicities in the Historical Fiction
of Mercedes Valdivieso and Gustavo Frías**

Céire Broderick

*Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for PhD in Latin
American Studies, National University of Ireland, Galway (August 2016)*

Supervisor: Dr. Kate Quinn

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Literary and Historical Tradition Surrounding Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer	15
Introduction	15
Summary of the Primary Texts	15
Other Representations of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer	18
Challenging Literary Tradition: The Primary Texts	44
Concluding Remarks	59
Chapter 2: Ethnicities, Cultural Practices and Beliefs	62
Introduction	62
The Colonial Roots of Chilean Hybridity	69
Hybridity through Huacheraje	73
Marriage: An Ethnic Union and Social Transaction.....	80
Cultural Traditions and Languages of Hybridity	87
Hybrid Forms of Religions and Rites	103
Concluding Remarks	119
Chapter 3: Gender Traditions, Expressions and Subversions	121
Introduction	121
Questioning and Reinforcing Patriarchal Norms	125
The Catholic Church: Fixing Genders	148
Illustrations of Fluidity.....	152
Subverting and Reproducing Gendered Norms in the Family.....	164
Sexual Agency and Pregnancy.....	183
Concluding Remarks	192
Conclusions	195
Bibliography	200

Acknowledgements

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Kate Quinn, for her unwavering support and inspiration throughout this process. Her dedication to the project, through careful readings of numerous drafts and thought-provoking discussions, was invaluable.

I am very grateful to the members of my GRC: Prof. Bill Richardson, Dr. Lorraine Kelly and Dr. Muireann O’Cinneide. Their insightful questions and intellectual curiosity helped shape this work. Indeed, I am indebted to all members of staff, past and present, in Spanish at NUI Galway, who have fostered my love of the Spanish language and the many literatures and cultures that it has introduced to me. I really appreciate the generous support that came from all School and College staff, especially that of Geraldine Smyth, Suzanne Gilsenane, Sandra Brennan, Mairéad Ní Dhomhnaill and Fiona Dwyer.

I could not have completed this thesis without the funding I received from the Irish Research Council and the Hardiman Research Scholarship. A College of Arts, Social Sciences and Celtic Studies Travel Bursary also partially funded my research trip to Chile. I am thankful for all this support.

During my research trip to Chile, I was very fortunate to meet many people who were generous with their time and expertise. Among them I would like to thank specifically, Alicia Salomone, Antonia Viú and Norberto Flores for meeting with me, showing interest in this project and suggesting materials that would aid its development. I also appreciate the time that Gustavo Frías took to allow me to visit him and discuss his work.

Many friends inside and out of the PhD ‘cave’ made this a most enjoyable and life-changing experience. While unable to thank them all, I would like to express my appreciation, in particular, for Dilly and Amie, whose friendship kept me afloat throughout. Thanks to my family that has continued to support me, especially to the Devaney family and my grandmothers, Una and Marie.

This thesis is dedicated to Jonathan. Your incredible love, support and kindness know no bounds. Thank you.

Introduction

This thesis analyses the ways in which Mercedes Valdivieso in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* (1991) and Gustavo Frías in *Tres nombres para Catalina: Catrala* (2001) and *Tres nombres para Catalina: La doña de Campofrío* (2003) (herein referred to collectively as the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series) use their protagonist, Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer (circ. 1604-1665), to engage with issues of gender and ethnicity. It argues that in their renewed fictional depictions of this historical figure each author uses his or her text to subvert and question the legitimacy of the dominant discourses surrounding gender and ethnicity in Chile. It supports this argument by looking at previous texts that perpetuated the repressive structures challenged in these primary texts.

The works produced by Valdivieso and Frías are set apart from previous representations of this figure in their dedication to critically engaging with gender and ethnicity. While making Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer their protagonist is not a unique approach, having her as the primary narrator, that is, the subject of their text, is. They each create a polyphonic narrative in their text which allows them to develop Catalina's story, to elaborate on gender and ethnicity and invert or challenge perceived truths of her tale. The publication of Valdivieso's text in 1991 was pivotal in the development of this character for her ground-breaking approach that subverted previously accepted narratives and provided renewed perspectives on Catalina's life. Of the more recent texts published with Catalina as their protagonist, Frías' series is the only one to take up this approach, with the author providing a more detailed depiction of seventeenth-century Chile. Frías' two texts chosen for this study form part of a tetralogy dedicated to Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer. The third volume of this series, *El Inquisidor: Un origen para la leyenda* (2008), does not have Catalina as its protagonist and the focus of the narrative deviates from gender and ethnicity, so it is not a primary focus of this thesis. The final instalment of this series, *La Quintrala*, has not yet been published.

Catalina is a figure who has inspired many literary works, particularly in the twentieth century, each with different focuses. Hers is a foundational narrative, set in a time when the *mestizo* origins of Chile as we know it today were forming through

the Spanish colonial process. Catalina's *mestizo* heritage is symbolic of this clash of cultures and thus, this thesis suggests that the chosen authors use her story to question, in depth, issues relating to gender and ethnicity. In this socio-historical context, focusing on a powerful *mestiza encomendera*, both identities are inextricably linked and are considered as such throughout. Academic articles have been published on a number of the texts produced throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and one full-length study, *La Quintrala en la literatura chilena* (1999) by Ivonne Cuadra, takes a comparative approach to investigating representations of Catalina in the same period. A number of key academic articles published on *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* inform the analysis carried out, supporting the importance of Valdivieso's protagonist in a cultural study of gender and ethnicity in Chile. Of particular interest to this thesis are: Flores (1994), Llanos (1994), Guerra (1998), Albornoz Vásquez (2002) and Lee (2007). As yet there has been no academic investigation of Frías' contribution to this field. This is one of the novel aspects of this thesis. In addition, it is original in that it is the first book-length study to focus on the key issues of gender and ethnicity in relation to fictional representations of this character, and the first full-length study of Valdivieso's and Frías' work. Furthermore, the theoretical approach to studying the primary texts is new in that, through a postcolonial feminist lens, it is profoundly informed by theories surrounding gender and ethnicity that come from and pertain to Chile and Latin America.

A brief presentation of this historical figure will illustrate why she is so suitable a focus for novels seeking to critically engage with established ideas on gender and ethnicity. Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer, known more commonly as la Quintrala, was a seventeenth-century historical figure from Chile. She was of mixed ethnicity, boasting Spanish, German and indigenous ancestries. Even for a member of the colonial elite, she enjoyed a uniquely powerful position for a woman in her

society, and inherited the leadership of her tribe¹ through maternal lineage. For this reason, Ivonne Cuadra warns that she is not a typical woman from this period, “[s]ería erróneo, dada la posición social, el poderío económico [...], equiparar a esta mujer con la mujer típicamente chilena de la época colonial” (Cuadra 1999, p.37). Although there are limited references made to Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer/ la Quintrala in historical texts, those that exist give testimony to her exclusive position in society.² Her story was initially mythified in oral tradition and in subsequent historical and fictional representations—prior to those analysed in this study—she has been depicted as a particularly evil woman for her time; supposedly murdering approximately forty men in her lifetime including her father, former lovers and servants.

Her dominant social standing ensured she was never convicted of any of these crimes. Gabriel Salazar and Jorge Pinto state that the impunity in Catalina’s case is not surprising given that “la élite colonial ‘admitía’ esa conducta. Esa identidad patronal, de raíz soldadesca, ha estado siempre presente, con cambios y matices, en la efigie histórica de las mujeres chilenas de clase alta” (Salazar and Pinto 2012, p.113). Her rebellious actions as a woman in the colonial period make it interesting to study her and reproduce fictional depictions of her life. Indeed, José Alberto de la Fuente suggests that Catalina, “como sujeto histórico y en calidad de personaje novelesco, no se explica sin su época, tal vez el siglo más apasionante de la colonia, no sólo en Chile, sino en el resto de Iberoamérica” (De la Fuente 1992,

¹ I use ‘tribe’ here because throughout Frías’ texts it is the term used by Catalina to refer to her kinship. It is used with the caution and understanding of possible negative connotations that have been brought to light in recent anthropological research—particularly in African studies—regarding its colonial use for subjugation while recognising the preferred term is ‘ethnic group’. Chilean anthropologists writing in Spanish tend to refer to ‘el pueblo’, for example ‘el pueblo mapuche’. For further information on the topic, see (Ekeh 1990).

² According to Lucía Guerra, “Los únicos documentos que han quedado son los siguientes: la donación y traspaso que doña Catalina hizo de su dote a su hermana Águeda, el 31 de junio de 1626 (Archivo General); el poder para testar que hace su esposo, don Alonso Campo[f]río Carvajal, el 24 de noviembre de 1626 (Archivo General); su primer testamento, redactado el 10 de mayo de 1662 (Archivo General); su segundo y último testamento, del 15 de enero de 1665 (Archivo General); v el sumario de su confesión frente a oidor, sumariamente, el 28 de julio de 1664 (Archivo de la Real Audiencia)” (Guerra 1998, p.56).

p.48). Her violence, sexual agency and general disregard for societal norms of colonial times accentuate Catalina's infamy. The extreme violence she exhibited would still be challenged in present-day society, but she may not be so widely criticised for other transgressions.

Lucía Guerra describes the origin of her nickname, la Quintrala, stating: “[e]ste apodo proviene del quintral, una planta de flores rojas que crece en los bosques del sur de Chile y que se aferra al tronco de los árboles hasta causarles la muerte” (Guerra 1998, p.48). Catalina's striking beauty, with fiery red hair and green eyes, has been widely depicted in oral, historical, and fictional accounts. The correlation is drawn between her and the *quintral* because of her physical appearance and violent nature. Cuadra asserts that in the history of colonial Chile, la Quintrala's presence “representa un contra-ejemplo, la forma de vida que se quiere evitar en la colonia y un rechazo al sistema de valores que los españoles querían establecer” (Cuadra 1999, p.19). This perspective continued into the nineteenth century following independence from Spain and the subsequent endeavour to construct a national imagining. Olga Grau affirms that historically, “[s]u figura no es marginal, es marginal su uso: lo extraordinario, lo espantable, lo inaudito, lo repugnante, aunque al fin y al cabo, también lo fascinante” (Grau 1993, p.48). Her story has been used and recycled throughout many important periods of Chilean history to suit the objectives of the author in question. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter one.

Ximena Zavala argues that this use of Catalina to discourage breaks from social norms speaks to the situation in present-day Chile. “Ella representa todo lo que una mujer no puede ser. Esta presencia y actualidad de Catalina algo debe decir sobre nosotras y sobre nuestra sociedad” (Zavala 2010, p.13). Alicia Muñoz explains the reason for the simultaneous adoption and rejection of la Quintrala throughout different historical periods in Chile stating that “[t]he volatile mix of violence, gender, power, and racial identity inherent in La Quintrala results in a figure malleable to the times, but which retains a core of national tensions that causes her to be rejected” (Muñoz 2014, p.154). In the prologue of Sonia Montecino's *Madres y huachos* Roberto Hozven insists that myths and legends which touch on the darker

side of the collective are necessary in the construction of national imaginaries “[e]sto es: que se asomen a los miedos, horrores y goces intersubjetivos (siempre fallidos para codificación simbólica) por medio de los cuales la colectividad se reconoce en su origen y destino particulares” (Montecino 1993a, p.23). It is for these reasons that a study of historical novels re-imagining Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer’s life at the turn of the twenty-first century continues to hold relevance and possibilities to produce new narratives surrounding issues of gender identities and ethnicities.

According to María Elena de Valdés, literature “constitutes a most valuable depository of discourse for examining the relationships of social interaction” (de Valdés 1998, p.26). From the perspective of this thesis, it is how literature can provide commentary on gender and ethnic identities that are formed during social interaction that is most pertinent. In his article, ‘Literatura e identidad’, Sergio Mansilla Torres goes further in suggesting that literature can be used as a vehicle for formulating identities.

Si afirma, a menudo, que la literatura no solo representa la identidad cultural de la comunidad o colectividad desde donde emerge como escritura artística institucionalmente aceptada y legitimada en cuanto tal, sino que *produce* identidad; incluso más: ella misma, en algún sentido [...] *sería* identidad (Mansilla Torres 2006, p.132; inflection in original).

Mercedes Valdivieso and Gustavo Frías use their literary portrayals of their protagonist to provide new perspectives on the complexities of gender identities and ethnicities in Chile during the time in which they are published. Valdivieso published her text in a period in Chilean history where there was much questioning of identities³. It coincided with the end of the dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) and start of the transition to democracy. It was also part of a continent-

³ It is worth noting that other Chilean authors produced historical novels during this period with a view to looking to the origins of contemporary Chile either from the colonial period or the period in post-Independence Chile. They include:
(Vidal 1991) which details the life of José Manuel Balmaceda;
(Gallardo 1991) which narrates Balmaceda final days and suicide;
(Araya 1991) describing the events of the civil war;
(Gil 1992) which details the life of Diego de Almagro and his failed conquest of Chile;
(Guzmán (1993)1999) which focuses on Inés de Suárez and the conquest of Chile.

wide questioning of Spanish colonisation and, more locally, Chilean identities with the approach of the quincentenary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in the 'New World' in 1492. Publishing a decade later, Frías continues this process in the lead up to the bicentenary of the Chilean state. While the author has not made explicit reference to the bicentenary in relation to his works, their publication points to openness in acknowledging the complexity of the colonial period and its legacy. Mansilla Torres' observations on the value of returning to historical periods, in which these concerns initially arose, can be applied here.

Viajar al origen es, ciertamente, una manera de comprender el presente a través de la memoria activada por el texto que leemos y escribimos, presente que es el único tiempo que nos es dado y cuyos límites se desplazan a diario con cada nueva experiencia. Y escribir y leer son, por cierto, experiencias que acontecen en el vivir diario (Mansilla Torres 2006, p.141).

At the end of the twentieth century and start of the twenty-first, each author identifies this historical figure as still culturally pertinent to understanding the diverse nature of collective identities in Chile. In doing so, they participate in a wider discussion on genders and ethnicities by intellectuals in contemporary Chilean society.

In analysing Valdivieso's and Frías' use of their protagonist to challenge hierarchies in collective identities surrounding genders and ethnicities, this thesis applies a number of key local and global theories. Given Chile's position as a postcolonial country and the significant decision for both Valdivieso and Frías to choose a seventeenth-century historical figure as their protagonist, some postcolonial theories have proven useful in the analysis. In addition, each text centres on Catalina and her interaction with the men and women in her life, therefore, feminist and gender theory has also proved fruitful in the analysis of these works. The choice of theorists is influenced by Walter Mignolo's work on 'locus of enunciation', that is, the position from which the theorist/author/critic is speaking. Mignolo states that this is necessary since:

one of the rich avenues of postcolonial theorizing is, precisely, to open up the possibilities of diverse and legitimate theoretical loci of enunciation and, by doing so, to relocate the monologic and universal subject of knowledge inscribed in the modern/colonial period (Mignolo 1995, p.ix).

For the purpose of this work, the focus is fixed firmly on the Chilean context. In line with Mignolo's call to consider the locus of enunciation, there is an effort to ensure that at all times the theories being used are relevant to the situation in Chile. This coincides with Stuart Hall's suggestion that we must realise "[w]e all write and speak from a particular place and time, from a history and a culture which is specific. What we say is always 'in context', *positioned*" (Hall 1994, p.392; inflection in original). Theorising from the Global South, R.W. Connell explains the tendency to always favour Eurocentric theory. She suggests that "[t]he problem is not a deficit of ideas from the global periphery—it is a deficit of recognition and circulation" (Connell 2015, p.52). An active attempt has been made to incorporate theories and theorists that think from within and not just about the Chilean and Latin American context.

From a postcolonial gender perspective, Chandra Tapalde Mohanty in her criticism of Western feminists' approach to discussing 'third-world'⁴ issues also attempts to deconstruct the notion that all creation or construction stems from the centre (i.e. Western thought) outward. "It is not the centre that determines the periphery, but the periphery in its boundedness, determines the centre" (Mohanty 1994, p.215). The centre seeks to define and fix itself based on what it is not, rather than what it is. The periphery then is constructed on the 'othering' basis of everything the centre is not. Mohanty rejects this uncritical assumption, undermining it as a supposed given and suggests that in order to proceed with a postcolonial feminist lens, alternative approaches need to be assumed. Speaking from a Latin American perspective, Amy Kaminsky too rejects the notion of the centre/periphery divide. "We have not simply moved the center, we are denying its existence. To do so is not to deny reality but to reconnect with it" (Kaminsky 1993, p.19). That is, reconnecting with a multifaceted contextualised reality that attempts to incorporate the position of more than just Western feminism. Both theorists call for an

⁴I use the term as Mohanty has in her work with the consideration of the negative connotations that have arisen from it in postcolonial studies.

intersectional, multifarious approach to gender analysis that better reflects the situation of a postcolonial setting. This thesis aims to incorporate this outlook in the gender theorists it uses to analyse Valdivieso's and Frías' complex development of gender identities in their texts.

A primary element in the discussion and understanding of identity—both individual and collective—in this thesis is that it is a social construct that is ever-changing and never complete. The fixing of identities serves the dominant groups in society to reinforce hegemony and social hierarchies across a range of elements including gender, ethnicity and social class. Through their nuanced narratives, both authors challenge the hegemony and depict unstable, incomplete and sometimes contradictory identities. Chilean sociologist, Ana María Stiven explains the necessity for such upheaval given the previously uncontested view of identities in Chile.

En lugar de fundar la identidad como proceso, en la acción, se le considera un dado histórico. Al dejarla estática, se borra la diversidad del territorio y sus habitantes; al generalizar, se somete al chileno que no se asocia con esas definiciones a la soledad de no pertenecer (Stiven 2007, p.14).

Identities of groups, like individuals, change constantly depending on the elements with which they are engaging at any point in time. This thesis draws on work by Chilean theorist, Sonia Montecino who suggests that in speaking about identity we need to recognise it is a constant process which is never complete, and that identities are constructed differently according to the socio-historical setting. Montecino's work is intersectional by nature as her seminal text *Madres y huachos* (1993) deconstructs the gendered approach to discussions of ethnicities in Chile. Jorge Larraín in *Identidad chilena* (2001), like Stiven, criticises the tendency in Chile to insist on homogeneous, Eurocentric narratives of identity that deny the heterogeneous existence, of not just one, but many indigenous groups.

For the purpose of the thesis, a distinction is drawn between the biological sex of a person and their gendered identity that is constructed principally through social norms of the given social, geographical and historical context to which they belong. Like other gender theorists, Candace West and Don Zimmerman contest the

assumption of a fixed gender identity and suggest that rather we ‘do’ our gender in accordance with social norms, not inherent traits.

[T]he doing of gender is undertaken by women and men whose competence as members of society is hostage to its production. Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘natures’ (West and Zimmerman 1987, p,126).

Being ‘hostage’ to the production of gender means, while we can act upon the societal norms to create our form of gender, we must also be aware that those norms are similarly being acted upon us. The concept of gender identities is not limited to the idea of them being socially constructed, there is also an acknowledgement that in any socio-historical setting there is a constant change and interaction between the genders enacted. These identities are subject to the societal norms which establish ways of segregating genders. Often arbitrary distinctions are placed between each in an attempt to maintain a binary which tends to favour men’s domination over women. Magdalena Perkowska explains the difficulty faced by feminist theorists in challenging such assumptions in order to include women in historical narratives:

La inclusión y la inscripción de la mujer en la historia se vinculan estrechamente con la redefinición de la esfera pública por medio de la deconstrucción de la oposición binaria entre el espacio público y el espacio privado. La crítica feminista ha mostrado que esta dicotomía no es un estado natural de las cosas, sino una construcción del pensamiento occidental, en general, y patriarcal, en particular (Perkowska 2008, p.234).

Gabriel Salazar and Jorge Pinto express the situation as it exists in Chile and Latin America. They claim that these arbitrary differences have not just been enunciated in universal concepts such as gender or patriarchy, more regionally specific the dichotomy has been discussed in terms of ‘marianismo versus machismo’.

Según este dualismo (o dicotomía), el ‘machismo’ no sería otra cosa que al aparatoso culto público que los hombres de América Latina rinden a su propia virilidad y superioridad sobre las mujeres (desestimando su condición de ‘padre’), mientras que el ‘marianismo’ es el culto público que se rinde a las mujeres por sus ‘valores morales espirituales’, según el modelo de la Virgen María (Salazar and Pinto 2012, pp.10-11).

With this model, men and women are held to impossible standards that they are destined not to reach because the fixed nature of the expectations does not coincide with the lived experience.

Given Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer's overt transgression of societal expectations for women in the work of both Valdivieso and Frías, the study of femininity, or more accurately, femininities provides ample scope for discussion and consideration. In recent feminist theory an emphasis is placed on the fact that the characteristics of the femininities that are expected by the patriarchy are rarely enacted. Rather, the femininities that most women perform are contradictory to the androcentric perspective. This is a reality for the historical figure considered here. Connell's work on masculinities has already been adopted in the Chilean context with Salazar and Pinto detailing its use there. The work by both the Chilean theorists and Connell serves as a helpful vehicle to approach the analysis of masculinities in the primary texts. Given the restricted nature of femininities under the patriarchy and the protagonist's obvious flouting of norms in the texts, a variety of theories on femininities have been adopted to aid a nuanced discussion. They include Mimi Schipper's work on *pariah femininities*, Nuala Finnegan's adoption of the 'monstrous feminine' in her analysis of Rosario Castellanos' work and Elena de Valdés' critique of *hembrismo*.

In order to discuss the interaction of the ethnic identities in the postcolonial situation in Chile, it is useful to consider these texts as 'third spaces'. The term 'third space', coined by Homi K. Bhabha refers to the liminal space within which two or more cultures negotiate with one another in a postcolonial setting in order to produce hybrid identities arising from such interactions. This thesis considers the novels as 'third spaces' within which the authors negotiate their permutations of gender and ethnic identities through their characters and narrative structures. According to Bhabha, "it is actually very difficult, even impossible and counterproductive, to try and fit together different forms of culture and to pretend that they can easily coexist" (cited in Rutherford 1990, p.209). The texts in question highlight this fact effectively in their development and exposition of the relations between the ruling Europeans in seventeenth-century Chile, and the indigenous people who constantly reject the

Europeans' attempts to assimilate them into their faith and culture. The process of negotiation and enactment of these ethnic identities, which are already heterogenous in nature, leads to a discussion of what Joshua Lund refers to as 'hybridity'. Lund notes that "to invoke *hybridity* in the generic sense is simply another way of saying 'the theory, the practice, and representation of mixing'" (Lund 2006, p.xiv; inflection in original). Lund's definitions of methodological and critical approaches to hybridity are most relevant to this thesis' discussion of ethnic identities.

The methodological invocation of hybridity "signals studies that are attentive to the 'in-between' spaces of cultural production and practice [...] In this sense, hybridity does not name static ends but rather signals an emphasis on the mobility of processes and circuits" (Lund 2006, p.xii). A principal argument in this analysis is the notion that the ethnic identities illustrated are contested in the 'in-between' spaces, or to use Bhabha's term, 'third spaces'. It is argued that through this process of negotiation, the identities are never static, rather, constantly under construction. Lund suggests that critically, hybridity has developed as a "concept that is often invoked as a kind of deconstructive lever, as a way to reverse and displace authoritative rhetorics and discourses" (Lund, p.xii). This study of the primary texts suggests that their hybrid elaboration of ethnic identities serves to undermine and weaken the hegemonic norms in place which have perpetuated the subjugation of specific groups in the Eurocentric patriarchal society.

A key term frequently used in reference to 'mixing' in the Latin American context, is *mestizaje*. In a discussion of *mestizaje* in Mexico, Lund suggests that some thinkers have used the term in reference to cultural mixing. However he continues stating that in its most basic and common usage, "*mestizaje* refers to the biological reproductions between humans of 'different races', making it synonymous with terms such as racial mixing, racial amalgamation, and hybridization" (Lund, p.207). This predominant focus on 'race' limits the development of the complexities that are depicted in the ethnicities discussed in the primary texts, where ancestry, cultural and religious practices, in addition to languages, are all incorporated. *Mestizaje* also holds negative connotations in Chile and further afield. Patricia Richards asserts that "mestizaje discourses often have been matched by practices that

exploit and do violence to indigenous people” (Richards 2004, p.14). Joanna Crow agrees, stating that the dominant scripts of *mestizaje* “sought to erase indigenous peoples from the national body politic” (Crow 2013, p.234; endnote 5). Chilean historian, Sergio Villalobos, has also been heavily criticised for using the concept of *mestizaje* to deny indigenous groups recognition as a native nation or claim to ancestral territories. To do so, the historian draws on “outdated notions of racial purity to argue that ‘pure’ indigenous Mapuche people no longer exist because they have mixed with non-Mapuche” (Bacigalupo 2016, p.51). For the reasons above, we will use hybridity—as defined above—as the overarching term in reference to the negotiation of ethnic identities discussed in the thesis, since Lund suggests that terms such as *mestizaje* are included within this paradigm (Lund, p.xiv)⁵. The interpretation of modern forms of hybridity is opened up within the thesis beyond cultural to gender identities. The texts not only prove invaluable ‘third spaces’ of negotiation of ethnic identities at play in the colonial Chile being depicted, they also serve as hybrid spaces to contest and undermine gender relations.

In chapter one, the important contribution that the primary texts make to the wider literary conversation surrounding *Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer* is outlined by contextualising them in the existing body of work. Firstly a brief summary of the texts is offered in order to highlight the ways in which they differ from other publications in the area. The analysis of previous texts necessarily begins with Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna since it is from this historical text that many of the twentieth-century fictional representations stemmed. Magdalena Petit and Armando Arriaza in particular took a strong lead from their nineteenth-century compatriot with Lautaro Yankas preferring to focus his novel on aiding the *indigenista* literary movement. The chapter also investigates texts that have been published around the time of the primary texts, such as those of Virginia Vidal and Juanita Gallardo. Despite some contribution to the subject of the thesis, due to their limited

⁵ References made to *mestizos* or *mestizas*, when not cited by another author, hence, will refer directly to the lineage of the character under discussion.

engagement with issues of gender and ethnicity, they are not considered in detail throughout the thesis. The purpose of detailing the participation of each of these texts in the wider literary conversation is to highlight the revolution that Valdivieso's and Frías' texts produced in the use of *Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer* to question accepted norms surrounding gender and ethnic identities. The final section of this chapter engages with the subversion evident in these renewed perspectives on the protagonist's life that is created through strategic narrative techniques that undermine patriarchal, Eurocentric thought.

Chapter two focuses completely on the primary texts chosen for analysis and investigates the elaboration of ethnicities in particular. Engaging with theories of the 'third space' by Bhabha, border thinking by Mignolo and cultural hybridity which have been developed by Jorge Larraín, Ana María Stiven and Sonia Montecino in the Chilean context, it discusses the processes used by the authors to question complete, fixed ethnic identities. It highlights the efforts made by both authors to promote indigenous ethnicities in particular. It illustrates the engagement with taboo issues such as *huacheraje* which is celebrated in the texts as one of the sources of the hybrid identities in Chile. In addition to its protagonist expressing a keen interest in indigenous traditions, despite being predominantly European, Valdivieso's text also makes ample use of secondary characters, Juan Pacheco and Segundo a Secas, to express the inextricable power dynamics that exist between gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. Through focusing on marriage traditions and religious and cultural practices, the chapter details the complex ethnic identities developed in the seventeenth-century Chile as depicted in the texts. From hybrid dress, to mixing cultural practices in order to satisfy the needs of all involved, Frías' texts are multifarious in their engagement with the indigenous cultures, although it is argued that he sometimes tends toward an idyllic perspective of indigenous cultures that is in itself problematic.

The third, and final, chapter questions the approach that Frías' and Valdivieso's texts take to undermining age-old presumptions surrounding gender hierarchies in patriarchal societies such as those depicted in the novels. R.W. Connell's work on masculinities is used to aid the discussion of men's participation

in the societies in the texts, in addition to theories on femininities developed by Mimi Schippers, Barbara Creed and María Elena de Valdés. It investigates the techniques used by the authors in their work to question gender ideals which tend to be fixed in binaries that do not allow for individual agency. The narrative strategies such as Valdivieso's inverted, cyclical development of Catalina's confession and Frías' fragmented presentation of events aid the undermining of these gender identities as fixed in binary opposites. It argues that since gender is a social construct, the texts provide spaces in which the concepts of the patriarchy can be subverted, allowing for partial and ever-changing gender identities. The chapter indicates value in the fact that the texts indicate societal pressure being placed on both men and women to conform to certain expectations, although it is clear from the analysis that the protagonists fail to recognise the full implications of this reality, since they are focused completely on the unjust nature in which they are oppressed by the androcentric society in which they live.

Chapter 1: Literary and Historical Tradition Surrounding Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer

Introduction

In order to understand and appreciate the disruption that Valdivieso's and Frías' texts produced in the historical and fictional development of the story of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer and with their new emphasis on issues of gender and ethnicity, it is imperative to contextualise these publications. This chapter provides a brief summary of each primary text to help orientate the reader. Subsequently, we position Valdivieso's and Frías' works against other texts that also contribute to the wider field of historical and fictional publications on this historical figure, which are not considered in depth for this thesis due to the lack of detailed depiction of ethnicities or gender identities. The examination of this wider body of works will illustrate the innovative nature of the primary texts under discussion in this thesis. Finally, there is an introduction to the primary texts and the new focus that they bring to the body of existing work, including creative narrative structures that serve to subvert some of the previous presumptions made about this figure, and their choice to make their protagonist the subject rather than the object of their texts. Valdivieso's and Frías' texts enter into a pre-existing literary conversation among the novels produced and further this discussion in a critical and meaningful way.

Summary of the Primary Texts

Narrated predominantly in the first person, *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* is set in the first half of seventeenth-century Chile. Opening with a letter between colonial officials, the remainder of the text focuses on Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer's confession on the eve of her marriage to Alonso de Campofrío y Carvajal, though this narrative is interrupted at times by sections beginning with *dicen que* which have been widely recognised as the rumours of the popular myths which circulated regarding Catalina prior to this publication. For an in-depth discussion of the narrative see pages 49-55. Suffice to indicate at this point, that one of the key revolutionary elements of Valdivieso's text is the fact that for the first time in the

history of fictional representations of the figure, she is the subject, not the object of her story. Catalina's narrative in the novel is cyclical, opening and closing with the death of her would-be lover, Enrique Enríquez. Throughout, she details the affiliation she feels towards the women of her family and also her illegitimate half-brother Segundo a Secas and her cousin Juan Pacheco who are both of *mestizo* origin like the protagonist. Their connection to their indigenous roots strengthens the bonds between them since Catalina indicates a clear preference for her native ancestry over her European one. Through this affiliation she shares with them, Catalina engages in incestuous relationships with both men, in addition to taking other lovers. The protagonist defies patriarchal authority, motivated by her mother's similar disregard for societal expectations and during her confession she details the ways in which she has transgressed the norms imposed on her, without seeking forgiveness. The death of her father and two lovers are touched on during the text, though the level of responsibility she holds regarding the deaths is not clarified. In this short novel (142 pages), Valdivieso succeeds in completely disrupting the previous narratives developed around this historical figure. She uses her protagonist to challenge Eurocentric patriarchal norms and offers alternative power dynamics with indigenous women taking the lead. The text enters into conversation with some of the previous texts, in particular, Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna's *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala* (1877), but also inspires future texts which is evident in Virginia Vidal's *Oro, veneno, puñal* (2002), discussed below.

Approaching his character at aged seventeen, at a similar stage in her life to Valdivieso's protagonist, Frías' Catalina is also the subject of his *Tres nombres para Catalina* series. *Catrala*, the first of the two volumes chosen for this study, details the period of change through which the protagonist goes as she develops from Catrala, the young and somewhat innocent girl, to being Catalina, prepared to assume her position of power in both the European and indigenous-led societies. Whereas Valdivieso's Catalina is strongly influenced by her mother, in Frías' work, with her mother having died giving birth to her, Catalina's female influences come from her maternal aunts and both grandmothers. In the course of this novel, she has her first sexual experience, which results in pregnancy. With her lover, Esteban de

Britto, murdered by a jealous slave, Catalina is left to deal with the fallout of being discovered in bed with her dead lover prior to marriage and, more importantly for her, becoming pregnant. With no desire for motherhood, the protagonist attempts several avenues to induce an abortion, to no avail. The text details the complex societal structures that subjugate women and particularly those who refuse to conform. It concludes with her grandmother, Águeda, finding a suitable husband, Alonso de Campofrío, who will marry Catalina to ensure her child is born in wedlock.

The second text, *La doña de Campofrío*, opens with the protagonist preparing for her *Día Más Largo*⁶. This is the traditional indigenous ceremony which celebrates the enthronement of Catalina as *cacica* of the Curiqueo tribe. A third of this text is dedicated to detailing the rites and events of this day that is so important to the protagonist for her position in indigenous culture. Having already indicated a preference for her indigenous heritage when discussing her ethnic identities in the first novel, this is further strengthened during this celebration. The title of the novel, *La doña de Campofrío*, serves to remind the protagonist that she is not her own person. Much of her narration details the frustrations she feels with not having control over her own life or body. She is all too aware that in the patriarchal order, depicted in a complex manner by Frías, she is not free to do as she pleases and is expected to operate within the system that dictates her reality as daughter and responsibility of her father until she marries, at which point her husband becomes her keeper. Yet, despite this, knowing she will soon be married to Alonso de Campofrío does not stop the protagonist from engaging in sexual relationships with other men.

Throughout the texts chosen, Frías' series only touches on one of the historical figure's supposed murders; that of her father, although she is widely criticised for the death of de Britto at the hands of her slave. Like Valdivieso, the author chooses to focus more attention on the development of the protagonist,

⁶ This celebration is pivotal to the analysis of Frías' second text and so will be considered through many lenses throughout the thesis.

especially in relation to her questioning of gender and ethnic identities, ensuring the accusations against the historical and mythical figure remain in the background. Through both these novels, Frías develops a nuanced representation of seventeenth-century Chile that questions and criticises Euro- and androcentric perspectives as the supposed authority. In this way he continues the deconstruction of these power structures which Valdivieso started with her publication of *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*. The connection drawn in this thesis between each author’s approach to subverting and challenging monolithic ideas of gender identities and ethnicities is best appreciated when they are considered as part of a much wider literary field dedicated to the historical and fictional representations of Catalina. In continuation there is a discussion of key novels produced on Catalina or la Quintrala which give an important insight into the ways in which the protagonist’s story was previously used. This is followed by an analysis of the narrative techniques used by the chosen authors for this study which highlights the revolutionary approach each took in their re-presentations of Catalina.

Other Representations of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer

Catalina’s story did not figure in the main historical narratives and chronicles in the century in which she lived, or the subsequent one. While her tale did survive and become mythified through oral tradition, it was not until the nineteenth century that it sparked intellectual intrigue when historian Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna produced the first written history of her life in *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala* (1877). The historian claims that “*ni uno solo de los cronistas e historiadores, tanto antiguos como modernos, ha mencionado siquiera el nombre de esta mujer*” (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.2; inflection in original). In his introduction, Vicuña Mackenna leaves no doubt that his text is dedicated to providing a genealogy of the Lisperguer family which explains the vicious crimes that la Quintrala is supposed to have carried out.

Esa tradición es la de la siniestra Quintrala, la azotadora de esclavos, la envenenadora de su padre, la opulenta e irresponsable Mesalina, cuyos amantes pasaban del lecho de lascivia a sótanos de muerte, la que volvió la espalda e hizo enclavar los ojos al Señor de Mayo, la

Lucrecia Borgia y la Margarita de Borgoña de la era colonial, en una palabra (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.1; inflection in original).

The historian likens the object of his study to two much vilified European women from earlier centuries who were also known for flouting social norms. As women of high social standing, the expectation was to conform. To a present-day reader, it is difficult to miss the obvious disdain expressed by Vicuña Mackenna towards Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer, despite his professed desire to depict her genealogy and her life in objective terms void of opinion or emotion. He insists: “[d]e esta suerte, sin fatiga para el lector, se desenvolverá a su vista un dilatado panorama, a veces fantástico, a veces horrible, pero siempre verdadero” (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.5). The irony is not lost on the reader when Vicuña Mackenna later reaffirms this dedication to an unbiased approach:

Los casos de impúdica y feroz liviandad de que la tradición inculpa a doña Catalina de los Ríos, son varios, y todos más o menos horribles. Pero nosotros no haremos caudal de ellos, porque escribimos una historia social, estrictamente verdadera y conforme a documentos fehacientes, dejando a otros lo pintoresco y abultado (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.86).

The historian supports his claims relating to Catalina de los Ríos’ crimes with letters written by Bishop Francisco Salcedo to the Council of the Indies denouncing these actions, dated 16 May 1633 and 10 April 1634 (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.70 and p.82 respectively). In her historical article reviewing Vicuña Mackenna’s work, Ronda Ward claims that Salcedo’s denunciations “which even his contemporaries ignored, were not only rife with prejudices against women and native Chileans but also contained significant inaccuracies” (Ward 2001, p.95). Ward, and Lucía Guerra (1998, p.61) criticise the historian for uncritically accepting the details provided by Salcedo as factual without giving context to the letter or acknowledging the bishop’s prejudices. Ward asserts that “letters composed by the colonial administrators were not void of deception” (Ward 2001, p.88). According to Ward (2001, p.87), Vicuña Mackenna, who is known for his anticlericism, puts faith in the denunciations of a bishop who was discredited by his own contemporaries in an attempt to complete an objective scholarly study of his subjects. However, on several occasions throughout the text the true nature of his opinion of “aquella hembra indómita, arrebatada y casi salvaje” (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.91) becomes apparent. Vicuña Mackenna’s text

is opinion driven and merely serves his nation-building exercise which sought to promote European culture and tradition over the indigenous in the then recently-established Chilean nation.

The text begins with an introduction to Pedro Lisperguer, German *conquistador*, and grandfather of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer. It details his participation, as a member of the Spanish army, in the conquest of the Chilean territories and his marriage to Águeda Flores, daughter of the *cacica* of Talagante, Elvira, and fellow German, Bartolomé Blumen (Flores). While the historian tries to focus on the history of the men of the Lisperguer family, whom he seems to respect greatly, he is frustrated by the need to refer at times to the women of the Lisperguer family, since theirs was often a more memorable life. This is evident in comments such as “[o]cupemos ahora de sus hijos antes de dar a conocer su horrible nieta” (Vicuña Mackenna, p.24) and “[l]as mujeres, más tristemente famosas que sus hermanos” (Vicuña Mackenna, p.28). Referring firstly to Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer and subsequently to her mother and aunts, it is clear that the Lisperguer women’s transgression of societal norms is not appreciated even two centuries later in the nineteenth century when patriarchal order remained institutionalised in Chile. Ronda Ward suggests that when the text was published, “neither critics nor admirers recognized the operation of gender in this lurid biography” (Ward 2001, p.83). More recent critics have identified this problematic approach taken by the historian with Rebecca Lee suggesting that for Vicuña Mackenna, “the men represent law, morality and order. The women, on the other hand, symbolize moral corruption and societal excess” (Lee 2007, p.106). It is the Lisperguer lineage which most interests Vicuña Mackenna and which he traces through the generations to explain the reasons for Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer’s violent and overtly sexual nature. He claims that during this colonial period, “llegó a crear un núcleo de resistencia primero y en seguida de hostilidad contra la índole soberbia y avasalladora de una casta que no era castellana ni cristiana vieja, sino cruce de bárbaros, gentiles y alemanes excomulgados” (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, pp.35-36). Equally to blame were the German Protestants as the hostile, faithless indigenous inhabitants of Chile. Also apparent was the connection between evil and womanhood as the historian claims of

Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer “[l]a madre le había enseñado bien su infame oficio” (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.80).

The elaborate tracing of Lisperguer heritage seems to culminate in the historian claiming Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer as an example of what is wrong and degenerate in the nation during the nineteenth century. Vicuña Mackenna blames her heinous crimes on the fact that she is a woman and of *mestiza* (particularly German and indigenous) ancestry.

[C]onviene notar desde luego, que, aparte de la educación viciosa, de los malos ejemplos del hogar y de las propensiones generatrices de su ser y de su sexo, tuvo doña Catalina de los Ríos una extraña y terrible mixtión de sangre, porque, si por su padre y su abuela, la Encío, era de estirpe genuina de España, por su madre doña Catalina Lisperguer y Flores (Blumen) era dos veces alemana y una vez india chilena [...] ¿Había en esta mezcla de razas fundidas rápidamente en un solo tipo algo que predisponía al crimen y al mal? (Vicuña Mackenna 1972, p.79).

The overt declaration poorly masked in a seemingly innocent, questioning tone leaves little doubt in the reader regarding the historian’s positioning. Even though at the start of the century the oligarchy had fought to gain independence from Spain, it still looked to Europe for guidance in establishing norms in its society. Rebecca Lee suggests that: “[l]a Quintrala functions as a metaphoric scapegoat that allows Vicuña Mackenna, in the role of historian and progenitor of truth, to construct a divide shaped by civilization and barbarism” (Lee 2007, p.105). By locking la Quintrala into this position of an evil woman with unredeemable qualities, it made it easier to retain the civilisation/barbarism binary that allowed intellectuals such as Vicuña Mackenna to perpetuate the social hierarchy that favoured them. Raquel Olea offers further explanation on this fact suggesting:

La intención del historiador puede leerse como la necesidad de fijar y controlar la regulación de su lugar en la historia, como modo de impedir su posible desliz de significación hacia zonas productivas para intereses heterodoxos, movilizadores de otros signos que aquéllos que al poder configurador de las identidades les interesa imprimir a la nación (Olea 1998, p.105).

This suggests that it is Vicuña Mackenna’s own anxieties and desire to control Catalina’s place in history that is foremost in the text. At the turn of the twentieth century and the decades that followed, several authors used the details provided in

Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala to create fictional imaginings of this seventeenth-century figure.

Magdalena Petit's text, *La Quintrala*, originally published in 1934⁷, was the first fictional representation of Catalina de los Ríos' life produced by a woman in the twentieth century. Many of the historical details provided in this text come directly from Vicuña Mackenna's. It opens with the birth of Catalina de los Ríos and the final moments of her mother, Catalina Lisperguer's life. As Águeda Flores, Catalina de los Ríos' grandmother, promises her granddaughter that she will take extra care of her following her mother's untimely death, her assistant, Josefa, insists: "[h]arto que habrá de protegerla, mi amita, y desde luego— comentó la Josefa, señalando la criatura—, si ya está 'ojeada'" (Petit 1995, p.11). Suggesting Catalina is cursed from birth sets the scene to explain her violent nature as she grows. Indeed Catalina uses this as an excuse to rid herself of guilt or fault when she does act out. Petit's text describes the young girl throwing temper tantrums and working herself into a frenzy on more than one occasion when she does not get her way. When Águeda refuses to allow her to go to a religious procession she threatens to tear out all her hair: "[y] comenzó a tirarse los bucles con frenesí hasta sacarse un mechoncito" (Petit 1995, p.15). In order to calm her granddaughter Águeda takes hold of "las manitos salvajes" (Petit, p.15). The use of 'salvaje' in this instance is a direct reference back to Vicuña Mackenna's historical text, on which the principal argument of Petit's text is based.

The behaviour of Petit's protagonist does not conform to the expectations of her father, the church or other leaders in their patriarchal society. Gonzalo de los Ríos in desperation seeks counsel from Fray Pedro de Figueroa believing that his daughter's misconduct is a direct result of her interaction with Josefa, the African servant responsible for raising Catalina. "Mi niña parecía una pequeña loca y me

⁷ Rosa Sarabia asserts that at the time of writing her article, Petit's novel was in its twenty-seventh edition because the Chilean Ministry of Education recommended it as part of the school curriculum. The critic suggests that given this prime position in Chilean society "el apoyo oficial estaría asegurando la continuidad del mito a partir de la historiografía decimonónica y de la ficcionalización de Petit" (Sarabia 2000, p.40).

costaba grandes esfuerzos sujetarla, pues tiraba a morderme, a darme patadas, y me echaba, junto con sus miradas de odio, insultos increíbles en una boca infantil” (Petit, p.28). It is not surprising that the constant shift of blame/responsibility surrounding Catalina’s violent nature leads her to avoid assuming any self-discipline that she may learn from others. Indeed when Gonzalo attempts to remove Josefa from her life, Catalina argues that she is the only thing protecting her from demonic possession and she loses the ability to walk until Josefa is reinstated as her principal caregiver.

Like Frías’ protagonist, Petit’s Catalina is well-versed in the teachings of the church and can debate ecclesiastical issues as well as any man, much to the delight of her spiritual leaders. So knowledgeable is she in these issues that during the time she attempts to atone for her sins, she teaches catechism to the youth of Santiago. Her approach is less than pleasant however as she criticises those who remember what she teaches for not understanding the material and those who understand it for not remembering. As she discusses her attempt to conform to the expectations upon her, Fray Pedro is distracted by her “belleza extraña, casi monstruosa en sus contrastes” (Petit, p.54). The monstrous contrasts alluded to are the mix of German and indigenous blood which Vicuña Mackenna had insisted were the reason behind Catalina’s terrible crimes and Petit echoes this idea: “[l]os antepasados germanos y el cacique indio habían logrado mezclar curiosamente sus dones” (Petit, p.54). In more recent portrayals of Catalina’s tale, her indigenous heritage has come from her great-grandmother, Elvira, who is *cacica* of their tribe. Through Fray Pedro, Petit chooses to refer to the previous generation where it was Elvira’s father in charge as *cacique*, ensuring emphasis remains on the paternal and patriarchal. The indigenous servants are depicted as occupying an inferior position within Catalina’s world where they serve her every whim but have not even been taught correct Spanish. In reference to Fray Figueroa suggesting marriage as a solution for Catalina’s moral predicament due to her actions, a servant exclaims: “[d]ecían que ela milagludo el Clisto; que el padlecito Figueloa, antes de acabalo, le había pedido que liblala a amita Catalina” (Petit, p.106). Catalina’s interaction with her indigenous and African slaves is whimsical at best and the terror she instils in them for the most minor of

faults means they live in constant expectation of physical punishment or verbal berating. Her own indigenous heritage is not explored within the text other than to refer to it in the same dismissive terms in which her servants are referred to.

Much of Petit's text centres on Catalina's dependent relationship with Fray Pedro de Figueroa. Initially enthusiastic about the prospect of aiding Catalina in her atonement for past sins, the monk soon realises that he is trapped in a delicate situation in which he must tend to her every need in order to appease her temper. Catalina prefers to place all hope of her becoming the submissive, respectful young woman the society expects of her on having Fray Pedro by her side at all times. She makes this evident to him. While he tries to create distance between his advisee and he, her insistence does not allow for it. Not all clergymen are so understanding of Catalina and her supposed effort to change her behaviour and Fray Pedro and his colleagues are berated by Fray Bernardo who claims: "[s]ois todos unos mendigos de los Lisperguer. ¡Vendidos a la Quintrala!" (Petit, p.67). This is one of the few points in the text when the obvious favouritism being shown to Catalina because of her powerful, wealthy position in their society is questioned. Fray Pedro disregards his colleagues' warning, insisting that Catalina truly is making an effort to change and that he has seen improvements. Figueroa's uneasy interaction with Catalina and eventual desire to distance himself from her is explained in the closing chapters of the text when it is revealed that, as a novice monk, he was bewitched by her mother, Catalina Lisperguer, with whom he had a brief affair. Having previously held Figueroa in such high esteem that she referred to him as 'santo' or 'cristo', this revelation shakes Catalina's belief in him. She has held him on a pedestal for so long that when she learns of his youthful indiscretions she is disgusted.

Catalina's marriage to Alonso de Campofrío occurs during the text as does her brief sexual encounter with, and subsequent murder of Enrique Enríquez, caballero Del Orden de Malta, but they are secondary to her relationship with and dependence on Fray Figueroa. He is the person who visits her on her deathbed and prays for her when she passes. The epilogue, comprised of three chapters, details Catalina's prosecution for the crimes she has committed which she faces in failing

health. Justice is never carried out because death takes her before this is possible.

The third person narrator claims that

A pesar de tan imperdonables delitos, una vez más la audacia de doña Catalina, su oro, sus vínculos con los detentores del poder, lograron aplazar la sentencia de los oidores.

La muerte va a librarla ahora del tribunal de los hombres; mas tendrá que comparecer ante Dios (Petit, p.140).

The fact that the description of her prosecution in old age and eventual death is left to the epilogue of Petit's text suggests that while they are relevant aspects of the text, they are not pertinent to the primary narrative of her as la Quintrala. As la Quintrala she carries out the crimes described in the main body of the text, but it is as Catalina, the frail ageing woman, that she faces the charges brought before her and her own death.

Even though his novel does not strictly detail the life of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer, but rather her maternal ancestors, in his 1963 publication, *La tragedia de los Lisperguer*, Armando Arriaza also bases much of his historical detail on *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala*. From the introduction, the author seizes control of the novel by informing the readers of his thoughts while writing it. Before starting the fictional narrative, he sets out a caveat and guide for the reader to ensure that we understand what is expected of our reading of his text. He claims that his novel is above all “de raíz auténticamente histórica [...] Su finalidad ha sido pintar, en la forma más vívida posible, la sociedad de la época colonial, con todos sus enredos, sus problemas, sus angustias, sus pasiones, sus odios, sus entretenimientos y sus aburrimientos” (Arriaza 1963, p.5). This claim is based on the fact that the events that occur throughout the novel are influenced by the ‘historical’ text which “el gran Vicuña Mackenna” (Arriaza, p.6) presented to the Chilean people in the nineteenth century. The author defends his decision not to make Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer—to whom he refers as la Quintrala—the protagonist claiming that he did not want to further condemn the historical figure:

se ha interpretado su actuación en forma distinta de como la han aceptado otros novelistas. Aunque en apariencia esta forma la haga perder interés, no hemos querido seguir agregándole atrocidades. Por el contrario, los hechos que se han anotado, explican perfectamente sus reacciones y la defenderán de la maledicencia de las futuras generaciones (Arriaza, p.6).

Indeed, Arriaza suggests that la Quintrala was merely born into a family that was already cursed because of the women's propensity towards witchcraft and violence and peers who constantly sought to undermine its members' longstanding tradition as leaders in every aspect of their society. "Las mujeres de la familia Lisperguer cultivaron estas creencias [de brujería] en grado sumo. Y fueron estas mismas creencias las que, si bien no derrumbaron materialmente a la familia, destruyeron su reputación, provocaron el derrumbe moral" (Arriaza, p.6). Given the women's tendency towards ruining the family's reputation, Arriaza felt it more appropriate to centre his text on Pedro Lisperguer, maternal uncle of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer, "que representa al prototipo del criollo rico, poderoso, valiente y caballeroso" (Arriaza, p.5).

The Pedro who is subsequently depicted throughout the novel remains rich and powerful, but his chivalry is called into question on occasion. His devotion to his own family is unwavering to a fault. When the governor Alonso de Ribera abandons his relationship with María Lisperguer in order to marry Beatriz Fernández de Córdova y Aguilera, Juan Rodulfo, Pedro's brother challenges the governor for treating his sister in such a way. Of a similar mindset to his brother, he believes that the family's honour is paramount. "Había que defender ahora a esa mujer, no por ella, sino por la casta" (Arriaza, p.82). When Juan Rodulfo is charged for speaking out of turn to Ribera on behalf of his sister, Pedro recognises the conflict of interest that would occur were he to continue serving under the governor. For this reason he seeks a minor role in the clergy as an acolyte in order to avoid military duties. His honour does not extend to others in the way it does members of his family. While already involved with Elvira, Francisco de Toledo's wife, Pedro falls in love with Ximena, daughter of don Belarmino who runs the *sala de juegos* which Pedro frequents. At only eighteen she captivates Lisperguer's attention and he does not rest until he finally succeeds in sleeping with her the night before he leaves on a mission to Peru which lasts two years. On his return, Pedro discovers that Ximena has given birth to his son, but don Belarmino wants him to have nothing to do with their family. A marriage between Ximena and Pedro would not be accepted socially and so Belarmino decides to move his family away from Santiago. Pedro is not happy

with this situation but has little influence over the matter. Pedro soon falls in love with Florencia, the daughter of the new *oidor*, Alvarez de Solórzano, and following much opposition from civil authorities, given the difference in social class between them, he marries her. However, Pedro never feels the same level of passion for Florencia as he did for Ximena and even the child they have together does not produce the same level of excitement in him as the son he shares with Ximena.

Pedro's tale is prominent in the text, but it does not dominate it, with the lives of his sisters, particularly María and Catalina, also given some depth of discussion. With Catalina's first love abandoning her for Peru, she was left to marry Gonzalo de los Ríos in whom she seems to have very little interest, choosing to pursue a relationship with Hermano Bernardo who prefers to be called el Gran Pecador. Using herbal mixtures produced by her indigenous servants, Catalina attempts to attract and subsequently punish el Gran Pecador for not conforming to her desires. Similarly, her sister, María, engages in a relationship with Ribera who is happy to continue until she pushes for commitment and he chooses Beatriz over her. It is Catalina who encourages María to take vengeance on the governor for publicly scorning her in his choice of partner. They conspire to poison him for having dishonoured María. They are careful to share their plan with very few, even having the indigenous slave who gathers the ingredients for the poison killed so he cannot accuse them. They are soon discovered and must seek refuge in a convent in order to avoid being charged with the attempted murder of Ribera. It is during these days when Catalina Lisperguer starts to wonder if the child (Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer) she is expecting will also inherit the misfortune that seems to affect the Lisperguer children's lives. Pedro, María and Catalina are known for their violent tempers which they take out on their slaves and each has also been unlucky with the people they chose to love. Catalina asks her sister in reference to this: “¿[e]sa criatura va a heredar esta fatalidad? Sería doloroso. Se me ocurre que nos persigue a todos” (Arriaza, p.119). This is the ‘tragedia’ to which Arriaza's title refers.

María, Catalina and Pedro are aware of this ill-fate they believe follows them. The narrator theorises on the possible reasons for this stating: “[s]e hubiera dicho que en sus vidas algo se había roto o fracasado” (Arriaza, p.26). In agreement with

Vicuña Mackenna's text, there is a suggestion that the mixture of German and indigenous heritage causes this issue since "produjo, tal vez, estos temperamentos múltiples que, a causa de la ignorancia de la época, se aproximaban al primitivismo sin control" (Arriaza, pp.26-27). This is the extent that the ethnic heritage of the Lisperguers is discussed throughout the text. No more reference is made to their indigenous affiliations only to highlight the episodes when they mistreat their indigenous servants and slaves. When, following the foiled murder attempt on Ribera, Catalina dies giving birth to the child who will become known as la Quintrala, it is suggested by most that this is the fate she has met because of her ruthless nature and the horrible actions she has committed in life. On his deathbed, Gonzalo de los Ríos asks Pedro to take care of his daughter, Catalina: "[e]s tan soberbia! ¡Protéjala Ud.! Le hará pasar malos ratos. Es que tiene la sangre ardiente. Es algo como Ud." (Arriaza, p.334). Arriaza's Catalina de los Ríos is—like the many permutations before and since—rebellious, hot-tempered, vengeful and strikingly beautiful. Like the texts of previous and subsequent authors, *La tragedia de los Lisperguer* offers its own explanation for such behaviour. Pedro recognises that she is simply a victim of circumstances being born into their family and that her behaviour, were she a man, would not be noteworthy. "De ser hombre, acaso habría sido como él. Era la sangre de la raza que asomaba y que obraba en Catrala. Una simpatía profunda lo hacía inclinarse en su favor, y siempre tenía para ella una actitud perdonara" (Arriaza, p.318). Indeed even when Catalina is accused of having poisoned the chicken she fed her father on the night he died, Pedro continues to defend her and explains to his niece that this is part of life as a Lisperguer.

Esto significa que ahora entras en el grupo familiar tan temido. Eres una Lisperguer; por lo tanto, comienzas a ser víctima de los odios y de las venganzas. Este es tu primer encuentro con la incomprensión y la envidia. Pero no temas; no has quedado sola. Yo te defenderé (Arriaza, p.338).

This impression of la Quintrala rejects her agency and decision to behave in the manner she does and makes her seem helpless to any efforts to change her situation. Catalina seems to recognise this shortcoming in her uncle's supportive comment when she brusquely replies that she will learn to defend herself.

She soon gets the opportunity to exercise this decision when Enrique Enríquez, with whom she has been having a relationship, decides to leave her and marry his partner who lives in Lima. Feigning ignorance regarding the real reason he is leaving for Lima, since he has not divulged that to her, she invites him to her home one last time before he leaves. When he cannot satisfactorily explain his impending departure, she verbally attacks him and instructs him to leave her immediately. In a previously planned operation, three of Catalina's servants attack the soldier as he leaves her house. They believe they have left him unconscious but they have in fact killed him. In keeping with family tradition, Pedro encourages one of his slaves to accept blame for the death of Enríquez in order to save his niece from being hanged. Catalina, however, is distraught by the events and loses all belief in their society and its expectations upon her. She feels betrayed and vows to revolt:

Queda un agudo rencor dentro de mí. He sido engañada en mi primera ilusión. La maldad de la gente la he sentido pronto a raíz de la muerte de mi padre. Mi vida está despedazada. Siempre Catalina será cruel y perversa. Lo será para todos, y es posible que ese sea mi camino. Hay fatalidades que vienen solas. Nadie se fija en eso, y no amengua su maldad ni suaviza el castigo. Ahora en mi alma ha nacido el rencor. Rencor contra todos. Todo ha muerto en mi corazón. Nunca podré amar a nadie. [...] tengo mucho que castigar. Todos esos indios que han declarado en mi contra sufrirán su castigo. Nada quiero. [...] La sobrina de don Pedro Lisperguer, tío, no se humilla. Al contrario. Desde hoy desprecio a toda esa sociedad, y haré lo que yo quiera. ¡Seré libre! (Arriaza, pp.357-358).

She willingly embraces the hatred and anger within her and since the people of Santiago will not give her the benefit of the doubt regarding her actions—even though she certainly is at fault—she decides to publicly assume the role which has been externally imposed upon her. Like her mother and her aunt before her, she blames her misfortune on exterior events of which she has no fault. This fatalistic attitude which Arriaza explains as the “tragedia de los Lisperguer” is not limited to the women of the family. Throughout the text Pedro expresses frustration with events not working out as he would like them to, despite him not making any effort to ensure they do.

Dissatisfied with the trajectory of his life, Pedro chooses to abandon his family and duties in Santiago to look for Ximena and their son, Pedro. He feels that

he, like his siblings and nieces, has been given a raw deal in life as a result of being Lisperguers.

Ahora comprendía el alma insatisfecha de su hermana Catalina. Todos la supieron cruel, vengativa. Pero nadie miró hacia el interior de su alma, donde velaba el cadáver de un anhelo pasional fracasado. Y la muerte la encontró junto al hombre que no era el que buscaba su deseo. Cegada, obsesionada, quiso arrancar a la vida sus secretos; al destino, sus designios, y cayó en las redes de la brujería indígena. Huella fatal, que debió seguir también doña María, la infeliz amadora del Gobernador Ribera [...] La última en rodar era la pobre Quintrala, que debía recibir el golpe más fuerte. Ella quiso rebelarse contra la fatalidad, contra la marca del destino, y más dura fue la reacción. Entre ella y su vida, estaba ahora el cadáver del único hombre que amó (Arriaza, p.368).

Despite the cruel actions and vicious tempers of his sisters and niece, Pedro still pities them, believing them innocent of any wrongdoing. La Quintrala is considered the most pitiful of all: a poor helpless young woman who has lost the man she loves—by accidentally having him killed—and has received a more severe level of criticism from her contemporaries because she is the daughter of Catalina Lisperguer y Flores. Arriaza's text then does very little to question the cruel acts carried out by the historical figure and in its fictional account displaces blame from her and her family members, nominating them unfortunate heirs of the Lisperguer monetary wealth and emotional misfortune. Nor does it engage thoroughly with the ethnic heritage of the Lisperguers, only to suggest as Vicuña Mackenna's text did that their mix of German and indigenous heritage may have been a likely explanation for their actions. The discussion of indigenous heritage is limited to the use and abuse that the Lisperguers' slaves face under their dominance. There is no focus placed on their shared heritage. The Lisperguers' status as *criollos* leans strongly away from indigenous lineage and towards the European.

In her text *La Quintrala en la literatura chilena*, Ivonne Cuadra highlights *La tragedia sexual de la Quintrala* (1966) by Olga Arratia as a text that differs from the others since hers seeks to psychoanalyse the reasons for which la Quintrala carries

out the crimes she does⁸. Cuadra explains the unusual approach taken in the structure of the text: “desarrolla una obra en donde existe una mezcla de ensayo, psicoanálisis y ficción” (Cuadra 1999, p.25). She claims that each of these narrative elements was “en boga durante la época de su publicación, se manipulan en el texto para construir un sujeto narrativo que cuestiona el papel del padre y la ausencia de la madre en la construcción de la leyenda” (Cuadra, p.25). The psychological approach proposes a justification for two murders that la Quintrala carried out, those of her father and her lover, Enrique Henríquez. Cuadra explains the necessity to engage with psychoanalysis in studying Arratia’s text since there is a clear suggestion that the Oedipus Complex as elaborated by Freud inspires the author’s explanation for murder and parricide (Cuadra, p.126). Choosing a phallogentric approach to explaining la Quintrala’s sexuality, is in Cuadra’s opinion, a shortcoming in Arratia’s text (Cuadra, p.130), but the critic does applaud the author’s attempt to construct a subject that is closer to Catalina rather than la Quintrala (Cuadra, p.132). Despite a clear rupture from previous representation where the historical aspect of the character is suspended in a psychoanalytic approach to explaining her crimes, Cuadra suggests that Arratia still does not make la Quintrala the subject of her narrative: “el personaje de La Quintrala no logra una voz propia; sigue siendo más bien un objeto de la narración” (Cuadra, p.132).

Doña Catalina: Un reino para la Quintrala (1972) by Lautaro Yankas (Manuel Soto Morales) is narrated in the third person and is divided into three parts: the first detailing the life of Catalina Lisperguer y Flores, mother of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer (la Quintrala); the second introducing Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer and her crimes of passion as a child and a young woman; the third and final section detailing her marriage and the crimes she carried out against lovers and servants until her death. While details taken from Vicuña Mackenna’s nineteenth-century publication are evident in this text, it diverges from previous fictional

⁸ Having been unsuccessful in obtaining a copy of this text prior to submission, we are dependent on Cuadra’s mediated discussion of Arratia’s text.

accounts of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer's life since it caters to the author's engagement with the *indigenismo* literary movement. Gloria Videla de Rivero describes this as "la tendencia literaria que denuncia la opresión social del indio y procura su reivindicación" (Videla de Rivero 1989, p.44)⁹. In Yankas' depiction of seventeenth-century Chile, an effort is made to introduce several characters of both indigenous and African descent. Remaining true to the colonial times, the indigenous and African characters are slaves of the Lisperguers and the other ruling families who were descendents of the conquistadores. The abuses carried out against the servants by their masters and mistresses are narrated in great detail, with Catalina Lisperguer y Flores and Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer culpable for the majority of such extreme acts.

In Vicuña Mackenna's text, as in Petit's, blame for Catalina's wicked behaviour was placed firmly on the fact that she was a woman of German and indigenous heritage. Renowned for his *indigenista* works, Yankas interestingly chooses not to focus on Catalina's indigenous heritage as part of his depiction of her vicious crimes, rather he places the blame for her horrendous treatment of her subordinates and lovers on the power she wields as a wealthy *encomendera*, distancing her from the indigenous cause.

Desde muchacha ella hizo su capricho en los juegos inocentes, y en las travesuras excitantes concebidas con los hijos de los esclavos indios o negros. Atestiguando el poder ciego de sus padres y parientes, conoció el martirologio de aquella gente infeliz (Yankas 1972, p.108).

Her sense of entitlement over the lives and time of her servants is shocking in Yankas' text. She demands their presence at a whim and will do what she likes with them. When she is not severely punishing a servant through torture for minute

⁹ Laura Giraudo and Stephen E. Lewis describe *indigenismo* as "a diverse political, economic, and cultural movement that celebrated indigenous people and their traditions, on the one hand, but usually also called for their modernization, assimilation, and 'improvement', on the other" (p.3). Both authors insist that there were many varieties of *indigenismo* to suit the requirements of the various groups who utilised it throughout the Americas and that "it was always subject to larger political and social contexts" (Giraudo and Lewis 2012, p.4).

For further discussion on the history of this movement see (Giraudo 2012).

mistakes, she is forcing the men to satisfy her sexual needs regardless of their resistance or marital status. It is particularly this lascivious nature that leads the narrator to infer that the reasons for Catalina's behaviour are not restricted to the level of socioeconomic control she has, but also the fact that she has made a pact with the Devil. The clergymen are particularly worried about saving her soul. Hearing stories of her violent and sexually aggressive nature, they make daily visits to her home from early in her life. "El Diablo tiene entrada en esa casa y la niña Catita comulgará con él vestido de fraile" (Yankas, p.63). While still a very young woman, Catalina is imprisoned with her aunt, Magdalena, and grandmother, Águeda, for carrying out crimes against their servants. She is only set free when she agrees to marry Alonso de Campofrío, a captain in the Spanish army. Her violent nature is only temporarily appeased by this union and Catalina soon returns to her old ways, disregarding warnings from her husband. In a moment of desperation, Alonso confides in a neighbour stating "[d]oña Catalina, a quien Dios libre del tormento eterno, padece de la carne y del alma, que aquí en la tierra nadie puede curar sino por milagro" (Yankas, p.145). The only sense of remorse exhibited by Yankas' protagonist is when she realises her young son is dying and she feels that her prior actions are responsible for his early demise. This guilt soon passes leaving no remnants in her remaining years. This incident aside, the opinion of her, "[n]o es criatura humana" (Yankas, p.174), remains constant throughout the text: "[l]a Quintrala de La Ligua chupa la vida y la sangre de los indios, que mueren sin amparo. [...] La Quintrala es planta del Demonio" (Yankas, p.183). This description likens the protagonist to someone with vampire-like tendencies, building on the origin of her nickname that comes from the parasitic plant, *el quintral*. Yankas constructs a Catalina who is highly sexualised and brutally violent with no consideration for others. With the list of offences that she carries out against her subordinates and lovers never ending, there is little room to develop further dimensions to her character in a meaningful way.

Other texts which have been published within the same timeframe as the texts studied in this thesis, but which are not included in depth are José M. Mínguez' *Acuarela sangrienta («La Quintrala»)* (1995), Virginia Vidal's *Oro, veneno, puñal*

(2002) and Juanita Gallardo's *Herencia de fuego* (2003). José M. Mínguez, native to Huesca, Spain, opens his text with a quote from Vicuña Mackenna's *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala*, setting the tone for the pages that follow. Given the wide-ranging availability of Petit's *La Quintrala*, and the close relationship that has already been established between the Chilean author's novel and the historical work by Vicuña Mackenna, it is unsurprising that Mínguez' text reproduces many of the same events and tropes that *La Quintrala* illustrated in the first half of the twentieth century. The principal point at which these texts part ways is in Mínguez naming his protagonist Catalina, and retaining this throughout the text until the epilogue, where she becomes la Quintrala. This contrasts with Petit's text which focuses on the legend Quintrala. As in Petit's text, the transgressive nature of the protagonist is blamed on her being cursed. Catalina Lisperguer dies at childbirth due to "una 'contra' que no se puede vencer" (Mínguez 1995, p.13) which la Josefa, her servant is convinced is "[e]l castigo de Dios, misiá, de cuando doña Catalina nos hizo ayudarla para embrujar al mocito aquel" (Mínguez, p.14). This leaves Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer to be raised by Josefa, with whom she forms a strong bond, and who promises her at birth: "yo te protegeré con doble cariño ahora" (Mínguez, p.14).

Contrary to many of the versions discussed, but in line with Petit's narrative, Mínguez' Gonzalo de los Ríos expresses genuine concern for his daughter and a desire to help her. Enlisting the help of Fray Pedro de Figueroa, he claims, "os supongo enterado a medias del objeto de mis preocupaciones. Es mayor la angustia de cuanto puedo expresar... ¡está en juego mi hija!" (Mínguez, p.34). The text focuses on de Figueroa's attempts to guide Catalina spiritually and her increasing dependence on and admiration for him, which is destroyed when she discovers that as a novice, he had a brief affair with her mother (Mínguez, p.92). References to gender and ethnicity are limited, with the patriarchal order firmly reproduced in Mínguez' work. Brief reference is made to Catalina's hybrid heritage when the priest contemplates her.

[S]us facciones son bellas sí, pero hay una mefistofélica combinación de la barbilla en punta con las cejas oblicuas, todo ello bajo la furiosa llamarada de la cabellera *colorina*, en violento contraste con la tez cobriza. Y luego los ojos; aquellos ojos de un verde esmeralda, reflejo de relumbres malignas... Todo es obra de una naturaleza capaz de mezclar rasgos tan dispares

como los antepasados germanos –de su apellido: Lisperguer- con la sangre de un cacique indio de Talagante” (Mínguez, p.75).

As in Yankas’ text, Mínguez’ the principal reference to non-European characters—predominantly of indigenous and African origin—occurs in the situation of the protagonist mistreating her slaves (Mínguez, p.128).

Vidal’s *Oro, veneno, puñal* spans the life of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer, although the focus does not always remain on her. It is narrated in the third person with Catalina’s perspective presented through direct speech only. Those close to the protagonist indiscriminately alternate between Catalina and la Quintrala when addressing her or referring to her, unlike Frías’ and Valdivieso’s text where conscious distinctions are made between Catalina, the woman, and la Quintrala, the mythical figure. In apparent recognition of Valdivieso’s text which challenged previous representations of Catalina, Vidal uses *dicen que* in the chapters of her text in which conversations among several men in Santiago discuss the latest rumours surrounding Catalina’s life and actions. “Dicen que en su espejo puede ver el pasado, el presente y el futuro” (Vidal 2002, p.12). In these sections there are several speakers, though it is not always clear who is speaking in any given moment. The message expressed seems to be more significant than the person delivering it.

Vidal’s text focuses on Catalina’s involvement with witchcraft and her participation in this aspect of seventeenth-century Chilean society. She is simultaneously feared and a source of intrigue to the people of Santiago as a result. Similar to the texts produced before Vidal’s—excluding those studied in this thesis—Catalina’s violence is explored and her heritage, in particular her maternal heritage, is blamed for her crimes. There is a general discussion of the Araucanian War from a Eurocentric perspective in the text, which depicts some of the ethnic diversity present in their society, but this elaboration is not as detailed as in Valdivieso’s and Frías’ texts. Catalina’s position as representational of the ethnic identities in Chile is also limited. In his fits of rage against his young daughter, Gonzalo de los Ríos calls her “[z]amba Catrala, tornatrás, nieta de un negro y de una picunche’ [...] ‘Hija y nieta de indias”” (Vidal 2002, p.25). The suggestion of African ancestry here is likely to relate more to Catalina’s close relationship with her

African slave, Ramona, who has raised her from birth. There is no suggestion in the text that Catalina is of any ancestry other than indigenous or European. Gonzalo intends this as an insult to his daughter in an attempt to force her to behave 'properly', however, Vidal's protagonist clearly states "jamás me he sentido afrentada por mis raíces, al contrario, pues estoy orgullosa de mi abuela" (Vidal, p.55). The omniscient narrator also describes the diversity of indigenous groups still present in colonial Chile despite the Spanish attempt to enforce unilateral domination on these groups which they refer to under the umbrella term of *araucanos*. The heterogeneous illustration is as nuanced as Frías' series in its depiction of the many ethnic groups. There is a celebration of the indigenous people, despite their diverse ancestry, using *mapuzungun* as a common language to interact in collusion against the Spanish invaders.

Aunque eran pueblos diversos, picunche, pehuenche, mapuche, huilliche, algunos sedentarios y otros, nómades, por ese uso de la lengua común, los españoles, como quien dice los metieron en un mismo saco y les dieron a todos el nombre de araucanos. Y esa unidad de la lengua, más el secreto, pero eficaz método de comunicarse utilizando signos proporcionados por la naturaleza misma, así fueren la imitación de voces de los pájaros o señas con un animal muerto o unas ramas quebradas, les permitía el veloz transporte de las noticias e instructivos entre sí (Vidal, p.38).

Although some sixty years have passed since the arrival of the conquistadores to Chile the indigenous people remain strong in their resistance to domination and the European members of society are still uncomfortable with the cultural mixing that started with the conquest. This is made evident in Don Diego la Zarza's comment when speaking about *mestizas* he has seen:

—La otra era, con perdón de Dios, de cabello rubio, como una estampa, pero cariancha, frente estrecha, de cejas e inmensos ojos muy negros y color de trigo tostado... Y no supe distinguir si era una española morena o una india rubia (Vidal, p.130).

With this observation, Vidal's text succeeds in elaborating the anxieties that exist in this situation of cultural hybridity. To la Zarza, it is imperative that he identify if he is conversing with 'una española morena' or 'una india rubia' because only in this way does he know how he should treat them. In his mind, which could be representative of the society in question, there is a social hierarchy based on ethnicity

to which he must adhere. Being incapable of recognising the precise heritage of someone makes this process more difficult.

Questions of gender identities are not central to Vidal's text either. However, some specific sections merit analysis in the context of this thesis. The patriarchal order of their society has dictated what is and is not appropriate to discuss in relation to women and their activities. Catalina of *Oro, veneno, puñal* is not given the precise cause of her mother's death but believes it was due to complications giving birth. She criticises the lack of transparency exclaiming "[n]unca he entendido esa costumbre de tanto secreteam alrededor del cuerpo de la mujer" (Vidal, p.28). This issue of secrecy surrounding women's bodies appears to be an implicit recognition of similar arguments presented in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* when the protagonist is criticised for publicly celebrating the start of her menstruation. Catalina's uniquely powerful position in her society as *cacica* of her tribe and descendent of European conquistadores is recognised and discussed in Vidal's text.

Ella tenía muy clara la importancia de su linaje, del poder de su familia y de su valer ante la sociedad. No ha habido nadie que se le compare en poder, heredado de su abuela, reconocida por la Corona como propietaria y dignataria, lo cual es un fuero personal para hacer y deshacer vidas y fortunas en sus propias tierras (Vidal, p.220).

Knowledge of this unique position encourages Catalina to transgress societal norms imposed on her as a woman. She disregards the strict expectations upon her, fuelling the gossip mongers. The discussion that surrounds Catalina's flouting of rules is nuanced in a manner reminiscent of Frías' text. Some men discussing her actions recognise that were she a man in that same society, her behaviour would not be considered excessive or disruptive. According to Joan Canudos, Catalina consolidates the existing power structures.

Ni subversión ni trasgresión ni resquebrajamiento del orden ni quebranto de las reglas se advierten en los actos de la Quintrala. Ella no altera el orden: lo consolida. Ella no traiciona usos ni costumbres ni régimen, pues todos sus actos no consiguen sino asentarlos (Vidal, p.221).

He sees her actions as reinforcing the standards established by the hierarchy in their society. His position surprises many and when he is challenged, asked if he believes

she merely limited herself to exercising the power afforded to her in their society, he clarifies the fact that a man in her position would not come under such scrutiny.

–Ni más ni menos que cualquier varón con poder de nuestro tiempo y en esta tierra... Podéis pensar que la sociedad toda, una sociedad unida y bien consolidada junto a su más alta jerarquía, la ha protegido, la ha resguardado. [...] la religión católica, como nunca en este siglo, ha acentuado su rasgo distintivo de perdón y olvido... En cuanto a la impunidad, nada es casual (Vidal, p.221).

Canudos' remarks serve to undermine the accepted arguments in their society by illustrating the nuances that are not always considered. He explains Catalina's impunity through her social standing and suggests that this should be no more shocking than were the same injustice carried out in favour of a man in her position. Sancho Villafranca, unconvinced by his colleague's argument suggests that surely her lustful ways deserve reprimand. He is asked to consider “–¿[a]caso es mayor que la de los soldados violadores, los doctrineros violadores, que la de otros poderosos, pero varones?” (Vidal, p.222). Regardless of the supposed reasons as to why Catalina should be condemned for her actions, Canudos strongly rejects the position offered based on her being a woman. In this way, Vidal's text contributes strongly to the debate surrounding the use of *la Quintrala* to engage with issues of gender in Chilean society. Neither Valdivieso's text nor Frías' take these explicit steps to point out a very obvious flaw in the patriarchal argument for the suppression of Catalina in their society. While they do indicate implicitly that the criticism of her based on her gender is faulty, Vidal's text is the only one which overtly states this shortcoming in the androcentric rationale. However, despite the significance of these points, they are the only parts of the novel relevant to the discussion and for that reason Vidal's novel does not form part of the deeper analysis in this thesis.

Juanita Gallardo chooses to focus her tale, *Herencia de fuego* (2003), on life in Chile and within the Lisperguer family, around the time in which Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer, who in subsequent histories becomes the most renowned of all the Lisperguer clan, is born. While Catalina de los Ríos is not the protagonist, Gallardo uses her elaboration of the Lisperguer y Flores family to question some aspects of gender and ethnicity. Published in the same year as Frías' second instalment of *Tres nombres para Catalina*, it brings a new perspective to this

momentous period in Chilean history illustrating the development of the Lisperguer y Flores family within Santiago's society. Despite it being a fictional work, the author provides a bibliography of texts to which she referred in order to recreate her version of the early part of seventeenth-century Chile. These texts include historical texts from the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries relating to this time period, among which Vicuña Mackenna's is found. Like Arriaza's text, there are some obvious references to the nineteenth-century historian's text, but unlike her twentieth-century compatriot, Gallardo chooses to place the Flores women at the centre of the text. In her acknowledgements, the author pays special tribute to sor Imelda Cano for having written *La mujer en el reino de Chile* the text from which she sourced most of the information about the women of the period and she also thanks the historical women characters for allowing her make use of their stories in order to strengthen the novel, leaving the reader under no illusion as to the purpose of her text.

Águeda Flores and her daughter María are the principal characters in this story alongside the newly-appointed governor, Alonso de Ribera. Since Pedro Lisperguer—father of Pedro, Fadrique, Juan Rodulfo, Catalina and María—has been in Peru for many years trying to confirm a royal title to which he feels entitled but which has not yet been awarded to him, Águeda Flores, his wife, has assumed the role as matriarch of the family. She initially rejects this position, but in the absence of her husband and on seeing the family requires somebody to guide it, she eventually takes on this position willingly, proud to hold a position which is usually associated with men. She recognises that this shift is not favoured by the church, “[l]os curas no soportan que los más pudientes de estos lares seamos mujeres. Y para colmo, sin una gota de sangre española” (Gallardo 2003, p.199). The symbolic shift in the family's power dynamics comes when Águeda takes her husband's place at the head of their table which for so long was left vacant in his absence. This is simply a formality since her daughters are always referred to as 'las Flores', despite the fact that “[s]iempre había exigido que sus hijos llevarsen el apellido Lisperguer, pero la gente, sabiendo que ella era la poseedora de la fortuna de la familia, insistía en borrar el nombre del padre” (Gallardo, p.24). The people of Santiago consider

Águeda the true leader of her family and their society, despite her best efforts to include her husband's position.

No longer dependent on her husband to achieve the plans she has for the family, Águeda decides to seek the favour of de Ribera in her ongoing dispute with the church over land she owns. In order to garner the support of the governor on the matter, Águeda encourages her daughter, María—who is married but has abandoned her husband in Lima—to seduce de Ribera. A delicate dance of expectations in relation to appropriate exhibitions of masculinities and femininities ensues. Before recognising the benefits for the family of such an alliance, Águeda firstly discourages María's flirtation with the governor stating “[e]s muy serio para ti”, to which her daughter responds “[p]ero más varonil que mi marido” (Gallardo, p.69). De Ribera's virile nature is considered an important quality which María feels she missed out on with her own husband. On one of the few occasions that the governor exhibits this ‘manliness’, to which María is unashamedly attracted, María is aroused “al ver a su don Alonso bien plantado, con los cojones tan bien puestos. Con un hombre como él junto a ella, jamás tendría que preocuparse de buscar protección ajena” (Gallardo, p.148). In this instance, Gallardo's María seems to qualify her self-worth and societal positioning directly with her relationship to him. De Ribera also blames the distraction of his relationship with María for his failure to fulfil his responsibilities. On realising that due to his infatuation with her he has not concentrated on his duties as governor, he decides to sever ties with her. “Comprender que María lo había vuelto inerte, que su felicidad dependía de ella, se le hizo insostenible. No permitiría ni un minuto más estar a merced de una mujer que [...] pretendiese mantenerlo en ascuas. Era una promesa” (Gallardo, p.153). His facile default to blame María for his failure to fulfil his duties reflects the general male consensus of their society which states that women are not to be trusted. When Alonso de Ribera formally breaks ties with María by contracting marriage with Inés de Aguilera while he is fighting in the South of the country, both María and Águeda are furious. The former ashamed for being used and discarded when she no longer serves her purpose and the latter because this rupture with the family means they will no longer have the support of the governor in her case against the church. She

reprimands her daughter for having taken precautions against pregnancy, convinced that had she become pregnant it would force the governor to stay with her. María also worries what her brothers will say of her relationship. She believes the fact that they have each fathered children with indigenous women while at war is irrelevant since they are men and “ésas eran vicisitudes para enorgullecer a los varones, no a las mujeres” (Gallardo, p.111).

Just like the protagonists of Valdivieso’s and Frías’ texts, María’s character is used to illustrate the tensions that exist between societal expectations of women in this period of Chilean history and the female-lived reality. Gallardo utilises the interactions between María and Alonso de Ribera to provide a more complex commentary on the various forms of masculinities and femininities being exhibited. María, though angry that she has not been invited to accompany Alonso on his military mission in the South, still considers herself more important than the concubine who does accompany him and also Inés whom he later marries. News of de Ribera having lost his concubine in a bet while on military duties is met with moral indignation on María’s part: “[q]ue un hombre poderoso como él apostase a su mujer, era señal de que en el sur la moralidad poco importaba” (Gallardo, p.167). The blame, is not squarely placed on de Ribera either, the suggestion is that he has only done such a thing because in the South, there is a lower moral threshold. While they are in a relationship, there is constant contrast between Alonso’s commentary to María regarding her style of dress and what he is thinking. He reprimands her for dressing provocatively and displaying her cleavage, but this is also one of the qualities that most attracts him to her. Later when he meets María for the first time after marrying Inés, he apologises for not having chosen her and qualifies his decision stating “[u]sted se me puso difícil”, agregó, perdiendo la mirada en las profundidades de su escote” (Gallardo, p.204). She tempted him too much which did not allow him to fulfil his duties effectively as governor. Her transgressive behaviour meant she was never going to be a suitable wife for him, even if she were not married. So sincere is de Ribera’s criticism of provocative dresses, that he declares a strict dress code for the people of Santiago which is relevant throughout the year, day or night, in public or private: “a las señoras solo les estaba permitido usar trajes

negros de cuello subido y gorgueras de encajes blancos y a los señores, trajes también negros y golillas de lino almidonado” (Gallardo, pp.201-202). In de Ribera’s opinion, they have lost the sense of style and civilisation which the Spanish brought during the conquest and there is a need to reinforce these ideas again.

Gallardo’s text, set at the start of the seventeenth century takes place during a particularly violent point in the Spanish/indigenous clash over land and material wealth. Having tentatively secured the land around Santiago, the *conquistadores* continue their attempt to colonise in the Southern parts of the country where the indigenous groups prove more resistant than others they have encountered. The daily happenings discussed in *Herencia de fuego* are set against this wider historical event. The main reference then to cultural interaction between the various ethnicities in play comes in the form of violent clashes in defence of or usurpation of land. Despite the Lisperguer y Flores’ mixed heritage, most emphasis is placed on their German lineage and how that sets Águeda’s children and grandchildren apart as tall, strong redheads. Despite her mother being *cacica* of Talagante, Águeda prefers her European roots and is embarrassed by her mother’s so-called barbaric approaches to life. The principal indigenous element in the Lisperguer y Flores family comes from Elvira, *cacica* of Talagante, whom Gallardo thanks in her acknowledgements “por dejarse resucitar” (Gallardo, p.253). When the *cacica* arrives to visit Águeda and her family, Águeda is immediately worried how her mother’s presence and behaviour will affect her social standing. On seeing María’s son, Lucas, all but abandoned by his elders, Elvira decides to take him under her wing and teach him about his indigenous ancestors. Águeda responds by taking her grandson to mass claiming that “ni muerte iba a permitir que la Cacia le llenara la mente de ideas sepultadas por el tiempo” (Gallardo, p.36). With the *conquistadores*’ arrival in Chile still within living memory, Águeda’s complete dismissal of the practices being buried is excessive. Perhaps in her desire to progress through European society, she hastens to deny all other influences that came before. This is in stark contrast to Águeda Flores of Frías’ and Valdivieso’s text who was one of the principal instructors in the indigenous faith and traditions for the protagonists. Gallardo’s Águeda recognises that

Como toda la gente de la tierra, su madre vivía en el presente y de cara al pasado, que se desplegaba con luces y sombras ante su vista. En cambio ella, doña Águeda Flores, hacía esfuerzos por vivir al modo de los cristianos, mirando hacia el vacío y dejando a sus espaldas lo acontecido (Gallardo, p.38).

This tendency to always look to the future and never appreciate what they have at that point or to learn from past events means that the Europeans will never be satisfied with what they have. Elvira also refuses to speak Spanish in her house, adopt the religion, dress or cooking traditions of the European *conquistadores*, much to the chagrin of her daughter Águeda who no longer feels a connection with her indigenous roots.

¿Cómo decirle que a ellas nada las unía a los indios del sur?, pensaba doña Águeda. En primer término, eran de estirpe cuzqueña y por lo demás, representaban tres generaciones de mujeres que habían vivido vidas opulentas, pero muy diferentes. Sus hijas, a pesar de su apariencia germana, pasaban por perfectas españolas casadas con españoles y eran madres de súbditos del Rey de España. Y así debe ser (Gallardo, p.47).

Águeda's depiction of their ancestry as "de estirpe cuzqueña" is a reminder that long before the arrival of the Spanish, Northern Chile was initially conquered by the Incas, illustrating a heterogeneous reality that contradicts her attempt to normalise and conform to Eurocentric norms. She has organised their family and its social interaction around improving these established relationships and continuing their high social standing. Alonso de Ribera is the only character with the external perspective of a Spaniard sent from Europe to rule there who can see the contradictory relationship that the people of Santiago have with the indigenous people: "le intrigaba la peculiaridad de las gentes del reino de enorgullecerse por descender de los mismos indios a los que destripaban en los campos de batalla y tomaban de esclavos para hacerlos trabajar la tierra" (Gallardo, p.89). Águeda rejects with all her might her indigenous heritage and sends her sons to war to fight against them and has indigenous slaves, but some of the slaves that work for the Lisperguer y Flores family are relatives of theirs. It is the indigenous tradition that allows Catalina and María to poison the governor and it is Elvira's knowledge of indigenous medicine that saves his life. While Gallardo's text does not portray such a detailed, multifarious depiction of the ethnic identities in play during this period as Frías'

series does, comments like that made by de Ribera indicate an awareness of further unexplored realities¹⁰.

Challenging Literary Tradition: The Primary Texts

Mercedes Valdivieso's *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* and Gustavo Frías' *Tres nombres para Catalina* series stand out from the texts previously discussed in their approach to telling this well-known tale. Firstly, in a process of demythification, both authors make clear distinctions between Catalina, the woman, and la Quintrala, the legendary figure, through referring to their protagonist strictly as Catalina. In Valdivieso's text, la Quintrala is primarily used by others in the *dicen que* sections to refer to Catalina, and in Frías' novel, the moniker only arises in the prologue to the final volume of the tetralogy, *La Quintrala*, which is published at the end of *La doña de Campofrío*. This technique furthers the humanising efforts the authors have taken to revive the historical figure, distinguishing her from the legend of la Quintrala and all the negative connotations that have come with that. The powerful re-presentations of the protagonist force a reassessment of the stories previously told and encourage a renewed narrative which allows the various identities in play to be renegotiated and considered. As discussed previously, these are aspects that previous authors' representations did not engage with in great detail. This thesis is interested in these modern reworkings of la Quintrala's tale for what they can show of our understanding of colonial society, and for the way in which the authors view modern Chile as a postcolonial product of the colonial period depicted, where gender and ethnicity continue to generate widespread debate.

Contrary to other permutations, these texts have Catalina as a protagonist and she is also the principal narrator of each. The fact that Catalina is the subject of the

¹⁰ Frías is author of another novel, *El inquisidor: Un origen para la leyenda* (2008), which is also set in this historical period. It is not included here because Catalina is not a significant character in the text. While it touches upon ethnic and gender identities, it focuses predominately on the relationship between the church and monarchy and the infighting between factions of the church which do not fall under the purview of this thesis.

narratives brings a novel element which allows the authors to delve further into their fictional representation of this historical figure. Where on occasion, in previous texts, the reader would know Catalina's position solely through direct speech, with the first-person narrator, there is more scope to develop a complex character. The multifarious development of the protagonists and secondary characters in the work of each author allows for in-depth analysis of gender identities and ethnicities.

Narrative structure is one of the key elements that sets the texts apart from other texts published which narrate the tale of la Quintrala or Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer. In their deconstruction of the Quintrala myth and reimagining of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer, both authors explore the possibilities and pitfalls of narrating Catalina's story from her perspective. Given the prolonged emphasis on the *maldita* nature of the protagonist—both historically and fictionally—there was an interest on the part of both authors to express new ways of viewing the colonial period in which she lived and in particular the perceived truths regarding hierarchies in gender and ethnic relations. In his collection of essays, *El concepto de ficción*, Juan José Saer suggests that fiction creates space for questioning and contesting supposed truths in a more nuanced fashion than that which is afforded in other forms of discourse. According to Saer:

no se escriben ficciones para eludir, por inmadurez o irresponsabilidad, los rigores que exige el tratamiento de la 'verdad', sino justamente para poner en evidencia el carácter complejo de la situación, carácter complejo del que el tratamiento limitado a lo verificable implica una reducción abusiva y un empobrecimiento. Al dar un salto hacia lo inverificable, la ficción multiplica al infinito las posibilidades del tratamiento (Saer 2012, p.11).

The fictional texts under consideration here enrich the possible perspectives of their plots through creating polyphonic accounts of the events.

A radical disruption occurred in the chronological development of Catalina's narrative in 1991 with the publication of Mercedes Valdivieso's *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*. It challenges the suggestions made by the texts previously discussed regarding Catalina as an inherently evil person, whether through her own fault or not. The author states: “[h]abía que ver en esta mujer el porqué ningún personaje puede ser la síntesis de la maldad” (cited in Maack 1991, p.VII). Cuadra asserts that Valdivieso's re-imagining of Catalina's story “ofrece además una total

desmitificación de la leyenda: en su texto todas las características negativas se transforman en herramientas de poder. [...] Valdivieso le asigna características positivas al hecho de ser bruja, mujer y mestiza” (Cuadra 1999, p.25). Having been depicted in a predominately negative light hitherto, the reader is now offered an inverted storyline wherein all that was formerly considered negative about Catalina is positive, and vice versa. Mariechien Euler Carmona suggests that the hybrid nature of her character is closely linked to the hybridity of the nation.

Mito e historia configuran la identidad del personaje, marcada por los signos negativos de la moralidad nacional, construida, esta última, de retazos: catolicismo, mestizaje, bastardía. La novela pone en juego estos tres motivos constituyendo así la identidad de la protagonista y de la nación, seres híbridos desde sus orígenes (Euler Carmona 1999, p.350).

This connection between Catalina and the nation has always been obvious in previous depictions of her, but in Valdivieso’s text the connotations are inverted. Rebecca Lee suggests that this is most obvious in the author’s decision to entitle her text *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, the opposite of God’s hailing of Mary, ‘Bendita eres tú entre todas las mujeres’ in the Bible. Lee suggests that giving this phrase prime position as title of the novel diminishes the power of the negative words and provides them with new meaning. “In choosing a derogatory classification as the title of her revisionist narrative, the author works to bring awareness to the normalizing mechanism of patriarchy at the same time that she subverts it” (Lee 2007, p.113). Raquel Olea states that breaking the dichotomy of good and evil to which the feminine in la Quintrala’s story has been previously reduced “son los gestos políticos feministas de esta ficción que interroga lo ‘otro’ en la historia de una mujer reducida al margen de lo aceptado, significada como maldita por la ley patriarcal, por la ley imperial que ordenaba la colonia” (Olea 1998, p.107). Montecino indicates a strength in Valdivieso’s text is that it does not resort to madness, death or imprisonment to portray Catalina, “sino que la formula en la propuesta de un cambio que sin embargo no rompe la institucionalidad, más bien repacta con ella” (Montecino 1993a, p.228). This feminist retelling is of an indigenous matriarchy that displaces men of European descent, in particular, to the peripheries of power which has long been the position of women. Guerra suggests that “[p]ara la perspectiva feminista de Mercedes

Valdivieso, las perversiones de la Quintrala no responden a lo demoníaco, sino al impulso positivo de transgredir el orden patriarcal” (Guerra 1998, p.57).

A decade later, Gustavo Frías began publishing his tetralogy, *Tres nombres para Catalina*. The first two texts, *Catrala* (2001) and *La doña de Campofrío* (2003) detail the development of their protagonist as she becomes an adult, has several lovers, enjoys the social life afforded to her because of her socio-economic standing, assumes her position as leader of her tribe and marries Alonso de Campofrío. The major events discussed help shape her transition from Catrala, the young and somewhat innocent girl, to being identified as the wife of Campofrío to eventually becoming the mythical protagonist, *la Quintrala*, in the final volume that has yet to be published. Frías’ *Catalina*, like Valdivieso’s, favours her indigenous heritage and relates more frequently to it rather than the European culture. There is a strong indication in *Catrala* that she has already made this choice and this is reinforced in *La doña de Campofrío* where a third of the novel, which spans over 700 pages, is dedicated to describing the rituals surrounding her becoming a *cacica* of the tribe. Frías’ novels, though challenging similar assumptions to those evoked in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, do so in a more nuanced fashion than Valdivieso’s text which, in order to criticise the existing Eurocentric patriarchy, depicts an indigenous-led matriarchy with all the same pitfalls. In this way, the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series offers a more complex portrayal of the colonial society in Chile and power struggles at play, both in terms of gender and ethnicity. Indeed, Gilda Waldman Mitnick suggests that

Al subvertir los códigos en los que se ha ubicado tradicionalmente a la Quintrala, Frías no sólo reivindica la figura de una mujer que por rebelde, independiente y mestiza fue condenada por el poder patriarcal homogeneizador y excluyente de la época colonial. Al negar el valor peyorativo del mestizaje, el autor reconstruye a un ser cuya inteligencia, pensamiento y acciones provienen, precisamente, de su compleja raigambre mestiza (Waldman Mitnick 2004, p.109).

In Waldman Mitnick’s view, in the alternative discourse of *Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer* provided by Frías, the protagonist

aparece como la fundadora de una nueva estirpe de mujeres, que reivindica su herencia materna mapuche, reconoce su sangre indígena y se enorgullece de su herencia múltiple, lo

cual no sólo la distingue del resto de una sociedad que niega sus raíces indígenas, sino que la transforma en una mujer más libre, menos temerosa y más dispuesta a romper las reglas impuestas con sangre por los europeos (Waldman Mitnick 2004, p.109).

This struggle for freedom comes at a cost for Catalina, since it is viewed poorly by the patriarchal leaders. In this sense, Frías' text does not differ from prior portrayals of Catalina. However, it is the multifaceted nature in which the intricate workings of ethnic and gender relations are enacted that sets it apart from other texts. It builds on the work that Valdivieso started with her publication a decade earlier.

Like her historical and mythical counterpart, Valdivieso's Catalina displays sexual agency that is not usually typical of women in a patriarchal society such as that within which she lives. Unlike previous fictional accounts the support, or lack thereof, for such transgression of societal norms is challenged through the first-person narration. Eddie Morales suggests that, "el discurso alternativo de Valdivieso busca la reivindicación de la mujer que por rebeldía, independencia y mestizaje fue considerada *maldita* por el poder patriarcal homogenizador y excluyente de la época colonial" (Morales Piña 2005, p.42). The text also openly discusses themes which have been disregarded as defining elements of identities in Chile such as hybridity and the prominence of illegitimate children, known in Chile as *huachos*, particularly Segundo a Secas, Catalina's half-brother. Through her development of the protagonist, Valdivieso promotes an inclusive vision of the participation of women and the indigenous cultures in Chile and purposefully provokes discussion of the taboo topics aforementioned, challenging the legitimacy of the hegemonic discourse that has long enforced such taboos. The author explains her passion for telling women's stories, made evident in her fictional portrayal of this historical figure. "Las mujeres son una ausencia en nuestra historia, introducirlas en ella fue una provocación apasionante en mis clases" (postscript of Valdivieso 1991, p.143). The author affirms that from a young age "tuve conciencia de que no pertenecía al grupo que tenía el poder" (cited in Zerán 1991, p.4). Unsatisfied with this reality, Valdivieso sought to rectify it by creating powerful protagonists in her fiction.

In their renewed depiction of Catalina's tale, neither author seeks to hide Catalina's propensity for violence, but rather provide a multifaceted perspective on the actions that were not previously afforded to her. As a wealthy *encomendera*, her

position of power is unusual for the era in which she lives. This influential position allows her to assume power that would normally only be afforded to men. She breaks from the gender norms, evidence of which is most obvious in her violent outbursts, her many lovers and, in Frías' text, the decision to cross dress to move freely through the streets at night. In the chosen historical novels, Catalina is represented by two authors who are both preoccupied by the importance of women in Chile as well as the indigenous populations.

Valdivieso's narrative technique sets her text apart from its predecessors. It opens with a fictitious letter from the Governor of Chile, Alonso de Ribera to the Viceroy, don Luis de Velasco, in Lima. De Ribera details the progress the conquistadores have made thus far in the fight to seize and retain land from the indigenous groups in Chile. He affirms his appreciation for the Mapuches resisting the oppression of the Spanish. "*No son grandes los mapuches, pero en su cortedad de altura y carnes se aprieta una fuerza y un odio al extranjero que los crece y los anima para las más severas campañas y si pierdan, también para sus castigos*" (Valdivieso 1991, p.8; inflection in original). De Ribera is evidently impressed by his enemies. However, it works in his favour to create such a fierce image as this makes his victory all the greater. He subsequently requests reinforcements in the form of soldiers and weaponry to aid the Spanish cause before continuing his description of life in Santiago and how its influence has changed his perspective. Of particular influence have been the Lisperguer women. He claims that "*[m]e hacen cavilar estas mujeres de las Indias, magas o doncellas tienen algo en común, otra forma de naturaleza que a mi inteligencia de hombre se escapa y, por qué no decirlo, asusta*" (Valdivieso 1991, pp.11-12; inflection in original). In writing these lines, de Ribera fails to acknowledge that it is not only as a man, but rather, as a Spanish man, that he is unnerved by the freedom with which the Lisperguer women live. Located at the opening of the text, this letter seeks to emulate similar letters written by conquistadores, the contents of which helped form a Spanish history of the conquest and colonial period in Latin America.

Valdivieso's decision to place it at the start of her feminist narrative is perhaps a mock homage to the socio-political hierarchy of the seventeenth century in

Chile. Positioning it in prime position indicates a certain reverence towards this androcentric colonial communication that seems to celebrate the apparent success of the Spanish thus far in Chile, while also expressing a need for more reinforcements to complete their conquest definitively. However, the remainder of Valdivieso's text embarks upon dismantling and rejecting the patriarchal Eurocentric vision which de Ribera's letter represents. In an interview with Andrea Puyol, Valdivieso claimed that the letter "[e]s la visión del hombre, del conquistador que ha sido conquistado por estas tierras y sus mujeres" (cited in Puyol 1991, p.88). Having narrated the successful seduction of the Governor of Chile—symbol of Spanish, patriarchal power—the text proceeds with invoking the sympathy and consideration of the reader for Catalina, unlike previous portrayals of the protagonist. This serves to deconstruct the barrier created surrounding her from previous texts and encourages an approximation between protagonist and reader. Valdivieso's decision to produce a fictional letter in her historical novel coincides with Fernando Aínsa's suggestion that authors of historical novels will do so when they distrust historical material already available. "La crisis de las fuentes documentales ha llevado a que en algunas novelas históricas todos se invente, porque se desconfía o se califica de 'mentiroso' todo lo que se presenta como realidad" (Aínsa 2003, p.97). It is important to remember Ward's warning (see page 19) regarding the legitimacy of such letters. Even though they were an official source, they were not void of deception and contained inaccuracies (Ward 2001, p.88) which served the writer's purpose, creating disputes between chroniclers and historians at the time. This obvious distrust in so-called historical sources is evident in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, where in her polyphonic narrative, Valdivieso seeks to undermine perceived historical truths about Catalina's life.

For the first time in the history of fictional representations of Catalina, the protagonist is made the subject of the text.¹¹ Though ten of the fourteen remaining

¹¹ Taking a psychoanalytical approach to her depiction of Catalina's life, Olga Arratia before Valdivieso attempted to make her protagonist the subject of her text, but Ivonne Cuadra argues that in

sections of the novel are narrated by Catalina—in her Catholic confession prior to marrying Alonso de Campofrío—and she is given prime position to discuss her experiences, the text is not unencumbered by third-person interference. Between the ten chapters narrated in this form there are four which begin with *dicen que*. The author claimed of the voice in these sections that: “[e]s el que repite los parámetros que deben ser. Es la sociedad establecida” (cited in Zerán 1991, p.5). These four sections represent the popular opinion of Catalina as an evil mythified woman, the legendary Quintrala. This narration details the popular beliefs and rumours regarding Catalina which were passed through generations in oral tradition and which were given further validity in Vicuña Mackenna’s text and the subsequent works of fiction produced relating to la Quintrala. The contradicting narratives are the author’s attempt to contest the perceived truths regarding la Quintrala’s tale and enter into dialogue with *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala* which Vicuña Mackenna claimed to be objective in its depiction of the colonial era in which Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer lived. As discussed previously, the nineteenth-century historian’s text uses markers that represent more personal opinion than one would expect from an objective text. Raquel Olea indicates the strength in Valdivieso’s decision to construct simultaneous narratives.

En su construcción de hablas, particularmente en el habla de Doña Catalina, la novela pone en escena una ficción que desmonumentaliza el mito, fragilizándolo, abriéndolo a la precariedad de lo (in)significante doméstico, familiar, pulsional, lo que pone en crisis la voluntad de consistencia significativa y la objetividad de la historia, sea esta culta o popular (Olea 1998, p.110).

Its strength in destabilising perceived facts opens up the possibility of alternative perspectives. In line with the challenge to hegemonic beliefs in the themes the novel tackles, Rebecca Lee claims that “[t]he overall dynamic of the narrative is one of resistance as the protagonist struggles against the normative discourse and mandates

Arratia’s text: “el personaje de La Quintrala no logra una voz propia; sigue siendo más bien un objeto de la narración” (Cuadra 1999, p.132).

of traditional Chilean society” (Lee 2007, p.112). According to Angélica Rivera, Valdivieso rewrote the manuscript several times before appropriating the perspective of Catalina (Rivera 1991, p.28). Her protagonist’s voice elicits pity from the reader when we witness first hand the restrictions that are imposed upon her by the patriarchal powers. As she listens to the men in her family plan a marriage to Enríquez, whom she has no interest in marrying, she exclaims: “[m]e enfurecía escucharles disponer de mi vida” (Valdivieso 1991, p.18). With this line of discussion—with which one can easily empathise—, in addition to the *dicen que* narrative that reinforces the perceived truths of the myth of la Quintrala, a heterogeneous narrative develops which creates new possibilities of understanding the realities of Catalina’s life. The *dicen que* narrative offers the perspective of the androcentric, European opinion on Catalina’s life and is extremely critical of her resistance to conform to their norms. “[D]icen que ya era hembra de mal ejemplo y guárdate, doña Catalina de los Ríos, irreverente con Dios, la ley y su padre” (Valdivieso 1991, p.79).

The techniques used by Valdivieso humanise Catalina, creating distance between her and the legend of la Quintrala. Critics at the time appreciated Valdivieso’s narrative structure and understood what she was hoping to achieve. Olga López Cotín claims that “[l]a heteroglosia de la novela articula una inversión de la jerarquía convencional [...] Propuesto así el orden narrativo, la voz subjetiva se erige en portadora de una verdad desconocida que sigue su propia lógica interna” (López Cotín 1996, p.210). Norberto Flores asserts that “[b]y putting history into the mouths of the ignored [...] Valdivieso creates a polyphony of voices that reveals the invalidity of a discourse that has erected itself as truth bearing, based on patriarchal monologism and arbitrary selection” (Flores 1994, p.283). There is a celebration of the deconstruction of the influence that history, as a homogeneous meta-narrative has retained over Catalina’s tale. Valdivieso’s technique embodies the critical invocation of hybridity which Lund suggests typically manifests as a “deconstructive lever” (see pages 10-12) of the hegemonic discourse of a particular society. Valdivieso’s decision to incorporate the letter and especially the *dicen que* voice into the greater narrative structure has been praised by many critics. The author acknowledges the

difficulty in providing a reliable narrative from her protagonist. “Es como retomar una voz femenina que ha sido bastante maldita” (cited in Maack 1991, p.VII). Valdivieso engages in a feminist agenda to “rescatar mujeres” (cited in Maack 1991, p.VII) from the silence of history which has long isolated them in the peripheries of historical narratives. Rosa Sarabia says of the *dicen que* perspective “a pesar de su distancia no logra poseer fiabilidad y objetividad por contrapeso a la seducción que ofrece la primera, la de Catalina, quien domina el resto de la narración” (Sarabia 2000, p.43). The fact that Valdivieso’s protagonist is also acutely aware of the rumours spread about her, “[l]as recaderas me acercaron los decires que mi trabajo levantó entre mis vecinos, contrarios a mi condición de hembra y enseñados por el diablo” (Valdivieso 1991, p.120), further reinforces the legitimacy of her position as primary narrator since her awareness indicates a form of self-reflection and critical analysis of her own situation. Lee suggests that the back and forth between these two narrators “is an attempt to reconstruct narratively the protagonist’s resistance to and eventual overcoming of the dominant paradigm that constrains her” (Lee 2007, p.114). While one could question if the protagonist truly succeeds in overcoming this constraint, given that she concludes her confession to the patriarchal church at the end of the text, there is merit in Lee’s suggestion that the structure emulates the internal struggle expressed by the protagonist.

While evidently set in the seventeenth century, the narration in Valdivieso’s text creates an atemporal situation in the way in which it presents events. Catalina’s narration opens and closes with the death of Enrique Enríquez which Silvia Cristina Rodríguez argues “reproduce la concepción del tiempo circular, como reflejo de la idea cíclica del devenir, propia del pensamiento mítico original de las culturas precolombinas” (Rodríguez 2004, p.132). In contradistinction to the Western tendency to discuss temporal development as a linear process, the indigenous cultures view it as a cyclical one, which occurs and recurs. Ana Mariella Bacigalupo asserts that “Mapuche narratives are always open, unfinished, and subject to negotiation and reinterpretation” (Bacigalupo 2016, p.31). This technique adopted by the Valdivieso further strengthens the other narrative tools employed to undermine perceived facts in a European patriarchal society. By creating a cyclical atemporal

narrative, the emphasis is displaced from Eurocentric perspectives to indigenous allowing the latter to come to the forefront of the plot's development. The narrative is not only cyclical, but is sometimes fragmented and blurred in an oneiric manner. While Gabriela Mora suggests that this reflects "los vaivenes de la memoria de Catalina" (Mora 1994/1995, p.63), Bernadita Llanos argues that this incoherence allows for unimpeded transitioning between Catalina, the protagonist, and Catalina, her mother so much so that it is not always possible to clearly distinguish between them. Even Gonzalo de los Ríos, father to Catalina de los Ríos and husband to Catalina Lisperguer, mistakes his daughter for his wife. "En tanto que realidad y sueño coexisten a través de la simultaneidad temporal, la imprecisión temporal permite que las acciones, los deseos y los sueños de Catalina, su madre y su abuela existan a la vez" (Llanos 1994, p.1032). This serves to reinforce the bond that exists between the women of Catalina's lineage as she defines it in the closing lines of her confession. The atemporality, of the narrative is reinforced by la Tatamai's presence in the lives of four generations of the Flores women. Lucía Guerra suggests that la Tatamai serves to consolidate the connection elaborated between the women of indigenous descent in Catalina's family: "[d]e manera significativa, la Tatamai, mujer mapuche fuera del tiempo, es el enlace primordial en esta saga de mujeres" (Guerra 1998, p.60). The ambiguous nature with which la Tatamai enters the lives of the Flores women, and the idea that she has served them since Elvira's time, introduces an element of the fantastical to the text. She seems to exist outside the chronological development of time. The protagonist insinuates that la Tatamai can even control time. "La Tatamai recordaba el tiempo a su voluntad y hacía que una se pudiera vivir de antes: encendía un sahumero, abría el sueño y se venían adelante, mi bisabuela, mi madre y yo misma" (Valdivieso 1991, p.38). Bacigalupo explains that machis have "multiple temporalities at once", and that "this multitemporality is expressed through the machi's unique ability to share multiple relational and individual personhoods with beings from different worlds and times and through machi's inherent ambiguity, which allows them to cross boundaries" (2016, p.4). The continuity created by la Tatamai's presence contradicts the fragmented,

incoherent progression of narrative elsewhere. This contradiction of the structure aids the subversion of hegemonic narratives in the text.

Valdivieso, perhaps in an attempt at furthering the ‘authenticity’ of her text, claims of the novel “[e]ra como si me lo dictaran, lo escribí tal cual me lo dictaba doña Catalina al oído” (cited in Puyol 1991, p.88). She claims, “[l]e di voz y descubrí que era inteligente” (cited in Puyol 1991, p.88). Her protagonist is intelligent in recognising her subjugated status as a woman in androcentric colonial Chile. The nature of her account of her life, however, is problematic. Catalina’s first-person narration, while novel in the way it makes Catalina the subject of her own story where she can describe her own experiences, is still limiting since it is her confession to the priest on the eve of her marriage to Alonso de Campofrío. Throughout her narrative her rebellious and transgressive nature is reassuring to the reader. However, her narrative is still controlled by the patriarchy of the church and the very nature of a confession means that it does not go any further than the confessor. As she concludes her confession, “[m]e confieso, padre” (Valdivieso 1991, p.142), so too ends the text. In this way, Catalina’s defiant narrative is moot since it will never see the light of day.

Like his predecessor, Gustavo Frías also claims that his protagonist dictated the text to him. “[G]ran parte de esta novela me ha sido dictada, en el sentido que durante su escritura han aparecido situaciones que no esperaba pero que la propia historia me dicta, [...] como si yo sólo fuera un médium” (cited in 2001, p.C9). He insists that “[e]ste libro es más curioso y más inteligente de lo que yo jamás he sido” (cited in Haltenhoff 2001, p.35). The author’s comments serve to invite the reader to accept the protagonist as authentic and unmediated, as though he were merely a medium through which she speaks. However, in both the case of Valdivieso’s and Frías’ texts, each protagonist is highly mediated and strictly serves her author’s objectives. Also primarily narrated in the first-person, the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series provides a more nuanced and self-reflective account of the protagonist’s life than that provided in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*. The Catalina of Frías’ novels narrates her own story through memoirs that she writes close to death—unlike the confession in Valdivieso’s version—, but like Valdivieso’s

version it is not intended to be shared. As presented by Frías, in keeping with Inca tradition that preceded the Spanish conquest, her intention is to write about her life and then burn the account during the celebration of the Inca New Year. In an interview with María Teresa Cárdenas, the author explains the premise behind the narration stating,

‘El año nuevo de los incas, que era en pleno invierno, daba una oportunidad de volver a ser y ser mejor, y esto se conseguía mediante el hecho de decir, recordar o escribir todo lo que uno quería dejar atrás y quemarlo, junto con pedazos de uña, pelos... Bueno, en el tercer tomo, el lector se va a enterar de que doña Catalina, vieja ya, está escribiendo todo esto para quemarlo la noche de año nuevo y con eso dejar atrás su vida, sólo que se va a morir antes y por eso lo podemos leer ahora. Entonces era fundamental que lo escribiera ella’ (cited in Cárdenas 2001, p.8).

Frías’ final instalment of the series, *La Quintrala*, has not yet been published at the time of writing this thesis. However, some references to the fact that Catalina is writing a memoir which she does not expect anyone to read are already made in the first two texts included in this study, “[e]scribo para ver y olvidar” (Frías 2001, p.18). There is a sense of security in her comment, “[h]ay cosas que no se pueden contar, pero como estas líneas no las leerá jamás nadie, lo haré. Necesito tener todo escrito para quemarlo la noche del Bautista, y luego olvidar” (Frías 2001, p.77), which elicits a mixture of shame and curiosity in the reader knowing that we are reading a text that was not intended for our eyes, but also reading it with the knowledge that it is apparently uncensored since nobody was supposed to read it and so could provide details that the narrator would not share otherwise.

Similar to the effect that the narration of Valdivieso’s protagonist has on the reader, empathy is evoked for Frías’ Catalina as she details her insecurities and worries to a readership she does not expect to have. “¿Quién soy yo entre toda esta gente?, pensé” (Frías 2001, p.53). Her frustration is heightened by the realisation that her awareness of her position in the patriarchal society of colonial Chile, while not unique, is only shared by a limited number of women who also struggle to contend with the constraints imposed upon them:

¿Por qué no soy como los demás? ¿Por qué estoy atrapada, atada por cadenas invisibles a esta forma, a esta sensibilidad distinta? Los demás, los jinetes, la abuela, mi tía, podían irse ahora

mismo a sus casas y vivir una vida fácil, coherente, no meditada, acorde con las reglas del imperio y los mandamientos de la Iglesia (Frías 2001, p.71).

Frías' uses his protagonist's own reflections on her plight as a woman to portray her in a more multidimensional way than any other author—including Valdivieso—succeeded in doing previously. Catalina recognises that her subjugation is not limited to her being a woman. Waldman Mitnick applauds this approach by Frías stating that

a través de la voz de Catrala, como se la designó en su infancia, esta novela muestra un fresco de la sociedad chilena colonial, repleta de vicios, complejos, hipocresías y arribismo; se sugiere que ya en esa época, y desde la negación del mestizaje, se configuraba el germen de los que más tarde sería—y seguirá siendo—la peor cara de la así llamada 'identidad nacional'.

(Waldman Mitnick 2004, p.109)

Her position as a *mestiza* woman who tends to favour her indigenous heritage over her Spanish and German ancestries is perhaps more of an isolating factor: “[y]o no era negra, tampoco era completamente india ni española ni alemana. Era virgen pero no monja, y estaba sola, perdida en un laberinto vacío” (Frías 2001, p.73). Her complex description of what she is not, begs the question of what she does identify as. She identifies as a woman, certainly, but rejects the severely limiting norms placed on her as a woman by the patriarchy. She is not the only woman to subvert from within the system and many men also fail to adhere to societal expectations. In this way, Frías uses his protagonist's narration of her situation, and that of those around her, to challenge the binary fixing of identities.

Equally, Catalina's temporary frustration with not being completely indigenous, Spanish or German speaks to her struggle to assert an ethnic identity that she can express freely without worry about being berated by one group or another. This irritation is temporary since throughout the text she constantly transitions between being proud of belonging to each of these groups at different times and often simultaneously. Her preference tends towards her maternally-acquired indigenous heritage, but she also claims in the next breath, “[y]o soy europea. Soy alemana, soy española” (Frías 2003, p.61). While it is a persistent struggle to negotiate her heterogeneous ethnic identities, Catalina rarely complains about, but rather embraces the challenge to express her identities in terms that appeal to her, not

the hegemonic discourse which belittles the indigenous cultures in Chile, preferring to highlight the strength in Spanish and German ancestry. As a young child, Catalina claims that she was affected by the fact that she could not comfortably fit into the strict categories laid out to describe ethnic identities within colonial Chile stating:

Cuando niña [...] Si cerraba los ojos y no veía a los demás, los demás tampoco me verían a mí y sería invisible. Y qué mejor que ser invisible cuando una vergüenza de origen desconocido me quitaba hasta las ganas de existir (Frías 2001, p.236).

The patriarchal Eurocentric society in which she lives places the shame on Catalina for not conforming to its strict notion of acceptable ethnic identities. Having long disregarded such impossible expectations, the protagonist develops her sense of identity throughout Frías' texts, each time stepping further away from her European ancestry and embracing her indigenous one. She is always conscious, however, that she is predominately of European descent and uses this in her favour throughout the text.

A limited comparison can be drawn between the *dicen que* narrative in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* and the supposed official sources of the events of the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series. These sources come in the form of Fray de Venegas' ecclesiastical reports which he keeps on behalf of the Inquisition and which criticise the schism between church and Spanish monarchy within Chile. They also criticise the transgression of boundaries that many characters, in particular the protagonist, undertake in their decision to participate in indigenous celebrations—such as Catalina's *Día Más Largo*—and not to conform to gender expectations. De Venegas' reports are not as prevalent in Frías' novels as the *dicen que* sections of Valdivieso's, but they seem to serve a similar function. His report does little to sway the reader's opinion of the protagonist or the world she inhabits. It does reinforce the belief that the church is interfering: “[e]s mi deber señalar’, [...] ‘que la mencionada doña Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer requiere con urgencia de una dirección espiritual fuerte, ilustrada, inteligente, pero, sobre todo, constante, que tenga puerta abierta que, ojalá controle sus decisiones’” (Frías 2003, p.269) and that it is one of the driving forces of the patriarchal society that seeks to subjugate women and members of the indigenous groups. This second point is evident as he witnesses Catalina's first act of judgement carried out between two of her subjects, Lameche

and Moisés. Moisés, who is responsible for the welfare of the animals in their care, is accused of having stolen from their stores, Catalina goes to great lengths to deal with the issue in the most delicate of manners. She finds that since Moisés stole from the stock in order to feed his family, the person who should be held responsible is Lameche, the woman in charge of the running of the house, and the distribution of supplies at their *hacienda*. Neither subject is punished for the theft, with Catalina assigning each one separate responsibilities which will ensure a similar incident does not recur. While she is applauded for her fairness in this instance, the clergyman insists: “la doña toma la justicia de su mano, lo que de derecho le corresponde como cacique, pero no como mujer” (Frías 2003, p.270). This comment indicates the rigid categories that the Catholic Church uses to classify its subjects. Its positioning in the text, surrounded by Catalina’s narrative, highlights the heterogeneous nature in which Frías’ seventeenth-century Chile has been otherwise depicted.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude here, this chapter has illustrated the progressive contribution that *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* and the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series have made to an ongoing literary and historical conversation that holds Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer as its focal point. With Vicuña Mackenna’s text initiating this discussion in the nineteenth century, the historian had specific objectives with returning to the colonial period in an attempt to explain the position of the Chilean nation in the post-Independence era. In a laboured task, he details the ancestry of the Lisperguer family of which Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer was part, with the aim of proving that la Quintrala was an example of the degenerate elements of the newly-established Chilean nation which needed to be eradicated. Her specific mix of indigenous and German heritage was the cause of concern for the historian. Despite mixed receptions at the time of publication, many people accepted Vicuña Mackenna’s portrayal of the Lisperguers in the colonial period as a reliable historical text, overlooking his dependence on questionable sources. From the twentieth century, novelists such as Petit and Arriaza indicated their appreciation for this historian’s work through their adherence to specific details provided in his text in their fictional

accounts of Catalina de los Ríos. Lautaro Yankas' contribution to this literary field moved in the direction of a separate literary movement, *indigenismo*. However, the author chose to focus his elaboration of the indigenous ethnicities solely on Catalina's servants, creating a distinction between the protagonist and the indigenous groups that his text favoured, disregarding her transgressive ways as typical of her socioeconomic status rather than ethnicity. This opened a new conversation which Frías in his complex development of indigenous ethnicities has taken up, though the twenty-first-century author emphasises the indigenous practices of his protagonist more than her servants.

While the texts mentioned tended to perpetuate the homogeneous gender and ethnic hierarchies in play during the periods depicted, Vidal's and Gallardo's texts offer new perspectives. Vidal's text enters into clear dialogue with Valdivieso's in mirroring some of the tropes used by her contemporary. The reproduction of *dicen que*, in addition to overtly suggesting that were the protagonist a man, her transgressions would not be so widely criticised, concur with the feminist ideology brought through in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*. Vidal's text also complements Frías' complex portrayal of ethnic identities in Chile, while Gallardo's *Herencia de fuego* coincides with much of the disruption of gender norms that the texts of both Valdivieso and Frías engage with. The examples of such subversion in each of these texts are limited however to those offered in this chapter. It is at this point that Valdivieso's and Frías' texts are established as revolutionary in their approach to portraying their protagonist and their use of her to challenge the norms of gender and ethnic identities.

Valdivieso's text was the first to have the protagonist as the subject of the narrative. This served to demythify the legend of la Quintrala and promote an approximation between the reader and the character, Catalina. Published in a key historical moment for Chile, with the end of the dictatorship and approach of the quincenary commemoration of the 'discovery', the novel subverts notions of gender and ethnicity as they started to form under Spanish rule in the seventeenth century. The polyphonic narrative technique used in the text aids this subversion. It creates a fragmented, and sometimes, contradictory representation which reflects the

forms to which the collective identities portrayed adhere. Valdivieso's novel inverts previously perceived negative traits of the protagonist to overtly criticise texts like Vicuña Mackenna's for their one-dimensional depiction of the historical figure. Between this and the first-person narrative, a much more humanising image is offered. The official letter and *dicen que* sections serve to elicit further sympathy for the protagonist since the reader is offered first-hand the forms of criticism that she must endure as a result of her resistance to patriarchal European norms. Frías' text also offers a first-person narrative of Catalina's life. While its narrative structure is not as fragmented as Valdivieso's, the self-analytical approach that the protagonist takes serves to disrupt perceived whole and complete forms of identities.

Chapter 2: Ethnicities, Cultural Practices and Beliefs

Introduction

This chapter will focus primarily on the ways in which each text disrupts the hegemonic discourses surrounding ethnic identities in Chile during the colonial period depicted. It is argued that through fragmentation and subversion, the texts critically challenge representations of ethnicities in Chile. Specific emphasis is placed on the hybrid forms of identity presented and the ways in which each author approaches this phenomenon. Through their novels, each author depicts a multifarious image of colonial Chile's ethnic identities which rejects facile definitions that the colonial elite try to impose. The way in which these ethnicities came about is highlighted as a direct result of a violent clash of cultures between the dominant European *conquistadores* and the resilient indigenous groups. Neither author seeks to hide this fact in their texts. They do not shy away from illustrating ethnicities that are less than perfect and complete. Rather, this chapter argues, through the emphasis on certain phenomena—such as *huacheraje*, hybrid cultural and religious practices, and plurilingual exchanges—that do not quite adhere to social norms, they present complex ethnicities which are permanently under negotiation.

The chapter opens with a brief description of the contribution the texts offer to the discussion of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer and the use of this character in analysing ethnic identities in Chile. The importance of the publication dates is identified and the specific ethnicities that each text elaborates on are established. Subsequently, the importance of the colonial period as the violent origin of the ethnicities depicted is discussed in relation to the ways in which cultural theorists, such as Jorge Larraín, and the texts approach this subject. The textual analysis begins with a consideration of *huachos*—what they are and their function in the societies depicted—, and marriage as two focal points for ethnic hybridity in Chile. Valdivieso's text is of particular interest here. Finally, with the focus predominantly on Frías' novels, the chapter analyses cultural, religious and linguistic practices as sites of negotiation and ethnic hybridity.

Through her protagonist, Valdivieso illustrates hybrid expressions of ethnicity that reject the static ideals imposed through the colonising hierarchy. Her Catalina, as a member of both principal ethnicities—European and indigenous—represents the tensions that exist between both ethnicities and her struggle to find a compromise she can live with which will be accepted by the European patriarchal leaders of their society is symbolic of a similar effort made by the wider collective of ethnicities depicted. Valdivieso’s text also brings to the analysis of ethnicity in this chapter examples of previously peripheral realities of characters like Segundo a Secas who is representative of a group during the colonial period that was displaced from the centres of power because of their condition as *huachos* or illegitimate children. Since officially this reality was not sanctioned, being a *huacho* became a source of shame. Valdivieso’s and Frías’ texts reject this sidelining of *huacheraje* choosing rather to have this topic debated openly in their texts.

Published in the year prior to the quincentenary commemoration of the ‘discovery’ of America, Valdivieso’s socio-historical positioning of her text gives further weight to an already subversive project. During this period there was much questioning on a continental level of the origins of Latin America as it presented in 1992. This commemoration was recognition of the period in which the ethnicities that existed at the end of the twentieth century had started to form. Valdivieso’s text contributed to this by presenting a complex narrative of ethnicities that rejected the subordination of the indigenous and *huachos* who were previously considered secondary to those who were legitimate children, especially those of European descent. Indeed, this text was also published in a period following a much more recent national trauma, that of Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship. This military regime was quite selective in the aspects of indigenous culture that it embraced and rejected as part of its projection of Chilean identity. As many national leaders before and after him, Pinochet hailed the Araucanian warrior as integral to the Chilean nation, calling on the spirits of Caupolican and Lautaro to serve as examples of Chilean masculine ideals. Crow states that this trope had been used by the Chilean nation since the independence period, offering the Araucanian warrior “as an exemplar of ideals of manhood (strength, virility, and courage) and an icon of (heroic,

militaristic) chilenidad, because of the way he fought to the death to defend his territory against the Spanish conquistadors” (Crow 2014, p.75). Crow points to another element of this portrayal that undermines the indigenous group, asserting that according to the dominant narrative in contemporary Chile, the Araucanians “are a crucial component of Chilean nationhood but they are not enough on their own; they require mixing with the superior ingredient of Iberian masculinity embodied in the figure of the conquistador” (2014, p.97). Since the nineteenth century, “Chilean elites’ exaltation of the Araucanians’ glorious military past has often coexisted alongside a notable disdain for contemporary Mapuche people” (Crow 2013, p.10). Similar to the wider population, Pinochet also had supporters and critics among the indigenous groups, particularly the Mapuche. Those who opposed the oppressive regime were met with severe repercussions. However, he was also regaled by many *longkos* in the Mapuche community as a powerful leader. They invited him to partake in a traditional celebration in which he was honoured. He was dressed in Mapuche clothing for these events. Crow describes one such occasion.

“He wore the traditional poncho decorated with symbols of Mapuche power, proudly brandished the *bastón de mando* (baton, symbol of authority) and the *pedra de toque* (stone of the war leader) he had been given, and he sometimes even spoke a few words in Mapuzungun. Pinochet thus disguised himself as—or momentarily transformed himself into—a traditional Mapuche leader, at the behest of ‘real’ Mapuche leaders” (2013, p.178).

While engaging positively in this way with the Mapuche, Pinochet’s administration simultaneously denied their existence¹² and usurped land that had been expropriated for the Mapuche during the Alessandri, Frei Montalva and Allende administrations, allowing elite land owners to reappropriate it (Richards 2013, p.60)¹³.

This historically complex, and at times contradictory, relationship between Chileans and the Mapuche continued into the time in which Valdivieso was

¹² ““There are no indigenous people in Chile, only Chileans’ (the minister of agriculture in 1978)” (Crow 2013, p.176).

¹³ See (Araujo 2009), (Tinsman 2000), (Larraín 2001) for more portrayals of ethnic identity during this period.

publishing her text. Richards confirms that while Patricio Aylwin's democratically elected administration improved the political situation in Chile, very little changed for the Mapuche in the South, who had been forcibly removed from their land during the dictatorship. It was thought with the passing of the indigenous law in 1993, that indigenous rights would be met and they would achieve the self-rule for which they had struggled for so long. This law led to the establishment of the Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI), responsible for promoting and coordinating all state activities related to indigenous communities. Externally, this seemed like a positive step. However, the difficulty lay in the fact that the government tended to "construe Mapuche demands as socioeconomic problems that could be resolved with development-oriented solutions" (Richards 2013, p.109). Richards explains that this is probably due to the tendency of the Chilean "center-left to view the Mapuche through the lens of social class rather than ethnicity [and] [i]t is suggestive of the ways that Mapuche ethnic difference continued to be denied in the Chilean collective imaginary" (2013, p.109). It was easier to push forward the problematic notion of *mestizaje* (see pages 11 and 12) rather than to recognise the Mapuche as a separate ethnic group and allow them the rights that would come with that. Richards suggests that the Concertación's response to Mapuche demands in the early years after the return to democracy was "inadequate to the growing conflicts in the region, which were fueled by the very development policies advocated by the state as well as by the historical legacy of inequality and racism" (2013, p.74).

These issues highlighted at the time of Valdivieso's publication were still pertinent when Frías started publishing his *Tres nombres para Catalina* series in 2001. His texts also depict a less than harmonious image of the clash of the ethnicities present in colonial times from which those at the turn of the twenty-first century formed. In publishing these works, the author anticipated a turn that Chilean intellectual life has since taken with regards to a multifaceted approach to Chilean national identity, illustrated in works by Jorge Larraín (2001) and Ana María Stiven (2007). The multifarious depiction of ethnicities in the texts undermines the continued exclusion of some indigenous groups from the centres of power in contemporary Chile. While Michelle Bachelet's terms as President of Chile have

seen a marked improvement in access to power from a gender perspective, her government's use of the antiterrorist laws against members of indigenous groups protesting in the South of the country has been widely criticised¹⁴. These laws, created under Pinochet's dictatorship to control anyone who opposed the regime, were invoked against Mapuche protestors under Ricardo Lagos' administration (2000-2006). To this day, Crow and Richards¹⁵ assert, this is still the case with Mapuche protestors detained as terrorists against the state under Michelle Bachelet's two terms and Sebastián Piñera's administration (2010-2014). Neoliberal multiculturalism brought forward in the early years of the Concertación continues to be the dominant rhetoric in which the Chilean government chooses to approach 'la cuestión indígena'. Faced with rising Mapuche mobilization, the Concertación governments throughout the nineties and into the twenty-first century instituted multicultural policies to recognize diversity, but despite this, "for many Mapuche, Chile's neoliberal democracy has represented the perpetuation of colonial dispossession and structural racism" (Richards 2013, p.208). According to Richards, those who are willing to integrate into the neoliberal way of Chilean life are deemed suitable to participate in the nation. Those who do not, are subject to police harassment and antiterrorist laws being invoked against them. "There is no space for re-envisioning the Chilean nation as a multiethnic, multinational space in which Mapuche claims of difference are validated and their ways of life promoted" (Richards 2007, p.573). Mapuche author, Enrique Antileo Baeza, states that from the indigenous perspective:

En Chile, desde nuestra mirada, el multiculturalismo es una nueva modalidad de políticas colonialistas en el marco del neoliberalismo. En la práctica asistimos a una celebración de la diferencia (no sólo en el sentido étnico) y a un discurso de respeto a la diversidad, que genera cierta permisividad (sobre todo si esa diferenciación se enmarca en el plano individual), pero que cercena las demandas o planteamientos colectivos que puedan alterar el *status quo* del funcionamiento del Estado o del sistema económico (Antileo Baeza 2013, p.200).

¹⁴ See (Donoso 2010)

¹⁵ See (Crow 2013), (Crow 2014), (Richards 2004), (Richards 2007), and (Richards 2013)

In the same vein as his predecessor, Frías uses his novels to contradict and criticise the hegemonic discourses surrounding ethnic hierarchies in Chile. His protagonist is an ordering consciousness who narrates and analyses the interplay of ethnic identities surrounding her in the author's fictional seventeenth-century Chile. Her narration of strategic unions through marriage and the cultural and religious traditions depicted are analysed in regard to representation and subversion of ethnic identities.

The ethnic identities depicted in Valdivieso's text are primarily a mix of indigenous and European, although there is also some reference to slaves of African descent. The Mapuche are the main indigenous group represented in the text. Some work as slaves or servants in Santiago, while others fight the Araucanian War against the European invaders further south. Valdivieso uses this umbrella term to refer to the indigenous people in the text, except on one occasion when the *huilliches* are specifically referred to. They form part of the Mapuche ethnic group and are located in the South of Araucanian territory, strongly resisting the invasion. The Europeans, and the *criollos* of European descent, originate in Spain and Germany. The author portrays a complex image of these identities with numerous variations of hybridity represented. While from a European perspective, preference is typically shown to those with stronger ties to this ethnicity, Valdivieso's text inverts this, proposing a different hierarchy. The text depicts the nature of a socially constructed identity such as ethnicity by illustrating the differing decisions that the protagonist and her sister, Águeda, make in relation to enacting their ethnic identities. Despite growing up in the same household, Catalina chooses to adhere to her indigenous ethnicity, while Águeda is more comfortable operating in the European strands of their society.

Frías' novels represent the cultures in a more nuanced fashion still. The principal cultures depicted are also of European and indigenous descent. From the European perspective, the members of society hail from Spain, Germany and Italy. However, the author provides a more nuanced presentation of the indigenous ethnicities in seventeenth-century Chile. Representatives of the Mapuche, Aconcagua and Picunche groups are present. Their distinctions are illustrated in the discussion of the varying languages, traditions and dress that they each have. The

Europeans largely refer to them as ‘indios’, but the protagonist too as the leader of the Curiqueo and member of the Aconcagua tribe, frequently begins a description of a tradition with “nosotros los indios”. This does not appear to be a dismissive, colonising denomination that seeks to belittle the members of the indigenous groups, rather it distinguishes them from their colonisers, “los extranjeros”, with whom Catalina also affiliates herself. Frías’ texts also detail the presence and function of African slaves during this colonial period. Furthermore, it recognises the results of the Inca colonisation which occurred prior to the Spanish one with Catalina’s great-grandmother, Elvira, as a direct descendent of Inca royals, referred to as an Inca *ñusta*.

Montecino explains the importance of considering such heterogeneity given that when one theorises on hybrid identities in Chile it will not simply be a reference to Spanish or indigenous identities, “sino la africana, y posteriormente la alemana, inglesa, etc., y en actualidad, por los efectos de la transnacionalización cultural un mosaico de diferencias que son integrados o recreados desde matrices particulares” (Montecino 1993a, p.186). While the colonial period did not have modern levels of diversity, there were certainly more than the Spanish and an apparently homogeneous indigenous group. Frías’ texts help illustrate the complex origins of Chilean ethnic identities, with his protagonist marvelling at the heterogeneous groups under her rule, “[c]uántos mundos en mi pequeño reino, pensé” (Frías 2003, p.73).

This complex expression of identities is certainly a cause for appreciation in Frías’ work. However, this chapter also indicates at points where the texts depict idealised versions of the indigenous ethnicities, failing to problematise them as they do the European ethnicities. Through the eyes of the protagonist/narrator, there is no apparent conflict within these groups and all sources of negativity and corruption come from European society. In their success in portraying images of such rich indigenous cultures, the texts lack the ‘realistic’ facets of conflict and complaints, and so fall into an area that resembles the trope of the noble savage which still requires the European saviour. In this sense, they mirror *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*’ over idealisation of the indigenous matriarchy. It is not clear whether this

failure to problematise the indigenous stance is related to ideology or lack of information, but in any case, it does not take from the additions that Frías' texts bring to the literary conversation relating to Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer.

The Colonial Roots of Chilean Hybridity

Frías explains the reason for choosing Catalina as a protagonist to explore issues of ethnic identities within contemporary Chile, stating:

Los Lisperguer eran la única familia que reconocía sus ancestros, tal vez porque los matrimonios con princesas indígenas eran bien vistos. El resto de las familias descendían de las 500 indias que el cacique Michimalonko le entregó a Pedro de Valdivia a cambio de su libertad. Los españoles procrearon en ellas, pero los descendientes ocultaron su origen. Y de ahí nace parte de nuestro carácter hipócrita (cited in A.G. 2001, p.58).

The hypocrisy to which Frías refers is evident in the fact that the Chilean nation is founded on Michimalonko betraying 500 women and their families to the Spanish in order to save himself. This draws parallels between the *conquistadores'* patriarchy and that which Michimalonko exhibits as apparently typical for the indigenous leaders. However it must also be noted that such exchange of women was also used during colonial times to create bonds of kinship between ally indigenous groups and the *conquistadores*. Initially, from the European perspective, it was preferable for the Spanish crown for the soldiers to marry the daughters of royalty from different tribes while colonising Latin America, if they were not already married. However, they did not always choose to marry the women with whom they procreated. In *Catalina*, Águeda tells Catalina and Alonso this very tale in order to explain the origins of Chile as she sees them in the seventeenth century and the little respect she has for marriage as anything other than a beneficial contract for the parties involved.

Ximena Azúa Ríos discusses the influence the colonisers and their legacy had on shaping the participation of *mestizos* in Chile: “‘lo colonial’, así como su capacidad de nombrar y, a la vez, de silenciar, es esencial en la constitución de nuestra identidad mestiza” (Azúa Ríos 2010, p.315). It was the colonisers who had the power to establish the norms of society in the Eurocentric culture. Jorge Larraín

discusses the reciprocal changes that occurred in Chile during and subsequent to the conquest:

Desde la Conquista se produjo espontáneamente un proceso de mestizaje no sólo biológico, sino cultural, que se expresó en la transformación que sufrieron los conquistadores y los colonizadores al convertirse en ‘indianos’. Siendo el ambiente de América tan diferente al europeo y con características muy específicas, todo componente cultural europeo no podía sino transformarse. Similar transformación sufrieron los indios en su visión del mundo (Larraín 2001, p.65).

It is this cultural transformation and the difficulties faced negotiating its fragments that the texts of both Frías and Valdivieso tend to explore.

Frías, although critical of the conquest and the manner in which it was carried out, is aware that it is as a result of this violent clash of ethnicities and cultures that Chilean identities exist as they do in current times. Contemporary Chilean author and academic, Jorge Guzmán insists: “la conquista no fue estéril para nada. A mí no me gusta la conquista, pero soy hijo de la conquista y todo lo que vino después, ¿cómo lo voy a negar? Todo esto nació de allí” (cited in Viú 2005, p.218). Eduardo Galeano highlights the importance for Latin American countries to recognise the complicated nature of their foundation:

La revelación de nuestras identidades, y de la identidad común que resultará de nuestra diversidad asombrosa, pasa por el rescate de nuestra historia. Pueblos que no saben de dónde vienen, de qué raíces, de qué mezclas, de qué actos de amor, de qué violaciones, difícilmente pueden saber adónde van (cited in Campra 1998, p.156).

Through the re-writing of the era within which their protagonists lived, the authors confront the difficult and violent way in which contemporary Chile was conceived and encourage readers to acknowledge this fact before seeking a way to move forward from such a traumatic experience. Indeed, Mapuche academic, Héctor Nahuelpan Moreno, argues that from the contemporary Mapuche perspective, the very notion of arguing that colonialism was a period in Chilean history is problematic. Nahuelpan Moreno asserts that by suggesting that this period only lasted as long as Spanish rule in Chile we are ignoring the situation that persists in Araucania today wherein the Chilean state is recognised as an imperial power working against the Mapuche people who strive for self-governance. When

discussing Chile's national narrative of the colonial period, the academic affirms that:

Estas lecturas y silencios sobre el colonialismo, que desde una perspectiva histórico-evolucionista lo conciben como un ciclo superado, constituyen interpretaciones hegemónicas que han contribuido a usar selectiva y políticamente el pasado para construir y legitimar identificaciones nacionales a un tipo particular de 'comunidad imaginada' (Nahuelpan Moreno 2013, pp.119-120).

According to Nahuelpan Moren, this state narrative has legitimised its stance on the 'cuestión indígena'. Bearing in mind his words and those of Larraín, Guzmán and Galeano, we are further reminded of the importance of the texts under consideration here. Their return to the Hispanic colonial period opens up discussions surrounding gender and ethnic hierarchies that started to form during that time and which persist in contemporary Chile.

In *La doña de Campofrío*, an unlikely source of wisdom regarding the manner in which the conquest has been carried out is the priest, Fray Luis de Valdivia:

Si me permite un símil que yo no debería utilizar, don Machado, creo que un pueblo se conquista del mismo modo como un caballero conquista una dama, fundiendo y mezclando las costumbres y tradiciones que se enfrentan durante el proceso. No ha sucedido así en el reino que permanecería por el tiempo como un conglomerado disperso de gentes, separadas por el abismo cultural derivado de la falta de asimilación entre estas sociedades, que solo por porfía nuestra son antagónicas (Frías 2003, p.627).

The issue of the 'conglomerado disperso de gente' is not as problematic as Valdivia imagines. As part of the church, he undoubtedly wants the indigenous to assimilate the Spanish customs, in particular the Christian faith. He believes that in order for this to happen, a reciprocal approach to blending traditions is necessary rather than the unilateral process that is already in motion through the conquest. His simile between courtship and conquest of countries is quite a patriarchal view of the processes involved. There is an assumption that the woman is willing to be 'conquered' and that it is a generic procedure that works in all instances. No initiative or agency is afforded the woman who might be keen to contribute to the conversation, just like no agency is provided to the indigenous as they are expected

to yield to the pressures of the *conquistadores*.¹⁶ Valdivieso's text also critiques this tendency on the part of the *conquistadores* where women and indigenous are subjugated in a similar fashion, thus being an indigenous woman means you are doubly subjugated. Equally, Valdivieso's Fray Luis de Valdivia is a voice of reason within the colonising group, suggesting that they call a truce between the *conquistadores* and the *conquistados* and find a way to coexist. "El fraile había impuesto en la corte su idea de una línea defensiva, no atacar a los mapuches sino tratar con ellos, así, Segundo podría tener trechos de paz por donde venir a verme" (Valdivieso 1991, p.119). At this point in Valdivieso's text, the protagonist's half-brother has had to flee the European-occupied territory and so she cannot meet him. Just like in Frías' text, Valdivieso's Luis de Valdivia encourages a more harmonious approach to their evangelising mission which may result in more fruitful cooperative relationship between the warring groups in the future.

The various hybrid ethnicities depicted in the texts studied come predominantly from the union of European men and indigenous women. It is imperative to acknowledge that those ethnicities that united through procreation were not homogeneous to begin with. Through other processes of colonialism and cultural mixing prior to the Spanish conquest in Chile, both the European and indigenous groups already brought heterogeneous elements to this 'third space' within which new ethnic identities start to form. Indeed as Bhabha argues, since all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity, "the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerge, rather hybridity [...] is the 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge" (cited in Rutherford 1990, p.211). The texts of both authors open up questions regarding such liminal spaces wherein new heterogeneous identities are in constant formation. They undermine the colonial tendency to fix the ethnic identities in a hierarchy which allows the dominant group to control the colonised. In their fictional depiction of

¹⁶ This matter of feminising the oppressed in an attempt to explain the male, European dominance is one that will be discussed in further detail in the third chapter.

seventeenth-century Chile, they highlight a number of discrepancies and inconsistencies that exist in the colonial societies portrayed. It is within this threshold that each text creates space for new forms of ethnicities to take shape in an ever-changing and partial form.

Hybridity through Huacheraje

During the time of the conquest, the Spanish monarchy intended for the *conquistadores* to travel to the New World first to secure land and construct settlements. Subsequently, they were expected to bring their wives and families over in order to populate the land with people of European descent to aid the introduction of their cultural and religious practices. The unmarried were encouraged to wed native women. While some men did just that, others either delayed this process or failed to execute it. Prior to the arrival of most Spanish women, the conquistadores frequently had more than one concubine among their servants. These women were predominantly of indigenous descent. Often these unions resulted in the birth of children, though the men did not always recognise them as their own, leaving the mothers to raise them alone. Although officially condemned, this practice was quite common during the conquest. The children born without recognition from their fathers were referred to as *huachos*. Both Frías' and Valdivieso's texts deal explicitly with *huacheraje* and through their protagonists, seek to challenge the denomination of such terms as taboo in the societies depicted. There is an attempt in each to subvert the supposed shame that is related to this phenomenon. Indeed, Frías asserts that, "el origen de nuestra raza es de huachos" (cited in Haltenhoff 2001, p.35).

While a pregnancy in the lower socioeconomic backgrounds did not necessarily mean a marriage would follow, even though the Catholic Church officially insisted on this practice, for the wealthy, marriage was more pertinent so that the child was born in wedlock. This reality is explored in a number of ways in the texts. Valdivieso's Elvira breaks the societal norms by refusing to marry Bartolomé Blumen, despite falling pregnant. Frías' Catalina is not as fortunate when she finds herself pregnant to her deceased lover, Esteban de Britto. In order to retain the family honour and not allow her child be born a *huacho*, she must marry Alonso

de Campofrío. Valdivieso's Catalina, on the other hand, is not pregnant, but her subversive nature is enough to encourage the men of her family to arrange a marriage to Alonso de Campofrío. In this way, the texts highlight the level of control that the society of the *conquistadores* sought to have over their subjects in relation to reproduction and marriage. While it is not a principal focus of this thesis, the role that social status has to play with respect to *huacheraje* and marriage is referred to throughout the subsequent sections. Both served as a means for cultural mixing—whether through forced or consenting unions—and it was through these processes that the hybrid identities, that continue to form in the periods in which the authors are writing, started to mix. In continuation, there is firstly a discussion of *huacheraje* and the ways in which the texts engage with this supposedly taboo element of Chilean ethnic identities and subsequently an analysis of the functions of marriage in the texts in the process of identity forming and mixing.

Montecino explains the polemic term, *huacho*, in the Latin American context

Estimamos que el tema de lo ilegítimo producto del proceso de mestizaje encontró en el término huacho un referente que dará cuenta de la noción de abandono, soledad, orfandad, precariedad en que muchos/as latinoamericanos/as desarrollan su existencia. Carencias que son emblemáticas en esta palabra, que como podemos darnos cuenta tiene una enorme densidad simbólica (Montecino 1993a, p.186).

These negative connotations associated with the term meant it was a source of shame. Through their re-writing of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer's life, both authors seek to rectify the labelling as taboo of illegitimacy which was linked to indigenous ancestry. The act of fathering children whom you later abandon, or *huacheraje* as it is sometimes called, was still prominent in the seventeenth century during Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer's era. Montecino explains this stating “[l]a prolongada Guerra de Arauco y la economía minera y agrícola, favorecieron una constante migración de los hombres. Las mujeres permanecían por meses, e incluso años, solas, a cargo de estancias y familias” (Montecino 1993a, p.54). In reference to *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, Lucía Guerra asserts: “[m]estizaje y bastardaje son, en la novela de Mercedes Valdivieso, los sitios genealógicos en los cuales fermenta la transgresión como fuerza que descalabra los fundamentos liberales de la Nación chilena” (Guerra, p.61). Despite their prolific reality, neither phenomenon fits

suitably into the Eurocentric ideal, and so their transgressive nature means they undermine the strict societal norms.

In *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, Catalina discusses *huacheraje* openly and discards the stigma that seems to be attached to it. She is indeed proud of her heritage as a descendant of *huachas*. She claims “[e]l bastardaje que nos marca a las mujeres de mi casa, empezó en mi bisabuela doña Elvira, cacica de Talagante” (Valdivieso 1991, p.33). By refusing to marry Bartolomé Blumen, Elvira guaranteed that her children would become *huachos*. In an interview with Ana María Foxley, Valdivieso suggests that Elvira “asumió la bastardía para tener independencia y autonomía. Entonces La Quintrala tiene un bastardaje doble: por la sangre y por ser mujer” (cited in Foxley 1989, p.5). Indeed, in the story as presented by Valdivieso, Blumen proposed marriage knowing the high social status of his lover and with the knowledge that the union would give him great political strength within Chile. Not wishing to relinquish her own status, Elvira refused his request and decided to raise her daughter Águeda alone, and so retained control of her land and subjects. Indeed, Elvira’s position in society is key here and allows her the luxury of making such a choice. Most indigenous women were not as fortunate in such cases and often found that as willing or forced lovers of the Spanish conquistadores they were left raising their children alone as their partners abandoned them to continue their conquest of Chile.

The most prominent example of *huacho* in the text is the protagonist’s half-brother, Segundo a Secas y Antivil. As the illegitimate son of Gonzalo de los Ríos, Segundo was raised by his indigenous mother who instilled her values in him. We are told that Segundo is “el único bastardo de don Gonzalo al que éste le otorgó cariño. ‘¡Ríos!’ lo llamó una vez que estaba borracho [...]. En ese momento oímos: ‘¡Segundo a Secas, señor, y me basta!’” (Valdivieso 1991, p.82). Initially, Segundo joins the Spanish forces in their quest to subdue the indigenous uprising south of the river Bío-Bío. He is part of the governor, Alonso de Ribera’s, forces and serves him faithfully until the day he decides he can no longer fight with the Spanish against his native kin and decides to join the uprising.

[S]e despidió del gobernador y éste lo dispensó de su rango y del ejército. Luego quiso abrazarlo, ‘tarde aún el tiempo de la amistad’, le dijo, ‘y entre mis dos sangres en guerra ya tomé partido. Adiós don Alonso, que así y aunque nos duela, *vamos haciendo este mundo*’ (Valdivieso 1991, p.101; inflection is mine).

The use of the gerund here indicates something that is still in the process of creation. They are constructing the world as they see fit. The fact that it is incomplete, like the collective identities discussed, opens up suggestions to many possibilities of how life could have been. The reality is that this war between the *conquistadores* and the resisting indigenous groups continued for almost two centuries after this point, but at this moment there is great hope of returning to life as it was prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Having deserted the Spanish forces in favour of their enemies, a warrant is issued for Segundo’s arrest and he becomes an outlaw.

On the death of Gonzalo de los Ríos, he wills land and his surname in addition to some weapons to Segundo.

‘mando que se le den cinco hijuelas de mis haciendas de Longotoma y las cinco que él decida tomar, con los indios aposentados en ellas para su servicio, a mi hijo natural Segundo Antivil, capitán del fuerte de Purén en la zona huilliche, y pido que si como Ríos quiera llamarse así se le ha de respetar desde el día de mi entierro’ (Valdivieso 1991, p.122).

Catalina’s uncles believe Segundo should not claim what has been left to him since he is an outlaw and they do not believe he deserves anything considering Gonzalo would not even recognise him as a son while he was alive. “Asesino, le agregó mi tío Pedro, y habló de la desgracia que resultó ser el bastardo de Ríos, renegado después de haber merecido respeto” (Valdivieso 1991, p.129). Catalina points out the obvious contradiction in the treatment of Segundo, given that he is: “[p]roscrito en su tierra” (Valdivieso 1991, p.123). They have outlawed him from land which if they had not colonised it, would actually be his. Catalina explains the situation to her cousin Juan Pacheco:

Le conté a Juan del testamento de don Gonzalo, de que Segundo podría nombrarse Ríos, y echó una risa fea. Segundo se quedaría a Secas Antivil, dijo, siempre él mismo. Lo contrario de no ser español, ni mestizo, ni bastardo, y se palpó el pecho con rabia, no ser nada más que un Pacheco extraviado (Valdivieso 1991, p.127).

For the Spanish, it was a great honour for Gonzalo to ‘allow’ Segundo to assume his surname. However, Juan understands that this is more a case of laying claim to Segundo, rather than a selfless gesture on Gonzalo’s part. It sets Segundo apart and allows him claim only the parts he wishes to retain of his Spanish heritage. As Juan suspects, Segundo rejects de los Ríos’ surname claiming:

‘Tomo la tierra que don Gonzalo me manda, aunque no es mandar ni tomar lo que es y ha sido nuestro. Me dicen Segundo a Secas, y acepto el Segundo por lo español que tengo, pero a Secas y Antivil me nombro que es tarde para relevos’ (Valdivieso 1991, p.128).

In a conversation with Catalina, Juan claims that he, “no era bastardo pero estaba en el límite [...] Mejor bastardo que legítimo a medias, dijo, y elegir su sitio como Segundo a Secas, como los mestizos que regresaban a la mitad natural de su sangre” (Valdivieso 1991, p.125). Both Juan and Segundo have been raised by their indigenous relatives. The ‘mitad natural’ to which Pacheco refers is his indigenous heritage. While Juan’s comment is relevant to Segundo’s situation, since he is only recognised officially by his father posthumously, it also speaks to his own experience of *huacheraje*. When Enrique Enríquez taunts him calling him “¿Bastardo de Lisperguer?” (Valdivieso 1991, p.21), Juan corrects him stating, “‘legítimo’, y luego: ‘pero en la ley’” (Valdivieso 1991, p.21). Since Fadrique, his father, is married he can only recognise him through the law. Juan is a legitimised son born out of wedlock, making his status as *huacho* less clear than Segundo’s, although he demonstrates his obvious preference for his mother, Guadencia Belén Pacheco, privileging his maternal line over the paternal in a way similar to Catalina. His own father, like Catalina’s has been absent in his life. Unlike Catalina’s, his father, Fadrique has contributed very little financially to his well-being. “Don Fadrique se presentaba en casa de su suegra por negocios con el situado, le obsequiaba unas monedas y desaparecía” (Valdivieso 1991, p.124). His grandmother has raised and supported him. The *dicen que* section explains why, if Fadrique recognises him, Juan’s surname is Pacheco.

En su agonía, el Lisperguer recordó a un hijo que crecía en La Concepción y del que nadie supo hasta aquel momento. Lo nombró Juan Pacheco, pero no era bastardo, su suegra, en el odio al yerno, le trocó al nieto su Lisperguer por el Pacheco. Don Fadrique sufrió la visión de la madre y del hijo y entre borbotones de sangre: ‘¿Gaudencia Belén Pacheco, perdóname!’,

gritaba. Las últimas fuerzas que le quedaron las ocupó en juramentar a su madre y sus hermanos, que el Juan Pacheco tendría lo suyo, hijo y nieto legítimo (Valdivieso 1991, p.113).

Similar to de los Ríos, Lisperguer waits until his dying moments to make the existence of his son, Juan, public.

Furthermore, we are informed of a minor character, Lepantaru, who is also a Lisperguer *huacho*. Perdón del Socorro narrates what she has heard about him following a particularly violent indigenous attack on the *conquistadores*. “Lepantaru, bastardo de don Juan Rodulfo Lisperguer, es el más empeñoso de los levantados y amigo de Segundo lo hablan” (Valdivieso 1991, p.69). Indeed, we are told that Lepantaru is the person who initially introduces Juan and Segundo and he may well have been the person that influenced their decision to defect from the European army to join the indigenous as he was a “cacique que rechazó el Lisperguer y el mayorazgo, para durarse de bárbaro y enemigo” (Valdivieso 1991, p.137). There is also a correlation drawn between the influences the ethnic identities have on the characters’ enactment of masculinity. As *huachos* they have not only been raised to recognise their indigenous heritage, but since they are not recognised by their fathers—or sometimes choose not to accept that recognition—, they are excluded from positions of power in European society. By opting not to acknowledge their fathers’ ancestry and to join the indigenous forces, they can achieve a higher social status, placing them in a position of strength in the gender hierarchy that they could not achieve in the European forces. Despite being a woman, Catalina is more powerful in the European-dominated society than her illegitimate male relatives.

In Valdivieso’s text, Catalina’s mother, Catalina Flores y Lisperguer, considers herself a *huacha*. “Huérfana de abuelo y padre he sido y no sólo por fallecimientos, ‘¡todos huachos de padre, en el reino!’”, le gritó mi madre a fray Cristobal” (Valdivieso 1991, p.51). Catalina de los Ríos’ father rejects her as his daughter, because she has clearly assumed her indigenous roots as a primary representation of her identity and does not hold her European heritage in such a high esteem. She seems glad to distance herself from her father and what he represents. His life is one of acquiring power at the cost of anyone or anything. He has fathered

several children whom he does not recognise, except posthumously, Segundo a Secas. He has supported and recognised only his legitimate children, Águeda, and somewhat begrudgingly, Catalina. By willing his surname to Segundo upon his death, it means Segundo will no longer be considered a *huacho*. Refusing to accept his father's surname, Segundo states that his mother has always supported him and that this sudden act of posthumous appropriation on the part of his father does not change his opinions or allegiance to the indigenous community, his community. For him, being a *huacho* is not necessarily a negative attribute.

Rosa Sarabia's analysis of Valdivieso's text provides a new reading of Catalina's position as daughter of Gonzalo. "Valdivieso abre la posibilidad de que la propia Catalina sea bastarda, producto de los amoríos adúlteros de su madre y razón por la cual su padre la rechazara a ella y no a su hermana" (Sarabia 2000, p.46). There is validity in Sarabia's statement, since Catalina Lisperguer's infidelity is mentioned. "Mi madre llevaba sus pasos por donde no decía, y don Gonzalo sonaba la huasca para que la Tatamai contara" (Valdivieso 1991, p.38). However, Lisperguer denies this screaming at her husband, "que ojalá fuera cierto lo que él afirmaba y que a mí me hacia bastarda. Pero por desgracia no era así y tuviera cuidado" (Valdivieso 1991, p.57). There is a sense throughout the texts mentioned that their discussion of *huachos* is one that seeks to remind Chileans that this is an integral element of Chilean history. Sonia Montecino explains why there is such shame attached to the condition of *huacho* in Chile. She states that *mestizaje* "nos hizo expertos en camuflar nuestro dolor. La conquista y el desarrollo de nuestra historia posterior es una cuestión muy traumática de la que no queremos hablar. Culturalmente preferimos olvidar, que es otro de nuestros rasgos actuales" (cited in Zerán 1993, p.15). Each text displays a certain amount of pride in this part of Chilean ethnic identities. The protagonists of Valdivieso's and Frías' texts make it evident that there is nothing wrong with being a *huacho* and there is indeed some pride to be felt knowing that one can proceed without a father figure. Valdivieso made this clear through her protagonist as she states, "[b]astardaje y mestizaje nos hicieron, y de esta mezcla para adelante seguimos" (Valdivieso 1991, p.37).

In *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, the church speaks out against this phenomenon seeing it as a danger to the patriarchal powers in the church and state. Fray Marciano declares:

la voz del pecado sirve también para enmendar rumbos. Huacho le dicen al hijo sin padre, crecido y aconsejado sólo por la madre que los pare. Desprecio al hombre es lo que crece de eso, ¡cuán alto precio, señores, pagará el reino por vuestra concupiscencia! (Valdivieso 1991, p.115).

He does not believe it appropriate for women alone to rear children as their influence might encourage a hatred of men. In *La doña de Campofrío*, the church is also wary of this trend that is fast becoming the norm, “[d]e la Fuente [...] habló con su voz entera. –Aunque sí abundan los hijos nacidos fuera del matrimonio, señora. Una costumbre que debemos revertir lo antes posible –afirmó–. De otra manera este será para siempre un reino de guachos” (Frías 2003, p.614). There is a call to re-establish the norms that were brought from Spain wherein a monogamous relationship that has been sealed in the act of marriage is the accepted approach and anything extramarital is frowned upon. This starts the process of denominating the presence of *huachos* as a taboo topic that is not discussed openly. In her analysis of *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, Bernadita Llanos confirms this problematic approach to the topic at hand stating:

El tema del bastardaje como marca de la identidad mestiza en la novela tiene un importante significado cultural. Es precisamente la experiencia de la ilegitimidad, el huacheraje o bastardaje, lo que define la constitución del mestizo y la mestiza, reconociendo sólo la madre frente al padre español ausente (Llanos 1994, p.1034).

Even though it was a taboo issue, the Spanish did not attempt to rectify the situation and continued to father *huachos* as before. Frías’ Catalina suggests that “[p]rocrear guachos en las indias era una costumbre tan extendida y cotidiana que los hombres ni siquiera lo incluían en sus confesiones” (Frías 2003, p.169).

Marriage: An Ethnic Union and Social Transaction

One of the ways in which the church sought to eradicate the phenomenon of *huacheraje* was through marriage. For the upper echelons of society however, it

served not only to avoid births out of wedlock, but it was also fundamental for creating powerful strategic links in their close-knit community. Between the individuals getting married, there is a need to negotiate the ethnicities to which they adhere as individuals, as a couple, and also how that relates to the wider societal group. Catalina's marriage is a primary issue elaborated in both Valdivieso's and Frías' texts. The majority of Valdivieso's publication, narrated in Catalina's voice, is indeed her confession to the local priest on the eve of her marriage to Alonso de Campofrío y Carvajal. Although Valdivieso's Catalina speaks very little of her impending marriage in the text, she does express frustration with her family and their decision to marry her to the Spanish Captain. The desire to marry her off is to gain some level of control over Catalina and her transgressive behaviour which includes: physical violence towards others, particularly servants; incestuous relationships with her cousin and half-brother; and the suspected murder of lovers. The belief is that a man's control may calm such conduct. Attaining wealth from both her indigenous tribe and her European families, Catalina does not require a wealthy husband. What is most important for her family is that she marries somebody of appropriate social standing in their seventeenth-century society. Alonso de Campofrío fulfils this particular requirement. Catalina's grandmother, Águeda, confirms that as an "hijo de un conquistador muy celebrado en campañas memorables y que venido de Alcántara en Extremadura, sus antepasados poseían solar conocida" (Valdivieso 1991, p.18) making him an appropriate suitor for Catalina. The protagonist adds: "[n]o agregó que don Alonso carecía de dote, no la necesita el que se case conmigo. Buen cuidado tendré con mis haberes, mi bisabuela aplicó el ejemplo" (Valdivieso 1991, pp.18-19). She is referring to Elvira, *cacica* of Talagante, and her refusal to marry Bartolomé Blumen on discovering she was expecting his child, Águeda, grandmother of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer. Her decision not to marry is based on her desire to retain control of her wealth and land which she would lose were she to marry Blumen. Indeed, Catalina discovers on the death of her father the extent of her own wealth.

"Me enteré de que teníamos tierras y siervos para trabajarlas en lugares apartados hacia el norte y sur del reino y también en el Tulcumán y Cuyo; además de solares, minas que explotar

y las encomiendas que yo sabía. Todo eso me nombraría dueña de la dote más suculenta que quedaba en el reino luego de matrimoniada Agueda de los Ríos” (Valdivieso 1991, p.122).

In the seventeenth-century Chile portrayed by Valdivieso, it is clear that marriage is a negotiation of business and power more than the sentimental union of two people. Catalina is being married off in an attempt to improve her social status which is affected by her flouting of societal expectations. Valdivieso explains the function of her marriage in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, “[s]u matrimonio es un acto de reflexión. Y es una transacción social” (cited in Zerán 1991, p.5). Campofrío benefits financially while Catalina, and more importantly, her family name, will retain respect within the kingdom. Elvira, Catalina’s great-grandmother refused to marry Bartolomé Blumen (later changed to Flores), because were she to do so, she would lose possession of her lands and her status as *cacica* of Talagante. “[D]oña Elvira se negó al casorio con Bartolomé Blumen para conservar sus tierras y seguir su propia vida [...] éste quiso dignarle su nombre, pero manceba y libre sería ella misma en este mandar de varones, dijo sin afanarse” (Valdivieso 1991, p.33). Elvira, left to live out her life in peace, raising her daughter by herself, managed to retain control of her lands and the titles handed down to her matrilineally through her tribe, los Curiqueo. Blumen would have more to gain through this marriage than Elvira since he would gain Elvira’s inherited assets and also an alliance with the indigenous tribes which would aid the *conquistadores* in their attempt to take control of the land and people. This forced union between the ethnic groups would certainly favour the European endeavour over the indigenous one.

In Frías’ portrayal of the seventeenth-century, marriage is also referred to explicitly in terms of a business deal intended to benefit the families financially and politically. The idea seems to be to unite the powerful players in the European collective with those in positions of power from the indigenous tribes. María, Catalina’s aunt, states: “[p]ara la mamá, los matrimonios de la familia son una fuente de poder, no una semilla de la felicidad” (Frías 2003, p.40). Perhaps Águeda has such a negative perspective on marriage given the fact that once their children start to cause trouble—being suspected of poisoning Alonso de Ribera, or wishing to marry above their social standing—her husband, Pedro Lisperguer decides to

abandon the family and move to Lima. He feigns that the urgency in this move is to ensure that their interests are served in the presence of the Viceroy (Frías 2003, p.485). Catalina understands immediately, as does her grandmother, that he is not abandoning the kingdom of Chile, he is abandoning his family, and leaving his wife to deal with the personal and political fallout of their children's actions.

The marriage ceremonies are one of the many ways in which elements in this colonial culture negotiate and compete for power. The resulting union is part of it, but what is also relevant is the manner in which the characters choose to marry. Frías' texts investigate the indigenous rite of the *rapto* through the protagonist and her uncle, Pedro. Catalina's approach to her uncle Pedro's dilemma regarding his own love life seeks to promote traditions she has learned from her indigenous heritage. Pedro is very much in love with Florencia. However, he is forbidden from marrying her through the European rules which state that *criollos* cannot marry *peninsulares* working on behalf of the monarchy. This stipulation highlights the importance of not losing sight of social class when discussing ethnicity. Even though Pedro is of the same ethnicity as Florencia, his social status means it would be a conflict of interests were they to marry since the *peninsulares* are expected to rule objectively over their subjects. Given the status of Florencia's father, as a judge in the city, Pedro cannot legally marry her. Pedro shares his sorrow with Catalina. As the uncle she is closest to, she speaks frankly to him suggesting he simply has to kidnap Florencia from her father's house according to the tradition of the Aconcagua called *el rapto*. If he acknowledges his indigenous roots inherited from his mother, Pedro has a prominent position with which, until this point, he has not affiliated. He uses his indigenous ancestry to further his social position in their European-led society that then grants him a position to marry Florencia. He has not invested the time or interest in this element of his lineage in the same way the protagonist has, it is merely a superficial affiliation that grants him access to a position which he cannot reach in European society as a *criollo*. Assuming his position then as *lonco* among the Lisperguers, Florencia's father yields permission for him to marry her. When he returns to Catalina, Pedro declares: “[s]oy un lonco aconcagüino aprestándose para pintarse con los colores guerreros” (Frías 2003, p.601), adding, “[v]oy a seguir tu

consejo [...] Esta noche raptaré a Florencia. Con su acuerdo por supuesto, se hará nuestro matrimonio según los ritos de mi tribu” (Frías 2003, p.601). Until this point Pedro has always favoured his European heritage and he has proudly fought on behalf of the Europeans in the war to ‘pacify’ Araucania. Shortly after speaking to Catalina, he does *raptar* Florencia, and given the argument of his status among the indigenous, he is then given permission to marry her officially through the church, bringing European legitimacy to the indigenous rite.

There is a mixing of customs here that seem to contradict one another and yet make sense and somehow complement one another. *Raptar* in this sense is a long-standing tradition where the man breaks into his betrothed’s house and fends off all her male relatives who strive to protect her. By overcoming all adversaries, the man is then considered worthy of the woman’s hand in marriage. Pedro distances himself from other responsibilities to ensure their happiness. His father, Pedro Lisperguer is not happy with such decisions. To Catalina’s delight, Pedro informs her that: “[t]u abuelo [...] está furioso conmigo, porque decidí no tomar el mando antes de casarme con Florencia” (Frías 2003, p.633). Not wishing to return to his military duties until he has married Florencia, Pedro shows strength and commitment to being with her that is not typical of the men in Catalina’s world. This, Catalina reminds him, is “muy poco militar” (Frías 2003, p.633). Speaking of both Pedro’s marriage and her recently-assumed position as *cacica* of their tribe, Catalina describes the way in which popular opinion changes despite prior criticism of the family:

Si yo me había convertido en una doña digna de respeto, después del rapto de Florencia, el tío Pedro era alabado como un caballero digno de las cortes de amor de Aquitania. Entre ambos habíamos ganado la causa de los Lisperguer en todas las instancias, sociales, morales, familiares, legales, religiosas y, por qué no decirlo, celestias. Los Lisperguer pudimos pasear de nuevo por las calles sin necesidad de mayores protecciones y dejaron de arrojar perros muertos en la portería de los Dos Solares (Frías 2003, p.609).

Although Catalina’s personal success is amplified through her enthronement as *cacica*, her marriage to Campofrío, though externally respectable and fulfilling, does not inspire desire, love or happiness in her. Since she is expecting the child of a deceased man, and in order to retain family honour, she is expected to marry so her child will be legitimate. Catalina, as the recently-crowned *cacica* of the Aconcagua

tribe, insists on marrying Campofrío through the rites of both her European and indigenous ancestry. “Me casaría primero en la iglesia y luego sería raptada por Campofrío. Iría de la iglesia a los ritos ancestrales de mi tribu” (Frías 2003, p.679).

In Aconcaguan tradition, this was an extremely violent ritual that demanded the man committing the act to be physically capable of overcoming several members of his bride’s family to eventually ‘steal’ her away. In Catalina’s case, however, this was a formality and consent had already been given to Campofrío, so he simply needed to act out this part as the men in Catalina’s family played along with the charade:

Todos fingíamos que se trataba de una fiesta normal y gritamos con aparente pánico cuando, voceando mi nombre de soltera, apareció Campofrío en el portón abierto de par en par. Sobre su gran caballo parecía el dios de la guerra. —¡Catalina de los Ríos! ¡Catalina! —gritaba (Frías 2003, p.698).

In mock violence, Campofrío pushes aside Catalina’s relatives and, as the custom requires, she shrieks and kicks in mock panic as he whisks her off her feet and claims her as ‘his’. Perro, Catalina’s fiercely loyal pet dog, is the only one who does not realise that this is make-believe. As a result he launches at Campofrío attempting to save his mistress: “se le arrojó encima, más bien detrás, lo agarró por las nalgas, mordió con fuerza y zamarreó con tal violencia que el caballero estuvo a punto de caer conmigo” (Frías 2003, pp.689-690). The damage caused by Perro’s attack on Campofrío means that Catalina’s husband cannot manage to lift her onto his horse as the tradition dictates in order to tear her away from her family. A pathetically comical image ensues with Catalina mounting the horse herself and a guard helping Campofrío to mount behind her. Catalina defends her pet suggesting: “[e]l animal había hecho lo que debía y no podía culpar al pobre por no saber interpretar los confusos juegos sociales de los hombres” (Frías 2003, p.691).

Due to the European influence, the *rapto* is only carried out to satisfy Catalina’s desire to incorporate the indigenous tradition into the celebration of her union with Campofrío. Aware that her marriage is arranged to satisfy social norms and not her emotional needs, she at least insists on carrying out the ceremonies to her preference. In its execution, *el rapto*, like its European counterpart, is a patriarchal

tradition which reinforces male dominance over women and the objectification of the woman involved as the property of the father and the family from which she is stolen and subsequently becoming the property of the man who succeeds in stealing her. This facet of the *rpto* will be analysed in greater detail on pages 167-168. Realistically, were Campofrío to carry out a genuine *rpto*, he may not succeed in stealing Catalina from her family given the forces behind her and the presence of her guard dog. Perro's actions, albeit comical, in a serious way subvert this fake expression of indigenous tradition, calling into question its legitimacy and the reasons for which it is carried out. According to the protagonist, this make-believe *rpto* validates her marriage to Campofrío: “[a]sí, el rpto nupcial propio de la tradición y las costumbres de mi tierra, legitimó las cosas al modo indígena” (Frías 2003, p.690). This begs the question of how a mock version of the *rpto* legitimises the marriage as per indigenous tradition and to what extent, this heritage is important to Catalina in her daily life if she will accept a less-than realistic portrayal of this indigenous custom.

Catalina is not fooled by her marriage to Campofrío. She can see the obvious humour in the sequence of events that leads to her almost-failed *rpto* declaring:

Dios es un payaso ciego, me decía, al recordar la dramática comedia de mi rpto. No estaba desilusionada. Hacía tiempo que la actitud de Campofrío durante nuestro noviazgo, me había hecho perder hasta la última esperanza de vivir con él, en mi primera noche de casada, la plenitud amorosa que espera cualquier novia (Frías 2003, p.693).

As a true soldier and gentleman, Campofrío honoured his word and did not make his engagement to Catalina public knowledge until her own family decided it was time. Throughout that time, on several occasions, Catalina attempted to seduce Campofrío, but to no avail. It was clear to Catalina that he agreed to marry her for financial and political motivations rather than emotional reasons. The protagonist too had ulterior motives for accepting this union, it would certainly aid her social position being married when she gave birth to her child, but also it was an agreement: “cuyo mejor beneficio sería el inicio de una dinastía nativa en el reino” (Frías 2003, p.683). The desire for such a dynasty is dampened greatly by Perro's attack on Campofrío. Catalina informs the reader that due to the injury sustained: “[e]l caballero enamorado de la muerte no podría jamás penetrar nada con su lanza” (Frías 2003,

p.696). Most conversations with Campofrío tend to refer back to death, and its constant threat among their community permanently at war with the indomitable Mapuche groups resisting colonisation in the south of the country. The fact that Campofrío will never be able to consummate his marriage to Catalina is an ill omen for their future according to the protagonist: “[i]era impotente! Para nosotros, los indios, la fertilidad es el fundamento mismo de la vida y se contagia entre los hombres y la naturaleza, tal como la alegría, el miedo o el dolor” (Frías 2003, p.698). Without being able to procreate, they will not continue the hybridity that produces the heterogeneous situation in and subsequent to the colonial period in Chile.

Cultural Traditions and Languages of Hybridity

The expression of hybridity in the period depicted in the primary texts is not limited to *huacheraje* and unions through marriage. There is also a wealth of cultural traditions, religious practices and strategic uses of language that aid the development of varying expressions of ethnic identity in the protagonists and secondary characters of both Valdivieso’s and Frías’ texts. An analysis of the cultural, religious and linguistic customs of the primary ethnic identities evident in the texts, illustrates complex, nuanced realities.

Entering into explicit dialogue with Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna’s text, *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, rejects the historian’s blame for the historical figure’s heinous actions based on the fact that she is a woman of German and indigenous descent which she has acquired through the maternal line. The twentieth-century fictional account of Catalina’s life encourages an alternative perspective and places the indigenous culture in a more powerful position than the European one by distorting the typical power structures in play and demonstrating some characters’ preference for their indigenous heritage over the European one. Following his discovery that she has been sleeping with Álvaro Álvarez, the son of his enemy, Gonzalo de los Ríos accuses his daughter of constantly plotting against him. He criticises her promiscuous behaviour as she states: “[o]í que de gustarme los bárbaros, me pasaba a hombre blanco pero prohibido, siempre de contra al bien y que, por *maldita yo entre las mujeres*, a nadie le extrañaría que mi padre me

arrancara del mundo” (Valdivieso 1991, p.57; inflection mine). Cecilia Ojeda suggests that Gonzalo’s use of the title phrase:

alude al mito de la caída de la gracia manejado por don Gonzalo como argumento para juzgar una conducta femenina que se separa de lo estipulado. Ello se verifica especialmente en la condenación a toda manifestación sexual de doña Catalina, mientras que absuelve y apoya la propia práctica de don Gonzalo del concubinato, la procreación de bastardos y la violación institucionalizada en los cuerpos de las criadas no europeas que sirven en su casa (Ojeda 1998, p.93).

Gonzalo continues to verbally attack Catalina, believing that his words are having a satisfactory effect on her. However, Catalina becomes distracted stating: “[s]us palabras me volvieron a mi época de niña y a mis preferencias por los mapuches que nos servían, oscuros y distantes a los que éramos sus amos” (Valdivieso 1991, p.58). Valdivieso uses her protagonist in this situation, not only to favour indigenous heritage, but also to articulate an intersectional depiction of ethnic identities. The distinction drawn between Catalina and her Mapuche servants is not solely ethnic, it is perhaps a more strongly class-based division. In this way, the servants are doubly subjugated, through class and ethnicity. Even though Catalina clearly sees a distinction between herself and the indigenous, she declares a definite preference for their heritage. After all, they are the people who raised Catalina. The servants spoke to her in their language and spent more time with her than her parents.

There is an argument from the texts of both Valdivieso and Frías that Catalina is illustrative of the fusion of cultures that exists within the Chile of this historical period. Indeed Bernadita Llanos suggests this of Valdivieso’s protagonist:

El mal no sólo gobierna sus acciones y su inmoralidad, sino que emana de su propio cuerpo. Aquí radica el conflicto cultural y de identidad que la Quintrala enfrenta en tanto mestiza, pues en ella se manifiesta una nueva cultura y un nuevo sujeto, cuyo hibridismo marca su estatus y poder (Llanos 1994, p.1032).

In Frías’ texts there is an initial suggestion that some form of unity can be achieved between the principal cultures. This is illustrated in Águeda’s description of her granddaughter, Catalina:

—Catrala —solía decirme—, eres la mejor mezcla entre el conquistador y el conquistado, entre el germano y el hispano, entre el europeo y el indígena, entre el sacerdote y el guerrero, entre el

brujo y la meica. Tienes el pelo rojo fuego de los godos, los ojos verdes del norte alemán, la piel mate y los pómulos altos de la tribu de Tala Canta, que es nuestra propia tribu, y los labios abultados, ese árabe sensual de los De los Ríos, represor como buen descendiente de españoles andaluces. Catalina de los Ríos Lisperguer —decía la abuela—, tienes el destino que nosotros soñamos, la vida que ansiamos y el tiempo que nos falta (Frías 2001, p.112).

This description of the physical mixing of ethnicities paints a powerful image of Catalina as representative of the diverse nature of identities present in Chile, and indeed in Spain at the time. It is important to note the reference to Arab blood in Andalucía as it is something which the Spanish seem keen to gloss over in their discourse. In their very recent history the Spanish had just expelled the Jews from their country and then turned immediately to conquer other lands. For this reason there were undoubtedly pre-existing heterogeneous collective identities in the Spanish who conquered Chile. They are not the ‘cristianos viejos’ they like to refer to themselves as when claiming a superior position to recently-converted Christians. Nestór García Canclini’s call for a pluralist perspective, “which accepts fragmentation and multiple combinations” (Canclini 2005, p.264), comes to mind here.

Águeda, who is also of mixed heritage, sees her granddaughter’s ancestry as being representative of the reality in Chile. She herself was called “la primera doncella de Chile” (Frías 2001, p.162) when she was born, but she believes Catalina—who will inherit the *cacicazgo* of their tribe directly from Águeda as the first-born in the third generation, in addition to the wealth of land that will be passed down from her paternal side—is the true ‘doncella’. She declares: “mi nieta, por efecto de cruce de razas aristocráticas y fortuna territorial, es realmente la primera doncella del reino” (Frías 2001, p.162). This apparent balance between the cultures as exhibited by Catalina continues as she describes how she dresses for her *Día Más Largo*, which is the ceremony that celebrates her initiation into the position of *cacica* of her tribe, los Aconcagua. Even in celebrating this important day as a member of the indigenous population, Catalina chooses attire which also represents her European identity

me puse una camisa sevillana de muselina blanca, encima una blusa picunche de lana de alpaca negra, bordada con grecas teñidas de rojo con las flores del quintral, y una falda

española del color de las castañas, apta para montar. Llevaría también un poncho corto de lana blanca de vicuña, que usaba la gente de Todo el Agua en días calurosos como este (Frías 2003, p.23).

This outfit seems to be sufficiently European while at the same time considered acceptable for the indigenous ceremony. Catalina accepts and rejects traditions of both cultures to suit herself. She must ensure her European heritage is represented in her choice of clothing in order not to offend the members of the church and political leaders in the country who are attending her *Día Más Largo*. It seems to be as much a strategic choice as a personal one on Catalina's part. She knows the importance of placating the European members of their society in order to ensure she can continue with her plans as she has done until that point. Frías says of his protagonist: “[m]i ficción es que ella es la única persona in Chile que ha llegado a un sincretismo que defina nuestra cultura” (cited in Martín 2001, p.78). This suggests he does not truly believe that this syncretism can be achieved, merely that there is a need to acknowledge the dispersed elements that are involved and find a means of accepting this heterogeneous nature. Ivonne Cuadra agrees that Catalina/ la Quintrala is a suitable historical character to use for this purpose, asserting:

Si tenemos en cuenta los antecedentes del pueblo Mapuche al analizar el personaje de La Quintrala, ella fácilmente podría encarnar el símbolo de esta rebelión. El hecho que la imagen de esta mujer aparezca continuamente en la historia de Chile es en sí una muestra de la influencia que ha tenido en este conflicto de culturas (Cuadra 1999, p.58).

Despite this suggestion of the union between the ethnic identities, each text studied indicates a friction that arises when one attempts to hold the elements in a whole or total form. This correlates with the understanding of identity as set out in this thesis which describes it as constantly changing, never attaining a static, fixed state. Ana María Stiven asserts that: “[c]omo la identidad de las personas escapa a una definición precisa y excluyente, también las naciones esconden su complejidad y su riqueza si queremos encasillarlas en un discurso esencialista” (Stiven 2007, p.15). *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* considers this multiplicity as it describes how as a young girl, Catalina's mother, Catalina Lisperguer, used to swear in front of her grandfather, Bartolomé Flores, for whom she had little respect. Although she learned this habit from him, he was quick to criticise her for behaving in that way. Frustrated

he exclaimed: ““india como tu abuela, que de blanca mente tu cara”” (Valdivieso 1991, p.36). He attributes to her native ancestry the things he does not like about her. Although Catalina Lisperguer physically resembles her European relatives, this is not the case in her cultural practices. Catalina de los Ríos recognises this tendency to self-identify with one culture or another according to your upbringing. She explains how her sister, Águeda, raised in the same household as her, does not identify with her indigenous roots as Catalina does: “mi hermana es de la misma raza de los hombres que cruzaron la mar océano para que nunca más los nativos de este reino fueron los mismos” (Valdivieso 1991, p.39). Although they have the same parents, the sisters’ upbringing and cultural focus have always been different. Águeda, while not disregarding completely her indigenous heritage, is more comfortable operating within the European sphere of Chilean society. The division among the ethnicities is still very clear at this time and so it leads to both sisters taking very distinctive paths in life from one another. Their DNA does not determine the ethnicity they choose to affiliate with, but rather the culture that has most appealed to them, that which offers them greatest possibilities.

Catalina, the protagonist of Valdivieso’s text, is aware of a constant internal resistance she experiences with her alternating identities: “[m]e quedé en lo incierto y me acepté en mitades, bárbara y blanca” (Valdivieso 1991, p.58). Resolving to uncertainty and rejecting the need to accept one ethnic identity or another is a difficult process since there is a constant expectation within their society to choose. Stiven affirms that a fragmented approach to considering ethnic identities highlights the diversity present in individuals and groups.

[E]l sentido del concepto de fragmento; de una figura que se recorta donde uno puede reconocerse casi furtivamente; donde uno simplemente aparece por instantes, pudiendo agregar o quitar a la palabra aquello que le falta o sobra de nuestra historia o nuestra memoria (Stiven 2007, p.217).

Recognising fluid constructions of identities is what allows a constant negotiation of genders and ethnicities. In Frías’ *La doña de Campofrío*, as she is welcomed by the elders of her tribe as their new *cacica*, Catalina describes this attempt to express the

simultaneous yet contradictory experiences she has that represent her assertion of identity:

Mi ojo alemán español asistía a una de esas extrañas ceremonias, ingenuas, amables y pintorescas de los indios. Mi ojo picunche Aconcagua vivía un momento único, un tiempo fenomenal, totalmente fuera de la ordinaria rutina diaria y dispuesto a repetir indefinidamente la sucesión de sus eventos, que a los europeos nos parecían accidentales, pero que para nosotros, los indios, obedecían al pie de la letra los viejos ritos de la raza (Frías 2003, p.118).

Frías' text seems to demonstrate here what Mignolo has described as border thinking, which is a refusal to organise the world in dichotomies, as in Western thought. Mignolo emphasises border thinking as imperative to allow for the collective fragments of which ethnicities are made. Border thinking is the act of thinking "*from dichotomous concepts rather than ordering the world in dichotomies*" (Mignolo 2000, p.85) and in doing so it is possible to change the 'locus of enunciation'. By identifying herself simultaneously as European and indigenous, while never quite adhering to just one or the other, Catalina demonstrates the complex, fragmented reality of ethnic identities in Chile. She is also in a position to speak from the liminal, from the many borders of these diverging and converging ethnicities to which she is affiliated. Border thinking complements Abdelkébir Khatibi's notion of 'une autre pensée' or 'an other thinking' in the Moroccan context which is

a way of thinking that is not inspired in its own limitations and is not intended to dominate and to humiliate; a way of thinking that is universally marginal, fragmentary, and unachieved; and, as such, a way of thinking that, because universally marginal and fragmentary, is not ethnocidal (cited in Mignolo 2000, p.68).

Mignolo suggests this is an alternative means for considering the postcolonial world. 'An other thinking' is "possible when different local histories and their particular power relations are taken into consideration" (2000, p.67). Catalina is constantly torn between her conflicting identities. In *Catalina* when she is still keeping her pregnancy a secret, she speaks of the difficulty she has in doing so and hopes she will not be discovered before she has an opportunity to decide how to break the news:

Como si fuera un juego tenía [que] confiar en los dioses, la suerte, las estrellas, mi destino, lo que fuera. Sólo es difícil confiar cuando una pertenece a dos razas, a dos razones, dos religiones tan distintas una de la otra como un círculo lo es de un cuadrado (Frías 2001, p.345).

The division is a natural state given the variety of traditions in play among the cultures discussed in the text. Even though this divide is not unusual in their society it is still not accepted. The options offered are assimilation of the European culture, or choose one of the principal cultures. In *Catrala*, Catalina assures the reader: “[t]ener sangre de dos mitades es un imposible. Siempre al final hay que elegir” (Frías 2001, p.199). This raises the question whether or not a hybrid identity is conceptually possible. There seems to be a clear preference on the protagonist’s part for indigenous cultures and traditions, but she never completely rejects her European heritage and uses it to her advantage on more than one occasion. She does not definitively choose one or the other, despite obvious pressures from the European lay and religious community to do so. Her decision not to choose means life is more complicated for her. Catalina as a whole is both of European and indigenous heritage, denying one or the other is to deny a part of her. Though she struggles to come to terms with the societal pressures to conform one way or the other, she manages to retain a heterogeneous existence.

When María de Encío, Catalina’s maternal grandmother, compliments her grandchild as a good example of “la Buena raza”, referring to her European heritage, Catalina points out that “olvidaba la octava parte de sangre indígena que corría por mis venas” (Frías 2001, p.137). María de Encío laments the fact that Catalina is “[l]e fin de ma race” (Frías 2001, p.137), since her Spanish surname, Encío, will not be carried past her son, Gonzalo. For each character, their definition of principal ethnic identities is different based on their own preference. Jorge Larraín indicates with reference to the blends of ethnicities in Chile: “en el sentido de ser una cosa única, englobante y en la cual estemos todos de acuerdo. No, eso no existe, existen versiones, múltiples versiones de lo que es la identidad chilena” (cited in Stiven 2007, p.35). Catalina’s internal conflict regarding her identities is an example of these multiple versions within Chile. Frías’ protagonist is for him, exemplary of what is required within Chile and Latin America when discussing ethnic identities,

which is “integrar el mestizaje en vez de negarlo o relegarlo” (cited in Vallette 2001).

In both of Frías’ novels, Catalina usually favours more elements from her indigenous identity rather than her European heritage, although it has to be said that she turns to the latter at times when it is more comforting to her than her indigenous one. As her *Día Más Largo* draws to a close, Catalina worries about the fact her life is not working out as she would have planned. She is pregnant but the child’s father is dead, and she has a future husband who is there merely for appearances and not someone she truly loves or who loves her. The Aconcaguans believe that what you think and experience on that day will stay with you for the rest of your life. Catalina fears she may be left in a miserable situation with a husband who seems to be marrying for social ascent rather than anything else. She reassures herself though, “[p]ero yo soy europea y no tengo por qué creer cosas de indios, repetí para tranquilizarme. Yo soy europea. Soy alemana, soy española” (Frías 2003, p.61). It is rare for the protagonist to refer to herself in such a way as, throughout both of Frías’ texts, she fights to assert her indigenous identity that is constantly threatened by its European counterpart. “Yo era más india que extranjera, si no por cruza de razas, por crianza, y las viejas Curiqueo me habían designado un rol” (Frías 2003, p.632). The text elaborates the difficulty this causes for Catalina in her daily life. Although she prefers her indigenous traditions, she feels under pressure to submit to Spanish authority and, as described above, she sometimes seeks comfort in this ‘foreign’ faith.

She feels imprisoned by foreign traditions and expectations. Within the indigenous heritage her pregnancy is a source of joy and celebration for the impending life. However, the reality she faces in a Spanish-dominated Chile means that she must feel shame for having become pregnant outside of marriage and ‘rectify’ the situation by marrying Alonso de Campofrío. Águeda is aware of the contradictory situation her granddaughter is in and expresses a desire to change such realities. “Estamos lejos del mundo y tan distantes de quienes nos gobiernan, que bien podemos hacer lo que mejor nos parezca y darnos nuestras propias leyes” (Frías 2001, p.289). To an extent, this is the case among the governing bodies in Chile

where it is said in reference to foreign rule that “[s]e acata’, porque las ordenanzas eran voluntad del rey o del virrey, ‘pero no se cumple’, porque el pueblo las rechazaba” (Frías 2001, p.88). Though it must be stated that Águeda’s version of independence, and that of the European ruling class, vary greatly. Catalina does however see a close correlation between Águeda’s desires and those expressed by her paternal grandmother, María de Encío. In Frías’ account, the mother of Gonzalo de los Ríos, Encío, is better known as the former lover of Pedro de Valdivia who was eventually married off by Valdivia to his loyal captain, Gonzalo de los Ríos (Senior). Encío originally came to Chile from Peru escaping the persecution of the Inquisition. She was thought to be a witch and to have carried out heretical practices during her time in Spain and according to rumours Catalina hears, this is still the case in Chile. The Catalina who is writing her memoir as an older woman in *Catrala* explains that during the conversation with her grandmother, Águeda, there were quite a few similarities between her grandmothers and that they each view Chile as a haven and a place where they can possibly exert their independence and not fall under the strict rule of either the king’s subjects or the Catholic Church. She asserts:

Hoy comprendo que muchos europeos que viajaron hasta esa América nuestra, aventureros, segundones, frailes, mujeres y soldadesca, se quedaron porque aquí pudieron ser lo que nunca les dejaron hacer en sus reinos de origen, personas libres de ser lo que les viniera de los cojones. ¿Quién podía impedirselo? (Frías 2001, p.289).

Catalina’s maternal grandfather, Pedro Lisperguer, realises they have begun to lose their roots with Spain and its traditions and indeed in the ‘old country’ are no longer considered European, but rather Chilean. Even though they maintain the act of supremacy over their subjects, those of European descent are in fact no longer considered equals to those living in Europe.

—Me duele España —siguió el viejo con voz cansada—. El viejo imperio todavía es temible en el exterior, pero a pesar de la pompa y artificio de que hace gala, a pesar de tener un rey joven y entusiasta, a pesar de los heroicos hechos de armas, España, la cabeza del imperio, el primer poder de Europa, se ha echado a dormir confiada en los galeones de oro y plata que le enviamos nosotros desde aquí. Nosotros, los indianos (Frías 2001, p.85).

Pedro laments his position as *indiano* because he has prided himself on being born in Europe but since he has lived the greatest part of his life in Chile, he does not quite

know how to identify himself. His form of identity does not 'fit' with the categories designated by their colonial society. He is further proof of the difficulty of reconciling the ethnic identities assumed by members of their society. Is he European? Is he Chilean? What is it to be a European having spent most of your life in Chile? The view of identity in a state of development and constant renewal is evident in Pedro's words. Even though Catalina herself sees this division, between Europeans living in Europe and those who have made a living in Chile, as a positive thing and a way for Chile to move forward and create its own identities and traditions that are typical to there and not Europe. She asks, "¿[y] por qué no inventamos un mundo, abuelo? Uno para nosotros, los Lisperguer. Un mundo realmente nuevo en este Nuevo Mundo" (Frías 2003, p.291). She gets these ideas from his wife, and her grandmother, Águeda who says: "[p]ero este mundo es otro mundo, uno que inventamos y reinventamos todos los días, donde el tiempo hace de brasa para consumir la memoria" (Frías 2001, p.129).

Catalina's is a call for a new ethnic identity and given the hybrid reality of the Lisperguer clan, it seems fitting that she should use them as the example of what creation can come from the split from Europe. "¿Por qué copiar el Viejo Mundo, abuelo, si tú mismo atravesaste el océano para construir un mundo nuevo? –insistí" (Frías 2003, p.292). Having assumed the position of *cacica* in *La doña de Campofrío*, Catalina feels a sense of duty to take control of this situation and encourage a unity between the European and indigenous cultures that no longer looks to Europe for guidance but that allows new frameworks to develop instead. Her grandfather is not convinced reiterating that it is their duty to convert the indigenous to the Catholic faith and that although the Europeans are not the first to migrate, they are the first to expand their world and way of living (Frías 2003, pp.286-287). Catalina does not hesitate to remind him that the manner in which the colonisation has been carried out has not coincided with the teachings of the church. She asks: "¿[y] para trasladar su forma de vida tienen que aplastar nuestros templos, esclavizar a nuestros hombres, engendrar en nuestras mujeres, borrar nuestro idioma...?" (Frías 2003, p.287). Pedro is mildly amused by his granddaughter's strong defense of their indigenous culture.

The insecurities illustrated in Frías' Lisperguer are mirrored through other characters in Valdivieso's text. As a family, they are considered to have elite ancestry in their society, being of noble Saxon origin. They are frustrated to discover that even this is not enough to retain the status they have enjoyed until this moment, with the *peninsulares* enjoying more prestige, despite being of the same ethnicity. When they are considering Enrique Enríquez as a suitable husband for the protagonist, they discover that, due to his social standing, in order to marry, he must seek permission from powerful European powers.

Del Rey requería permiso y también del marqués mayorazgo de su nombre. Le faltaba además ponerse a las plantas de su madre viuda, abadesa de un convento. Costumbre la de las plantas que se remontaba a otras épocas.

Me reí a carajadas: '¡no le alcanzan los Lisperguer a varón tan ilustre!'

'¡Insolente!', bramó mi tío Pedro, '¡marquesado de reverencias ante nuestros duques de Sajonia!'(Valdivieso 1991, p.18).

Similarly to Frías' protagonist, Valdivieso's Catalina disregards the European authority and finds their argument of superiority laughable. Indeed, she is disregarding her own supposed advantage in their Eurocentric society since she too is a Lisperguer. In its disruption of the Eurocentric patriarchy, the text further highlights, in a comical manner, the importance that is placed on heritage of one of the *peninsulares* sent by the King and who joins in the Corpus Christi celebrations.

[D]on Francisco de Borja y Aragón, Príncipe de Esquilache, Conde de Símarí y de Mayalde, Comendador de Aruega, Caballero del Toison de Oro y Gentilhombre de la cámara del Rey. En las venas del Príncipe de Esquilache andaba la sangre de los Borgia por su parentesco con el Papa Alejandro VI, mezclado a la de San Francisco de Borja, su abuelo (Valdivieso 1991, p.95).

This list, detailed ironically by the protagonist, is supposed to indicate ascendancy. Indeed, Catalina even states that Alonso de Ribera, who has been in La Concepción, feels obliged to return to the capital for the celebrations on hearing of the prestigious guest they have in the kingdom. The *criollos'* and long-term *peninsulares'* pandering to such authorities undermines their positions of power and also perpetuates the positions that the new *peninsulares* are awarded.

Frías' Pedro Lisperguer considers himself a cultured man, and to prove it, he often tells his grandchildren classic tales from Greek and Roman mythology. Despite now living in Chile and no longer holding the same level of prestige afforded to those who were born in Europe, his focus is Eurocentric. However, in an attempt to dissipate tension between peninsular members of the clergy and their *criollo* subjects, he decides to recite part of Alonso de Ercilla's *La araucana* (originally published in three volumes: 1569; 1578; 1589)

*Es Chile norte a sur de gran longura,
costa de nuevo Mar del Sur llamado,
tendrá de este a oeste de angostura,
cien millas por lo más ancho tomado.
La gente que produce es tan granada,
tan soberbia, gallarda y belicosa,
que no ha sido por rey jamás regida
ni a extranjero dominio sometida* (Frías 2001, p.160).

In Frías' fictional account of seventeenth-century Chile, Lisperguer is aware of the epic poem—nowadays considered a foundational text for Chile—since he was a comrade of Ercilla's in the Spanish army. Catalina and others who support the resistance to Spanish invasion of Araucanian territories are proud of Ercilla's opinions. Lisperguer delights in reciting this poetry. Frías' choice to use this quote from *La araucana*, while inclusionary in nature, merely serves as a further reference to Chilean life from a Eurocentric man's perspective. Valdivieso's text also references Ercilla, but in a dismissive manner that suggests his European perspective is not valued, even by the popular voice, since his presence is mentioned in the *dicen que* section as a friend of Pedro Lisperguer, who has abandoned his family to go to Lima. "Dicen que amigo de vates y chiflados, como era un tal Alonso de Ercilla que con él llegó al reino y escribió un poema de alabanza a los mapuches" (Valdivieso 1991, p.113).

Frías' depiction of seventeenth-century Chile is not just mixed in traditions, but also thanks to the Spanish conquest, they have become a polyglot nation with varying influences. This linguistic variety often means that each language serves a

different socio-political function. Peter Burke explains the importance of language to a collective identity.

Speaking the same language, or variety of language, as someone else is a simple and effective way of indicating solidarity; speaking a different language or variety of language is an equally effective way of distinguishing oneself from other individuals or groups (Burke 1993, p.70).

Spanish is the primary language used in daily interactions. It is the language of the *conquistadores* and so denotes power. In order to function efficiently in the then-Spanish-ruled colony, it was necessary to speak Spanish. Latin is the language of the church, often used by the clergy in the text to belittle and suggest inferiority in those who are not proficient in it. It is also the language of the Inquisition, which although brought to Chile by the Spanish crown, answers to the Pope and so creates distance between its members and the other European colonisers. The indigenous languages, such as Concomicahue (the language of the Aconcagua tribe), Picunche (spoken by the Picunche people) and Mapudungun (the language of the Mapuches/Araucanos) are used more specifically within the indigenous tribes when not interacting with the Europeans. They frequently serve as a medium for criticism and subversion of the European powers, since the majority of those working under the Spanish crown do not speak or understand them. During confessions in the chapel in *La doña de Campofrío*, there is a children's choir chanting in Latin. Catalina ponders:

Aunque éramos un pueblo polígloto, me pregunté si los niños sabrían el sentido de las palabras que cantaban. Digo polígloto, porque a nuestro concomicahue original, se sobrepuso en la lengua cotidiana el picunche Aconcagua, muy mezclado con el mapudungún, que es el idioma que hablan los araucanos del Sur. Luego tuvimos que aprender el quechua que nos llegó del Norte con el Imperio peruano de los incas. Ahora los españoles nos traían el castellano y los curas, el latín (Frías 2003, p.211).

This brief statement outlines the extent to which Chile has been colonised and the range of influences that exist in their colony. Catalina seems most irritated by the presence of Latin in Chile. She is unhappy with it, since it is the language of the priests. She declares: “[e]l latín me exasperaba. Las clarisas habían tratado de enseñármelo, pero aprender un idioma solo para chapurrear con los curas me parecía un esfuerzo exagerado [...] era más importante hablar los dialectos indígenas que entender una lengua muerta” (Frías 2001, p.186). Due to her refusal to conform to

their rules, in both Valdivieso's and Frías' texts, Catalina's relationship with the clergymen is strained.

As in many socio-political situations, language can translate into power. Frías' texts illustrate that fluency in certain languages gives the speaker an advantage over those who do not speak it, and often the power can spread to legal disputes regarding position and ownership of land. Although Catalina's marriage to Campofrío is certainly required to retain family honour when she becomes pregnant, another driving force behind this union is to obstruct her father's attempt to seize the land that is rightfully hers according to Aconcaguan law. Following a conversation with her father where he indicates his intentions to assume her wealth, Catalina anxiously consults her grandmother, Águeda, on the matter to verify if he has the right to take control of what is lawfully hers and she receives the following information:

—En nuestro idioma no tiene ninguno —contestó en nuestra lengua, pero siguió hablando en castellano—. En español, Gonzalo de los Ríos y Encío tiene patria potestad sobre ti y puede disponer a su antojo de tus cosas. Entre ellas, de Todo el Agua que está escriturada a tu nombre (Frías 2003, p.342).

The switch between languages mid sentence is quite common throughout the text, especially when the characters wish to express a specific sentiment that may not translate suitably to another language. In this way, Frías cleverly outlines this reality often faced by polyglots. One of the languages they speak is usually better suited to expressing ideas on the topic being discussed than another. Of course, in Águeda's situation her rapid change between languages is specifically because in one language Gonzalo has no power over Catalina, while in his own language he has complete power over her, and her possessions, a reality that would change were she to marry. Control of her wealth would then transfer to Campofrío. The reason for this situation is that prior to Catalina Lisperguer y Flores' death, Águeda had started the procedure to translate their tribe's laws which indicate that it is the birthright of the firstborn woman in each family to acquire the leadership of the tribe and ownership of the land that comes with it. Following her eldest daughter's death, Águeda retains leadership of the tribe instead of abdicating to the daughter next in line, Mariana, and

passes it directly to Catalina as the firstborn in the third generation, and daughter of the eldest daughter, when she comes of age. It is only at this point that Gonzalo de los Ríos becomes a threat as he seeks to seize not only Catalina's inheritance from her European ancestors, but also her indigenous wealth and power which have yet to be protected in the Spanish language. Águeda's decision not to pass the power to her next daughter in line is not met kindly by Catalina's aunts María and Águeda. They believe they should be granted some of the family's wealth. Catalina does not hesitate to berate her aunts putting them firmly in their place stating:

–La propiedad y las encomiendas están inscritas en papeles españoles, María –dije–. Así como pronto lo estará también el mayorazgo femenino de las Curiqueo. Mariana, tu hermana viva mayor, quizá podría levantar la voz, pero tú no tienes ningún derecho. Menos aún Águeda – terminé despreciándola antes de que la menor de mis tías se metiera en pelea de perros grandes (Frías 2003, p.394).

The severity of a message can also alter between languages in Frías' texts. In a discussion with her friend Juana, who wishes to speak privately with Catalina, the protagonist assures her privacy despite the presence of servants. She does so in both Spanish and Picunche:

–El día que no puedas hablar conmigo delante de los sirvientes de mi tribu –dije primero en español y luego en picunche para que todas me entendieran– es que no son de mi tribu.

Las europeas suponían que se trataba de una ingenua declaración de confianza, pero las indias entendían que, de llegar ese día, dejaríamos de pertenecernos mutuamente. Y caerían sobre nosotros y nuestras familias todos los cataclismos de la Mamalluca (Frías 2003, pp.199-200).

This suggests a more severe quality attached to the Picunche cultural beliefs which do not translate into Spanish. The repercussions of such a break in trust are far greater in the former. Frías' text further highlights the multifarious nature of the society depicted when Catalina informs the reader that she has some phrases in Yoruba, an African language, while her grandmother, Águeda speaks it fluently (Frías 2003, p.82).

Mapuche author, José Quidel Lincoleo, explains the difficulty with trying to colonise a group who speak a different language to that of the colonising group. He explains that during the Spanish colonial period, the more languages there were the

more difficult it was to ‘civilise’ the conquered groups (Quidel Lincoleo 2013, p.45). Quidel Lincoleo continues by stating that some colonisers had the presence of mind to recognise this fact and to take action.

[E]l aprendizaje de las lenguas vernáculas era el único modo de penetrar el entramado cultural indígena [...] y detectar y comprender mejor lo que movía al indio a persistir en su idolatría, a mentir, a ocultar sus pecados en la confesión” (2013, pp.47-48).

Padre Luis de Valdivia is recognised among Mapuche historians as one Jesuit priest who made an effort to learn Mapudungun in order to speak to the indigenous groups in their own language. He was key to the Spanish-Mapudungun relationship. He facilitated the creation of the grammar and written version of the Mapuche language, producing texts to help people learn it. He also created evangelical texts in the language to further his own work (Quidel Lincoleo 2013, p.49). Quidel Lincoleo recognises that the fact that the Mapuche had a different language gave them some power, since the colonisers had to engage with it and learn it in order to progress with their evangelising mission.

[F]ue una lengua que obligó a los misioneros a aprenderla, registrarla, escribirla, difundirla y a través de ella adentrarse a la ideología que dinamizaba la cultura de los Mapuche. Es ahí donde se muestra la importancia y fuerza de una lengua (2013, p.58).

Indeed, Luis de Valdivia’s historical significance is not lost on either author, with both of them making reference to the important part he played in finding common ground between the indigenous people and their European colonisers (discussed further on page 112). The references to other languages spoken in Valdivieso’s text are not as plentiful, Catalina’s cousin speaking to her in Latin, and her mother speaking what must be an indigenous language: “Mi madre les respondía en su lengua bárbara” (Valdivieso 1991, p.36). The development of the language/power dynamics that are explored in Frías’ work is not emphasised as much in Valdivieso’s, with the author finding alternative ways to subvert the power structures through cyclical, polyphonic narration and inversions of perceived norms.

Hybrid Forms of Religions and Rites

Christian and indigenous rites hold powerful positions in the heterogeneous society depicted in Valdivieso's and Frías' novels. They are often points of contention and conflict, but also sources of compromise between the major ethnic groups in the seventeenth centuries depicted, given that members like the protagonists are affiliated with both traditions. By adopting the Christian faith, the colonised indigenous conformed to the impositions of the Spanish, but they continued to practice their own rituals at the same time, with the hope they could return to them afterwards. The Spanish accepted this strange way of being as long as their subjects fulfilled certain duties, even though they did not abide strictly by the church's teachings themselves. There was always friction between them, thus commenced the hypocrisy that Frías discusses in interviews. Through his protagonist, Catalina: "realiza una completa descripción de nuestra nación, con todos sus méritos y defectos, la carencia de una identidad, nuestra hipocresía y la manera en cómo ocultamos nuestro pasado permanentemente" (cited in 2005, p.12). The 'carencia' to which the author refers is the lack of acknowledgement of all elements of the Chilean ethnic identities, not just the European ones.

The Spanish claimed evangelisation as an integral element of their colonising mission. Indeed the legitimacy of the colonisation depended on it. Historian Carlos A. Casanova, claims that during the conquest, the "evangelization of the Indians was an important motive underlying the action of most Spaniards" (Casanova 2012, p.130). The *conquistadores* in the texts insisted that the primary reason for taking over the countries of Latin America was to spread the word of God and the teachings of the Christian faith. This is met with resistance from the indigenous perspective. Already the products of previous colonisation and external influences, such as the Inca Empire, the tribes are reluctant to assume the teachings of their most recent colonisers. They especially resist following the Christian calendar to celebrate the important religious dates. With their arrival in Chile the Spanish are met with an inversion of natural laws which contradicts their traditions and beliefs. Now living in the Southern Hemisphere, the seasons are opposite to those of Europe. They continue to

celebrate their festivals and traditions on the dates they would have been celebrated in Spain even though some of these festivals were created around the season in Europe. This interferes with the traditions of the indigenous people whose cultures are connected closely to the earth and celebrating la Pachamama's gifts. *Catrala* underlines this issue when it comes to celebrating the New Year.

El año muere con los árboles y se pudre con la hierba –dijo el tío Huancamán [...]–. Los conquistadores lo celebran a principios del verano, pero el año muere en invierno, junto a la Pachamama, la madre tierra, y renace de inmediato para iniciar un nuevo ciclo. Nosotros conservamos este conocimiento, por eso los dioses nos permiten morir y renacer en este momento (Frías 2001, p.53).

The celebration of rebirth that takes place in December because of the Spanish influence occurs at the height of summer when the natural world is alive and vibrant, not nearing an end that will lead to a new beginning. This imposition of customs speaks to the Spanish attempt to assimilate the existing ones and forge it as the norm for the people of Chile. In this way, it undermines the traditions and rites of the other ethnicities, creating a hierarchy of which they rank highest.

Gustavo Frías is highly critical of this practice which has persevered throughout Chile and Latin America, and so purposely includes this criticism in his recreation of Catalina's story. In an interview with Jennifer Abate the author asserts:

se trata de ver al indio que somos al mismo tiempo que el español que también somos. Nosotros deberíamos celebrar el año nuevo cuando lo hacen los mapuches, que es lo que nos corresponde astronómicamente. Deberíamos celebrar la muerte del año a fines de junio, que es cuando le afecta al hemisferio sur, cuando todo se muere. Pero en vez de eso, lo celebramos en pleno verano, cuando la fruta está creciendo. Conmemoramos la muerte del año cuando todo está floreciendo y le tenemos que poner motitas de algodón al árbol de pasque porque se supone que debe estar nevado. Nos hemos convertido en algo que no somos, mucho más que otros pueblos latinoamericanos (cited in Abate 2008, p.E23).

He reiterates this criticism in *La doña de Campofrío* where Águeda expresses her clear discontent with the expectation that is on the subjects of the Spanish Crown to adhere to the celebration of Lent during March when it is early Autumn in Chile and so most crops are being harvested (Frías 2003, p.74). It is the *conquistadores'* approach which involves a bureaucratic tendency towards standardisation throughout

their colonies. Through this process of centralisation, there is an imposition of metropolitan rules. Águeda's interlocutor, Padre de Venegas, defends the church's position claiming that this is just a further test of their faith and dedication to the Christian faith. "–Debemos probar hasta que nos duela nuestro amor por Cristo y su Santa Madre Iglesia y practicar el calendario bíblico, que es el mismo que el Papa celebra en Roma y el emperador en España" (Frías 2003, pp.74-75). Although de Venegas is correct in his assertion as far as the Christian calendar is concerned, he seems to miss the point Águeda is making, which is that since the Spanish are now in the Southern Hemisphere in Chile, certain adjustments should be made in order for them to live comfortably there. She simply retorts: "[p]obre reino este, señor vicario [...] donde las ideas prevalecen sobre la realidad" (Frías 2003, p.75).

José Bengoa indicates the dangers a narrow-minded approach can have for a community that is increasingly more heterogeneous than homogeneous. He calls for an attempt to understand and appreciate such diversity:

El concepto de diversidad cultural consiste en comprender que el ser humano ha encontrado, a lo largo de la historia y a lo ancho del planeta, las más diversas alternativas de solucionar sus problemas materiales, de convivencia y espirituales. Esas diversas formas de adaptación a los medios naturales, a las necesidades específicas que le ha tocado vivir, forman el mayor capital cultural de la humanidad. Es por ello que la antropología ha ido desarrollando el concepto del 'derecho a la diversidad'. Esto significa que la antropología no solo 'constata' el hecho de la diversidad de las culturas, sino que también lo 'celebra' (Bengoa 2006, p.131).

In the texts, the indigenous are forced to acknowledge this obvious difference between their own way of viewing the world and solving problems, and that of the colonisers. However, if the Spanish were to also take note of the traditions of the indigenous in Chile and assume some of their customs that differ from European tradition but that make sense in Chile, they may have a more agreeable life. After all, by imposing the 'anti-natural' celebrations on their subjects, they too had to suffer through Lent at the time in the year when crops are most abundant, and they too celebrated the New Year in blistering heat.

Valdivieso's Catalina also struggles to assimilate the practices of both her European and indigenous ancestry. The form of the novel is key to understanding the difficulty faced when questioning and subverting the European religious hegemony

in Valdivieso's seventeenth-century Chile. The confession prior to her arranged marriage, which does not interest Catalina, is just another form of control that the Catholic Church and the European traditions in Chile have over her. Within this confession which is supposed to redeem Catalina for any sins she may have committed, she tends to express a preference for the indigenous rituals and rites over those of the Catholic Church. Like the protagonist of Frías' novels, however, it is not always a simple, clear-cut decision for Catalina. If her indigenous beliefs do not allow her desires to be realised, then she will turn to her Catholic teachings as an alternative. Having embarked upon a relationship with Álvaro, son of her father's adversary, Catalina asks la Tatamai—described by Mariechien Euler Carmona as an “identidad híbrida, mezcla de tata y mama es la concreción del pueblo mapuche y sus creencias, y quien vincula a Catalina con la tradición indígena” (Euler Carmona 1999, p.353)—to help her ensure Álvaro's dedication to her. This is difficult, to say the least, given the fact that they met as Álvaro took part in a penance procession through the streets of Santiago where he self-flagellated to make up for his sins.

As a novice monk, he is following the path his parents have chosen for him. When his family hear of his flouting of vows by entering into a physical relationship with Catalina, they soon put a stop to his nocturnal escapes from the monastery to visit her. When she realises that la Tatamai's help will not guarantee the realisation of her wishes, she begrudgingly turns to her Christian faith to solicit aid:

Me aparté de la Tatamai para acercarme al Señor de la Agonía y prometerle todos los mandamientos, también el de honrar al padre y asentir en que las mujeres somos perversas, pero pasibles de enmienda. Juré todo eso y jurándolo, recuerdo que me doblé en arcadas y vomité un agua oscura que ensució el piso (Valdivieso 1991, p.56).

It causes her spiritual, physical and emotional trauma to conform to and make the promises she does make to the statue of Christ in order to have her own way. However, she does so believing it will be the only way to achieve it. Subsequently, her father verbally and physically challenges her version of ‘honouring thy father’ by even engaging with Álvaro, the son of his adversary.

Although Catalina's preference lies in her indigenous heritage and the rites associated with it throughout the text, the fact remains that her testimony is available to the reader in the form of a confession to her Catholic spiritual leader prior to her

marriage to Campofrío. She concludes her confession stating: “[h]e vuelto a obedecer las exigencias que manda para el sacramento del matrimonio, nuestra santa iglesia católica, apostólica y romana [...] Que no se diga que descuidé mis deberes cristianos” (Valdivieso 1991, p.141). Her concluding remarks to the priest leave no room for confusion regarding her appreciation for her maternally acquired indigenous origins:

Esa soy, padre,
hija de Llanka Curiqueo
que es hija de Elvira de Talagante
que es hija de Águeda Flores
que es hija de Catalina
que es mi madre,
que soy yo
Todas hijas de Dios, Catalina, creadoras de linaje.
La confesión.
Me confieso, padre (Valdivieso 1991, pp.141-142).

The powerful influence that Catalina’s female ancestors have had on her is evident in this conclusion to her confession. Cuadra suggests that it is not only an identification with women of her heritage, but also her Mapuche heritage. “Cada uno de estos personajes, en el texto, se construye dentro de una esfera del poder femenino, todo lo cual rescata lo que otros autores han catalogado de ‘malévolo’” (Cuadra 1999, p.135). The indigenous tradition that she has experienced as a result of her female relatives ensures she will never be completely under the control of the Catholic Church and will only conform to these norms where her survival requires it. “Me confieso, padre” seems to have a sarcastic tone to it, while also abruptly ending both her confession and the text, not allowing any interjection or reaction from her confessor.

Frías’ texts allow for further examples which demand a more profound analysis of the religious interactions and debates that occur within the author’s depiction of seventeenth-century Chile. From the outset, Catalina suggests that the Catholic faith has little place in her spiritual life. “Aunque las prácticas católicas eran una obligación, no tenían para mí un sentido muy profundo” (Frías 2001, p.51). As a seventeen-year-old woman, she does not have the authority to reject the church’s

teachings entirely. Instead she carries out her religious duties where possible in order to pacify her spiritual guides, not out of desire to lead a life according to Catholic rules. Her grandmother Águeda has always taken steps to ensure that Catalina is well-versed in the Catholic teachings in order to deflect unwanted attention from the clergy regarding matters that relate more to their indigenous traditions. Even though she expresses a lack of affiliation with the teachings, she is astute enough to manipulate the knowledge her prestigious socio-economic situation has afforded her to suit religious leaders. She learns this process of manipulation from Águeda who suggests that: “[e]l mundo de los europeos, Catalina, es tan imperfecto [...] que aquellos que estamos inclinados por naturaleza a hacer el bien, debemos aprender a ser malos para conseguir buenos resultados” (Frías 2003, p.205). Águeda, and in turn, Catalina, insist that their servants also follow the guidelines of the church, acknowledging traditions and expectations. However, since both matriarchs also frequently undermine these traditions through their engagement in indigenous religious practices, their message is ambiguous and not always assumed to the same level among their servants. Bhabha suggests that “we are always negotiating in any situation of political opposition or antagonism. Subversion is negotiation; transgression is negotiation; negotiation is not just some kind of compromise or ‘sell out’ which people too easily understand it to be” (cited in Rutherford 1990, p.216). As denominated ‘third spaces’, transgression and subversion, are constant forms of negotiation in the texts. This is specifically evident in the actions of Frías’ protagonist and her maternal grandmother as they manipulate situations from within the constraints of their society to achieve their goals.

In a house visit to Dos Solares, Águeda’s home, the bishop administers a reverent blessing, the gravity of which is subverted by Frías’ protagonist describing the bishop raising his hand as high as possible to extensively distribute the divine blessing among all those present. Frías’ description focuses on the bishop’s ring: “[p]or un instante dejó el gesto suspendido en el aire, encandilado por los brillos del rubí que centelleaba en su anillo episcopal” (Frías 2003, p.565). The generous gesture of offering a general blessing to the house and all those within is somewhat marred by this description as it contradicts the teaching of the church which suggests

the clergymen forgo all worldly wealth in order to better serve their people. This is not the case with the bishop. This demonstration of wealth and supposed power also goes unperceived by many in the house as Catalina describes how all the indigenous servants continue with their work and “solo los extranjeros nos arrodillamos para recibir la gracia santificante de la máxima autoridad de la Iglesia en el reino” (Frías 2003, p.565). Again, Catalina demonstrates the complicated nature of her ethnic identities and the way in which she transitions between considering herself and being considered European and indigenous. Although she was born and raised in Chile, at times, she is still considered a foreigner, particularly while engaging with the religious obligations of the Catholic Church.

The lack of sincerity that is insinuated in Frías’ text regarding the Catholic Church and its integrity is not only underlined in the obvious references to the Bishop’s wealth, it is also made very clear that in the world of Frías’ Catalina that if someone has money they have power and they will be given superior treatment to someone without such financial security. Catalina’s uncle Fadrique, according to the text, was entered into the priesthood since he was not considered suitable for battle following a harmful fall from a horse where he landed on his head as a young boy. The fact that the alternative to being a soldier for Fadrique was the priesthood is questionable in itself, but the apparent ease with which the Lisperguer family manipulate his position within the church is quite alarming. As he complains that he cannot partake in the war in Araucania while he is stationed in the monastery in Santiago, his brother Juan Rudulfo reassures him stating: “[u]nos años más y la familia podrá influir para nombrarte obispo, Fadrique. Hay obispos y hasta papas guerreros, tú sabes” (Frías 2001, p.139). This insinuates a clear level of corruption within the church in Frías’ seventeenth-century Chile. Juan Rudulfo is confident when he makes this promise to Fadrique as though it is perfectly normal to bribe or coerce the church to make decisions that best suit the family. This form of deceit and corruption is not explored within the indigenous celebrations described throughout either of Frías’ texts, which further reinforces the notion that Frías’ texts are selective of the facets they portray of the indigenous heritage in order to provide the most idyllic positive version.

In her hybrid position of enacting her ethnic identities, Catalina also draws links between the practices of the Catholic Church and the indigenous ceremonies. When Teresa de Talaverano, an acquaintance visiting Catalina and Águeda at Dos Solares, expresses her disgust and shock at the indigenous practice of cannibalism, Catalina suggests that:

La De Talaverano jamás comprendería que el canibalismo de nuestros indígenas era religioso. Como los cristianos comulgamos con el vino transformado en sangre para ser como Jesús, los indios comen el hígado y el corazón de los héroes vencidos con la idea de desarrollar en ellos sus virtudes (Frías 2003, p.56).

Frías uses his protagonist here to promote a realistic view of both cultures. It relativises the cultural practices, alluding to how strange Christian doctrine would seem to outsiders. Regardless of the ritual she describes, she frequently includes herself in the possessive ‘we’ which carries out both the European and indigenous traditions. Her frustration seems to be predominantly with the Europeans who do not consider the indigenous traditions in the same way they might a new tradition created by Europeans. According to Catalina’s description this practice of eating the enemies’ organs is a sign of respect for these fallen heroes in battle against them. Their hope is to assume some of the bravery and intelligence of this enemy through consuming the organs. It is not a barbaric act as seen by De Talaverano. Equating this act with that of the communion in the Catholic ceremony would undoubtedly anger the Catholics who feel that their role was to civilise the indigenous through their religious teachings and entice them away from their native practices. The fact that Catalina suggests both are equally legitimate undermines the colonising strategies and perceived superiority of the Europeans.

Catalina’s *Día más Largo*, which is her initiation ceremony as *cacica* of her tribe, is supposed to focus on her celebrating her indigenous affiliation and the power she has acquired through the women who came before her. However, very early on, Catalina realises that she will need to contend with members of the clergy attending and scrutinising everything that occurs throughout her special day. She declares that: “[h]abría sido una ingenuidad total creer que mi Día más Largo estaría libre del peso de la Iglesia” (Frías 2003, p.28). When all her relatives and family friends arrive the day before the celebrations, they are also joined by prominent members of the clergy

in Chile. In the interest of not losing face with the church, Águeda takes the initiative to invite them to join in the festivities with the hope that since they are attending the celebration and are being very generously hosted by Catalina's family, they will view the celebration in more favourable eyes. Since a powerful member of the Inquisition has recently been placed in Chile, they hope not to draw any undue attention on Catalina or the rest of the family.

As it was discussed in previous sections, even though Catalina can appreciate the significance of the events of the day as a member of her tribe, she can also appreciate how foreign and unknown the whole tradition seems to the Europeans participating. They know it is a significant celebration, but do not perceive the minute details that are so important to the indigenous participants. With the passing of time and the arrival of the Europeans, some parts of the celebration have altered or been added. For example, prior to taking her rightful seat on the *cacica's* throne, Catalina must attend confession with her Catholic spiritual leader, De Venegas. Following this gross interference with the original ceremony, she then proceeds to take her position as leader of the Curiqueo. In centuries past, this was quite a violent custom where the prospective *cacica* would need to fight off many guards and tear the serving *cacica* from her throne to be allowed obtain the title. This is not the case in Catalina's time. However, she and all the indigenous present pretend to play along with this tradition. She is met with many angry faces feigning resistance to her attempt to overthrow their current leader. In her description of the moment, unlike in other instances, Catalina is the focal point for those present and so she is not included in either the Europeans or the indigenous who witness the scene. She narrates:

Las cosas son del color del cristal con que se miran. Los extranjeros vieron que ella me tomaba de la mano para cederme su sillón, mientras los indios vieron al revés, que yo cogía de la mano a la abuela y la arrancaba de su sillón preferencial para apotíngarme en él (Frías 2003, p.218).

Catalina makes the division of perception between the indigenous and the Europeans evident in her description above. Although both are apparently witnessing the same scene, their interpretation of it differs greatly. Given her unique situation of powerful

social standing in both worlds, she knows how each group will view the events of her *Día Más Largo*.

In Valdivieso's text, the protagonist is influenced greatly in her transition between European and indigenous traditions by la Tatamai. The *dicen que* section refers to her as a *machi*—a traditional Mapuche healer—and she is noted at various moments throughout the text lighting *sahumerios* and “entonando ensalmos” (Valdivieso 1991, p.39). She aids Catalina in the killing and disposal of Enríquez' body (Valdivieso 1991, p.26) and develops a brew which will supposedly ensure Álvaro de Cuevas' dedication to her (Valdivieso 1991, p.56). However, la Tatamai, “sin nombre cristiano aunque su ama juró su bautismo” (Valdivieso 1991, p.29), is depicted on other occasions actively involved in the upkeep of the local church. “[S]e estuvo hasta muy tarde en la sacristía de los jesuitas encerando los catimbos y ajustando la tarasca, tan agotada la vieron que le prestaron un burro para volver a casa” (Valdivieso 1991, p.19). Despite her obvious transgressions against European tradition, the fact that she still maintains face with the Catholic Church in this way means that suspicion surrounding her actions is appeased. Indeed, la Tatamai is fortunate in her ability to navigate this hybrid reality since most of de los Ríos' servants are not given such freedom, with the protagonist claiming they are forcedly baptised in large groups. “Los bautizaron en grupos, con nombres que no entendían, y uno se colgó de un árbol al fondo de la huerta. ‘Cosas de los tiempos’, dijo don Gonzalo, ‘que Dios lo perdone, cuesta civilizarlos’” (Valdivieso 1991, p.100). For Gonzalo, the ends outweigh the means. His comment suggests that ‘civilising’ the majority according to European standards is worth the ones who choose not to live with such impositions.

Throughout *Catrala* and *La doña de Campofrío*, Fray Luis de Valdivia is the only member of the clergy who makes an attempt to understand the customs and traditions of the indigenous and appreciate them as they are, not as inferior to their European counterparts. He learns their language and teaches them about the Catholic faith. His interaction with the different groups and his willingness to listen to their point of view leads Valdivia to question the legitimacy of the conquest which is supposed to improve their standard of living, not worsen it. Even though many of the

Europeans have taken steps to set the indigenous free of enslavement so they can live their own lives and provide for their families, they are not considered as equals of the Europeans. In order to fit in with the society created by the Europeans they are expected to live by foreign traditions and follow the religious expectations. This creates a false sense of freedom for the colonised groups since they have some independence but only as long as they follow the colonisers' rules. Valdivia outlines this difficult position:

Así, con toda nuestra buena fe a cuestras, ejercemos la violencia fundamental de imponerles como requisito básico ser algo que no son, adoptar una identidad falsa. [...] Por diversión permitimos que practiquen en nuestras plazas sus pequeños trueques, competencias deportivas y danzas guerreras, pero para ellos ese comercio mínimo y ese baile fuera de su contexto significa admitir su fracaso. Y su fracaso es admitir que son indios (Frías 2001, p.57).

According to Valdivia, the indigenous customs are viewed as quaint and harmless as long as they are carried out under the watchful eye of the Europeans, particularly the Spanish clergy. This undermines the independent status they supposedly have and forces the indigenous to be what they are not in order to fit into this new colonial society. It devalues their cultural practice making them a marginal source of entertainment. Valdivia's position is not one that is appreciated within the clergy as it diverges from the official teachings of the church under Spanish rule. However, his is just one such example of the schisms that form within the Spanish community and particularly a crisis divide between the members of the Inquisition, the most extreme faction of the Catholic Church in Chile, and the *conquistadores* representing the Spanish monarchy. This is evident in Alonso de Ribera's excommunication from the church.

A telling manoeuvre executed by the church which clearly establishes a division between church and representatives of the Spanish monarchy within Chile, is the Bishop's decision to excommunicate the governor, Alonso de Ribera. Under his rule, de Ribera has not always abided by the teachings of the church and the men under his power have not treated the indigenous population with the respect demanded by the Catholic Church and the King of Spain. He has had several lovers, including Catalina's aunt María, with whom he had an intense relationship. He later married another woman in a private ceremony without the official consent of the

king. This was not regarded well among his peers and the officials of the church in particular. The arrogant manner in which he lives his life and in particular his orders to arrest a priest, who has sought sanctuary in a local convent, after murdering another lead the Bishop to make an example of de Ribera and excommunicate him. De Ribera's actions worry the Bishop and he states:

Nuestro enemigo real es el demonio luciferino de la arrogancia, la soberbia y la desobediencia, cuyo castigo debería caer directamente sobre el pecador. Pero cuando el pecador es el propio gobernante, que está al centro y por sobre todos, el castigo de su pecado cae también sobre sus gobernados. Cuando servimos a los grandes, su destino es también el nuestro (Frías 2001, p.222).

The governor is not punished for evil deeds, but for trying to undermine the church's authority. The bishop's actions are driven by de Ribera's "herejía impenitente, pertinaz y obstinada" (Frías 2001, p.223). Since the *peninsulares* are expected to provide good example to their *criollo* and indigenous subjects, he is made an example of in the hope of deterring others.

These added pressures felt by the Spanish-ruled society in Chile at this time also affect the indigenous way of life. Having somewhat grown accustomed to the relatively lenient guidelines of the church prior to the arrival of the Inquisition, they are now faced with another level of religious devotion. It is widely known in *La doña de Campofrío* that the Inquisition has come to Chile following reports that the clergy and laymen are not upholding the teachings of the Catholic faith strictly. There are some members of the church who have diverging ideas from those of the Pope, and Gonzalo, Catalina's father, expresses concern that they may attack their community in Chile in an attempt to eradicate the more extreme areas of the church leadership. Catalina reminds her father that: "[l]os reformados no atacarán Chile, atacarán a España en Chile –dije para poner los puntos sobre las íes" (Frías 2003, p.556). She does not think it fair to place the blame on the indigenous members of the community who did not originally draw this faith to Chile.

In both of Frías' novels, Gonzalo is described carrying out terrifying acts such as aiding Catalina's mother to whip his daughter by another woman to death. He regularly physically and verbally abuses Catalina and he is obviously greedy and motivated by wealth and power. He also engages in a sexual relationship with

Bettina, an Italian widow who remains in Chile following the death of her husband. They are not married and so a sexual relationship should not be tolerated according to church teachings, but given Gonzalo's powerful position in their small community, he is given latitude to live his life as he pleases. He cannot view the hypocrisy in his words, since were the society to take arms against the heretics—understood in the basic sense of the word as a person who goes against her/his religious teachings—Gonzalo would surely be a target of such an attack. However, the heretics to whom he is referring are Protestants. Catalina does not celebrate the new arrival of the Inquisition as she can see the danger its presence will have on the indigenous people and their customs. Until this point, as long as the indigenous community converted to the Catholic faith and abided by the teachings of the church, the clergymen did not persecute them for continuing to carry out their own rituals specific to their own beliefs.

Ahora llegaba la fuerza de exterminio de la Inquisición, el brazo armado de la Iglesia, que ajusticiaba por simples entelequias que para los Aconcagua eran inexistentes o banales, porque nosotros seguíamos besando el aire. Tres generaciones habían bastado para que el espíritu de mi gente cayera finalmente en la desesperanza (Frías 2003, pp.587-588).

With the arrival of the “brazo armado” of the church, there is a need for Catalina and her subjects to find a way to maintain their religious practices while adopting some of the European traditions as a means of survival. A new ‘third space’ opens to allow for this negotiation in the texts.

Within that ‘third space’, Frías’ texts elaborate the practice of indigenous rites which sometimes challenge the European traditions. Though at some points, his protagonist clearly chooses her indigenous ancestry over her European one, she regularly reminds those around her that hers is a hybrid existence and she displays pride in this. The Spanish oppressors reject any insubordination exhibited by the indigenous. The authorities, both ecclesiastical and monarchical, are particularly perturbed by the *taki onkoy*. This is a chant performed by the indigenous in an attempt to encourage their *wacas*, their main Gods, to return to them and help them eliminate the Spanish intruders. Even though the traditions of the church do not always coincide with those of the indigenous population, the church usually expresses opinions or makes its presence known during these non-European

celebrations. In a conversation with *el Innombrable*, the representative of the Inquisition in Chile, Catalina's grandfather, Pedro Lisperguer, insists that the indigenous

nos odian y su odio son las sílabas de ese canto que usted quiere eliminar. Pero eliminar el canto jamás eliminará el odio. Al contrario, nos odiarán más aún. Y no sólo los indios, todos. Los ancianos, los mestizos, los negros, todos (Frías 2001, p.159).

The fear of such unrest continues throughout both texts as Catalina explains that for the Spanish the *taki onkoy* was a sign of imminent rebellion that even though those who participated in it were naturally quite peaceful and had supposedly been conquered fifty years before, but “también mostraban las señales de estar incubando una profunda y peligrosa insubordinación” (Frías 2001, p.219). This resistance to the Spanish oppression is understandable given that the indigenous groups' desire to be free to roam the land unhindered and to celebrate their *wacas* in the form that best suits them.

Catalina's aunt describes this eery chanting which she and the rest of her tribe engage in states that: “[l]a enfermedad del canto, el *taki onkoy*. Los indios creen que así, cantando y bailando, harán volver sus *wacas*. [...] Los dioses... sus dioses mayores [...] Los señores de los lagos, las cordilleras, el viento, los truenos, las piedras” (Frías 2001, p.44). For the indigenous groups, it is a source of comfort and strength to call on their gods to return. They believe the Europeans have driven them away. The *taki onkoy* instils fear in the hearts of the Europeans as they feel this chant is one of an immediate threat against them. They consider it a call to war by the indigenous. However, they never succeed in discovering anyone chanting, despite great efforts. It is only when Huancamán surrenders to the authorities to avoid Catalina's aunts being prosecuted for the attempted murder of the governor that the European authorities finally have someone of high social standing in the indigenous community to prosecute as the instigator of the *taki onkoy*. Catalina's father reports Huancamán while in custody as the person responsible for the chanting. Catalina's experience of participating in the *taki onkoy* is one of peace and solidarity. This apparently innocent practice of mutual support does have the added

benefit of instilling fear in the colonisers' hearts, something of which the indigenous are amply aware.

Even though the texts are set in the seventeenth century, over half a century after the arrival of Pedro de Valdivia and his group of conquistadores, the Europeans are still referred to as 'los extranjeros'. One must question the decision to continue to use this term decades later. It is perhaps an alienation technique used to create further distance between the groups and to reinforce the initiative which resists the colonisation of their land. It forces the reader to reconsider their own ideas concerning the conquest and settlement during this historical period. Huancamán, a highly-respected elder in Catalina's tribe, criticises the Europeans for the destruction they have caused in Chile and the fact that even with all they have taken from the indigenous, they are still unhappy:

Los extranjeros llegaron a radicarse en nuestras tierras sin tener en cuenta a los que éramos de aquí – dijo–, y nunca comprendieron que nuestra forma de vida cantaba una alegría verdadera. Llegaron pero jamás estuvieron contentos. Nos conquistaron pero siguieron temerosos y angustiados. Creen que serán felices mañana o pasado, cuando sean ricos o cuando sepan lo que ignoran. Nosotros, en cambio, cumplíamos la finalidad de la vida jugando y éramos tan alegres como los pequeños dioses (Frías 2001, p.295).

The native view of the European's insatiable hunger for wealth and power suggests that they are never satisfied and cannot appreciate a life that is not driven by material wealth, as the indigenous do. Due to the divergent approaches to life, Huancamán cannot see a way of uniting the Europeans with the already-multifaceted indigenous population of Chile: "[s]i los europeos nos hubiesen escuchado habrían aprendido de nosotros, serían mejores y más felices, pero quemaron nuestro bosque sagrado y ya nada podemos hacer. Ahora somos dos" (Frías 2001, p.296). This posits a different more utopian idea of cultural exchange and highlights a limitation in Frías' texts. Having focused so much on criticising the Eurocentric patriarchal perspective of this colonial period, the texts have not engaged as critically with the indigenous traditions and ethnicities. A positive slant is placed on all descriptions relating to indigenous practices and perspectives. The largely critical tone towards the European traditions means a more complex representation is offered. It is unrealistic to suggest

that the various indigenous groups depicted in these texts live in perfect harmony with one another, only creating a disturbance when the Europeans are involved.

Huancamán's words affect Catalina more than she expects. Although she often favours her indigenous heritage, she is aware that when he criticises the 'extranjeros', she too is included. She finds herself permanently torn between one world and the other and never succeeds in bridging the gap for herself or other Chileans living a similar experience. In *Catalina*, this difference is clearly stated by Catalina's father, Gonzalo de los Ríos y Encío, in reference to enslavement of the indigenous groups:

en lo que a nosotros respecta, al indio sólo se le permite ser persona en la medida en que se someta a nuestras leyes, cargue con nuestros usos y costumbres, sea como nosotros. Pero el indio no puede ser como nosotros, tiene un color de piel distinto y rasgos que lo diferencian del europeo. Jamás conseguirá ser nuestro igual. Hasta haciéndolo libre lo encerramos en la cárcel de la diferencia, lo dejamos definitivamente excluido de nuestro mundo porque nunca podrá convencernos de que es un ser humano (Frías 2001, pp.56-57).

His statement carries an inherent acknowledgement that the Spanish have organised their society as such so that the indigenous population will never meet their impossible standards. Even though he has married into a family with indigenous heritage that has shown him intelligence, political astuteness and cultural richness, he still will not acknowledge the possibility of them being able to live independently and contribute effectively to the ethnic identities changing in Chile as a result of the Spanish conquest. Disappointed, Catalina suggests: "[m]i padre no percibía que la misma sangre que dividía al reino podía quizás unirlo. Creía que no solo yo, sino Tobalaba entera, con bestias y hombres, éramos cosa suya, con deberes de sumisión y obediencia" (Frías 2003, p.344). As the son of a *conquistador*, he believes he is entitled to oppress those under what he perceives to be his rule. Frías uses Gonzalo to demonstrate the attitude which he criticises in the following quote: "[l]os chilenos no tenemos una identidad propia, porque heredamos la actual de quienes escondieron en el patio a la abuela indígena para decir que eran españoles puros en la época de la Catalina de los Ríos" (cited in Abate 2008, p.E23). Indeed, Roberto Hozven suggests that this situation has not changed greatly, and discussing Chilean ethnic identities is still a source of conflict, "[s]obre todo para Chile hablar de mestizaje es pronunciarse

sobre una mezcla que aparece atenuada o borrada por el ejercicio permanentemente de ‘blanqueo’ que han adoptado los grupos dirigentes, los intelectuales y los políticos desde muy antiguo” (cited in Montecino 1993a, p.30).

Concluding Remarks

In concluding this chapter it is evident that through their texts, *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* and the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series, Valdivieso and Frías produce major disruptions in the hegemonic discourses surrounding ethnic identities as they depict them in their fictional accounts of seventeenth-century Chile. The texts of both authors are direct in their recognition that the various mixes of ethnicities portrayed in this historical period come as a result of the violent colonisation of Chile and the Araucanian War that ensued. From this colonising practice emerged realities such as *huacheraje*, which because of its transgressive nature and failure to conform to the evangelising mission of the Spanish which required procreation through marriage, became a taboo issue. Valdivieso’s text in particular deconstructs this notion and encourages a celebration of *huacheraje* which is visible evidence of the hybrid reality of the ethnicities present in colonial Chile, given it was mainly Spanish men who fathered children with indigenous women outside of wedlock. This practice is less accepted in the texts among women of a higher social status. If they become pregnant out of wedlock, they are expected to marry, as is the case for Frías’ protagonist, to ensure the child is legitimate when born. Though the marriage is one that merely aids adherence to social norms, Frías’ texts make use of the description of the ceremonies to further illustrate hybrid practices in their society. Catalina’s insistence on marrying through the indigenous rite as well as the Catholic reinforces her tendency to operate within many ethnicities simultaneously. Catalina’s constant introspection regarding her inner turmoil of moving between certain identities and others depending on the situation elaborates the nuanced nature of such a position and details the difficulty with which the protagonist comes to terms with her hybrid self.

However, it has been indicated in this chapter that Frías’ texts also have the tendency to present idyllic portrayals of the indigenous, which fail to acknowledge

the complex negotiation of power and the incongruity that undoubtedly exists in such largely heterogeneous groups. This shortcoming aside, the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series does succeed in producing some of the most innovative ways in expressing the hybrid 'third spaces' in which the ethnic identities can be negotiated. The protagonist's ability to place herself in a liminal space that allows her to enter into what Walter Mignolo refers to as border thinking means that she is not ordering her world in dichotomous structures as per Eurocentric thought; she is speaking from a much more complex nuanced structure which the author argues is representative of the wider collective. Valdivieso's character struggles with this hybrid reality and through her religious practices she often oscillates between the Catholic and indigenous rite, depending on her specific need at the time. Despite her narrative being a confession to a Catholic priest on the eve of her marriage, her words are clear in indicating her preference for her maternally acquired indigenous ancestry.

Finally, Frías' texts engage with linguistic hybridity in their expression of the different languages in use during this period. Language is expressed as a powerful tool for whoever is using it. The protagonist masters almost all the languages described which places her in a particularly powerful position in their society. She can even speak and read Latin, even though she despises it since it is a reminder of the Catholic Church's imposing presence. While works of history such as Quidel Lincoleo's indicate a powerful position for Mapudungun in the colonial period, this is not developed in the historical fiction analysed here. In the novels studied, as the language of the conquistadores, Spanish is indeed a powerful language and holds more prestige than the indigenous languages, but the characters' ability to speak other languages which the Europeans do not allows for a level of subversion that the Europeans are barely aware of and so cannot combat it.

Chapter 3: Gender Traditions, Expressions and Subversions

Introduction

To continue the analysis of the ways in which both Frías and Valdivieso use their texts to challenge static, dominant discourses of collective identities, this chapter will focus specifically on the various expressions of gender present in the texts. De Valdés asserts that “[l]iterature is a primary formative means of supporting dominant ideology *or* challenging it” (de Valdés 1998, p.26). In line with de Valdés’ argument, this chapter illustrates the way in which *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* and the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series are used to challenge the patriarchal order that dictates specific roles for men and women. In order to fully appreciate the revolutionary way in which each author approaches this subject, we will firstly consider the ways in which the texts question and reinforce patriarchal norms in the societies they depict. Secondly, the Catholic Church and its influence in promoting specific gender identities, which are quite inflexible, are explored. Following this, the chapter will focus on the use of characters and narrative structures in these texts to undermine and reject presumptions made—particularly regarding fixed gender binaries—which make for limited individual expression. Subsequently, the influence of the family and the effects that the complex interplay of relationships in this setting has on the enactment of gender is analysed. Finally, focus is drawn to the sexual agency of the women in the texts by both authors, as an example of counternormative behaviour that undermines the patriarchal norms of their society. Frías’ protagonist, in particular, explores her sexuality throughout the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series, and her reaction to the resulting pregnancy elicits an analysis of new, contradicting examples of femininities. Prior to entering into these specific discussions, here follows an introduction to the types of masculinities and femininities debated in this chapter.

Simone de Beauvoir suggests that “[r]epresentation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth” (de Beauvoir 1973, p.175). Describing the world in patriarchal terms requires men to be perpetually superior to women. In order to

ensure this occurs there is a need to fix gender identities in specific positions creating a definite binary between men and women. Any form of disruption of this duality threatens the status quo. This chapter examines to what extent each author plays with the notion of gender as a social construct, rather than an innate characteristic of men and women, as per West and Zimmerman's notion of 'doing' gender (West and Zimmerman 1987, p.126). As a feminist text, *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, was published in a pivotal era in the reimagining the participation of men and women in the nation. Following the strict views of women's and men's roles that were portrayed during the dictatorship, Valdivieso returns to the colonial period where the expectations upon women were also strict and creates a fictional account of one of the most transgressive figures from that era to question assumptions about gender in Chile. In his texts, Frías also challenges the perceived norms. He uses his protagonist's narrative to criticise the patriarchal assumption that men are superior to women and, thus, deserve positions of power over them. The texts also depict characters such as la Monja Alférez who rejects the gender binary and simultaneously creates discomfort and intrigue in those interacting with her.

The standard code of conduct for men and women in the colonial societies depicted in both Frías' and Valdivieso's texts are set by the imperial authorities in a militaristic society, and are also heavily influenced by the teachings of the Catholic Church. In their article, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt insist on the importance of recognising that "[g]ender is always relational, and patterns of masculinity are socially defined in contradistinction from some model (whether real or imaginary) of femininity" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.848). Bearing this in mind, this chapter will discuss representations of masculinities and femininities in relation to one another. The societies analysed are patriarchal in nature and so a gender hierarchy places men in positions of power with women embodying a subordinate status. Connell and Messerschmidt describe the concept of being "focused on compliance to patriarchy" (2005, p.848) as 'emphasised femininity'. Within both Valdivieso's and Frías' novels this ideal demands women to be submissive, compliant, and to marry with the intention of procreation. In Valdivieso's text, the protagonist's sister, Águeda, comes

closest to embodying this ideal, while in Frías' text the protagonist's cousin, Catita, and her friend, Juana seem to be most compliant with the expectations on women.

'Emphasised femininity' conforms with what Connell describes as 'hegemonic masculinity' which is the "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell 1996b, p.77). This is the masculine ideal to which men are expected to aspire, though very few succeed. Connell and Messerschmidt insist that hegemonic masculinities "came into existence in specific circumstances and were open to historical change" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.832). The norms by which men and women are expected to abide change between historical periods and geographical locations. Theorising in Chile, Montecino confirms this socio-historic interplay between gender identities stating that "cada grupo humano elaborará una determinada manera de concebir lo masculino y lo femenino, así como las relaciones entre ambos, y esa elaboración tiene que ver con su historia particular, con su modo específico de morar en el mundo" (Montecino 1996, p.187). Given its propensity to change in relation to the socio-historic context, the 'hegemonic masculine' ideal is also specific to the societies depicted in the texts. In each text, the men aspiring to conform to it are of the dominant social group, willing and able to participate in the Araucanian War, and heterosexual (for procreation). Valdivieso's text inverts many of the perceived notions of masculine ideals, thus the only true example of a character enacting 'hegemonic masculinity' is Enrique Enríquez. In Frías' text, Alonso de Campofrío, the protagonist's husband, comes closest to achieving this, though a measure of irony is attached to this character, when following his injury from the mock *rpto* he is left impotent and so incapable of reproducing.

As characters that reject impositions of rules upon them, neither Valdivieso's nor Frías' Catalina enact the feminine ideals projected onto them by society. The femininities enacted by the protagonists can be defined partially by what Mimi Schippers refers to as *pariah femininities*. The practices and characteristics of someone enacting such femininities tend to include anything which "constitute[s] a

refusal to complement hegemonic masculinity in a relation of subordination and therefore are threatening male dominance” (Schippers 2007, p.95) and so—according to patriarchal thought—must be contained. Schippers considers them as *pariah femininities*—and not as subordinate—because they are “contaminating to the relationship between masculinity and femininity” (Schippers 2007, p.95). The term *pariah* is problematic considering that many women regularly flout gender norms and should not be considered pariahs for doing so, but the concept behind the term serves as a useful starting point to approaching the gender identities enacted by the protagonists of the chosen texts. Given the more complex depiction of gender relations in Frías’ texts, other theories of transgressive femininities come into play such as Barbara Creed’s work on the ‘monstrous-feminine’, and *hembrismo*, which has on occasion been uncritically adopted in the Latin American context to refer to women who resist conforming to societal norms. María Elena de Valdés considers this the female form of *machismo* and her critical caution is considered in the limited use of the term in the chapter. These femininities relate not only to the protagonist, but also to other women characters in the text, since many of Frías’ women characters flout social norms. In Valdivieso’s text, the protagonist’s mother serves as a role model for her daughter’s transgressions, while in Frías’ series, the protagonist is influenced by her grandmothers and aunts. In a contradictory nature, they serve as both models of infraction and conformity for Catalina. The protagonists reject the impositions upon them and work tirelessly to subvert the system through exercising sexual agency, contesting men’s ‘inherent superiority’ over them and enacting violence without constraint. While she struggles to function in such a stifling atmosphere, Frías’ protagonist learns to negotiate and sometimes subvert the norms acting upon her from her paternal grandmother, María (Frías 2001, p.129), her maternal grandmother, Águeda (Frías 2003, p.205), and Bettina Foccione (Frías 2001, p.265), her father’s lover. Valdivieso’s protagonist receives similar advice from her sister, Águeda (Valdivieso 1991, p.82).

Each text undermines the gender binary that fixes men and women in specific roles to which nobody can or wants to constantly adhere. Valdivieso’s text does so through creating a cyclical, fragmented narrative that interrupts and subverts the

supposed dominant discourse. Her inversion of the gender and ethnic hierarchy also serves this purpose, although to a lesser extent since this merely changes the criteria for those assuming power in a similarly constructed hierarchy. Frías' texts also depict fragmented, contradictory portrayals of the gender identities in play which serve the subversive ideology shared by the works of both authors. This disruption of the norms is what sets Valdivieso's and Frías' texts apart from the other texts on Catalina.

Like in many societies, the strict roles which men and women are expected to perform are very rarely realised in these texts. Through a complex development of their protagonists and supporting characters, both Frías and Valdivieso convey a nuanced interplay of masculinities and femininities which do not correspond directly to the norms. Susan Migden Socolow affirms that in the societies of colonial Latin America "there was often a gap between the social ideal, the model to which the society theoretically aspired, and the female-lived reality. To some degree, all women were subject to an ideal standard for female behaviour" (Migden Socolow 2007, p.3). The reality for women in the novels by both authors is that they cannot and do not comply with patriarchal oppression. The contrast between expectations placed upon men and the reality they live is also clear. Valdivieso's text, in particular, subverts the norms set out for men. The author's use of Juan Pacheco and Segundo a Secas illustrates a complicated correlation between gender, social status, and ethnicity. While in some positions these characters have more freedom than the protagonist, on other occasions, despite being a woman, her European heritage allows her a more powerful social rank. As Connell and Messerschmidt suggest, the men who do enact some of the hegemonic masculine ideals, like Campofrío in Frías' series, do so sporadically and inconsistently, which supports the argument of this thesis that identities are unstable and ever-changing.

Questioning and Reinforcing Patriarchal Norms

The strength of these subversive texts is understood best by firstly considering what ideals they rebel against. The societal norms—patriarchal and Eurocentric in the colonial period depicted—are presented by the works of both authors in a critical

manner that highlights the unjust, unrealistic expectations promoted. Steve Stern suggests that typically during the colonial period in Latin America

A woman's duty to cultivate a well-developed sense of shame, a sensitivity to moral duty and reputation that screened her from social circumstances inviting opprobrium, called upon her to adopt social appearances that contrasted with those prescribed for honoured adult men. These appearances included a submissive posture of obedience, support, and acceptance in household relations with husbands, fathers, and elders; a fierce regard for sexual propriety [...] and a respect for social place and decorum whose female version emphasized a sense of self-enclosure and discretion that shielded women and their families from dangerous gossip, quarrels, and sexual entanglement (Stern 1995, pp.14-15).

The Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer of both Frías and Valdivieso, does not abide by any of the aforementioned duties prescribed for women in the Spanish-ruled seventeenth-century Chile. The control men have over women frustrates the protagonists and the other women in the texts. Valdivieso's protagonist's plea, “¡[q]uiero ser mía!” (Valdivieso 1991, p.17), goes unheard among the men in her family whose priority is to maintain or strengthen the family's reputation. Frías' protagonist, too, is particularly vocal in her anger with the situation in which she finds herself. She feels oppressed by her grandmother, Águeda, and familial expectations, but most specifically by the male-dominated society in which they live.

[C]omprendí con claridad inesperada que mi vida no estaba en mis manos. Dependía de un destino familiar, religioso y político, del cual yo había sido desde siempre el vértice. Ahora sólo me sentía una víctima ignorante. Yo, que creía haberme ganado el poder y la decisión, tendría que vivir y morir sujeta a las normas de un mundo masculino (Frías 2001, p.231).

Her pregnancy, to Esteban de Britto, has tightened the constraints that already existed around her, since her grandmother, Águeda, feels obliged to find a suitable husband for her to ensure the reputation of the family is retained and her child is born within wedlock. She insists that animals are in a better position than women in their world,

Era más fácil ser animal, sujeto sólo a las leyes del instinto y a las exigencias de la naturaleza, que ser una pobre mujer, jalada de aquí allá por todas las leyes del reino de este mundo, divinas y naturales, humanas y sociales, masculinas y paternas (Frías 2001, p.250).

Despite her uniquely powerful position as cacica of the Curiqueo people, Catalina is still subject to each of these predominantly masculine authorities.

In Valdivieso's text, la Tatamai indicates the danger of the double standard that exists between men and women when it comes to physical relationships. While men willingly engage in pre-marital sex with women, they will not be criticised for breaking the church rules regarding such matters, the blame falls on the women: “[I]os hombres pueden darse el lujo de sus ganas y una mujer pagará por ellos” (Valdivieso 1991, p.61). James D. Henderson and Linda Roddy Henderson argue that this double standard is typical in a patriarchal society.

The institution of *machismo* tolerated the ‘double standard’ and reveled in it. If the ideal male was aggressive and sexually promiscuous, the ideal woman was just the opposite. Custom and law demanded that she be chaste before marriage and a virtuous homebody afterward (Henderson and Henderson 1978, p.xvi).

The women in Frías' text are held to this unjust categorisation. In an interview with the author, he stated: “[Chile] es machista, y somos de los peores machistas” (Frías 2013). His texts illustrate this in his development of the dominant male characters, such as Gonzalo de los Ríos. Valdivieso's Catalina has first-hand experience of gender inequality in her interactions with Enrique Enríquez. In her own narration she outlines the derogatory way in which he expresses his intentions towards her. Contrary to the usual contradiction between the protagonist's narration and that beginning with *dicen que*, the popular voice's account of Enríquez' intentions reconciles with her own: “levantando su copa, juró que gozaría a la Quintrala contra todos los rie[s]gos que su gusto le costara” (Valdivieso 1991, p.110). His use of Catalina's moniker, la Quintrala, further objectifies her, placing him in a position of power over her. This nickname was used historically in oral and written tradition to refer to the mythified character that grew from the historical figure. The texts of both Valdivieso and Frías are distinguished in their return to the woman, Catalina, as their protagonists.

Considering men superior and women inferior means some members of the society presume a lack of understanding on women's part regarding the way in which society functions. Valdivieso's text exposes this supposition through

Catalina's experience when she solicits a meeting with her uncle Pedro to discuss the running of their house and family following her father's death:

lo recibí en la cuadra y dije que yo me encargaría de prosperar nuestros bienes. En un comienzo, mi tío pareció aliviarse, pero después vi en su cara otros pensamientos y me negó el derecho. Yo no podía hacerlo, las mujeres no entendíamos de eso; escuché sus razones, no cambié las mías y guardé silencio (Valdivieso 1991, p.120).

She has learned that it is not always optimal to explicitly fight against the patriarchal mentality and, in fact, some things are resolved quicker if she allows the man in question to have his say, but then does not heed his suggestions, preferring to take her own path. The obvious disregard for women's intelligence and ability to understand the finer points of society is illustrated as Frías' protagonist converses with Esteban de Britto who laments the fact that while he was banned from bringing in any texts considered heretic by the Inquisition, Bettina de Foccione succeeded in smuggling in twenty so-called questionable texts. Catalina alludes to the church's underestimation of women as she informs him "[e]s que a nadie le importa qué leemos las mujeres –dije–. Además no sabemos leer. Ni tampoco escribir –agregué con intención" (Frías 2001, p.157). Both Catalina and Bettina can read and write. For this reason the protagonist's ironic tone is simply mocking the ecclesiastical and patriarchal orders that place so little importance on the women in their society, outside the scope of being sexual partners and vessels for the new generations.

Frías' texts not only depict the oppression of women in the patriarchal system in a complex manner, they also indicate a similar, if less severe, expectation upon men to conform to such ideals. They challenge patriarchal assumptions of masculinities in a more meaningful way with the obvious critique of Pedro, Catalina's uncle, who chooses to spend more time with Florencia before going to the frontline of the Araucanian war. Catalina highlights that the angered reaction from his father is because his decision is considered "muy poco militar" (Frías 2003, p.633). Even though her delight in his transgression is obvious in her playful response to her uncle, the protagonist's comment reminds him that there are certain expectations upon him as a man in their kingdom. In this way, Catalina too accepts the model, to some extent. Just as women are constantly reminded to conform, a

certain expectation is also upon men to acquiesce in order to maintain the social hierarchy, the patriarchy.

Pedro's actions contrast with those of Valdivieso's Segundo, who leaves Catalina in order to join his indigenous kin in the Araucanian War (Valdivieso 1991, pp.101-102). Having initially fought on the side of the Europeans, Segundo is disheartened by the mistreatment of the indigenous groups. He is deeply affected by the death of Anacleto, Elvira's messenger, whose headless body is found leaning against a tree. This is his punishment for being surprised conversing "con un cacique de los dudosos y que, frente al brasero de las confesiones, soltó que él y otros urdían libertar sus tierras del reino" (Valdivieso 1991, p.71). Any form of transgression from the indigenous allies is met with harsh repercussions because the *conquistadores* are under pressure to retain the land they have already seized. "[P]onían a La Concepción a punto de caer bajo los mapuches. Se precisaban frailes para bendecir y confesar a las tropas que partían a la frontera, y para estarse atento a los bárbaros que se nombraban de amigos" (Valdivieso 1991, p.68). The pejorative language is used even in the case of the indigenous groups allied with the Europeans. This serves to subjugate them and denote their masculinities as other to those of the Europeans. Juan Pacheco and Segundo a Secas plot an attack hidden away from European authorities. "Segundo conseguía municiones, enrolaba a los quejosos del reino y el pueblo conocía sus pasos. Lo contaban conversando con los caciques amigos, con revendedores de caballos y una noche, de cuchilladas con dos guardias que quisieron agarrarlo" (Valdivieso 1991, p.129). Their subversive strategies as *mestizo* men seem to foreshadow the historical 1665 "levantamiento de Resistencia" (Foresti et al. 2001, p.317) which, led by the *mestizo* Alejo, caused the fall of ten Spanish strongholds. Juan and Segundo do not obtain positions of power in the European ranks because they are *mestizos*. This automatically deems the masculinities that they enact as subordinate in that society. However, their decision to join the indigenous uprising places them in a higher status among their indigenous groups.

The pressure of the patriarchy is not limited to men imposing expectations upon other men to exhibit specific forms of masculinity. Women also perpetuate

such expectations and will consider this when choosing a partner. Andrés Jiménez challenges Catalina's uncle, Pedro, to a duel. Others join Jiménez, while many more soldiers come to the defence of Pedro. This violent expression of masculinity is perhaps an exhibition of dissent among the soldiers who have not been to war for some time. It results in the death of the instigator and the detention of his supporters. More interesting than these facts, though, are the responses that such a display elicits among the women bystanders. "Animadas por el espectáculo, las damas escogieron sus paladines y aplaudían el juego con palmas y gritos" (Frías 2001, p.61). It is a source of entertainment for many of the women. The fact that they consider it a game, despite the death of a man during it makes it all the more grotesque as an example of supposed masculine behaviour and female endorsement of it. This conduct motivates the women who in turn encourage its persistence through their gleeful celebrations. Catalina also falls prey to advancing this pressure to conform to the social norms of masculinity in her description of Esteban de Britto's participation in the duel. "Mi primera opinión fue crítica. La esgrima de Esteban era casi femenina y de muy pocos movimientos" (Frías 2001, p.62). She judges de Britto in a severe manner, disregarding his performance as 'casi femenina' as though this is something he should be ashamed of. She soon realises that de Britto could easily overcome his adversary if he desired but instead has chosen to play with him as a cat would a mouse. This revelation is important for Catalina's continued interest in the soldier as she realises that he is suitably 'masculine' according to her criteria. The protagonist does not recognise the double standard that she is setting: attempting to break free from the expectations placed upon her as a woman in their patriarchal society, while expecting de Britto to conform as a man. This clearly identifies an issue which Catalina has not considered. Being suspicious of men and women alike, attempting to force her to conform, she sees no problem with expecting a similar level of acquiescence from men.

This sense of 'male duty' to which she holds de Britto is reproduced in her expectations for her future husband, Alonso Campofrío. Even though she knows that her marriage is purely to satisfy the needs of all those involved, she flies into a jealous rage when she suspects that Campofrío and her childhood friend, Juana, are

having an affair. During her *Día Más Largo*, she witnesses what she perceives as moments of intimacy between the two and this sends her into a blind rage: “mi esposo, concluí cerrando los ojos para dejarlo de ver junto a Juana, es un hipócrita. Se casaba conmigo por dinero, estaba comprado, pero tenía más intimidad con una mujer casada, que para el colmo era amiga mía” (Frías 2003, p.92). What Catalina is witnessing is nothing more than a polite conversation between Alonso and Juana, since Juana although married, is in love with another captain of the Spanish army, Tomás de Gaete. The anger that Catalina expresses towards both is unfounded and irrational. She despises her life-long friend suggesting that she is sexually promiscuous and untrustworthy, while also criticising Alonso for not ‘saving’ himself for her. “Un volcán de celos sin fraguar me ardía en el pecho. Campofrío enredado con otra, antes de enredarse conmigo, era insoportable” (Frías 2003, pp.91-92). She speaks of Campofrío as though he were her property, not an independent being with will and desire.

Catalina’s behaviour mirrors the machista values which subjugate women and consider them as objects for the entertainment and needs of men. She is displaying elements of *hembrismo* as María Elena de Valdés describes it. “In Mexican usage the counterpart of *machismo*, *hembrismo*, reinforces the former, and an authentically egalitarian society will remain forever inaccessible [...] [I]t reinforces the most violent features of *machismo*’s exploitation of women. *Hembrismo* is merely a female variation of oppression” (de Valdés 1998, pp.20-21). Displaying these characteristics of *hembrismo*, then, serves little to subvert the patriarchal order against which the protagonist seems to fight throughout the text. Catalina’s aggressive rebuttal of Campofrío’s innocent interaction with Juana is as much an overreaction as it would be considered were the situation to be reversed. She suggests that he should not be involved with any other woman prior to marrying her. Her wish is one of double standards considering that she too has had lovers prior to, and indeed since, their engagement. This is illustrative of a wider level of apathy that the protagonist demonstrates towards the norms forced upon men and women in subordinate positions. Her transgression and struggle to break free from the

constraints of society are self-serving. There is no call for a society-wide questioning of the Eurocentric, androcentric ideals.

The dismissal of androcentric expectations is constant in Valdivieso's text with an obvious pride expressed in being women and of indigenous origin. When Águeda Flores is referred to as '*mestiza*' behind her back, Catalina Lisperguer asks her mother what is meant by this term. "Doña Águeda contestó que eso era ser mujer primero y también, mujer cruzada por dos destinos, lo que era ser mujer dos veces" (Valdivieso 1991, p.37). Being twice a woman is viewed as something to celebrate, but it also alludes to the fact that like women, those of indigenous heritage are considered inferior to the European men in power. The protagonist acquires pride in being a woman from her mother who suggests they populate the world with many more women "“pariremos hembras que se sujeten y suban, las Catalinas”" (Valdivieso 1991, p.70). The reciprocal support suggested is a necessary element to their survival and rise to power. The popular voice suggests that the protagonist has similar plans on entering puberty, although she does not limit her procreation to women alone. "Dicen que Catalina sufrió por esos días su primera sangre de mujer y que, en vez de avergonzarse como pasa a las doncellas, presumió que haría hombres y hembras para cambiar la tierra" (Valdivieso 1991, p.78). Much like in Frías' text when the protagonist and her friends are informed that menstruation is the "castigo que sufríamos las mujeres por haber traído el mal al mundo" (Frías 2003, p.170), the church and society expect women to cower in shame. Menstruation is one of the many taboo issues which their society would rather not hear about or discuss and so Catalina's willingness to engage with it openly exposes her to extra criticism. Her desire to give birth to men and women who can change their world relates to the other point of contention for her within the text which is the oppression of the indigenous people by the European men.

As it has previously been recognised, while discussing gender or ethnicity as social constructs, it is important to also consider social status and the effects this has in the gender power relations. The protagonists of both Valdivieso's and Frías' texts frequently fail to recognise the multifaceted dynamics of oppression in their society, despite Valdivieso's protagonist insisting that she would give birth to men and

women who would “cambiar la tierra”. Realistically, the world would only change for women in their socioeconomic standing. Both protagonists loudly criticise the subjugation to which they are held as women in their patriarchal society. They fall short of seizing opportunities to show solidarity to women who are their social subordinates. In contemporary Chile, this lack of recognition of intersectionality when it comes to discussing gender continues to create problems. Through the creation of the Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM) in 1991, by Patricio Aylwin’s government, the idea was to establish women’s equality with men. While this is a positive concept, the generalised notion of ‘women’ and ‘men’ is problematic. Richards suggests that “differences among women have become increasingly salient. As women of distinct groups question the state’s gender discourse, SERNAM’s ability to represent women’s interests is contested, and indeed, the very concept of ‘women’s interests’ is called into question” (Richards 2004, p.30). In her text *Pobladoras, Indígenas and the State*, Richards highlights the activism of both Mapuche women and *pobladoras*. Through this enlightening text, the critic demonstrates how “Mapuche women consistently link their priorities as women to the struggle against the exploitation of the Mapuche people as a whole; their gender identity is mediated by being indigenous” (2004, p.125).

Frías’ Catalina knows that sometimes women have more agency over their lives, choosing a position which best suits their need for stability. She falls prey to such a woman on her return from the secret visit to the surgeon, Maldonado, during the night. Her father’s servant informs him of her escape in Catalina’s absence causing Gonzalo to impose a severe punishment on his daughter when she eventually reappears, especially since she refuses to tell him where she has been. Furious with the servant for having betrayed her, Catalina narrates:

no sólo había descubierto mi escapada; además la había informado a mi padre. Con intención sexual, supongo. Las favoritas de los caballeros, fueran encomendadas o esclavas, se aseguraban una posición de privilegio mientras durara el favoritismo, y si eran inteligentes y se las arreglaban para preñarse del señor, los favores conseguidos podían durar toda su vida (Frías 2001, p.321).

Frías’ use of this anecdote illustrates the nuanced situation of women’s subjugation. It expresses the intersectional nature of domination that is experienced throughout

their society—against which Chandra Tapalde Mohanty warns in her work—, where for somebody like Catalina it is based purely on her gender, her servants do not have the luxury of resisting such oppression given their socioeconomic status. Joanna O Connell's text *Prospero's Daughter: The Prose of Rosario Castellanos* (1995), proves a valuable source of insight into negotiating the parameters of Catalina's position of power in colonial society. O Connell states that as Prospero's daughter, Miranda

is located in the sphere of the powerful, that she has access to a place within the culture of the elite, but as a female she does not fully occupy the center of power in a world where female subjugation is assumed. And yet, her exclusion or subordination, while real, is ambiguous given the ways her privileges are grounded in the persistence of the colonial relations (O Connell 1995, p.2).

The author elaborates this notion stating that the figure of Miranda

renders legible conflicting allegiances, contradictions in the structures of power in terms of relations between women as well as between groups with other forms of corporate identity. Casting either the colonized or the female as 'other' is an ideological move that masks particular historical circumstances of oppression (O Connell 1995, pp.11-12).

The position of the protagonists of the texts being analysed diverges from that of Miranda in the more complex nature of their heritage. While her socioeconomic position as granddaughter of conquistadores affords her greater power than many women, she still does not have the status that men in a similar position have. Nor does her role as *cacica* of the Curiqueo, which is already subjugated by the colonisers, ensure upward mobility.

José Tomás Cornejo Cancino confirms that during the colonial period “no era lo mismo ser una mujer de la elite santiaguina que una campesina pobre ni que una cacica india, las que, aparte de su sexo, poco compartían” (Cancino 2006, p.10). Catalina looks down on the women who opt to engage in physical relationships with the masters in the hope of them fathering children so that they are guaranteed financial support. There is no solidarity shown to Catalina when she sneaks out as she is not considered to be on equal terms with her servants, despite being of the same gender. The servant must prioritise her survival over that of her mistress. Catalina may also be jealous of her father's servant who is not judged so harshly for

engaging in a sexual relationship with Gonzalo since Milagros Palma suggests even in contemporary Chile, “[l]a ‘decencia sexual’ es un valor supremo de la mujer de las clases altas, mientras que en las clases bajas, la relación sexual es el mecanismo de alcanzar mejor posición económica y social” (cited in Montecino 1993a, p.49). However, in both Valdivieso’s and Frías’ texts, these elite characters seek to express their sexuality with the same freedom as the women of lower socio-economic backgrounds.

In *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* Catalina orchestrates the death of two potential lovers, the first because he will not commit to her because his family disagrees with their union, and the second because he has spoken ill of her in public in an attempt to damage her reputation. She is also responsible for the death of her father. Though she is not convicted of any of the three murders, she is suspected of them and both through her narration and that of the sections beginning *dicen que*, the reader is aware of her tendency towards violence if she cannot succeed in fulfilling her desire or if she believes somebody is responsible for that failure. Having stolen out in the middle of the night to see Álvaro, Catalina is startled by her sister Águeda returning to the house. When Águeda asks where she has been, Rosarios Ay starts to respond when Catalina silences her: “[d]e una patada callé a la esclava” (Valdivieso 1991, p.43). Enacting violence does not affect Catalina. Whether she is the person carrying it out or has given the order to do so, she does not give her actions a second thought. Her use of violence means that she does not conform to the feminine ideals that exist where women cower at the thought of such brutality. In the case relating to Rosarios Ay, Valdivieso illustrates that the transgression in gender norms is facilitated by Catalina’s privileged socio-economic standing. Her lack of concern for the woman in a subordinate position to her is obvious. Despite her insistence on resisting women’s subjugated position in their patriarchal society, her effort falls short of considering it from an intersectional standpoint that supports the ascendance of slave women to a position of equal status.

The gender identities questioned in the texts, while focused predominately on women and femininities, also shed light on masculinities and the behaviour and expectations upon men within the patriarchal society. R.W. Connell states that “el

varón no es menos un producto social de lo que lo sea la mujer” (Connell 1997, p.17). Each author portrays a version of hegemonic masculinity and the subjugated masculinities that challenges and maintains that hierarchy within their society. Connell insists that ‘hegemonic masculinity’ is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities and that “[t]he interplay between different forms of masculinity is an important part of how a patriarchal social order works” (Connell 1996a, p.183). Individually the texts of Valdivieso and Frías challenge the perceived norms surrounding men’s participation in the public and private spheres. In both cases, criticism falls heavily on men who are not motivated to enter into combat at all times, and those who show loyalty to anything other than Spain’s conquest of Chile. Indigenous heritage is problematically equated with the feminine in Valdivieso’s text. While she challenges Eurocentric assumptions, she simply replaces the Eurocentric perspective with another essentialist rendering of the world that places women—specifically indigenous women—in charge with a superior place afforded to indigenous men over European men. The masculinities depicted in the texts are as plentiful, contradictory and incomplete as their feminine counterparts, with aspects of complicit masculinities obvious in the upholding of the ‘hegemonic masculine’ without embodying them and subordinate masculinities in men of lower socio-economic status, particularly in Frías’ texts.

Frías’ Fadrique Lisperguer is subjugated in his enactment of his masculinity and never quite achieves the standard that is expected of him as a man. During a conversation wherein he expresses frustration in his position as priest since it limits his participation in the Araucanian war, he becomes very upset since he feels that participating in war is a way he can express his masculinity. He believes this is the behaviour that is expected of a man and, by not doing it, he cannot truly be considered a man. Guerra affirms that this is a common perceived expression of masculinity which is “definida a partir de [...] una capacidad social, implica luchar y ejercer la violencia como un deber en el cual subyace la vulnerabilidad. Además, *lo viril* únicamente existe como tal cuando es válido y reconocido por los otros hombres” (Guerra 2008, p.89; inflection in original). In expressing his frustration in his inability to independently participate in battle Catalina describes his demeanour.

“A Fadrique se le saltaron las lágrimas de los ojos. Era su sensibilidad a flor de piel, ‘femenina’ decían, que la familia atribuía a su caída del caballo” (Frías 2001, p.139). Others view his sensitivity as feminine, which is immediately denoted as a negative male attribute, rendering him incapable of realising his full potential as a Lisperguer man. The attitude indicates a desire to marginalise any behaviour or situation that is perceived as untypical or prospectively damaging to the family’s reputation. His position as a priest is very obviously identified as that of a plant or a puppet doing the bidding of their family. This seems to be the case for all members of the family. They are not allowed autonomous lives separate from that of the family’s social progression. It suggests that individually they are of little value.

In articulating his interest in Catalina, de Britto is direct in his approach. His frank manner impresses María de Encío, perhaps more than her granddaughter. He gives Catalina a horse as an expression of his attraction to her. María informs Catalina of her fortune in having found such a man: “[s]i así te ama ese hombre, ¡Dios nos ampare, hija! ¿Qué otros hombres hay por aquí que ataquen así, de frente? [...] Aquí sólo hay hombres moviéndose cautelosos entre las sombras, escuchando detrás de las paredes” (Frías 2001, p.148). María is speaking from her own experiences, of course, but throughout the text Catalina indicates this tendency towards ambiguous and cautious behaviour in the men who surround her which she deplors. The narration suggests that Esteban’s candid nature comes from his Italian heritage. The other men to whom María de Encío refers are either of Spanish or German descent and, in her experience, have never been as clear about their intentions. Bettina also speaks very highly of Italian lovers and indicates that they are trained in the art of love making like no other European. Her comments reinforce obvious stereotypes, but have strong sexual overtones, which fascinates Catalina who has lived in a repressed environment for so long. These remarks fuelled by the Italian soldier’s clear intentions spark curiosity in Catalina. She appreciates the uncomplicated manner in which they interact. During their brief romance—cut short by his murder—the social norms of their genders are suspended. They enjoy one another’s company and express their feelings and desires unhindered by shame or

rules. This contrasts greatly with the relationship between Catalina and Alonso de Campofrío, her betrothed.

Initially unhappy with being forced to marry Campofrío because she is expecting a child, Catalina starts to warm to the idea when she sees him as a handsome and trustworthy companion. His interest in and knowledge of the indigenous people and their traditions solidifies this acceptance. Having clarified the terms of the agreed marriage with her grandmother, Campofrío maintains his distance with Catalina in public and avoids seeing her in private at all costs. She is bewildered by his actions, feeling that he exhibits towards her “una caballerosidad fría y distante. A veces sentía como si el capitán me culpara, o al menos reprochara, por su propia decisión de casarse conmigo” (Frías 2003, p.34). Despite his obvious reserve, she learns to appreciate his stoic mannerisms and silent strength. “Me gustaban sus espaldas jóvenes y fuertes, sus movimientos seguros y su gesto marcial” (Frías 2003, p.53). Indeed Catalina also appreciated these physical traits in de Britto. Campofrío does not, however, share the same explicit passion and desire for Catalina that his Italian comrade did, leaving her feeling as though she is lacking something in her relationship with him. Her husband-to-be does not display any characteristics or interests that set him apart from any other soldier fighting on behalf of the Spanish in the Araucanian war. He is the perfect soldier: dedicated; motivated; loyal and brave. He performs his social duties impeccably as is indicated in his directing the carriages around Tobalaba while visitors arrive to celebrate Catalina’s *Día Más Largo*. Catalina narrates:

La abuela complacida, me miró de reojo. Por fin un hombre que se preocupa de las mujeres de la casa, parecía decir. Y yo, por primera vez, sentí que doña Águeda estaba vieja e ignoraba algunas cosas. Habría preferido a un mayordomo para hacer lo que venía a hacer Campofrío y que mi esposo sirviera como marido, ¡como hombre en la cama, qué diablos! (Frías 2003, p.239).

This reiterates the contrast between Catalina’s expectations for marriage as one of love and desire, while her grandmother favours the retention or increase of the family’s social standing.

As Campofrío continues to abide by his code of honour as a soldier, Catalina’s frustration grows, considering him “más parecido que nunca a un

soldadito de plomo” (Frías 2003, p.278) without personality or free will. To a certain degree this suits her needs since she wants to be the dominant person in their relationship. She enjoys expressing power in any form she can. Prior to their engagement becoming public knowledge, Catalina asks Campofrío to wear ribbons with the colours of Tobalaba on his lance as he marches in parades. He agrees to this. Catalina delights in this knowing that “[a]sí sabrían que el atractivo caballero tenía dueña, doña y todo” (Frías 2003, p.263). His wearing her colours indicates an allegiance to her and in some ways his subjugation to her since she wields the power through his compliance with her wishes¹⁷. This places him in the unusual position of being controlled by Catalina, just as he is by Águeda in agreeing to marry Catalina. Catalina recognises that he is not unlike his fellow soldiers who appear to follow similar norms of masculinity while in the company of women.

So controlled by rules does she consider these soldiers that she is convinced that: “[e]n algún lugar del Imperio debía haber una fábrica de caballeros, todos semejantes. [...] todos destinados a casarse con señoritas adineradas, todos condenados a engendrar a sus hijos entre batalla” (Frías 2003, p.319). This suggests a lack of agency in Campofrío and the other soldiers of the time. According to Connell, this is a typical trope used by the patriarchal system to ensure the gender hierarchy is maintained:

ni los hombres son tan parecidos entre sí potencialmente, ni son potencialmente tan distintos a las mujeres [...] Pero el sistema patriarcal se encargará de tratar a las personas como si fuesen idénticas a las de su mismo sexo y muy diferentes a las del opuesto (Connell 1997, p.18).

Individuality is not appreciated in men or women. It appears that Campofrío conforms to the norms of hegemonic masculinity without actually coming close to

¹⁷ This behaviour which Catalina expects from her betrothed is reminiscent of the chivalric ideal. On more than one occasion throughout the texts, she expresses her desire to experience this courtly love typical of chivalric novels that her maternal grandfather has read to her as a young girl. This is contradictory to her otherwise rebellious attitude towards the patriarchal authorities since, the chivalric ideal holds men and women to specific roles in their societies, perpetuating patriarchal archetypes. E. Jane Burns provides a feminist critique of courtly love highlighting its limitations. (Burns 2001)

enacting or embodying this masculinity given that in Catalina's case she is expressly dissatisfied with their relationship. In her opinion "Alonso debió arrojarme al suelo y hacerme suya bajo la lluvia, sobre el barro. Tal vez la *grundnorm* que profesaba la caballería incluía el celibato. ¡Qué tontería!" (Frías 2001, pp.350-351; inflection in original). This comment is contradictory to the stance the protagonist has apparently taken to this point. She has demanded respect, independence and to be treated as an equal to her male contemporaries. However, this desire to be possessed and ravished in such a violent manner nullifies any attempt to assert agency and control over her bodily autonomy. Ironically, celibacy is not the reason for Alonso and Catalina being unable to consummate their marriage, but rather the injury Perro inflicts upon Alonso during their mock *rapto*. His impotency is a great sense of loss for Catalina since procreating is so important to the indigenous culture and a man is expected to provide heirs. The fact that he cannot seems to somehow weaken the masculinity that he embodies. While the responsibility of bearing children logically falls upon women in this society, it is obvious that social norms dictate that men should strive to father children too. Since Alonso is impotent, he cannot fulfil this requirement and so he cannot enact the hegemonic masculine ideal.

Unlike Frías' Catalina, Valdivieso's protagonist subverts and rejects the chivalric ideal. Enrique Enríquez, the character who comes closest to embodying hegemonic masculine traits in the text, represents *caballeridad*. He is a *pensinsular*—and so of the dominant group—who is noted as a capable swordsman and is vocal about his attraction to the protagonist. In theory, he is the ideal man in their Eurocentric, patriarchal, heteronormative society. Enríquez is an example of imperial privilege. He believes he is culturally and racially superior to all indigenous, *mestizos*, and *criollos*. He makes known his well-documented European lineage during the discussion regarding marriage to Catalina (see page 97). He takes great pride in his appearance. The protagonist's description of his dressing ritual highlights his pompous nature, as though he were a male peacock preparing to strut in front of a potential mate. "[S]e miraba de cerca y se alejaba pausado, ensayando la capa al brazo y el chambergo ladeado. Después sacó del cristal su cuerpo y se echó en la cama" (Valdivieso 1991, p.15). As he contemplates himself in the mirror, his

servant is given orders to “preparar su mejor camisa y su casaca de terciopelo, además de polvos de olor y apio fresco para el aliento” (Valdivieso 1991, p.15). The laboured attention to detail regarding Enríquez dressing underlines the notion of him ‘doing’ his gender. He is performing a particular role according to Eurocentric standards.

To further his enactment of masculine norms, Enríquez is hailed as an expert swordsman, even by the protagonist, who concedes during a jousting competition, “todo habría sido un espectáculo gris y opaca, si Enríquez no hubiera participado” (Valdivieso 1991, p.93). While she can appreciate his strength in this milieu, Catalina still refuses to engage or support Enríquez’ attempts to woo her in the traditional manner. As the competition comes to an end, the protagonist states:

la fiesta tomó ánimos cuando llegó el juego de la sortija y Enrique Enríquez las ensartó todas sin fallar una, la última, pendiente de su lanza, la acarreo hasta el banquillo que sentaba a mi abuela doña Águeda, con toda la familia. Se detuvo frente a nosotros y me pasó la sortija. Yo le fijé los ojos y no estiré la mano ni sonreí ni hice dengues, como manda la costumbre (Valdivieso 1991, p.93).

Her behaviour stunts his enactment of masculinity because she refuses to engage with the norms that require her, as a woman, to graciously receive his public act of interest with a smile or gesture. Contrastingly, in Frías’ novels, this is exactly what the protagonist seeks from Campofrío. The fact that Valdivieso’s Catalina can undermine Enríquez’ attempts to ‘conquer’ her reinforces the notion that masculinities and femininities are inextricably linked and must always be discussed in relation to one another. Furthermore, it highlights these societal norms for men and women as being artificially constructed, requiring the compliance of other societal members in order to be fulfilled. Catalina’s obvious disregard for these expectations disrupts Enríquez’ attempt to enact his gender, leading to a failed interaction, in patriarchal terms. They clash as potential lovers because Catalina loathes his pursuit of her as though she were prey.

The protagonist also has a particular disdain for Enríquez because he kills her half-brother, Segundo, and tries to kill her cousin, Juan Pacheco. The manner in which he kills Segundo is less than noble as Catalina explains, “recordé cómo lo mataron a traición en la cita que le fingió Enríquez, enviándole palabra de cambiar

cautivas por mapuches prisioneros” (Valdivieso 1991, p.138). In a cowardly manner, Enríquez lures Segundo to his death under false pretences. This undermines his previous supposedly chivalric performance. In agreeing to a duel to the death with Enríquez in an attempt to defend Catalina’s honour, Juan Pacheco enacts hegemonic traits. With the *peninsular*’s swordsmanship well-known, Pacheco faces certain death. Catalina does not allow this to happen, however, as she intervenes unbeknownst to her cousin by luring Enríquez to her room and stabbing him to death. In doing this she simultaneously saves Juan Pacheco’s life, but also subverts his enactment of masculinity. Catalina’s motivations for killing Enríquez—to avenge Segundo’s death and prevent Juan’s—differs greatly from the reasoning provided in previous portrayals where the protagonist’s maternal indigenous and German heritage was supposedly culpable, or the fact that she was possessed by the Devil.

Aspects of the gentleman’s code are enforced throughout Frías’ texts. This code focuses on ensuring men treat one another with respect and, most importantly, do not become involved with their friend or colleague’s partner. Frustrated with Campofrío’s lack of passion or supposed romantic interest in her, Catalina decides to seek physical relationships with other men prior to their marriage. While witnessing the Auto de Fé, Catalina invites Matías de Zerpa—friend of her uncles and lover of at least one of her aunts—to accompany her that night. His response indicates the rules of masculinity by which the men are expected to live in their small kingdom.

–Si Campofrío pensara que soy un hijo de puta, sería un verdadero hijo de puta con él e iría feliz a acostarme con la mujer más peligrosa del reino –explicó Zerpa tratando de ser franco—. Pero Campofrío siempre me ha tratado y ha hablado de mí como de un caballero. Como caballero debo yo comportarme con él. Es una ley, señora doña de Campofrío, para todos aquellos que heredamos cuatro generaciones de señores bien comidos y bien bebidos (Frías 2003, p.446).

Proud of being a fourth-generation gentleman, Zerpa appears to be too steeped in tradition to wrong his friend. He is controlled by his sense of duty, rather than moral guidance or respect for Campofrío. Since Alonso has never wronged him, he will not do so. It does not take Zerpa long to retract his initial refusal of Catalina’s offer, however. “Cuando todo terminó, Zerpa se me acercó y con una reverencia muy palaciega se ofreció para acompañarme a Eldorado. Le dije que no” (Frías 2003,

p.449). This interaction helps express the nuanced nature of the interaction between men and women within their kingdom and suggests that while men strive to enact the hegemonic masculine ideal, they sometimes fall short or will embody some, but not all, aspects.

The masculinities enacted by Catalina's father, Gonzalo, stem from his perception of the power and control he wields over others. He defines himself in accordance with this influence he possesses and from it stems his self worth. He has specific notions of what the life of a man is expected to entail: "es hacer, decía. Hacer gobierno, hacer pan, hacer cualquier cosa, hasta crímenes, pero hacer" (Frías 2001, p.56). While Catalina provides scathing narration of her father's behaviour, she has always appreciated in him the ability to dominate. This, in addition to his unapologetic honesty regarding his disdain for her is, in Catalina's view, strength. His mother, María de Encío, criticises his constant display of behaviour that is considered typically masculine in his dealings with Catalina stating "[h]as sido más estricto de lo normal, demasiado varonil. Catalina es mujer, y le faltó una madre" (Frías 2003, p.596). This suggests that there is an explicit division of labour which corresponds to men and women as parents and that there are certain behaviours only a father can teach their child and others a mother can. Angry that his mother could criticise him for behaving as he felt he should as a man, he states "me acusas por ser hombre" (Frías 2003, p.596). María's response identifies a correlation between being less brutal and being homosexual. "–No. Afortunadamente, nunca has sido sodomita –aplaudió doña María–. La homosexualidad es un extravío moral grave. El alma masculina es incapaz de hacerse femeninamente suficiente, como lo has comprobado tratando de criar a tu hija" (Frías 2003, p.596).

Connell states that, "[t]he most important feature of contemporary hegemonic masculinity is that it is heterosexual, [...] and a key form of subordinated masculinity is homosexual" (Connell 1996a, p.186). Although María is critical of her son's hyper masculine display, she would rather he behave in this manner than be homosexual. Guerra indicates that in Chile, so much emphasis is placed on exalting 'the masculine', while homosexuality "se va transformando en los márgenes de la exclusión y la discriminación" (Guerra 2008, p.121). Amy Kaminsky suggests that

in Latin America “[h]eterosexuality is so deeply ingrained that it is passed off not only as ‘natural’ but as the sole natural expression of sexuality” (Kaminsky 1993, p.xiv). While Frías’ text touches briefly on lesbian sex and sexuality through Catalina’s encounter with Bettina, and the ambiguous nature of la Monja Alférez’ sexuality, this is the only reference to male gay sex throughout the series published thus far. There is no discussion from any character relating to it. María de Encío rejects the possibility of having a gay son. Having been portrayed as transgressive, to satisfy her own needs, much like the protagonist, she fails to acknowledge the need for this acceptance in other people. This reinforces the argument that some transgressive characters in Frías’ texts are blind to the double standards that others are held to in their society, particularly men and women of lower socio-economic status.

Rebecca Lee suggests that in Valdivieso’s text “[t]he men of the novel are the unequivocal proponents of European dominance, while the women are intimately linked to their indianness” (Lee 2007, p.116). While this is true of the European men in the novel, it is not the case for Juan Pacheco and Segundo a Secas. Both are linked to their “indianness” and as a result do not wield power in the European-led society. In order to garner positions of power, they each must align themselves with their indigenous heritage. This suggests that the picture depicted in relation to power is quite complex. Indeed the relationship between Catalina, Segundo and Juan, is illustrative of the inextricable connection between gender, ethnicity and access to power structures. The distinction indicated by Lee is also problematic in its perpetuation of the feminisation of indigenous heritages which are viewed as weaker, and so, inferior to the ‘masculine’ European counterpart.

Albornoz Vásquez argues that the masculinity that these characters enact is one which “puede ser responsable de sus propias personas, de sus deberes cotidianos, desprendida de prepotencia y de aires de superioridad. Masculinidad que no subyuga a las mujeres, sino que las deja ser y hasta las considera sus iguales” (Albornoz Vásquez 2002). This is evident in the gentle way in which both Segundo, as her half-brother, and Juan, as her first cousin, interact with Catalina. Frustrated with her restricted life and wanting to assume control of her own path, she threatens to leave

Santiago and escape to la Ciudad de los Reyes. Juan reminds her of all that she would lose: including her fortune and “la tierra por donde andan las sangres que me hicieron” (Valdivieso 1991, p.17). As though it were an afterthought she narrates: “[t]ardó un momento en agregar mi sujeción de ser hembra” (Valdivieso 1991, p.17). Realistically, were Catalina not motivated by sentiment or money, there is a possibility she could successfully escape from Santiago to Ciudad de los Reyes where nobody knew her. However, under no condition could she exist independently of a father or a husband in any part of the kingdom, and this is what Juan alludes to. This complex interplay between gender, ethnicity and power is further complicated when one considers that as a woman, Catalina cannot choose freely to follow her desire to enact her indigenous identity over her European. Despite being a woman, she is more privileged than Juan and Segundo in the European society, but they have the freedom to choose the ethnicity with which they want to belong. The proportion of indigenous and European heritage in each person is relevant in their society. For this reason, Catalina, who is one-eighth indigenous and otherwise European, gains a higher status than her half-brother and cousin who are each half European half indigenous. Their decision to side with whomever they want is unhindered because of their gender, but motivated by access to power. In contrast to Valdivieso’s protagonist, Frías’ Catalina receives her power from her indigenous heritage.

It must be considered that given the reader’s limited access to the indigenous world in the work by both authors, but particularly Valdivieso’s, the masculinities being discussed are problematically Eurocentric. The principal narrative in both is that of the protagonist, so we are not given further insight into the male indigenous characters’ ‘doing’ gender beyond that which is witnessed by Catalina. This restriction does not allow, thus, for a holistic analysis that fully incorporates the power structures of the ethnic hierarchies in the colonial period depicted or the possible distinction drawn between what constitutes hegemonic masculinity in communities other than the European one. It is interesting to note that in contemporary Chile, in their construction of hegemonic masculinity, the governing elites “have used images of indigenous masculinity in conjunction with those of Iberian masculinity [...] suggesting that it was the bellicose encounter between these

two noble “races” that gave birth to Chilean nationhood”(Crow 2014, p.76). Crow explains that this remains part of the contradictory and complex relationship that still exists between Chilean elites and the Mapuche people. She suggests that the indigenous masculinity is simultaneously exalted and marginalised in foundational narratives as it is seen as a threat to existing neo-colonial power relations (2014, p.76). Contemporary Chilean governments continue to hail the “noble Araucanian warrior of old” while perpetuating “disparaging attitudes towards contemporary Mapuche demanding respect for their rights” (Crow 2014, p.78).

Frías’ Pedro Lisperguer, Catalina’s grandfather, provides alternative, yet coinciding perspectives on the question of masculinities within their society. In his playful quips with his African slave, Melchor, he unwittingly identifies another subordinate masculinity. The hegemonic ideal tends to be young, strong, fearless, virile and of the dominant group within any particular society. While Melchor fulfils many of the requirements, as an African slave he is not part of the dominant, but rather the dominated, group in Santiago at this time. Pedro points to Melchor exclaiming: “[e]ste negro –decía el abuelo Lisperguer– es herrero de puro friolento. ¡Míralo ahí! Siempre al lado del fuego. Naciste y te criaron en el Ecuador del planeta, ¿no? Por eso eres negro y friolento, ¿no?” (Frías 2003, p.83). The racist overtones of this comment are supposedly appeased by Catalina’s explanation that “Melchor era el único hombre de color con quien el abuelo se permitía este tipo de bromas, que el herrero no contestaba. Solo sonreía” (Frías 2003, p.83). As his subordinate, Melchor is in no position to challenge Pedro on his comments and so he cannot express anger or appreciation for such behaviour. Indeed the very fact that Pedro others Melchor through highlighting his skin tone puts into question Melchor’s masculinity. His masculinity is considered subordinate, because of his origin and his socioeconomic standing.

Catalina’s slave, Pepe Resorte, is less accepting of his subordinate position. Jealous that Catalina is more interested in Esteban de Britto than him, a former lover, he mistreats the mare which de Britto gifts to the protagonist. His behaviour demonstrates that his position as the former lover/slave is gendered. His subjugation in their society is motivated by his ethnicity, but as a man he dares to overstep the

mark and display his jealousy of de Britto in front of his mistress. If the roles were reversed, it is unlikely that an indigenous mistress seeking vengeance in such a way would be tolerated. Indeed, Catalina does not tolerate Pepe's actions, but it is the mere fact that he believed he could carry out this action that serves for interesting analysis and discussion on the gendered approach to certain forms of oppression.

The Lisperguer patriarch is critical of other men who do not uphold the ideal of the hegemonic masculine in their daily actions. He is humiliated to discover that his son, Juan Rudulfo, survives a battle wherein the majority of men under his command perish. He exclaims:

Un capitán, un caballero que se precie de serlo, puede salvar a su tripulación, pero se hunde con su barco. Sobrevivir a sus propias tropas es infamante —declaró con tanta seguridad que no admitía argumento contrario—. Solo sobrevive el que huye o el que se oculta en la batalla. El miedo, Catalina, es la razón común y vergonzosa del sometimiento de los villanos (Frías 2003, p.285).

This opinion is as restrictive and damaging for men as the social ideals are oppressive for women. Typically, this surefootedness and determination does waver throughout the text. In contrast, Valdivieso's Juan Rodulfo is killed in battle. "[A] mi tío, el general Juan Rodulfo Lisperguer y a cincuenta soldados bajo sus órdenes, los habían matado los mapuches cerca de la frontera" (Valdivieso 1991, p.44). Having died in battle, they will live on as heroes in the memories of their fellow *criollos*. They have complied with the masculine expectations placed upon them.

Whether consciously or unconsciously, Frías' Pedro Lisperguer also enacts behaviour that is considered traditionally feminine, in order to achieve his goals. An example of such is during the celebration to welcome Alonso de Ribera to Santiago as the new governor and he wants to eavesdrop on the conversation between some of the clergy and Jiménez de Mendoza. Catalina narrates the event in a comical manner:

El viejo Lisperguer, inconfundible en su uniforme de juez de hechicerías, mezcla de cura, soldado y oidor, se las arregló para venir a saludarnos y quedar disimuladamente de espaldas pero lo suficientemente cerca del jesuita como para escuchar la conversación. Una mujer no lo habría hecho mejor (Frías 2001, p.28).

This final comment proves the notion of the ‘doing’ of gender as a social construct since this behaviour is evidently something that Pedro Lisperguer has seen in women prior to this. In continuation, there is a discussion of the Catholic Church’s rejection of this concept of gender construction and its role in attempting to enforce fixed gender identities which reproduce the patriarchal hierarchy that places men in a superior position to women.

The Catholic Church: Fixing Genders

The patriarchal representatives of the Spanish Crown are not the only members of society to place strict expectations on men and women in the seventeenth century portrayed by each novelist. Men are also kept in positions of power through the structures of the church and its leaders, who are all men. In the novels analysed in this thesis women’s function in the church’s eyes is similar to that of the wider society. This is clearly outlined in *Catrala* by Juan Rudulfo’s remark, “[s]i las mujeres no son brujas, no tienen más importancia que la de dar buenos católicos a la cristiandad” (Frías 2001, p.157). Though Juan Rudulfo is merely being humorous, this statement reflects the position of the Catholic Church when it comes to women’s function in their society. Catalina’s aunt Mariana is the only Lisperguer woman who actively lives up to the norms set out for her and all women in their society. During the discussion of Alonso de Ribera’s secret marriage to a woman from Concepción despite his involvement with Mariana’s sister María, Mariana comments “[o]tro amorío más– criticó Mariana, con tono de que el sexo virtuoso estaba hecho sólo para procrear un Ordóñez detrás otro” (Frías 2001, p.216). Although the comical qualification of her remark is made by Catalina, regarding Mariana’s devotion to societal norms, it underlines the impossible standards to which they are being kept by the church.

In Frías’ texts, the convent is designated as a place of refuge: for Catita in order to fulfil her dream of becoming a *ñusta* (further discussion on p.182) and for Catalina’s aunts when they wish to avoid punishment for the attempted murder of the governor (Frías 2003, pp.515-518). In contrast, it is evidently a place of punishment and containment in Valdivieso’s text. The protagonist and her mother are forced to

enter the convent at times by the family in an attempt to curb their disruptive behaviour. Catalina explains that when the priest tries to hear her confession prior to entering the convent: “entendí que limpiaría mi alma de pestes contagiosas para el santo lugar que me acogía. Con penitencias entretendría el tiempo de la absolución, como antes lo había hecho” (Valdivieso 1991, p.65). Her behaviour is supposedly caused by “pestes contagiosas”, but on entering the convent, Catalina discovers that hers is not the only situation that the society deems necessary to control.

Supe de las cautivas, pagado su rescate por sus familiares y privadas de sus hijos mestizos, que para alivio de los blancos, no cedieron los mapuches. Me sorprendió saber de una Iturgoyen, hija de don Pancho Merlo, que tuvo misa de difunto el otoño pasado pero que, de veras, acababa de fallecer en una celda. ‘De consunción’, dijo Perdón del Socorro, y agregó que a su tumba no le pusieron nombre (Valdivieso 1991, p.67).

Their families are ashamed of the fact that these women have had children, either by choice or by force, with their captors. They are relieved when the Mapuche men will not give up their children and, in order not to have to deal with the ‘shame’ of reintroducing the women into society, they send them to the convent. This is the other side of the *huacheraje* coin which is not discussed so frequently—the children born of European mothers and indigenous fathers. This is the only mention of such a phenomenon in Valdivieso’s text, and one of Frías’ texts also briefly acknowledges this reality. “Contaban terribles historias sobre la crueldad de los indios [...] Los mapuches, se decía, saqueaban hasta las chacras pequeñas para raptar y hacer suyas a las mujeres. Preferían a las europeas” (Frías 2001, p.204). The language used seems to be more violent than the description of the Spanish exploits wherein women ‘choose’ to be with them in an attempt to improve their living conditions. The reality is that there were many such raids with European captives recorded at this time.

Valdivieso’s text outlines a deviation between what is expected by the church for women and the reality of their participation in the public sphere. The clergy are actively involved in their society. They are concerned with ensuring that the soldiers’ actions remain in line with their aim which is to evangelise the indigenous people as they conquer their lands. Women are praised for conforming to norms and having children with their husbands. When Catalina Lisperguer y Flores is pregnant with the

protagonist, she meets Fray Figueroa as he carves out the figure of Christ. Figueroa equates his work with that of Catalina in bringing a child into the world:

‘Los dos preñados’, le había dicho fray Pedro de Figueroa a mi madre cuando conmigo en la barriga, ella pasó a verlo. Fray Pedro, que tallaba su Cristo en una rama de espino, le anunció seguro: ‘Pariremos en la misma fecha’ (Valdivieso 1991, p.43).

For the duration of her narrative, Valdivieso’s protagonist details the many ways in which she has rejected and subverted the patriarchal/church ideals to suit her goals through engaging in pre-marital sex and carrying out acts of violence. She has expressed a preference for her indigenous ancestry which comes from her maternal lineage. However, in order to marry Campofrío—in a marriage she is not entirely happy about—she must make a confession on the eve of her wedding. Her confession, however, does not conclude in the most typical of manners as she pays tribute to all the women who have come before her in her maternal line:

Esa soy, padre,
hija de Llanka Curiqueo
que es hija de Elvira de Talagante
que es hija de Agueda Flores
que es hija de Catalina
que es mi madre,
que soy yo

Todas hija de Dios, Catalina, creadoras de linaje.

La confesión.

Me confieso, padre (Valdivieso 1991, pp.141-142).

In these closing comments she reminds her confessor that while she is a member of the church and is willing to offer her confession in preparation for her arranged marriage, the women of her family, each with varying degrees of indigenous heritage, remain her focus. Silvia Cristina Rodríguez affirms:

A nivel del enunciado este segmento de la narración, denota la superposición, el sincretismo de la doble vía identitaria: el linaje heredado y la aceptación de considerarse hijas de Dios, al someterse a la confesión. Esta imagen, barroca en sí misma, asume, capta y refleja a nivel textual la problemática profunda del yo colonizado, de un yo colectivo que concentra en sí mismo la dualidad impuesta. El *locus* identitario resuelve la ambigüedad y da una versión

oficial, las reglas de obediencia se aceptan, se cumplen, y se declaran en voz alta (Rodríguez 2004, p.134).

In the case of Valdivieso's text, there is a criticism of and resistance to this imposed duality by the androcentric European society. It is for this reason that in the very last lines of the narrative Catalina seeks to reaffirm her continued devotion to the cause that rejects the subordination imposed upon women of her family and beyond. Rodríguez correctly asserts the fact that while there is a clear stance taken on behalf of the women of Catalina's family, there is also recognition of the compliance with the rules that oppress them in the very act of participating in the confession. However, the ambiguity of Catalina's identity is not resolved in this process. To the final words of the text, the uncertain conflicting loyalties in Catalina remain constant. Rodrigo Cánovas discusses the paradoxical nature in which Catalina makes her confession stating: "la verdad aparece sellada en el secreto de la confesión, que no oiremos. Paradójicamente, la institución que espiritualmente la juzga, le sirve también de amparo" (Cánovas 1992, p.150). Not only will her version of events not reach past the ears of her confessor, but she will also not be persecuted for the crimes she has admitted to throughout the confession.

Valdivieso's protagonist learns from an early age to mistrust the assumptions made by the church regarding women's supposed predisposition to corruption and deviant behaviour. Catalina Lisperguer y Flores has a poor reputation in their society for not conforming to the rules by which women are expected to live. She is not happy in her marriage with Gonzalo de los Ríos and so she engages in extramarital affairs. At eighteen she becomes involved with Iñigo de Uztariz. Taken by the beauty of Catalina Lisperguer, Uztariz supposedly makes a pact with the devil so that he can be with her. In order to succeed in his endeavour, he tries to poison his wife. His wife's existing lack of trust in Uztariz saves her life as she suspects he is capable of poisoning her. Despite being a member of the ruling class, he is condemned and subjected to one hundred lashes of the whip. Their small society can appreciate he has done wrong and should be punished, but still it is Catalina who is ultimately blamed for the situation as accusations of her bewitching or tempting him last much longer than the criticism of his actions. "Las voces que condenaban a mi madre

crecieron y amenazaron y don Pedro Lisperguer [...] prometió exorcizos y doctrina en el convento de las clarisas” (Valdivieso 1991, p.41). This suggests that Uztariz does not have agency in his actions and could only possibly behave in such a way if he were under the influence of a powerful beautiful woman, such as Catalina Lisperguer.

The disregard for patriarchal authority exhibited by the protagonists of both authors is met with firm criticism from the church and king’s authorities. Following her relationship with Álvaro Cuevas and other ways of defying her father in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, Catalina is forced to enter the convent to be under the watchful eye of the nuns, in the hope it will encourage her to change her ways. Initially resisting detention in the convent, she criticises her father, Gonzalo, and the clergymen accompanying him, informing them that according to the androcentric rules that they uphold: “yo carezco de hablar y de hacer. Las mujeres deberíamos quedarnos mudas hasta poder lo nuestro” (Valdivieso 1991, p.65). She is called arrogant for pointing out the truth regarding their treatment of her and other women. The popular opinion coincides with that of her father and members of the church: “dicen que ya era hembra de mal ejemplo y guárdate, doña Catalina de los Ríos, irreverente con Dios, la ley y su padre” (Valdivieso 1991, p.79). Catalina’s disruption of the traditional socioeconomic dynamic is eased to a certain degree by the protection of the powerful Lisperguer family. She is most affected by the oppressive societal rules when this shelter is removed as her grandfather informs her that they need to create distance between she and her family: “querían cortar por lo enfermo, la fama de rara y de suelta que me había ganado” (Valdivieso 1991, p.94). His plan is to lock her in a convent for a year and then send her to la Ligua so that when she does return, gossip will no longer be focused on her and they can continue to exist as a family of high social standing and respect.

Illustrations of Fluidity

Despite a similar initiative to provide renewed perspectives of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer’s life that challenge other representations and offer alternative views of gender identities and ethnicities that are social constructs and in a constant process of

development, the means by which each author achieves this differs. In their text *Historia contemporánea de Chile IV: Hombría y feminidad*, Gabriel Salazar and Julio Pinto contend that “siendo el género una construcción cultural, es también deconstructible [...] [y hay] una ‘revolución cultural’ que está desmantelando una estructura de edad prehistórica (‘el patriarcado’): la milenaria hegemonía del hombre sobre la mujer” (Salazar and Pinto 2012, p.10). Through their depictions of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer’s life, the authors enter into this ‘dismantling’ or undermining of the patriarchy. Valdivieso’s most radical approach is to produce an inverted world that completely topples Eurocentric patriarchy and replaces it with an indigenous matriarchy. The cyclical narrative of her text, which holds elements of the oneiric, furthers this destabilising process. Frías on the other hand, produces a constant fragmentation of images which serves to subvert the idea of the ‘whole’. This reinforces the idea of identities as fluid and partial. He also makes pivotal use of la Monja Alférez to displace the perceived ‘categories’ of man and woman. As a woman living as a man without a clear sexual orientation, la Monja Alférez’ presence serves to create a crisis surrounding gender norms.

Maldita yo entre las mujeres justly criticises the Eurocentric patriarchal order that is in power during this time. It displaces the centre of power and explores an alternative way of ruling where the norms are not dictated by *criollo* men. In doing this, the protagonist and her mother have the space to dream up new forms of living where the rules of their current society do not count. To contradict the clergy’s words of warning towards women as descendants of Eve, their servant, la Tatamai, tells tales of heroines and much to the delight of a young Catalina and her mother, “en ellas siempre vencían una Elvira, unas Catalinas y una Águeda” (Valdivieso 1991, p.46). These stories remind them of their importance in the wider world and that the church’s perspective is not the only one. It creates positive female role models through the power of storytelling, which go against the published narratives from the Catholic Church. She also informs Catalina and her sister, Águeda, that prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the indigenous people had both a male and female God.

[A] Dios-Genechén, los cristianos le cortaron la mitad de su entero, su mitad hembra, y lo dejaron a tamaño hombre como ellos. De ahí la igualdad que nos quitaron, y en esa diferencia andan todas las mujeres, también las blancas. Que nos las trampeen, mis niñas, con su Divino y sus leyes, hijos de mujeres son los hombres y de eso no pueden zafarse' (Valdivieso 1991, p.41).

This suggests that before the *conquistadores*, the society did not have the same forms of inequalities between men and women. The protagonist's great-grandmother, Elvira, is also revolutionary in her interaction with the church's teachings. In her proclamation, "el malo odia a las preñadas, el parir de la mujer le está diciendo que ella fue primero" (Valdivieso 1991, p.49), it is unclear to whom she is referring as "el malo". Typically one could read it as a reference to evil or the devil. However, her claim that by giving birth, woman was the original being, not man, inverts the bible's teaching, thus one could infer that her 'malo' is God.

The statement is also contradictory since it seems illogical for God to hate pregnant women since they are procreating, producing new Christians. This sense of uncertainty and fragmentation in reality is further intensified through an interaction between the protagonist and her mother. In an oneiric encounter during the night, Catalina is awoken by 'La Señora', a term used as an equivalent to 'El Señor', referring to God. The way in which 'La Señora' is dressed depicts a syncretism that the protagonist has failed to attain. "[L]a Señora llenó el espacio de una suavidad dorada. Era lindo mirarla en su chamal de tela mapuche, los aretes pesados y el trarilonco sonante" (Valdivieso 1991, p.63). She invites Catalina along the passageway at which point she lights a fire and through the flames she proclaims in "una voz conocida: '¡te hago a imagen y semejanza mía!'" (Valdivieso 1991, p.64). These, God's words uttered at the time of creating Adam, are used to indicate to Catalina her importance. It is as though she is the first of a new human race, one which will not subjugate women or people of indigenous descent. Having recognised the voice Catalina raises her head to look at her interlocutor. "Miré su rostro y era el de mi madre: '¡madre Dios!'" (Valdivieso 1991, p.64). At this point of the narration there is no doubt that the protagonist has identified her mother as God in her trance-like encounter. Guerra affirms that in "esta experiencia mística de los orígenes, se tacha la noción del dios y creador masculino que se impuso con el ascenso del

sistema patriarcal” (Guerra 1998, p.63). This substitution of ‘El Señor’ for ‘La Señora’ creates a parallel narrative which plays to the overall ploy in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* that seeks to subvert the patriarchal imposition of knowledge and hierarchy. Guerra highlights the syncretic nature of the actions described in her analysis of this passage:

el ritual del fuego, muy semejante a la frotación del cuerpo con yerbas en la ceremonia de la limpia, se realiza con una planta americana, el ají. Y, al otorgarle su corazón, esta madre Dios está modificando también el rito de la eucaristía el cual, en la tradición cristiana, abstrae el cuerpo y la sangre de Jesucristo en una transubstanciación del pan y del vino (Guerra 1998, p.64).

Drawing this conclusion, Guerra indicates a connection between this episode and the overall tone of the text that seeks to subvert apparent truths and provide new ways of presenting hybrid depictions of life in seventeenth-century Chile.

On her deathbed, Valdivieso’s Catalina Lisperguer believes she is expecting another child. She feels abandoned by her daughter, Águeda, who has left with her husband to live in Spain. She claims: ““esta niña que espero nunca buscará irse como tu hermana, para mejorarse de mí. Y será tan feliz como yo fui al engendrarla. Es lo justo, hija de padres contentos”” (Valdivieso 1991, p.130). Her existence contrasts greatly with that of the protagonist who was born to an unhappy couple and who disappointed her father by being born a woman. In the threshold between life and death, anything is possible for her. As her delirium continues Catalina Lisperguer starts to envisage her ideal world:

La oía anunciar a sus Catalinas, la que esperaba y reía en su vientre, y las que traería el tiempo. Todo sería posible en el mundo de sus Catalinas. ‘Un mundo al revés’, oyó Perdón del Socorro a una de las señoras (Valdivieso 1991, p.131).

The suggestion of a reversed world is palimpsestic when considered with Valdivieso’s whole narrative. The principal theme elaborates the inversion of a male-dominated European world to an indigenous woman-led land where even ‘El Señor’ becomes ‘La Señora’. This liminal, ‘third space’ in which Catalina Lisperguer exists on her deathbed is space wherein she can negotiate her gender identity and her ideal reality for future women.

Despite this revolutionary approach to depicting Catalina's life, there is a certain limitation to Valdivieso's uncritical inversion of patriarchal power. Since it does not question the construction of the patriarchy, the matriarchy that replaces it perpetuates the same oppression, but it is enacted upon other members of society, namely European men. Rebecca Lee suggests that while Valdivieso's textual world succeeds in re-imagining a Chile where women and indigenous culture are not subjugated "[t]he reconfiguration of mestizaje as feminine power [...] is problematic for its feminization of indigenous culture and because it presupposes a diametrical relationship between western and non-western cultures within the modern imagination" (Lee 2007, p.116). María Elena de Valdés correctly identifies that in such a situation "[i]t does not take long to reflect politically that the inverting of old values does not destroy them; on the contrary, the status quo is perpetuated" (de Valdés 1998, p.20). Valdivieso's protagonist shows no critical awareness of this shortcoming in the plan to create a female-dominated world which she devises with her mother and la Tatamai which has not explored a similar rejection of patriarchal norms for the European men of the text.

In a creative and innovative manner, Frías' texts engage explicitly in the notion of identity as being fluid and inconstant through the narrative structure. The illustration of fragmented images from important episodes in the text elaborates this point and indicates the often contradictory nature of such occasions. Sonia Montecino maintains that

no hay nada fijo en las identidades de los sujetos; por eso, cuando hablamos de identidades de género estamos suponiendo un proceso de identificación y diferenciación constantes donde, casi como en un juego de espejos, hombres y mujeres nos miramos para reconocernos y desconocernos (Montecino Aguirre et al. 2004, pp.21-22).

In his texts, Frías actively works to ensure the identities that he represents are fluid and incomplete. He uses his protagonist to elaborate on these ever-changing images. Such instability is evident in her position as la Quintrala writing her memoirs of a time when they held a dance in celebration of the arrival of the new governor, de Ribera, as she was transitioning between Catrala and Catalina. To denote affection, most people who know her have always referred to her as Catrala to distinguish her from her mother, but when she becomes pregnant and assumes the position of *cacica*

of the Curiqueo, she insists on people calling her Catalina. She narrates how each part of her felt, each distinct, yet linked to the others:

Para la niña que yo creía ser, tanto agasajo y ceremonia rompía la repartida rutina del otoño en la colonia. Para Catalina, la mujer que fui, eran largas las horas entre fiesta y fiesta, y cortos los minutos en que podía rozar la mirada con los ojos castaños del italiano. Para Quintrala, la vieja que soy, la inútil pero alegre vanidad de esos días fue eterna, pero duró poco (Frías 2001, p.34).

This ability to observe clear distinctions in herself and the many perspectives she can acquire, is only possible through the standpoint of age, while reminiscing on this time. Though the memories of these parties last, their importance does not. As Catalina matures, she realises there are more important things in life than choosing a suitable dress for the latest social event.

Huancamán's description of the passage of time accurately illustrates the forms that a person's identity can take too. "–Un espejo refleja imágenes que cambian con el paso del tiempo, mientras un dibujo muestra una forma detenida" (Frías 2001, p.294). The mirror allows movement that a painting cannot provide since it is static and defined. Montecino et al. further this analysis of unfixed identities by also referring to the mirror as a suitable analogy. For authors providing such representations, the critics claim that the image of the mirror is used because these authors

proponen un reflejo de nuestra realidad, candente, de la vida diaria, [...] se trata de *fragmentos* pues nadie intenta una aventura globalizadora definitiva ni un discurso homogeneizador único. La elección de una perspectiva fragmentaria pensamos que es la única opción válida en una primera mirada de este tipo en Chile, haciendo resaltar los problemas de género desde múltiples ópticas y factores, donde la trama de reflejos enriquece aún más en su diversidad el abordaje del tema (Montecino Aguirre et al. 2004, p.15).

The mirrored fragments ensure that there is no attempt to offer a globalising image of the identities being discussed and that, while they mirror some aspects of the reality of the situation, they are limited to fragments. This opposes the realist vision of nineteenth-century French writer Stendhal (Marie-Henri Beyle) whose work argues that the function of the novel is to provide a mirror image of reality. "Hé, monsieur, un roman est un miroir qui se promène sur une grande route. Tantôt il

reflète à vos yeux l'azur des cieus, tantôt la fange des borbiers de la route” (Stendhal 2005, p.671). Contrary to Stendhal's belief, a totalising portrayal is not possible, rather just reflected fragments. This is particularly relevant in a postcolonial situation like that of Chile. The idea of reflecting these incomplete pieces in an attempt to portray the collective gender identities present is reminiscent of the negotiation of partial elements of ethnic identities that exists in Bhabha's 'Third Space'.

There is a similar acknowledgement of heterogeneity in the identities that come together to form new identities without the necessity to fix them in one way or another. As she narrates her participation in the *taki onkoy*—singing which laments the absence of the main Gods in their indigenous culture because of the European invasion—Catalina experiences the fluid transition among her many identities:

La Catrala dura y consciente, el poderío de la mujer que yo era a los dieciséis años, la fuerza de la belleza, el atractivo de la fortuna, el carisma como cacica de Tobalaba, se disolvían uno a uno en un yo fluido y aéreo, móvil pero quieto, sin más identidad que mi propia naturaleza entretejida con la de todos (Frías 2001, p.197).

Her illustration of the variable nature of identities also correlates with the changeable nature of events: “los hechos fluyen tan rápido que no permiten la inmovilidad, porque la historia sigue y no podemos quedar atrás” (Frías 2003, p.655). Even if she wanted time to stand still at a moment wherein she is content with her life, she realises that this is not possible. Everything is subject to change.

Additional emphasis on the idea of mirrored, fragmented representations within the texts can be identified in Valdivieso's treatment of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer and Catalina Lisperguer y Flores, the protagonist and her mother respectively. Ivonne Cuadra asserts these two characters

parecen repetirse y confundirse en el texto. Las unen el sentimiento de odio hacia el padre/esposo, el placer que encuentran en su sexualidad, el poco apego a la idea del matrimonio, las creencias mapuches y la reputación que han alcanzado en el medio social. Aparecen ligadas a un mismo destino y se defienden con su herencia femenina (Cuadra 1999, p.137).

At stages throughout the narrative, each character is portrayed simultaneously as herself and as the other, so much that even Gonzalo de los Ríos cannot always

distinguish between his daughter and wife: “[e]res un doble’, dijo, y se persignó, ‘la otra duerme o vuela, que es lo mismo en ella’” (Valdivieso 1991, p.59). Cecilia Ojeda suggests that both Catalinas accept their similarity as a bond “que no requiere de palabras y que las hace superar la ideología colonial maniqueísta que opone y separa adscribiendo cada conducta a las categorías de lo angélico y lo demoníaco” (Ojeda 1998, p.96). Raquel Olea concurs with Ojeda asserting “[l]a madre se sigue en la hija, se perpetúa en ella, ambas se funden en una identidad que produce un poder de sangres y cuerpos femeninos, donde no hay ni una ni otra para ser la misma” (Olea 1998, p.111). The blurring of borders between both individuals is strongest during the night when there is an aspect of an oneiric sequence in play and the distinction between wake and sleep is also undefined. Llanos argues that this sleep-like state proves beneficial in deconstructing the patriarchal law and authority that rules their society to find new ways of expression outside it.

La atmósfera onírica de la narración ahonda en la represión impuesta por ese poder [patriarcal] y un deseo femenino que intenta expresarse fuera de sus límites. Dentro del régimen colonial, no hay un espacio público para la experiencia de la mujer ni para el desarrollo de su identidad. La autonomía y la libertad se pagan con el encierro conventual o el enjuiciamiento, ambos castigos sufridos por Catalina (Llanos 1994, p.1036).

There is an incomplete cyclical nature to the scenes in question where the significance of distinction is less important than the message that is being conveyed at that point. Each author’s approach is different, but these unequal, blurred positions aid the development of less essentialist readings of the individual and collective identities under discussion for this thesis.

Frías’ texts take another step in the disruption of perceived gender norms through the introduction of cross dressing in both *la Monja Alférez* and the protagonist. A key component to the subversion of supposedly stable gender identities is the author’s inclusion of *la Monja Alférez* in his text. Frías’ “alférez Alonso Díaz Ramírez de Guzmán, [...] tenía por verdadero nombre Catalina de Erauso. No era él, era ella, una mujer que se había hecho famosa como la monja alférez” (Frías 2001, pp.210-211). As a nun who chooses to dress as a man to join the army and escape convent life, *la Monja Alférez*’s reality questions the idea of a concrete, stable gender. According to Richard Ekins and Dave King, “[i]n theory, the

whole of social life could be dichotomised by gender, but in practice, a lot of ‘incorrect’ elements are allowed into the blend [...]. More sustained and more fundamental blending of the elements threaten the gender categories themselves” (Ekins and King 1995, p.2). Participation in cross-dressing is one form of threatening such categories. Frías’ use of *la Monja Alférez* illustrates the methodological invocation of hybridity as discussed by Lund (see page 11) *La Monja Alférez*’ behaviour and attitude confuses the protagonist and other people she encounters since physically she is described as “*delicada y virginal*” (Frías 2001, p.212) and she speaks “*con voz delicada y sorprendentemente femenina*” (Frías 2001, p.212), yet they all agree that “*juraba y jugaba a las cartas como cualquier hombre*” (Frías 2001, p.211). Her disposition, described as ‘*sorprendentemente femenina*’, is only considered as such because of the role in the army where she has similar respect to her male counterparts. Catalina is astonished to discover that the men she leads are obedient and respect her orders immediately, despite the fact that *la Monja Alférez* is shorter than her. She appears to contradict the societal norms set out for men and women, leaving most people unsure how to address her.

La Monja Alférez takes delight in the ambiguity that surrounds her gender identity and sexual orientation and playfully challenges the norms in her social interactions. While delivering a letter from Pedro Lisperguer at the frontline of the Araucanian war to Florencia, she comments that she almost did not recognise Florencia since she is much more beautiful than her beloved described. Florencia is embarrassed by the comment and simply takes the letter uttering “[g]racias, señor” (Frías 2001, p.217), and receives the response “[t]ambién podrías llamarme señora” (Frías 2001, p.217). This confirms that *la Monja Alférez* is completely aware of the ambivalence that surrounds her being and she demonstrates an openness to be addressed with either male or female pronouns and nouns which results in a nullification of the strict binary by which the men and women in Catalina’s society live. Marjorie Garber further states that

the specter of transvestism, the uncanny intervention of the transvestite, came to mark and indeed to overdetermine this space of anxiety about fixed and changing identities, commutable or absent ‘selves’. [...] The transvestite in this scenario is both terrifying and seductive precisely because s/he incarnates and emblemizes the disruptive element that intervenes,

signaling not just another category crisis, but—much more disquietly—a crisis of ‘category’ itself” (Garber 1997, p.32).

This is precisely the effect that la Monja Alférez’ nonchalant, apparently-arbitrary cross between genders causes in Santiago when she arrives there with the other members of the Spanish army. Her resistance to easy categorisation makes her presence uncertain for those who do not know her. Considering Judith Butler’s work on cross-dressing, Guerra theorises on the value of cross dressing in such a strict binary-focused society.

Como señala Butler, al imitar el género, el travesti implícitamente devela la estructura imitativa del género mismo y la radical contingencia de la relación entre sexo y género, en una configuración cultural que se plantea como causa natural y necesaria. Así, la limitación del travestis socava, de una manera paródica en su modalidad de pastiche, la base del género postulada como lo real biológico, como un origen irrefutable (Guerra 2008, p.93).

La Monja Alférez’ disruption of the social order is further validated when Felipe III awards her the grade of lieutenant and the pope confirms her status as a nun and gives her permission to dress as a man following her exhibition of bravery in the war against the indigenous in Chile. “Catalina de Erauso fue la primera mujer que consiguió cambiar socialmente su sexo y lo hizo en total acuerdo con las autoridades de la cristiandad y las ordenanzas mayores del imperio” (Frías 2001, p.212). Her transgression is accepted fully since she has the permission of the two leading powers in their kingdom.

The protagonist does admit that la Monja Alférez’ case is not unique since many women chose to dress as men to work as soldiers (Frías 2001, p.212). The obvious contradiction that is personified in la Monja Alférez confuses Catalina as she states: “[n]unca había estado cerca de una mujer que fuera tan claramente una leyenda y fue fácil percibir que en este mundo de hombres, era ella, una monja, la única que no tenía miedo” (Frías 2001, p.217). Like the other characters in the text, la Monja Alférez has her own fears which stem from her past experiences. She seems to hide them better than others. She confides in María de Encío, her close friend, about her traumatic past which led to her decision to remain dressed as a man definitively. While partaking in a duel to defend the honour of a fellow soldier, la Monja Alférez unwittingly killed her own brother who fought on behalf of his

comrade. Watching her brother die at her hands triggered something in her and she narrates that “desde entonces no pude volver a ser mujer” (Frías 2001, p.227). Having killed her brother while dressed as a man, she can mourn his death as a fellow soldier who did not deserve such a death. Her soldier’s uniform creates a limited layer of protection for her from the reality of her past. It is questionable that Frías’ protagonist would need a psychological explanation for dressing as a man. It is not a convincing argument, given that she had dressed for years as a man prior to this incident. This ‘explanation’ appears to undermine the strong message offered through a character like la Monja Alférez which destabilises the binary fixing of gender and sexuality within their society. Having used her to challenge perceived norms surrounding these issues, the text seems to suddenly apologise for this transgression by offering la Monja Alférez an excuse for her behaviour. She cannot just cross-dress because she wants to, there has to be a reason. This is a disappointing drawback to an otherwise revolutionary concept.

Catalina, the protagonist, enjoys the experience of dressing like a man, though her motives certainly differ from those of la Monja Alférez. In order to visit the surgeon under the protection of darkness to ask him to perform an abortion for her, Catalina dresses in a soldier’s uniform to ensure she is not stopped. Because of the curfew imposed by her father for the supposed protection of the people of Santiago from the indigenous people only soldiers are allowed circulate the streets after a certain point in the night. Known for her striking beauty, Catalina is quite comfortable dressing in men’s clothes. “Vestirme de hombre esa noche fue como encajarme entera dentro de una máscara, una actitud, un sentimiento” (Frías 2003, p.307). Her behaviour when dressed as a woman does not always correspond with what is expected of a woman in her society. She is more assertive in nature, willing to actively participate in decision-making processes of the Curiqueo and the wider society. These tendencies relate closer to those expected of men. With the opportunity to dress as a soldier, Catalina feels perfectly comfortable. “¡Es magnífico ser hombre!, recuerdo haber pensado” (Frías 2003, p.307). Catalina who narrates the tale is reminiscing on this time. She is aware how she felt, but she is also conscious as an older woman reflecting on that time with her life experience behind

her, that all is not quite as it seems to her seventeen year old self. “Pero ahora, vieja ya, creo que esa sensación de peso y determinación no es propia de los hombres, sino de las mujeres cuando nos disfrazamos y creemos que los demás nos ven como si fuéramos hombres” (Frías 2003, p.307).

Dressing up and feeling powerful as she expects a man to feel is part of her ‘doing’ that gender. She recognises on reflection that performing this aspect of supposed male gender alone is not sufficient to acquire the power men have in a patriarchal society. There is a contradiction in her reality of being a woman dressed as a man hoping to mislead other men into thinking she is a man. It gives her even more perceived power and courage that she does not feel while dressed in her own clothes. It seems that the clothes allow a dimension of Catalina’s to be exhibited in a manner in which she has not successfully done previously. She claims “yo, vestida de hombre, era yo, pero otro yo. Uno libre y audaz, masculino y excitado con el venturoso paseo por la ciudad nocturna” (Frías 2003, p.312). Her description illustrates her reality as one that is not essentialist in its manifestation and which denies restrictive binaries that attempt to contain her person in a way that is acceptable for the others in their society. When Catalina engages in sexual intercourse with the surgeon, she describes her actions as those typically expected of men. Her aggression and agency is not considered characteristic of women. She suggests that “[q]uizá las cosas sucedieron porque su debilidad me atraía como un imán; o porque vestida de hombre poseía la voluntariosa resolución de los varones” (Frías 2003, p.315). It is as though a mere change of clothes for that night has unleashed a side of her that Catalina was not completely aware she possessed. When she explains to Huancamán that she dressed as a man because she needed to get out of Eldorado, her father’s house, for the night he simply states: “[e]stá bien. *Lo que nace dentro de uno, debe salir de uno*” (Frías 2003, p.327; inflection mine). In his opinion, this facet of Catalina’s identity already existed and her dressing as a man merely facilitates its appearance for the time she needs it.

In Valdivieso’s text, we are told that “vestidas de hombre, las Catalina’s hurgaban la noche sin que nadie las contuviera” (Valdivieso 1991, p.75). On one such occasion, Catalina Lisperguer “en una noche de sus diez y siete años y en

pantalones y capa” (Valdivieso 1991, p.75) is confronted by the governor and her reaction is described as one that is supposedly typical of a man. “[E]mbistió al gobernador de esas épocas, Oñez de Loyola, que iba escondido de ser gobernador y sobrino del santo. Lo desarmó de un golpe, le puso el cuchillo al cuello y le arrancó el sombrero para mirarlo” (Valdivieso 1991, p.75). Just as Catalina is trying to hide her identity in order to allow her circulate freely, he too is attempting to move around inconspicuously. This indicates a reality in their society that suggests that nobody, not even the governor himself, feels completely free to move about unimpeded dressed in their ‘normal’ clothes, or rather those that society has prescribed for them. He is one of the most powerful men in their patriarchal society and yet he is oppressed by the norms acting upon him and seeks ways to subvert them through other forms of dressing. However, Oñez de Loyola’s transformation is not as significant as Catalina’s since he continues to wear men’s clothes.

Subverting and Reproducing Gendered Norms in the Family

Marriage is a medium through which the studied texts challenge the androcentric expectations placed on women. It is not only important from the church’s perspective, but also the demand for women to conform to further the needs of their families. Women are expected to marry and procreate. Any pregnancy outside of marriage in the higher socio-economic backgrounds must be ‘solved’ through marriage. In both Frías’ and Valdivieso’s texts, the importance of Catalina’s great-grandmother, Elvira, is evident in this matter. In *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* doña Elvira chooses not to marry Bartolomé Blumen (Flores) when she becomes pregnant with his child despite his persistent requests otherwise. She knows that resisting this societal pressure will ensure she retains control of her land and independent authority over her people. There is an assumption on Blumen’s part that his bequeathing of his name would be of value to her¹⁸. Although Elvira’s implied loss of autonomy—were

¹⁸ Cecilia Salinas indicates that historically, Blumen despite not marrying Elvira, left his inheritance to his daughter Águeda, “mi hija natural a la cual reconozco por tal” (Salinas 1994, p.19). This is a

she to accept his offer and assume his name—is not mentioned, she is aware of this outcome and so avoids it. This step also ensures the Spanish are kept at a distance and since they do not have control over her *hacienda*, their power is diminished. Elvira plays an important role in maintaining the simultaneous distance and connection between conquerors and conquered that forms through her relationship with Blumen, which she soon realises they each need in order to thrive. On the other hand, Frías' Elvira marries Blumen, firstly through the church and subsequently through the indigenous custom of *el rapto* (Frías 2001, p.145). This initiates a tradition which Águeda, Catalina's grandmother, and Catalina too will continue; each marrying through the church and a celebration of the *rapto*.

Both Frías' and Valdivieso's protagonists resent their arranged marriages as they are aware of the patriarchal power that is perpetuated through these negotiations. Frustrated with their androcentric society, Valdivieso's Catalina views women's submission to marriage as yielding to the hegemonic ideal which undermines their possibility to resist their subjugated status. While she rejects her own marriage more vehemently exclaiming, “[m]e enfurecía escucharles disponer de mi vida y una tarde grité a mis padres que nadie a mí me casaba mientras a mi cuerpo no le diera ganas” (Valdivieso 1991, p.18), she must eventually conform to the family's plans, realising that an alternative is not available to her. Catalina recognises her resistance to conform for the good of the collective as coming from her maternal grandfather, when he abandons his family for Lima. However, she also realises that as a man, his situation was very different. “Del abuelo Lisperguer me camina la ausencia en la sangre. Camina hasta mi piel, que yo no pude como él largarme de velas y mares por los límites cerrados que fijaban mis faldas” (Valdivieso 1991, p.49). Olga López Cotín asserts that this tension adds to the conflictive nature of the narrative structure. “Esta constante tensión entre la libertad individual, que pugna por escapar de la normatividad, y las fuerzas centrípetas de la

similar step which Gonzalo de los Ríos and Fadrique Lisperguer take in Valdivieso's text regarding their sons: Segundo and Juan respectively. It had legal weighting.

colectividad, que empujan al sujeto a perpetuar dichas normas, tejerá la conflictiva dinámica de la narración” (López Cotín 1996, p.207). Catalina’s transgression of societal norms threatens to undermine the attempt to strengthen the family’s reputation and so her marriage to Alonso de Campofrío is considered a suitable solution. She does not express any true desire for Campofrío, and certainly none to marry him. However, her concluding comments to her confessor on the eve of her marriage to him suggest that while she is complying with the wishes of her father and the other men in her family, Catalina firmly establishes her loyalty with the women who have come before her in her family (Valdivieso 1991, pp.141-142). She views them as her true authority.

Frías’ Catalina expresses disdain for the Catholic ceremony and the customs that they must follow in order to have their marriage recognised by the Spanish authorities, and so accepted by the wider society. She has little input into the choice of husband she will have once it is established that the father of her unborn child has died. There is no question that she could possibly bring this pregnancy to term and live as a single mother and perhaps in the future, if she so desired, choose a husband she would like to spend her life with. This option is not explored since it affects the social image and reputation of the family. The wellbeing of the collective comes always before that of the individual. This is a reality Catalina struggles greatly with. Accustomed to the power she has wielded from a young age as part of this wealthy family, she wrestles with the imposition of expectation upon her to reproduce social norms.

La expedición de la abuela Águeda y las secretas razones de Campofrío para ligarse conmigo en promesa de matrimonio, habían transformado mi estado de embarazada soltera en el de novia preñada. [...] era tan dueña de mi destino como podía serlo cualquier mujer que fuese una doña joven y, por añadidura, rica (Frías 2003, p.20).

She decides to make the most of the situation and not to invest too much emotion in her marriage to Campofrío: “decidí que el caballero no tendría más importancia que una coma en mi vida. Lo tomaría solo como un apellido para mi hijo. Era lógico aceptarlo, aunque fuese un desgraciado y Campofrío con De los Ríos fueran cacofónicos” (Frías 2003, p.121). Without having confirmation of her pregnancy and in an attempt to control his daughter, Gonzalo imposes severe

restrictions on Catalina's movements. He threatens her repeatedly with even more extreme consequences if she does not tell him the truth about her 'estado'. "[a]sí seas rica que Creso, Catalina, y llegues a los cincuenta años, mientras yo sea Gonzalo de los Ríos, tú eres mi hija. Como tal me debes respeto, obediencia y, sobre todas las cosas me debes la verdad" (Frías 2001, p.255). Catalina retains her strength and does not give in to his threats.

Both Catalina and her grandmother, Águeda, are extremely powerful women for their time. However, they remain in this position only because they make strategic choices that ensure that the core foundations of the patriarchy are not shaken through their transgressions. One such strategy is creating a mutually beneficial union such as that of Catalina and Alonso. While externally they appear to conform to the societal norms, such choices allow them to continue to subvert the power dynamics from within the establishment. Following her marriage, Catalina is more interested in trying to determine what she should expect from a 'perfect husband' than conforming to the state of submissive wife who has little control over her destiny. Her humorous account of a gift she receives for her wedding clearly identifies a double standard she has noticed between the expectations placed upon men and women as they enter into married life.

Alguien me había regalado para el matrimonio una edición en cuarto de *La perfecta casada*, escrita por un cura que jamás se había casado, fray Luis de León. El libro explicaba con lujo de detalles cómo debía comportarse una mujer en el matrimonio. Al parecer no existía un libro sobre el Perfecto Casado. Tal vez debería escribirlo una monja virgen (Frías 2003, p.701).

Lucía Guerra-Cunningham describes this text as a manual "en el cual clausurar el cuerpo, tanto al uso de cosméticos y atavíos no castos como a los espacios públicos de la calle y el lenguaje, configura la perfección moral de la mujer en su carácter exclusivamente complementario" (Guerra 2008, p.55). The protagonist can see the irony in the fact that a monk—who has taken a vow of chastity and so can never be married—has written the guide to the perfect wife. She highlights the double standard in the lack of a similar manual for men and how they should behave with their wives when married.

Frías' Catalina, like her grandmother and great grandmother before her, insists on celebrating the indigenous tradition of the *rpto* in addition to the church

wedding. While the focus is placed on this as ensuring the indigenous elements are retained in Catalina's life, there is little critical discussion relating to yet another ceremony which subjugates women and their position in their patriarchal society. The indigenous tradition perpetuates the view of women as subordinate in the same way the Catholic ceremony does. By the time Catalina's turn comes to celebrate the *rapto*, the tradition is merely acted out with mock solemnity. Violence aside, the woman's trajectory from father's house to husband's house as regulated in the European tradition is maintained. In addition to this, the tradition of the *rapto* further perpetuates gender paradigms that assign men the role of both aggressor and saviour, while the woman is considered a disempowered victim in need of saving.

The protagonists are not only requested to conform through marriage on behalf of the family, they are also expected from an early age to accept their subjugated position in the patriarchal society. Valdivieso's Catalina struggles to conform to these rules for young women. She appears to be more comfortable in some situations behaving in the manner that is expected of young boys, while sometimes even that is not sufficient for her. The *dicen que* sections of the text detail a young girl who was inquisitive and energetic, beyond the expectations of young children. "Sus conocidos iban a recordarla haciendo preguntas que nadie hacía, aventajando a sus primos en juegos de varones, y adivinando lo que decían si trataban mal de ella" (Valdivieso 1991, p.77). These comments suggest that her actions are perceived negatively. According to the patriarchal norms, as a young girl she should not be impertinent or display strength beyond that of boys her age. It is considered inappropriate. Catalina is unfortunate in that she does not adhere to the norms of either men or women since it is suggested that: "[n]i semejante a varón ni a doncella, sino una especie ajena a sus tiempos, Catalina era" (Valdivieso 1991, p.137). She is not male because her physical attributes are so characteristically female, but yet her behaviour does not coincide with that identified as a woman's. She finds herself on the threshold between the strict definitions of male and female expectations within their society where there seems to be no 'third space' available to bend or cross between both. Valdivieso uses her protagonist to underline the unrealistic tendency to strictly segregate male and female attributes while portraying

the difficulty faced by those who fail to conform. The author describes her protagonist stating: “[e]s una persona muy sensible y de una soledad infinita” (cited in Puyol 1991). Knowing her granddaughter and understanding her need to break free from the constraints of societal norms, Águeda warns her “[v]as a sufrir mucho, mi Catalina” (Valdivieso 1991, p.95). This is not in an attempt to deter Catalina from her chosen path, it is rather to make her aware of what is to come.

Frías’ Catalina too feels it is unfair that she is discriminated against purely because of her sex. She believes she should be allowed the same input within the public sphere that her father has. She expresses this annoyance in an argument with her father. “No puedo comprender por qué yo no puedo hacer ni la mitad de lo que haces tú –dije medio en picunche, pero me salió raro. Pensé que tuteándolo lo ponía a mi altura” (Frías 2003, p.400). Her change of register serves to undermine Gonzalo’s authority. Although the frustration with restrictions placed on women is evident, Frías’ Catalina does not indicate any desire to have been born a man. Her father, on the other hand, expresses disappointment at her having been born a woman. The narration suggests that Gonzalo regrets not having a male heir to continue his legacy and carry the family name. In Catalina, he certainly will have a legacy—infamous though it may be—, but not in the manner that he intended. Catalina suspects this fact long before she questions her father about it on his death bed. Knowing he has little time left in this world, she presses him for an answer: “[s]olo vine a preguntar. Dime, ¿qué hubieras querido que yo fuera? –Hombre. Solo eso, un hombre –musitó cerrando fuertemente los ojos” (Frías 2003, p.652). As the narrative in Vidal’s text keenly indicates (see page 38), were Catalina to have been born a man, her character and temperament would not have mattered. As a male historical figure she may not have been so significant in the national imagining since it is her transgression as a woman which drew such attention to her.

Initially in Frías’ texts we are told that as a young girl she looked up to her father and he cared for her in the traditional father/daughter sense. She narrates that, as a young girl, she used to respect him. She perceived his behaviour and strength as something to emulate in order to wield power in their society. She spent hours practising his expressions and mannerisms in front of a mirror. “Comparaba los

rasgos de mi rostro con los suyos e imitaba sus gestos, tratando de copiarlos lo más fielmente posible, con la intención de producir en los demás el mismo respeto tímido y servil que provocaba mi progenitor” (Frías 2001, p.207). She is impressed how her father, with only his gaze, can control the wealthiest and most powerful men in the kingdom. In her imitation of his power-wielding gestures, Catalina performs the ‘wrong’ gender. These expressions work for Gonzalo because he is a man, a woman—and certainly a young girl—will not receive the same consideration when displaying them. From the start of the text, however, this admiration—detailed retrospectively—has long since evaporated. Catalina shares a deep mutual hatred with her father; each convinced the other is intent on disrupting the other’s happiness. As an unmarried seventeen-year-old woman, she is confined under the authority of her father until she marries. The dread of such a weight is evident when Catalina expresses her dissatisfaction with having to return to Santiago following her *Día Más Largo* “a ser hija dependiente de padre corregidor” (Frías 2003, p.255). The jealousy he feels towards his own daughter because of her wealth acquired from her indigenous ancestors, is evident. Feigning prior professional engagements, he does not attend the celebration of Catalina’s *Día Más Largo*. By means of wishing her well, he sends a note stating: “[c]on la esperanza de que cumplas mejor como cacique que como lo has hecho de hija” (Frías 2003, p.50), leaving no doubt in Catalina’s mind that, in his opinion, she has failed in her duties as a daughter.

The *dicen que* narrative of Valdivieso’s publication suggests a similar infatuation with the protagonist’s father during childhood, but it seems to equate Catalina’s actions to those of a loyal pet rather than an adoring daughter. “Una afición desmesurada a su padre, la hacía cazar en el campo alimañas y pájaros que de ofrendas le llevaba” (Valdivieso 1991, p.77). Her attitude also changes as she grows and realises that her affection is not reciprocated. She narrates that on the day she was born: “[e]l amo esperaba un varón para su estirpe y despechado, azotó al muchacho; se encerró a beber, salió borracho y se perdió por tres días” (Valdivieso 1991, p.49). The protagonist of *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* has an older sister, Águeda, and since he already has a daughter, Gonzalo desires a son to complete his family. Catalina describes the guilt she feels from the obvious disappointment her

father felt towards her as a child. “Sentí que me odiaba, yo debí haber sido el varón para su estirpe, el que lo continuara de verdad, sin mentiras de niña que quería copiar a los muchachos” (Valdivieso 1991, p.83). The discomfort here is two-fold: Gonzalo’s hatred towards her is palpable, but at the same time, she also shows a desire from an early age to engage in the same activities considered appropriate for young boys, not understanding that societal segregation frowned upon her participation in such pursuits. Her father is not only overtly frustrated by the fact that Catalina was born a woman, but her constant boundary pushing causes great anger in him and he suggests of his transgressive daughter: “es soberbia, no acata en el mundo su lugar propio” (Valdivieso 1991, p.85).

Thanks to the influence of her maternal aunt, María Lisperguer, and her paternal grandmother, María de Encío, Frías’ Catalina is encouraged from a young age to acquire what she desires, regardless of the cost to other people. This contradicts her maternal grandmother, Águeda’s, call for moderation and strategic rejection of rules. The protagonist’s aunt and paternal grandmother have little respect for societal norms and are renowned for flouting them regularly. They not only foster a desire for sexual freedom in the protagonist, but also influence her propensity towards violence. Conversing candidly with her grandmother, María de Encío, Catalina asks her directly if she is responsible for the death of the protagonist’s paternal grandfather. María responds simply: “[y]a sabes que morir forma parte de la vida de los hombres –dijo–. Y a veces dan ganas de ayudarlos –agregó con sorna” (Frías 2001, p.125). Without giving a direct answer with which she could be incriminated, María confirms that she did kill her husband and that she feels no remorse for her actions. María Lisperguer, Catalina’s aunt is also nonchalant in her approach to poisoning her former lover, the governor, Alonso de Ribera. Unaware of her aunt’s intentions, she innocently asks how much poison she intends to use and for how long she would like him to be sick as a result. María laughs and exclaims she will give him a generous dose and “[o]jalá muera –la voz de María, tan lenta, suave e indiferente, revelaba un odio profundo. [...] Las Lisperguer podemos ser injustas, caprichosas, irritables, intrigantes, contradictorias, provocativas, insoportables, rebeldes o intransigentes, pero nadie podrá decir jamás que somos

mezquinas” (Frías 2003, p.340). María’s description suggests that they each, to certain degrees, embody traits of femininities that do not fulfil societal norms.

The protagonist appears to be simultaneously shocked and intrigued by the attitudes of her paternal grandmother and her aunt. One could question at this point the women’s reasons for choosing such a stereotypical method as poison for their intended victims. While Frías’ text has been innovative in the multiplicity of representations of its characters, it retains some of the usual tropes of patriarchal thought regarding violence within women as something extraordinary and the use of poison as their weapon of choice since physical violence is not required to administer it. Guerra suggests that historically speaking the administration of poison is not solely grounded in gender relations, but also serves to unite women across ethnic lines. This is certainly the case in both Valdivieso’s and Frías’ texts.

Los conocimientos de remedios y elementos químicos relacionados con el azogue [...] constituyeron un saber alternativo que fue demonizado por la voluntad patriarcal. No obstante las persecuciones de la Inquisición, la práctica de la llamada brujería, produjo entre las mujeres un importante intercambio de saberes que, en el caso latinoamericano, dio origen a una fusión cultural de la hechicería africana, indígena y española, promovida por el factor del poder patriarcal que unía a todas estas mujeres en los espacios de la subalternidad (Guerra 2008, p.109).

The poison concocted by Catalina’s aunts with her help is created from a recipe they acquired through their indigenous heritage. It is not stated whether her grandmother María de Encío also used a similar concoction on her husband or if it is something she sourced in Europe.

This fascination with women enacting violence and supposedly breaking from gender norms persists in modern Chile. In a close reading of contemporary newspaper articles covering the Mapuche protests in southern Chile, Patricia Richards categorises the ways in which the Mapuche women are portrayed through the press. Richards highlights a particular group of women in which the press is most interested, and which she names *mujeres bravas*. Describing them, the author indicates these are “‘fierce women’ who participate in land occupations, protest volubly against timber companies and the state, and seek reparations for past and present violations of Mapuche rights” (Richards 2007, p.560). The press “is highly

interested in *mujeres bravas*' violations of gender norms and simultaneously marvels at and rebukes their actions. Even in articles about incidents led by men, the media often highlight women's participation" (2007, p.561). This frequent focus on supposed flouting of gender norms "demonstrates the extent to which they violate expectations for proper feminine behavior" (2007, p.561). While Catalina's motivations in Frías' text are different, one could certainly use the term '*mujer brava*' in reference to her and her transgressive behaviour.

In an interview with the author Frías gives his explanation for Catalina's excessive use of violence, claiming that in the seventeenth century there would have been many public acts of extreme violence which could have influenced her.

'De niña tiene que haber visto en la Plaza de Armas a lo menos dos descuartizamientos; una vez a la semana tipos colgando del culo de una mula que eran golpeados y tres ahorcados al año. No es raro entonces su crueldad. Y ahí ves tú también la brutalidad social, que después se vuelve a repetir en nuestra historia' (cited in A.G. 2001, p.58).

Frías' commentary seems to place the author in the position of an apologist for Catalina. While Valdivieso deliberately stops her narrative before the point where the worst of Catalina's crimes were supposedly carried out, Frías' narrative is constructed in detail throughout a longer period which means he must construct the fiction around her actions. This serves to displace focus and blame from his protagonist's supposed crimes and allows him to develop a more sympathetic character. He offers a new perspective on the possible causes of such comportment that does not link her to demonic possession or a natural cruelty that exists within her as a woman of indigenous heritage as other authors did. In this text, Catalina carries out acts of unspeakable cruelty as in previous portrayals, but the difference lies in the consciousness she exhibits while doing so. The fact that the text is narrated retrospectively allows the protagonist to be more self-reflective than one could imagine a seventeen year old to be. It is thanks to Águeda that Catalina has control over her temper throughout the majority of the text. Though the matriarch identifies with the frustrations with patriarchy that her granddaughter illustrates, she encourages her not to give in to her violent nature to express such annoyance, but rather to channel that energy in governing their people well and choosing the battles that she can succeed in with her father, and the clergy.

The familial/tribal expectations laid upon Frías' Catalina are far greater since throughout the narrative, the protagonist not only navigates her own social boundaries as an adolescent, but she is also initiated as *cacica* of her tribe during *La doña de Campofrío*, a duty that despite being a source of great pride, also weighs heavily on this young woman. In addition to the androcentric, European, pressures that stem from the church's views of gender roles, she must contend with the responsibilities placed on her through her indigenous ethnic identity. Her change in status following her *Día Más Largo* is indicated in the simple question uttered by her servant, Rebeca, "¿[s]e va a poner la doña la misma falda que se puso la señorita ayer?" (Frías 2003, p.256). The change in terms of reference denotes Catalina's elevated position in society overnight. Having gone through the rites of passage, she is now a highly-regarded member of their close-knit society and has gained a wealth of responsibility to which she must live up as *cacica*. "Que yo recuerde, esa fue la primera vez que alguien me llamó doña, implicando lo que doña significa: el poder y la propiedad. Quedé deslumbrada. Fue como si me bautizaran por segunda vez" (Frías 2003, p.63).

Aware of this expectation that is forced upon her as *cacica*, Catalina describes her acquired rights and duties as she watches a vicuña being sacrificed in her honour: "[e]n alguna forma yo también sería sacrificada a la tierra de las Curiqueo. Era la dueña y la víctima, ama y subyugada" (Frías 2003, p.149). The burden greatly influences Catalina's demeanour as she realises what exactly is expected of her, "era una sirvienta, una víctima de la conservación de un pasado, esclava de una herencia inevitable. La heredera del orden no puede hacer más que conservarlo" (Frías 2003, p.167). Strongly inspired by her maternal ancestors, Catalina wishes to create her own space of power from wherein she can rule all those under the remit of the Curiqueo. According to this statement, she too is under the control of the Curiqueo. Here there is an evident contradiction in Frías' texts where the protagonist has struggled against subjugation, yet does not rebel in the same way when her indigenous heritage demands certain behaviour of her. She spends much of the text disrupting and undermining the European order, but then uncritically upholds native tradition. The inconsistency between her desire to rule as she sees fit

and the role steeped in tradition cause her anxiety in her first few days. Her grandmother, Águeda, quickly corrects Catalina's assumption that she will be given Tobalaba as a gift on becoming *cacica*, rather, the matriarch insists, she will be the gift to their land and people.

Initially she finds it difficult to accept that in order to hold this powerful position, she must also welcome the duty she has towards the people of Curiqueo. "Eran mis primeros días de doña y todavía me molestaba que la gente se me acercara solo para pedirme favores" (Frías 2003, p.644). Catalina struggles to uphold all expectations of the *cacica*, but she does become more inclined to seek counsel when required and she finds a balance that allows her to retain as much of her own personality as possible, while also fulfilling her requirements as their leader. She confers with Llantimán, a loyal servant of the Curiqueo, whom she invites to dine with her at the main dining room table, a step usually unheard of. He reports to her on the daily running of their land and any misgivings that their people might have. She asks him what it is exactly that their people want from her and he answers directly: "[e]llos quieren, doña Catalina, que seas terrible e invulnerable. Que domines a quienes nos dominan y seas tan poderosa para nosotros como una aparición divina" (Frías 2003, p.588). Catalina's subjects want her to take control of the situation that exists between the indigenous peoples in Chile and the Europeans attempting to gain control of their land. Within her first few days as their leader, Catalina starts forging her path as the firm, but fair, leader she wants to be. This is best illustrated in the judgement she passes on the case of Moisés and Lameche, discussed previously on pages 58-59.

As she becomes accustomed to this balance of ruling and aiding, Catalina finds that she is viewed upon favourably by her subjects:

Creo que fue por estos días cuando la gente comenzó a hablar de la serenidad de mi mirada, de mi voz delicada y grave, del reposo de mis movimientos, incluso del modo de levantar ligeramente la barbilla mientras miraba a la gente de frente, a los ojos, algo que mostraba seguridad, señorío, y que tenía un sello de distinción que según la mayoría proclamaba mi cuna. Y según el pequeño grupo adherido a la familia, mi destino real (Frías 2003, pp.608-609).

As she adapts to her position as their *cacica* and the responsibilities that come with it, Frías' Catalina discovers she has a true connection with the role and an aptitude for it. This positive response from her people reinforces self-belief and the possibility of succeeding in such a position. It also illustrates the capacity of a woman to lead well. 'Serene', 'delicate' and 'calm' are not adjectives that would usually be associated with either Frías' protagonist, or other representations of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer. Indeed, the episode with Lameche and Moisés, and the way in which Catalina is accepted by her people, completely contradict other historical and fictional portrayals of her which show her to have no concern or consideration for her subordinates. This furthers Frías' aim to portray his protagonist in a positive light, to humanise her. The author has depicted his protagonist whipping her slaves and taking advantage of others for her own gain, but still manages to plausibly portray her in a respectful manner that earns her the approval of many. There is no attempt to completely recast Catalina and the text does acknowledge the darker elements of the myth. It is this ability to develop a coherent, yet contradictory, complex character in Catalina that is the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series' greatest strength.

Frustrated by the limitations placed upon her as a woman in a powerful position from an oligarchic family, Catalina expresses her exasperation:

¿Por qué no soy como los demás? ¿Por qué estoy atrapada, atada por cadenas invisibles a esta forma, a esta sensibilidad distinta? Los demás, los jinetes, la abuela, mi tía, podían irse ahora mismo a sus casas y vivir una vida fácil, coherente, no meditada, acorde con las reglas del imperio y los mandamientos de la Iglesia (Frías 2001, p.71).

She finds it very difficult to conform to such rules. From the church's perspective she is forced to continue following all the norms set out by the clergy and as the indigenous leader, she needs to ensure she appears to be setting a good example for her people. The main function for such an initiative in leadership is to make sure that the church does not try to further influence their indigenous traditions and allows them to continue, within reason, unhindered by ecclesiastical imposition. This wisdom is acquired through experience, however, and Catalina does not always escape the firm hand of the church. When refusing to attend mass on the eve of the hanging of her servant Pepe de Resorte, convicted of murdering Esteban de Britto,

Canon de la Fuente asserts: “[s]u soberbia, doña Catalina [...] es tan terca y pecaminosa que me obliga a disciplinarla” (Frías 2001, p.190). Seeing the clergyman raise his stick as though to strike her, Catalina defiantly narrates: “[y]o ya no era inocente. Conocía mi poderío y lo ensayaba. Ser rica era un poder. Ser cacica, otro. Así como ser hermosa. Yo tenía los tres” (Frías 2001, p.190). While Huancamán states that nobody is powerful at sixteen since they are still cowardly, the protagonist rejects this generalisation stating: “[y]o ya había sentido la fuerza irresistible de mi poder” (Frías 2001, p.190). In fact she agrees with Bettina who suggests that “[s]er mujer en el siglo de la mujer es el máximo poder” (Frías 2001, p.190). Bettina is referring to the fact that within the previous hundred years in Europe, some of the kingdoms were led by women, namely Isabel la Católica in Spain, and Elizabeth I in England. “Grandes monarcas, sin duda, como las viejas Curiqueo –insistió Mariana” (Frías 2003, p.513). These select women have been accepted as rulers in Europe, but the Spanish colony in Chile during Catalina’s lifetime is not as open to such change in the patriarchal order. Indeed, this statement is an interesting counterpoint to the examples cited by Vicuña Mackenna in his text (see page 19), and proves that had he wanted to, he could have provided positive female role models. Since neither of the societies depicted in the chosen texts willingly accept alternative power or gender dynamics, it is necessary for the texts to create the spaces in which this can occur.

The significance of maternal lineage as indicated in *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* through Catalina’s confession is also apparent in the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series. It is particularly crucial when the issue of the *cacicazgo* is discussed within the Lisperguer family. Since Águeda’s eldest daughter, Catalina, died giving birth to the protagonist, the matriarch must decide whether to strictly abide by the natural order of the Curiqueo or whether she should pass the leadership to Mariana who is her second eldest daughter. She chooses the first option in order to maintain the tradition. She qualifies her decision during her birthday celebrations stating that she passes it “a la hija única de mi hija mayor, porque uno pertenece a los lugares donde tiene enterrados a los suyos, y por ello esos lugares deben pertenecer a los legítimos deudos de quienes ahí yacen” (Frías 2001, p.162). Catalina’s narration confirms that this comment is discussed widely throughout Chile among church

leaders and those representing the Spanish Crown since it suggests that those who do not have relatives buried there do not have entitlement to the land. Águeda does not elaborate on this point any further, preferring to move the focus to her granddaughter and naming her the true “[d]oncella de Chile” (Frías 2001, p.162). Catalina merely says “[g]racias, abuela; gracias, bisabuela; gracias, tartarabuela” (Frías 2001, p.163), recognising the bloodline and the influential women in her life.

Catalina’s most prominent role model is Águeda. Since Catalina Lisperguer y Flores, the protagonist’s mother, died while giving birth to her, her grandmother, Águeda, has been a mother figure for Catalina. In Valdivieso’s text, Catalina Lisperguer is alive for most of the text. She is the main female influence on the protagonist with Águeda reduced to a secondary character. Frías’ decision to have the protagonist’s mother die at childbirth—coming from Petit’s novel from which the author claims “le robé algunas cosas como [...] el hecho de que Catalina fuera huérfana de madre” (cited in Martín 2001, p.78)—allows the narrative to develop a more detailed account of Catalina’s indigenous heritage. On her mother’s death she automatically became first in line to inherit the position as *cacica* of their tribe. Were her mother still living, this would not be possible and Frías would not have been able to develop the complex narrative in the form that it takes. Given that the leadership of the Curiqueo is passed from mother to eldest daughter, Águeda decides to retain the title until Catalina, the protagonist, is of a suitable age to assume the position.

This is not a popular decision among her remaining daughters who feel it should be passed to the eldest living daughter, Mariana. She assures Catalina that their dissatisfaction is not her fault. “—Tú no te inquietes, Catalina [...] A ti no te culpo de nada. A veces pienso que eres solo una víctima más de los planes de la mamá” (Frías 2003, p.37). Águeda’s domination of the family is similar to that of the patriarchal manipulation which she and the women of her family resist and criticise throughout the texts. While María de Encío, Catalina’s paternal grandmother, has certainly influenced her, she has not had the constant presence narrated in both of Frías’ texts as Águeda. As an adolescent, Catalina oscillates between complaining about Águeda’s perceived interference in her life, “[o]tra vez me estaba diciendo qué debía hacer y cómo hacerlo [...] Detrás de todas mis cosas estaba ella, siempre ella”

(Frías 2003, p.104), and expressing fierce loyalty towards the woman who has most invested in her. In a conversation wherein Águeda expresses doubt in the continued struggle against the European settlers, Catalina reassures her that she will continue the work her grandmother has started. “–Tu gente también es mi gente, abuela – prometí al fin, sin saber a qué me comprometía–. Yo también seré señora de esa guerra, igual que tú” (Frías 2001, p.111). As a naive seventeen year old, Catalina does not realise what she is promising and that she will be unable to fulfil such a vow because they do not succeed in ridding Chile of the Spanish *conquistadores*.

Initially, Águeda finds it difficult to loosen her grip on the leadership of their tribe and to pass the decision making on to the protagonist. Catalina sees her opportunity to demand this position when a letter arrives from Pedro Lisperguer requesting more men be trained and equipped to join his men on the frontline. While her grandmother hastens to overstep Catalina’s newly acquired power and send the requested troops, her granddaughter, unwilling to lose independence just as she needs to overcome her fears and “entrar al círculo donde sucedían las cosas” (Frías 2003, p.220), states, “las dos tribus de Tobalaba son mías, [...] Para salvar al abuelo o los tíos [...] iría yo misma con los ciento ochenta hombres de mis encomiendas, pero mis parientes no están en peligro ni sometidos a rescate” (Frías 2003, p.220). Indeed the calm collected nature with which Catalina analyses and makes a decision on the situation is learned directly from Águeda. The former *cacica* seems to struggle with the change in authority and in doing so reacts irrationally to the request. She sees reason and allows Catalina to take the reins and gain the respect of those under her command since: “[s]ólo el abuelo se había atrevido, una única vez en público, a oponerse a su princesa india” (Frías 2003, p.220). The result for Frías’ protagonist is fortifying: “sentí nacer mi entrada en el reino de la decisión y la estrategia, y crecer, pulgada a pulgada, una distancia tensa con la voluntariosa anciana” (Frías 2003, p.220). At just seventeen, Catalina enters the realms of leadership and familial duties that are not usually bequeathed to somebody so young, least of all an adolescent woman.

Through this support they each receive from their maternal heritage, the protagonists of both Valdivieso and Frías place merit on independence and ensuring

they remain strong in their life choices despite the views of the men in their lives. The hope is that they do not depend on men for qualification or happiness. Valdivieso's Catalina is unyielding in her pursuit of this agency. "[n]ingún hombre me pondría llantos y lejanías, yo primero" (Valdivieso 1991, p.61). She knows that since she is oppressed as a woman she needs to put herself first in order to achieve the independence she desires. Frías' Catalina seems to struggle more, constantly battling between asserting her agency and confirming her self-worth while also admitting that she is human and at times cannot withstand constant criticism. Her grandmother, María, reassures her on this matter.

—Pero sentirse sola no es ser inferior, Catalina, es ser distinta. Sólo distinta —agregó—. Y eso no es una ilusión, como el tiempo y las preguntas sin respuesta [...] Para ser nosotras necesitamos que nos amen tal como somos. Todos lo necesitan, pero no se dan cuenta (Frías 2001, p.147).

Renowned for being as rebellious as her granddaughter, perhaps to an even greater degree, María has enough life experience to know her needs and to accept the limits which Catalina perceives as failures.

Catalina receives more lasting support from her family with her grandmother, María, encouraging her to follow her desire to invite Esteban de Britto to come to her room following a celebration at which he will be in attendance. "No veo por qué tú, que además eres rica, joven e independiente, no puedes hacer lo que se te ocurra" (Frías 2001, p.129). These words, from her European grandmother, do not differ greatly from those offered to Catalina from other members of her family. María has lived her life in a similar fashion, and though this has led to difficulties for her, she recognises that being true to herself will be more important to Catalina than acquiescing to that which is requested of her. Catalina assumes this defiant attitude and declares: "[e]ra mi vida, era mi decisión, aunque después tuviera que lamentarla por todo lo que me quedara de existencia, en este mundo, en el otro o donde fuera" (Frías 2001, p.306). She does experience repercussions for her own actions in the form of punishment from her father, but she considers worse the punishment of becoming pregnant through her sexual encounter with de Britto. She spends more time trying to induce a miscarriage before begrudgingly coming to terms with her impending motherhood. Learning the fine art of being true to oneself and not

drawing the interest of the law or the church as a woman in a small community is what Catalina most struggles with throughout the texts.

In the novels by both authors, some characters stand out as being capable of negotiating these impossible standards in order to fulfil their life plans. Valdivieso's sister, Águeda, is clever in her manipulation of the European patriarchy to obtain her goals. Despite growing up in the same environment, she identifies strongly with her European ancestry and is happy to marry Blas Torres who is several years her senior in order to become part of the Viceroy's court in Peru. The sisters are close throughout their childhood with Águeda often comforting Catalina when she suffers her father's wrath. The protagonist expresses her appreciation for her sister. "Mi hermana me sorprendía a veces, y me aquietaba. En ella se reunía para bien, todo lo que en mí revolvía y estallaba. No se detenía en rabias, las hacía sonrisa amable y conseguía lo que buscaba" (Valdivieso 1991, p.81). By not drawing attention to herself and ensuring that she conforms to the expectations upon her, Águeda successfully gets what she wants without much difficulty. She is less likely to lose control of her temper and throughout much of the narrative one could believe that she does not question the patriarchal order the way her sister does and is quite acquiescent in her behaviour. This is partially true, but during an altercation wherein Águeda stops Catalina from killing their servant, Rosarios Ay, the protagonist is surprised by her sister's coy response: "con burla dije que matar era atributo sólo de los hombres de la familia. Agueda echó los ojos al vacío: 'ellos permiten de nosotras nada más que sus deseos'" (Valdivieso 1991, p.82). This suggests that Águeda has been consciously acting within the boundaries of the patriarchy in order to obtain her goal. She, like Catalina, is playing a game, aware of the restrictions placed upon her as a woman in their society. She is capable of achieving her aims because she does not feel the need to break rules to do so; she merely subverts from within and is willing to work inside these limits. She is in a better position to realise her goals since she has not drawn attention to herself throughout her life, remaining in Catalina's shadow.

Frías' Catalina receives wise advice from her young cousin, Catita Ordóñez Lisperguer. It is evident to Catita that the new *cacica* of the Curiqueo is more

comfortable in her role as a Lisperguer than she is as her father's daughter. She confesses that she too would like to just be a Lisperguer and Curiqueo and not an Ordóñez. Like Catalina, Catita has alternative plans to those laid out by her family “[q]uiero ser monja, porque quiero ser ñusta y la única forma de ser ñusta hoy en el reino de este mundo es siendo monja –dijo Catita con una seguridad que me sorprendió” (Frías 2003, p.645). A vow of chastity is a key aspect of assuming her position of Inca princess, or *ñusta*. Given the limited spaces wherein women can freely roam in their society without being married, Catita has identified the convent as the only area where she will be free to appropriate such a role unhindered by the social demands on young women to marry and procreate. At her young age, eight, she can already identify the limitations of such rigid norms within their society and more impressive is her ability to discern an alternative she is comfortable with.

Frías' use of Catita is not antithetical to his protagonist, although their goals and means of achieving them contrast greatly. Catalina would rather not marry but be in a position to exhibit the sexual agency that men have within their society, while also fulfilling her duties as *cacica* of her tribe. Catita, on the other hand, does not want to marry to ensure she retains her virginity, but yet she finds that her only other alternative to marrying is to become a nun. Both characters serve to highlight the strict unbalanced norms to which women are held within their society and the steps they must take to acquire what agency they can in such a situation. Catita is less begrudging of their subordinate position in society than her cousin. When Catalina questions Catita's decision at such a young age, she is impressed how the young girl can reconcile the church teachings with those of the Aconcagua stating, “[s]eguir los impulsos de la carne, descuida el bienestar del alma tanto como vivir siempre de ojos abiertos” (Frías 2003, p.646). While Catita is as limited as any woman in their patriarchal society, she is less frustrated by, and perhaps satisfied with, the alternative to marriage available to her. Catalina tends to follow her carnal desires, but because she is a woman, she is criticised for this. As someone who rejects rules and attempts to oppress her, Catalina also questions the vow of obedience which Catita would take on becoming a nun. The young girl simply states: “[n]o es necesario dejar de lado el orgullo y los deseos personales para obedecer. Siempre

estamos obedeciendo lo que los demás quieren de nosotros” (Frías 2003, p.646). It is important to note that since Catita is such a young girl she cannot understand the physical desire felt by her cousin and it is easier to reject something that has not instilled any passion in her. Her statement does indicate that like her older cousin, Catita seeks out ways to get what she wants while working within the system to do so. In fact, she is probably better at this than Catalina as she demonstrates more evenness of thought and does not share Catalina’s temper. The protagonist recognises the pleasant surprise she feels learning such an important lesson from a girl much younger than her. In continuation, there is a discussion of the sexual agency exhibited by the protagonists, to which Frías’ protagonist alludes above, and the considerable consequences that come with this.

Sexual Agency and Pregnancy

In fulfilling her duties as *cacica* and a member of the De los Ríos and Lisperguer families, this knowledge of negotiating her position comes principally from her grandmothers. However, regarding her carnal desires, Bettina is the one to give Catalina most guidance. Considered quite liberal in her behaviour, Bettina is not as heavily criticised as other women because of her position as a widow in their society. This status allows her more freedom than that which is generally afforded women. Her advice to Catalina when she struggles to maintain the balance of living honestly and within the norms comes from Pedro Lisperguer’s German heritage: “hay una grundnorm, como diría tu abuelo Lisperguer: actuar dentro de los límites de lo correcto. La grundnorm de una mujer de mundo es no dar jamás mucho que hablar” (Frías 2003, p.265). The use of the original German word here in the Spanish sentence is a further example of code switching as discussed in pages 100-101. Bettina reads books that are forbidden by the Inquisition, engages in a sexual relationship predominately with Gonzalo, but also with other men and Catalina, and she runs a guesthouse where lovers can come and meet in secrecy without it being public knowledge they are together. She succeeds in doing all this without being condemned by the Inquisition or being vilified within their society because she adheres strictly to the *grundnorm* she has offered to Catalina.

Catalina struggles to conform even to the *grundnorm* which could give her a lot of freedom. While assessing the situation of the Minotaur as her grandfather recounts the Greek myth to his grandchildren, the protagonist sadly concludes that

Estaba condenado a permanecer solo. No era un hombre entre los hombres ni bestia entre las bestias ni dios entre los dioses y se confundían sus deseos. Yo tampoco era hombre entre los hombres ni indio entre los indios. Era mujer y era mestiza (Frías 2001, p.107).

She uses the generic word ‘hombre’ here which refers to human beings, but then specifies that within a subset of that she is a woman, a term that is deemed subordinate and othered in its androcentric use. Male is the universal, but not the female. She correlates being a man with being indigenous, while being a woman is equated to being *mestiza* as though both terms are somehow lesser in strength or seem incomplete. She does not have the same conviction or appreciation for her *mestiza* self as Valdivieso’s protagonist. Although she likes being a woman, this quote indicates an inner desire within Catalina to simplify her life by being ‘just’ a man and ‘just’ indigenous. Frías uses this comparison between his protagonist and the Minotaur to express the inner desire that exists within many people to belong to a collective, but also highlights the reality that the individual identity is fluid and changeable and so at any point in time it can identify with numerous collectives to varying degrees. This is a moment of realisation for Catalina in the texts which allows her to assess her position. Subsequently she continues her self-evaluation and assumes her position as a woman of European and indigenous heritage who creates her own rules under which to live her life and in doing so does not quite ‘fit’ with specific archetypes promoted within her society.

Encouraged by stories from her aunts and her grandmother, María de Encío, Catalina also follows her desires for men, against the norms of the church and patriarchal society. However, Frías’ utilises Bettina most to challenge assumptions surrounding sexual activity and women’s participation in it within their small community.

Su risa era demasiado violenta para ser verdadera. Había en ella algo falso, algo que no cuajaba con el resto, pero su forma de nombrar personas, órganos, actos y posiciones sexuales era una transgresión tan escandalosa a todas las costumbres conocidas en el reino de este mundo, que me despertaba emociones agradables y al mismo tiempo angustiosas; un profundo

desasosiego mezclado con un sentido igualmente profundo de descubrimiento (Frías 2001, p.67).

Catalina has always struggled against the constraints imposed upon her by the church and state, rejecting her subordination on the basis of being a woman. Bettina's frank discussion of sex—" [m]e gusta el sexo y gozo haciendo el amor. Sé como hacerlo mejor que muchas mujeres" (Frías 2003, p.197)—instils the motivation within Catalina to follow through with her desires. She simultaneously warns Catalina of the importance of showing some restraint in her sexual agency to allow her to continue to function effectively in their society. "—En la actualidad y sobre todo en este país, Catrala, una dama debe aprender a domesticar sus deseos —comenzó diciendo—. No digo que no te enamores, sino que controles las pasiones que despiertan los amores" (Frías 2001, p.265). Thanks to this warning and the influence of her grandmother, Águeda, Catalina's transgressions have not always been to the extreme where they reach the attention of the public. Spurred on by influences of Bettina, María de Encío and her aunts, she invites Esteban de Britto to spend the night with her after celebrating San Juan. As she describes the events of the night, there is a sense of mutual respect and appreciation between Catalina and Esteban. There is no obvious dominant/submissive that would be expected within the patriarchy since the woman is expected to 'endure' sex as part of her duty to her husband, for his pleasure and to provide heirs. This is not the case on the night of San Juan. This experience allows Catalina to have appreciation for the sexual act and she knows what to expect in future encounters.

In displaying her sexual agency, Valdivieso's protagonist not only goes against the gender norms of her society, but also against other norms of their close-knit community. The *dicen que* narrative informs the reader that she engages in a sexual relationship with her half brother, Segundo a Secas, and her cousin, Juan Pacheco.

La intimidad de Juan Pacheco con la Ríos era asunto ya agotada por las recaderas, y todos sabían que la Quintrala disfrutaba del concubinage con su propia sangre. Segundo a Secas, bastardo de don Gonzalo, fue uno de sus antojos de niña, del otro se sabía, pero en espantado secreto. Indiferente al mal, la mujer ya había cometido parricidio, sacrilegio incesto y quedado impune (Valdivieso 1991, p.28).

The protagonist confirms her affection for and relationship with both men. In the parallel narrative, these incestuous relationships are mentioned on par with her supposed parricide. What most irks the popular voice of the *dicen que* narrative is the fact that Catalina has not met serious repercussions for her actions. When her interest falls on Álvaro Cuevas during his participation in a penance procession, the issue with Juan and Segundo being family members seems less troubling than the fact that they are *mestizos*, “Oí que de gustarme los bárbaros, me pasaba a hombre blanco pero prohibido” (Valdivieso 1991, p.57). Catalina’s choice of lover cannot appease her family. It is curious to note that her chosen lovers respect her and at no point criticise her sexual agency. It is, rather, Enrique Enríquez, the potential suitor chosen by her male relatives, who shows her the least amount of respect in this way, speaking of her ‘lascivious’ nature. This is one of the few points in which the two principal narrations coincide throughout the text.

During a celebration, Frías’ Catalina is amused to find that a group of young boys cower nearby whispering about her but without daring to approach her. When Juana Socorro explains to her that the reason they will not address her is because they fear her. Shocked, Catalina exclaims “[n]o se me había ocurrido que alguien pudiese temerme” (Frías 2003, p.570). While she has lost all fear of her father and threats that he holds over her, she has not realised that her status and reputation has led to others fearing her. Her position as *cacica* and *corregidor’s* daughter in addition to her renowned beauty make her quite intimidating to men and women alike. Inspired by the power that this fear wields for her, Catalina jokes with her childhood friend: “[a] mí los muchachos me tienen miedo– [...] ¿Y a ti, qué te tienen? –¡Ganas! –rió ella divertida–. Contigo no se atreven a tener ganas –agregó burlándose. Pero me dejó pensando que no me desagradaba ser temida” (Frías 2003, p.571). She identifies this as a means of achieving her desire without needing to be disloyal to her true nature. Juana’s self-identification as an object of desire is liberal in a way that is also irregular in the display of typical femininities. Her form of transgression is through perceived sinfulness. Catalina narrates that Juana’s dreams are constructed of her sinning and that “en sus sueños se veía a sí misma como Magdalena, la pecadora arrepentida” (Frías 2003, p.170). Juana has the appearance

of being innocent and virginal, but through her conversations with Catalina, another facet of her personality is brought to light. Married to a friend of her father's, her true love is Tomás de Gaete. She enlists the help of Catalina to find the means of spending the night with the Spanish soldier out of the public domain and before he goes to war. At the same age as Catalina, Juana appears younger and immature. The protagonist finds her behaviour quite childish when she wants to speak to her in secret and gossip about men like they did as young girls. This serves to reinforce her innocence and the idea of her as someone who apparently accidentally breaks the rules, 'la pecadora arrepentida'. She is quick to repent knowing that her supposed innocence will be accepted as the reason for her transgression. It is important to note, however, that as she flouts these norms, Juana is completely aware of her actions and their consequences. This is a role she delights in playing.

This explicit display of sexual freedom is not specific to Juana, rather it is the Lisperguer women who are more well-known for such a liberal nature. Similar to Valdivieso's *Águeda de los Ríos y Lisperguer*, Frías' Juana works within the patriarchal framework to transgress in a less obvious way than the protagonist. She adheres to Bettina's *grundnorm*, ensuring her indiscretions are not public knowledge. She claims that she can satisfy her need to be with Tomás de Gaete while at the same time providing an heir for her husband Tomás Gómez de San Benito, who she believes is infertile. Her sexual exploits, therefore, fall thinly veiled within the realms of acceptable under patriarchal order, given that her motivation is to procreate. The other women surrounding Catalina do not make the same effort to fit their sexual encounters with the demands of the patriarchy. Known as the "hombrieriega de la familia" (Frías 2001, p.22), María Lisperguer is engaged to Jiménez de Mendoza in an attempt to stop rumours spreading regarding her affairs with the men in the kingdom. This does not deter her from entering into a relationship with the new governor, Alonso de Ribera. She does not hide the fact that there is something between she and the governor, much to her parents' chagrin and it is for this reason that she is immediately blamed for his attempted murder when Caicaví dies having drunk the water intended for de Ribera. While it is true that María enlists the help of her sister, Águeda, and Catalina to acquire the necessary

ingredients required for concocting a poison that will kill de Ribera, the evidence as laid out by the protagonist suggests that in fact the governor poisoned Caicaví in an attempt to weaken the indigenous position, since he is one of their leaders. In any case, between her sexual ‘prowess’ and her willingness to endanger the lives of others to achieve her goals, María can be considered another example of a character rejecting the patriarchal norms.

On discovering her pregnancy following her night with Esteban, and initially unwilling to bring it to term, Catalina desperately tries to induce a miscarriage. She seeks advice from Bettina who is unaware the situation is not hypothetical and so claims: “para una mujer de mundo, la peor enfermedad es el embarazo” (Frías 2003, p.282). She views pregnancy as an illness, as does Catalina, since they both understand the limitations it will place on their carefree life that does not adhere to societal rules. Catalina’s exclamation: “[a]sí, de golpe, supe que era mujer. Y todo se convirtió en una pesadilla” (Frías 2001, p.238) underlines the disruption that her pregnancy causes for her life plans. They each reject this aspect of femininity forced upon them through nature, biology and the patriarchal society. Commenting on the Latin American context today, Kaminsky explains this supposedly problematic stance Bettina and Catalina have on sexuality and pregnancy are not limited to the confines of fiction. “Women’s insistence on controlling their own sexuality, whether in choosing their sexual partners or in having control over reproduction, is represented as anything from perversion to selfishness, and as work of outside agitators” (Kaminsky 1993, p.18).

Bringing children into the world is believed to be part of their duty as women. Catalina is terrified of the prospect however, and delays in informing anyone of her physical state until it is absolutely necessary. She suffers in silence without even daring to tell her ‘otra abuela’ María de Encío, explaining “ni ante ella podía asumir la nueva condición de mi femineidad” (Frías 2001, p.244). She believes that even as her position as *cacica* of the Curiqueo and descendant of an Inca *ñusta*, her situation as an unmarried mother is “perfectamente infamante” (Frías 2001, p.245). This indicates that in addition to her chosen way of living being affected by the pregnancy, the socio-political implications will not just affect her family, but

Catalina too. She describes the life inside her in terms that seem so removed from her imagining “ese ser extraño que parasitaba adherido con dientes y uñas a mis entrañas, luchando contra todos los torrentes que trataban de desgarrarlo,” (Frías 2001, p.254). Described as alien to her and parasitic in nature, Catalina’s desire to be rid of her pregnancy is evident. It is a cause of great anxiety for her and makes her feel trapped within her own body. In her use of Barbara Creed’s notion of the ‘monstrous-feminine’, Nuala Finnegan recognises this same anxiety in her analysis of Rosario Castellanos’ work, referring to the foetus as “the monster [that] gnaws at her insides and she experiences an overwhelming desire to destroy it in what is really quite an extreme portrayal of female angst during pregnancy” (Finnegan 2000, p.86). The ‘monstrous-feminine’ is constructed in the demonisation of the foetus and its simultaneous rejection by the woman carrying it.

While the definition of a woman flouting traditional norms as ‘monstrous’ is shocking, Finnegan’s use is productive here. Creed suggests that “[t]he presence of the monstrous-feminine in the popular horror film speaks to us more about male fears than about female desire or feminine subjectivity” (Creed 1993, p.7). She is considered monstrous because she does not acquiesce to the restrictive norms that demand she (willingly) bear children. Following her night with de Britto, Gonzalo puts Catalina under house arrest and she remains within the boundaries of their first patio in El Dorado for two months. Describing her physical imprisonment there she then reflects upon her hidden pregnancy claiming: “[a] su vez, pensé, mi cuerpo encerraba otro cuerpo, que también me tenía a su merced. Estaba emparedada por intenciones y voluntades ajenas a mis deseos y opuestos a mis necesidades” (Frías 2001, p.258). Having taken control of her needs and desires in entering into the relationship with Esteban, she is frustrated to find that the fruit of that union is the cause of her loss of control and freedom. Her anguish on discovering her pregnancy counters the sheer delight that Valdivieso’s Catalina Lisperguer experiences as she believes she is pregnant with a third child as a result of an extra-marital affair. In fact, Lisperguer is experiencing delirium prior to her death. She believes the child inside her will give her a second chance as a mother and will not ever seek to leave her side, as the protagonist’s sister, Águeda, did. She claims that this child will be

happy as she is the product of a loving union. ““Es lo justo, hija de padres contentos”” (Valdivieso 1991, p.130).

Frías' Catalina does all within her power to regain the control she perceives she has lost through her pregnancy to de Britto. Since the potions offered by her servants, Rebeca and Josefina, fail to induce the desired miscarriage, she steals out after curfew dressed as a man in order to visit the surgeon, Maldonado. Inventing a tale about her friend, she explains the situation of her 'friend's' undesired pregnancy. Her initial intention is to ask him to perform an abortion on her in his hospital, but he insists that he is bound by church rule not to carry out such procedures. Frustrated by his unwillingness to help her, she remembers Bettina's advice which is to provoke a miscarriage with a powerful orgasm. Catalina's belief in such a tale is not as important to this analysis as the manner in which she chooses to achieve it. Contrary to the mutually respectful and engaging interaction she describes with Esteban de Britto, her description of her time with Maldonado places her in the supposed masculine role of instigator and dominant:

empujé a Maldonado detrás de las arpilleras y apenas lo tuve oculto a mi merced desaté los tres nudos que cerraban el cuello y el pecho de la camisa, tal como un hombre debe hacerlo con la camisa de su amada (Frías 2003, p.316).

She equates herself with a man because the discourse does not exist to describe her actions as feminine. She knows she must transgress the gender norms to obtain that which she seeks. The sex with Maldonado is devoid of the usual motivations such as procreation—the opposite in fact—, lust or desire. Her goal is to achieve the orgasm by whatever means necessary with Maldonado simply being the (willing) tool by which she can do this. “¿Sufrió o gozó Maldonado? No lo sé ni me importa” (Frías 2003, p.316). The energy that she requires to come to the surgeon's house and then seduce him leaves Catalina exhausted. “Debo haber dormido sobre el cirujano, porque estuve fuera del mundo gran parte de la noche. Tampoco supe qué le pasó entretanto a él. Y no tiene la menor importancia” (Frías 2003, p.318). In Creed's definition of the 'monstrous-feminine', she insists that just because the figure is constructed as active rather than passive it does not make it a liberated or feminist image (Creed 1993, p.7). Frías' depiction of his protagonist's engagement in sex

with Maldonado relates exactly to this contradictory depiction of a woman with an abundance of agency, but who lacks a feminist motivation for her actions. As in the case with *hembrismo*, this form of femininity is constructed in relation to masculinities and upholds the interplay between gender identities. In both cases, the behaviour merely inverts and reproduces inequalities between men and women, subjugating the former over the latter.

There is a sense of self preservation in Catalina's recounting of the night. She is determined to achieve her goal through whatever means necessary and does not factor in Maldonado's feelings or experience of their time together. They are irrelevant to her. She leaves as abruptly as she arrives and barely reassures the surgeon months later, when her pregnancy becomes common knowledge, that he is not the father. The sense of agency and apparent entitlement that Catalina experiences during sex with Maldonado, and which she attributes to men typically, reemerges on the night of her wedding to Campofrío. Following the scene wherein Perro injures Alonso—leaving him permanently impotent—the protagonist describes in a similarly objectifying nature how she examines the wounded soldier as he sleeps. “No sé qué me impulsó entonces a levantar las cobijas. Talvez me sentía como el varón que habiendo pagado un buen precio por una mujer, quería ver desnudo el cuerpo adquirido” (Frías 2003, p.649). Perhaps since she is the person bringing the wealth to their marriage she feels entitled to inspect her husband's body. Describing the scene in such a manner indicates that Catalina treats Alonso as an object for her use.

Indeed, the protagonist does not limit her use of sexual partners to men. She also experiences a secret sexual encounter with her father's lover, Bettina, as they bathe after fighting a fire in the San Agustín church beside her father's house, Eldorado. Initially Bettina's direct flirtation makes Catalina uncomfortable as she describes her attempts to hide this discomfort “metiéndome apresuradamente en el agua” (Frías 2001, p.279). In her retrospective narration of the events, Catalina can recognise that this incident like others during this time in her life, served as an opportunity to take vengeance on her father.

A lo largo de mi vida hice cosas por las mismas razones por las que no debí hacerlas, como si la razón de la sinrazón me resultara irresistible. Bastaba la idea de que podía provocar la cólera de alguien, ojalá alguien tan próximo como mi padre, para que el impulso a realizar esa acción se convirtiera en capricho y el capricho en deseo y el deseo en una necesidad irresistible que tenía que satisfacer [...] además de mi rebeldía, me animaba el deseo de vengarme de mi padre. La italiana era el arma que tenía a la mano, y la seguridad de estar pecando, la única fuerza capaz de impulsarme (Frías 2001, pp.279-280).

Catalina's participation in fighting the fire at the church is the first time in two months that she has left the confines of Eldorado as punishment for being discovered in bed with Esteban de Britto. She therefore takes advantage of the opportunity that she is presented with bathing with Bettina to seek vengeance for her imprisonment. Although both women enjoy the encounter Catalina does not allow it to recur, despite Bettina's suggestions.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, this chapter has illustrated the very complex and sometimes problematic images that the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series and *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* offer in a discussion of gender identities. The work of both Frías and Valdivieso highlights some of the more problematic norms which society places on its members. In order to maintain the patriarchal order wherein men are considered superior to women, it is imperative to assign specific fixed roles to each. These ideals suggest that all men and women should fit into the categories assigned to them. The novels by both authors use different techniques to undermine this assumption and to reinforce the theories of Montecino, West and Zimmerman, and Connell and Messerschmidt which argue that gender identities are societal constructions which change and adopt to suit the needs of a group in a specific socio-historical context. What is innovative in these texts is not just their obvious subversion of societal expectations upon women, but also their highlighting the perils of imposing similar expectations upon men. Realistically most men and women will not succeed in living up to this rigid standard. The protagonists of each text reject their patriarchal subordination engaging in pre-marital sex and enacting violence on others in addition to failing to accept their subordinate position in

society. This stark refusal to conform challenges men's supposed superiority over women and, thus, it was argued in this chapter that the protagonist of each author embodies some of the aspects of *pariah femininities* as defined by Mimi Schippers.

For Frías' protagonist the result is much more damning since she becomes pregnant following her first sexual encounter. Her disappointment in discovering this is considered 'unfeminine'. It is her duty as a woman in their society to reproduce. Her comparison of the foetus inside her to a parasitic monster illustrates characteristics of what Barbara Creed deems the 'monstrous-feminine'. She also displays elements of what María Elena de Valdés denotes as *hembrismo*, the female counterpart to *machismo*, in her objectification of her lovers, Esteban de Britto and Alonso de Campofrío. In this way, the texts are not shy about illustrating the shortcomings of such notions and in highlighting a nuanced situation between the genders that is not clear cut.

Valdivieso makes clever use of her narrative to deconstruct and disrupt the fixed gender binary which is perpetuated through patriarchal thought. In creating a cyclical narrative that also incorporates elements of the oneiric, she subverts the linear Euro- and androcentric approach which upholds specific gender categories. The complete inversion of previously perceived negative elements for women is reinforced through her portrayal of *La Señora* instead of *El Señor*, placing importance firmly on the women of the family and the maternal line. Frías' texts also subvert the previously accepted narratives surrounding fixed gender identities through presenting images of such identities in fragmented, contradictory terms. The protagonist's narration reinforces this idea that her world is reflected in fragments. There are no whole identities to which men and women can or want to adhere, it is all splintered. These cyclical, fragmented spaces that are created through narrative disruption of each author are similar to the 'third space' described by Bhabha in postcolonial studies. They create interstitial areas that allow the contestation of old norms and the negotiation of new possibilities to come through. Perhaps the most effective tool used by Frías to undermine the gender binary is his introduction of la Monja Alférez whose presence makes those in their society question their perceived ideas on what it is to be a man or a woman in a heteronormative society.

Each protagonist is highly critical of the strict impositions placed upon her as a woman of high socioeconomic standing. However, they both fail to recognise that their call for resistance to this patriarchy is focused solely on them, and women of their standing. They are extremely critical of women in lower socioeconomic situations who transgress norms in other ways in order to survive. They do not have the luxury that their mistresses have to choose a specific path. Through its development of characters like Juan Pacheco and Segundo a Secas, Valdivieso's text also elaborates the complex interplay of masculinities in the text. These characters illustrate a wider issue that does not only incorporate gender and social standing, but also ethnicity. Frías' texts also develop different forms of masculinity, few of which conform to the hegemonic masculine ideal as described by Connell and Messerschmidt. Melchor, as an African slave, is in no position to contradict his master, Pedro Lisperguer, for subjugating him through racist othering language. The protagonist's servant, Pepe Resorte, on the other hand, while also subordinate since he is not part of the dominant social group, dares to overstep his position in a jealous display against Catalina's new lover, Esteban de Britto. This indicates a divide between what would be allowed from men and women of lower classes.

Conclusions

In its approach to analysing the ways in which Mercedes Valdivieso and Gustavo Frías use their renewed permutations of Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer to challenge perceived truths relating to gender and ethnic identities, this thesis has opened up new avenues of discussion to the existing literature. As the first book-length comparative study of each of these texts with this specific focus, it contributes to the ongoing conversations regarding ethnicities and gender identities in Chile. As the first academic study of Frías' *Tres nombres para Catalina* series it illuminates the progress these texts provide in fictionally deconstructing the myth of la Quintrala to discover the complex, fragmented world of Catalina, the *cacica* and wife of Campofrío.

The novels studied in this thesis offer very fruitful representations of gender and ethnicity. Through their texts, the authors problematise perceived truths relating to these identities, and question in particular the notion of them being fixed and whole which serves to perpetuate colonial and patriarchal hierarchies. The approaches taken in illustrating and questioning these identities by each author produce multifarious depictions of the colonial period. In some aspects, the authors take similar approaches in their depiction of this historical figure. Through making their protagonist the narrator and subject of each text, they establish a new perspective on her life and the society around her, which was not presented in other iterations. While Frías' works critique the hegemonic discourses predominately through the first-person narrator and her interlocutors, Valdivieso's text presents a more complex undermining of institutionalised subjugation relating to gender and ethnicity. The polyphonic structure of the novel's narrative forces disruption and fragmentation of the sequence of events. This is further reinforced by its cyclical development.

Theories relating to ethnicities in Chile presented by Sonia Montecino, Jorge Larraín and Ana María Stiven as partial, complex and ever-changing, aided a complex textual analysis and reinforced the appreciation for the novel way in which these texts present such ideas. Fragmentation, which has been identified here as imperative to a postcolonial feminist challenging of the hegemonic norms relating to

gender and ethnicity, is also evident in Frías' text. It is presented through the protagonist's narrative, which is self-reflective, constructive and dominant. It serves to critique, challenge and undermine the Eurocentric patriarchal norms to which men and women are held in her society. Her critically-engaging narrative sees her participate in events simultaneously as European and indigenous, capable of appreciating the situations from numerous perspectives, all the while attempting to pinpoint her personal position. This best illustrates the partial nature of identities that are never complete and always under construction. Walter Mignolo's theory on 'border thinking' aided this illustration of Catalina in a liminal position thinking from within dichotomous structures rather than in dichotomies as Western thought dictates, making her narrative complex and contradictory at times.

This thesis also argued that the primary texts can be considered 'third spaces' as defined by Homi Bhabha, given the negotiation and disruption of perceived fixed norms in the societies depicted. In these 'third spaces' there is constant negotiation, deconstruction and reconstruction of gender identities and ethnicities that allows for the disruption of old patterns and the introduction of newer, fluid, incomplete identities. The primary texts fight against the notion that 'one size fits all' in relation to these collective identities. This study illustrates many cultural and religious practices portrayed which demonstrate the hybridity—as defined by Joshua Lund—of colonial Chile. Lund's distinction between the methodological and critical use of hybridity in the Latin American context aided the articulation of the complex negotiation of ethnic identities in the primary texts. Valdivieso's protagonist is the personification of the anxieties surrounding hybridity in her society. She tends to favour her maternally-acquired indigenous ancestry, placing more trust in the traditions associated with this than her European, though she does draw on aspects of the latter's culture when it suits her needs. Frías' protagonist too, indicates a preference for her indigenous heritage even taking up the position as *cacica* of her tribe. Unlike Valdivieso's protagonist, her position as an indigenous leader means that she must renegotiate her position more frequently in order to ensure she can follow indigenous traditions and that the Catholic Church does not interfere too much in their affairs. In the process of rejecting binary visions of the world which

are European in origin, Frías' texts in particular seem to engage with alternative perspectives.

Candace West's and Don Zimmerman's notion of 'doing' gender was particularly effective in articulating the concept of gender as a social construct, rather than an innate quality, in this thesis. This was further reinforced by the works of Montecino—in her suggestion that gender identities are subject to change depending on the socio-historic setting—and Connell and Messerschmidt who concur with Montecino on many aspects in their theorising of masculinities. The inclusion of these theorists facilitated an in-depth discussion of the gender identities depicted in the texts which highlighted the necessity to discuss masculinities and femininities in relation to one another given that a gender hierarchy can only be reinforced or undermined through the interaction and complicity of the parties involved. Valdivieso's creation of *La Señora* (her mother) in their “mundo al revés” coupled with the fact that Catalina, the protagonist, and her mother, are considered interchangeable, highlight a complex, inconstant, fragmented reality that reflects the notions of identities that are put forward by this thesis. Both authors' novels depict women engaging in cross-dressing to alter society's perception of them. Frías' use of *la Monja Alférez* in particular, provides a powerful subversion of perceived gender norms.

The authors' use of their novels to undermine perceived ethnic and gender identities in the period depicted is deliberate and calculated. Each has stated in interviews their dissatisfaction with the tendency in Chile to ignore non-European elements of their nation and also the significant absence of women in the country's historical texts. The techniques used by each, as discussed above, aid their literary endeavour. The works do not always conform to representing the most multifaceted portrayals, but the analysis of these novels indicates fragmented identities which allow for more nuanced interpretations and confirms that gender and ethnicity, as collective identities, are almost completely inextricably linked, requiring a complex and integrated discussion. *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* and the *Tres nombres para Catalina* series in their renewed versions of *Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer*, for the most part, reject facile illustrations of gender and ethnicity. Through fragmented,

complex narratives and structure, they force the reader to engage more actively with these concepts, and they subvert perceived truths that seek to fix these forms of identities in place to aid the perpetuation of hegemonic hierarchies.

Despite this inclusionary approach by each author, the textual analysis of this thesis has identified some shortcomings of these works. The most problematic aspect of Valdivieso's novel is the uncritical inversion of a Eurocentric patriarchy into an indigenous-led matriarchy. This flawed concept fails to truly challenge the dominant discourse by simply replacing it with a regime that continues to displace particular groups in society from the centres of power. While this publication was innovative in being the first to present the protagonist as the subject and narrator, the narration is in the form of a confession prior to her marriage. The very nature of the confession means it does not pass the confessor, meaning that the Catholic Church, in its capacity as patriarchal authority, continues to silence Catalina. On the other hand, it is evident in Frías' texts that the author's desire to bring the indigenous ethnicities to the forefront has led to depictions of the traditions and life surrounding these groups which are idyllic at times. This results in a failure to develop them in a complex, critical manner. Furthermore, in the attempt to normalise the protagonist's behaviour, several women in Catalina's surroundings are transgressive in nature, relegating the protagonist's position to less than extraordinary. Since in the works of both authors the focus is predominately on Catalina, they do not truly develop an intersectional deconstruction of the hegemonic powers that persist in the societies illustrated. With the focus on the protagonist who is of an elite socioeconomic position, the lives of servants and their engagement with issues of gender and ethnicity are marginal. This is perhaps something that could be considered by authors choosing to create fictional accounts of this character in the future.

The conclusions coming from this thesis and, in particular, the effective theoretical framework adopted indicate the possibility for applying these theories elsewhere in an analysis of gender and ethnicities in other historical novels published in this period in the Chilean context. An obvious progression from here would be to return to contemporary depictions of the sixteenth-century *conquistadora*, Inés de Suárez, focusing particularly on Jorge Guzmán's *Ay mama Inés* (1993) and Isabel

Allende's *Inés del alma mía* (2003). Both texts lend themselves to an analysis through a similar lens to that used in this thesis, though it could be argued that the strength in Guzmán's work lies in the depiction of ethnicities, while Allende's work brings gender identities to the fore.

Bibliography

- A.G. (2001) 'Relatan el origen de la perversa Quintrala'. *La Tercera*, 25/08/2001, p. 58.
- Abate, J. (2008) 'Un comienzo para Quintrala'. *El Mercurio*, 10/08/2008, p. E23.
- Aínsa, F. (2003) 'La reescritura de la historia'. in *Narrativa hispanoamericana del siglo XX: del espacio vivido al espacio del texto*, Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza. pp. 93-101.
- Albornoz Vásquez, M. E. (2002) 'Develando una simbólica subterránea: Catalina cruzada por Mercedes en Maldita yo entre las mujeres'. *Cyber Humanitatis*, (23).
- Allende, I. (2006) *Inés del alma mía*, 6th ed., Barcelona: Plaza y Janés.
- Anon. (1993a) 'La Femeidad contra el patriarcado'. *La Época*, 07/08/1993, p. 36.
- Anon. (1993b) 'Un legado de valentía y atrevimientos'. *El Sur*, 06/09/1993, p. 18.
- Anon. (2001) 'Reivindicación de La Quintrala'. *El Mercurio*, 04/09/2001, p. C9.
- Anon. (2003) 'Tras la huella de La Quintrala'. *La Tercera*, 09/11/2003, p. 57.
- Anon. (2005) 'La doña de Campofrío'. *El Observador*, 04/02/2005, p. 12.
- Antileo Baeza, E. (2013) 'Migración Mapuche y continuidad colonial'. in Nahuelpan Moreno, H., Huinca Piutrin, H., Mariman Quemenado, P., Cárcamo-Huechante, L., Mora Curriao, M., Quidel Lincoleo, J., Antileo Baeza, E., Curivil Bravo, F., Huenul Colicoy, S., Calfio Montalva, M., Millalen Paillal, J., Pichinao Huenchuleo, J., Paillan Coñoepan, E. and Cuyul Soto, A., (eds.) *Ta Ñ Fijke Xipa Rakizuameluwün: Historia, colonialism y Resistencia desde el país Mapuche*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Comunidad de Historia Mapuche. pp. 187-204.
- Araujo, K. (2009) 'Estado, sujeto y sexualidad en el Chile postdictatorial'. *Nomadías*, (9), pp. 11-39.
- Araya, J. G. (1991) *1891: entre el fulgor y la agonía*, Santiago de Chile: Universitaria.
- Arriaza, A. (1963) *La tragedia de los Lisperguer*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Nacimiento.

- Azúa Ríos, X. (2010) 'Mestizaje, silencio y blanqueamiento: el caso de Isabel de Quiroga en la novela *Inés del alma mía* de Isabel Allende'. in Espinoza, A. A. and Márquez, J. V., (eds.) *América Colonial: Denominaciones, clasificaciones e identidades*, Santiago de Chile: RIL Editores. pp. 315-327.
- Bacigalupo, A. M. (2016) *Thunder Shaman: Making History with Mapuche Spirits in Chile and Patagonia*, Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Badilla, J. V. (1993) 'Ausencia de Mercedes Valdivieso'. *La Región*, 11/08/1993, p. 3.
- Bel Bravo, M. A. (1998) *La Mujer en la historia*, Madrid: Encuentro.
- Bello, J. E. (1948) 'Carácter de la Quintrala'. *La Nación*, 1948.
- Bello, J. E. (1949) 'La belleza de la Quintrala'. *La Patria*, 02/11/2015.
- Bengoa, J. (2006) *La comunidad reclamada: Identidades, utopías y memorias en la sociedad chilena actual*, Santiago de Chile: Catalonia.
- Bengoa, J. (2009a) *La comunidad fragmentada: Nación y desigualdad en Chile*, Santiago de Chile: Catalonia.
- Bengoa, J. (2009b) *La comunidad perdida: Identidad y cultura: desafíos de la modernización en Chile*, Santiago de Chile: Catalonia.
- Boehmer, E. (2005) *Stories of Women: Gender Narratives in the Postcolonial Nation*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bolaños, Á. F. and Verdesio, G., eds. (2002) *Colonialism Past and Present: Reading and Writing about Colonial Latin America Today*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Burke, P. (1993) 'Language and Identity in Early Modern Italy'. in *The Art of Conversation*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. pp. 66-88.
- Burns, E. J. (2001) 'Courtly Love: Who Needs It? Recent Feminist Work in the Medieval French Tradition'. *Signs*, 27(1), pp. 23-57.
- Byrd, M. (2007) 'The Brief History of a Historical Novel'. *The Wilson Quarterly*, 31(4), pp. 25-31.
- C.M. (1991) 'Huachos y mestizos'. *Apsi*, April 1991, pp. 28-30.
- Campra, R. (1998) *América Latina: La identidad y la máscara*, 2 ed., Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

- Cancino, J. T. C. (2006) *Manuela Orellana, la criminal: género, cultura y sociedad en el Chile del siglo XVII*, Santiago de Chile: Tajamar.
- Canclini, N. G. (2005) *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cánovas, R. (1992) 'La experiencia de ser mujer'. *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos*, (502), pp. 149-151.
- Cárdenas, M. T. (2001) 'Una voz para la Quintrala'. *El Mercurio*, 01/09/2001, pp. 6-8.
- Casanova, C. A. (2012) 'The Influence of Christianity on the Spanish Conquest of America and the Organization of the Spanish-American Empire'. *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture*, 15(4), pp. 125-144.
- Castillo, D. (1992) *Talking Back: Toward a Latin American Feminist Literary Criticism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Castro-Klarén, S., ed. (2003) *Narrativa Femenina en América Latina: Prácticas y Perspectivas Teóricas/ Latin American Women's Narrative: Practices and Theoretical Perspectives* Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Ceardi, X. (2003) 'Frías vuelve a la carga'. *El Mercurio*, 03/11/2003, p. 22.
- Connell, R. (2015) 'Meeting at the Edge of Fear: Theory on a World Scale'. *Feminist Theory*, 16(1), pp. 49-66.
- Connell, R. W. (1996a) *Gender and Power: Society, The Person and Sexual Politics*, Reprint ed., Cambridge: Polity press.
- Connell, R. W. (1996b) *Masculinities*, Reprint. ed., Cambridge u.a.: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1997) 'La organización social de la masculinidad'. in Valdés, T. and Olavarría, J., (eds.) *Masculinidades: Poder y Crisis*, Santiago Chile: Isis International. pp. 31-48.
- Connell, R. W. and Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005) 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept'. *Gender and Society*, 19(6), pp. 829-859.
- Corbatta, J. (2002) *Feminismo y escritura femenina en Latinoamérica*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor.
- Creed, B. (1993) *The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*, London: Routledge.

- Crow, J. (2013) *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History*, Florida: University Press Florida.
- Crow, J. (2014) 'From Araucanian warriors to Mapuche terrorists: contesting discourses of gender, race, and nation in modern Chile (1810–2010)'. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 20(1), pp. 75-101.
- Cuadra, I. (1999) *La Quintrala en la literatura chilena*, Madrid: Editorial Pliegos.
- de Beauvoir, S. (1973) *The Second Sex*, New York: Vintage Books.
- de Ercilla, A. (1947) *La araucana*, Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe.
- De la Fuente, J. A. (1992) 'La narrativa de Mercedes Valdivieso: De *La brecha* a la *Tatamai*'. *Literatura y Lingüística*, 5, pp. 39-51.
- de Valdés, M. E. (1998) *The Shattered Mirror: Representations of Women in Mexican Literature*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Donoso, J. (2010) 'Violencia política en el sur de Chile: Estado, grupos económicos y Pueblo Mapuche. La Alianza Territorial Mapuche (Pu Lof Xawun) en el gobierno de Michelle Bachelet'. *SudHistoria: Revista digital en estudios desde el sur*, 1(1), pp. 228-245.
- Ekeh, P. P. (1990) 'Social Anthropology and Two Contrasting Uses of Tribalism in Africa'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32(4), pp. 660-700.
- Ekins, R. and King, D. (1995) *Blending Genders: Social Aspects of Cross-Dressing and Sex Changing*, Routledge Ltd [online], available: <https://www.dawsonera.com:443/abstract/9780203201442> [accessed 20/01/2015].
- Euler Carmona, M. (1999) 'Mercedes Valdivieso (1926-1993)'. in Rubio, P., (ed.) *Escritoras chilenas: Novela y cuento*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio. pp. 343-359.
- Fanon, F. (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks*, 2nd ed., New York: Grove Press.
- Figuroa, C. (1989) 'Escritora de espacios'. *El Mercurio*, 28/03/1989, p. A6.
- Finnegan, N. (2000) *Monstrous Projections of Femininity in the Fiction of Mexican Writer Rosario Castellanos*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Flores, N. (1994) 'La Quintrala: The Rejection of History as a Patriarchal Legitimizing Discourse in Mercedes Valdivieso's *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*'. *Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures*, 48(4), pp. 277-284.

- Foresti, C., Löfquist, E. and Foresti, A. (2001) *La narrativa chilena desde la Independencia hasta la Guerra del Pacífico. Tomo II Costumbres e historia 1860-1879*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello.
- Foxley, A. M. (1989) 'Mercedes Valdivieso: 'De la mujer hay dos versiones: una de virgen y otra de bruja''. *La Época*, 02/07/1989, pp. 4-5.
- Frías, G. (2001) *Tres nombres para Catalina: Catrala*, Santiago de Chile: Alfaguara.
- Frías, G. (2003) *Tres nombre para Catalina: La doña de Campofrío*, Santiago de Chile: Alfaguara.
- Frías, G. (2013) Interview with Gustavo Frías. in Broderick, C., (ed.).
- Gallagher, A.-M., Lubelska, C. and Ryan, L. (2001) *Re-presenting the Past: Women and History*, Harlow: Longman.
- Gallardo, J. (1991) *Balmaceda: sus últimos días*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones ChileAmérica.
- Gallardo, J. (2003) *Herencia de fuego*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Planeta Chilena.
- Garber, M. (1997) *Vested Interests: Cross Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, New York: Routledge.
- Gil, A. (1992) *Hijo de mí*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Los Andes.
- Giraudó, L. (2012) 'Neither "Scientific" nor "Colonialist": The Ambiguous Course of Inter-American Indigenismo in the 1940s'. *Latin American Perspectives*, 39(5), pp. 12-32.
- Giraudó, L. and Lewis, S. E. (2012) 'Pan-American Indigenismo (1940–1970): New Approaches to an Ongoing Debate'. *Latin American Perspectives*, 39(5), pp. 3-11.
- Grau, O. (1993) 'La firma de la Quintrala'. *Revista de Crítica Cultural*, pp. 45-48.
- Guerra, L. (1998) "'Maldita yo entre las mujeres' de Mercedes Valdivieso: Resemantización de la Quintrala, figura del Mal y del exceso para la 'chilenidad' apolínea'. *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, (53), pp. 47-65.
- Guerra, L. (2006) *La mujer fragmentada: Historias de un signo. Conversación entre: Diamela Eltit/ Raquel Oela/ Carlos Pérez*, 3 ed., Santiago de Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio.

- Guerra, L. (2008) *Mujer y escritura: fundamentos teóricos de la crítica feminista*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio.
- Guerrero, P. P. (1993) 'Desaparece una voz con acento femenino'. *El Mercurio*, 15/08/1993, p. 3.
- Guzmán, J. ((1993)1999) *Ay mama Inés: crónica testimonial*, Santiago de Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Hall, S. (1994) 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora'. in Williams, P. and Chrisman, L., (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, Malaysia: Pearson Education Limited. pp. 392-403.
- Haltenhoff, W. (2001) 'La Quintrala está penando más fuerte que nunca'. *La Nación*, 09/12/2001, p. 35.
- Hart, S. and Young, R., eds. (2003) *Contemporary Latin American Cultural Studies*, London: Arnold.
- Henderson, J. D. and Henderson, L. R. (1978) *Ten Notable Women of Latin America*, Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Hutchison, E. Q. (2003) 'Add Gender and Stir?: Cooking up Gendered Histories of Modern Latin America'. *Latin American Research Review*, 38(1), pp. 267-287.
- Jitrik, N. (1986) 'De la historia a la escritura: predominios, disimetrías, acuerdos en la novela histórica latinoamericana'. in Balderston, D., (ed.) *The Historical Novel in Latin America: A Symposium*, Gaithersburg: Ediciones Hispamérica. pp. 13-30.
- Kaminsky, A. K. (1993) *Reading the Body Politic: Feminist Criticism and Latin American Women Writers*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Larraín, J. (2001) *Identidad chilena*, Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones: Colección escafandra.
- Larraín, J. (2005) *¿América Latina Moderna? Globalización e identidad*, Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Le Monde Diplomatique, ed. (2010) *¿Qué Bicentenario?*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Aún Creemos en los Sueños.
- Lee, R. (2007) 'Iconic Womanhood, Liberal Discourse and National Identity: Mercedes Valdivieso's *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* (1991) and Benjamín Vicuña MacKenna's *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala* (1877)'. *Latin American Literary Review*, 35(69), pp. 104-119.

- Llanos, B. (1994) 'Tradición e historia en la narrativa femenina en Chile: Petit y Valdivieso frente a la Quintrala'. *Revista Iberoamericana*, (168-169), pp. 1025-1037.
- López Cotín, O. (1996) 'Maldita yo entre las mujeres de Mercedes Valdivieso: Una arqueología del diabolismo femenino'. *Cincinnati Romance Review*, 15, pp. 206-213.
- Lund, J. (2006) *The Impure Imagination: Toward a Critical Hybridity in Latin America*, Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.
- Maack, A. (1991) 'Maldita yo entre las mujeres': La Quintrala vista por Mercedes Valdivieso'. *El Sur*, 30/06/2012, p. VII.
- Mansilla Torres, S. (2006) 'Literatura e identidad'. *Estudios Filológicos*, 41, pp. 131-143.
- Martín, D. P. S. (2001) 'La otra Quintrala'. *Ercilla*, 01/10/2001, p. 78.
- Maturana, M. (1991) 'Cría brujas y te mezclarán los ojos'. *Reseña*.
- Migden Socolow, S. (2007) *The Women of Colonial Latin America, New approaches to the Americas*, 8th printing. ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mignolo, W. (1995) *The Dark Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Mignolo, W. (2000) *Local Histories/ Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking, Princeton Series in Culture/ Power/ History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mignolo, W. (2011) *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mínguez, J. M. (1995) *Acuarela Sangrienta ("La Quintrala")*, Verdageur: Los Libros de la frontera.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1994) 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses'. in Williams, P. and Chrisman, L., (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, Malaysia: Pearson Education Limited. pp. 196-220.
- Montecino Aguirre, S., ed. (2008) *Mujeres chilenas: fragmentos de una historia*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Catalonia.

- Montecino Aguirre, S., Castro, R. and de la Parra, M. A., eds. (2004) *Mujeres: espejos y fragmentos : antropología del género y salud en el Chile del siglo XXI*, Santiago de Chile: Catalonia.
- Montecino, S. (1993a) *Madres y huachos: alegorías del mestizaje chileno*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio-CEDEM.
- Montecino, S. (1993b) 'Mercedes Valdivieso. Escritura y vida'. *Mensaje*, Sept. 1993, p. 422.
- Montecino, S. (1996) 'Identidades de género en América Latina: mestizajes, sacrificios, y simultaneidades'. *Debate Feminista*, 14(7), pp. 187-200.
- Montecino, S. C. and Guzmán, M. Á. (1997) 'El desquite: Símbolos y subjetividades. La identidad de género como categoría social construida'. in Castillo, C. D., Lira, R. S. and R., B. W., (eds.) *Construyendo saberes. IV Seminario Interdisciplinario de Estudios de Géneros en Universidades Chilenas*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Deatres. pp. 328-344.
- Mora, G. (1994/1995) 'Discurso histórico y discurso novelesco a propósito de La Quintrala'. *Inti*, 40-41, pp. 61-73.
- Morales Piña, E. (2005) *Brevísima relación de la nueva novela histórica en Chile*, Valparaíso, Chile: Ediciones de la Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad de Playa Ancha.
- Muñoz, A. (2014) 'La Quintrala's Confessions: The Contesting of Female Agency and Indigeneity in Two Popular Chilean Visual Narratives'. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies: Travesia*, 23(2), pp. 153-172.
- Nahuelpan Moreno, H. (2013) 'Formación colonial del Estado y desposesión en Ngulumapu'. in Nahuelpan Moreno, H., Huinca Piutrin, H., Mariman Quemenedo, P., Cárcamo-Huechante, L., Mora Curriao, M., Quidel Lincoleo, J., Antileo Baeza, E., Curivil Bravo, F., Huenul Colicoy, S., Calfio Montalva, M., Millalen Paillal, J., Pichinao Huenchuleo, J., Paillan Coñoepan, E. and Cuyul Soto, A., (eds.) *Ta Iñ Fijke Xipa Rakizuameluwün: Historia, colonialism y Resistencia desde el país Mapuche*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Comunidad de Historia Mapuche.
- O Connell, J. (1995) *Prospero's Daughter: The Prose of Rosario Castellanos*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- O., C. (1991) 'Mujer dos veces'. *Análisis*, 22/04/1991, p. 35.
- Ojeda, C. (1998) 'Una reinterpretación de la Quintrala en la historia chilena: *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* de Mercedes Valdivieso'. *Confluencia*, 13(2), pp. 92-97.

- Olea, R. (1998) *Lengua víbora: Producciones de lo femenino en la escritura de mujeres chilenas*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio.
- Oyarzún, K. (1991) 'Los imbunches de la escritura'. *La Época*, 28/04/1991, pp. 3-4.
- Pagden, A. (1987) 'Identity formation in Spanish America'. in Pagden, A. and Canny, N., (eds.) *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. pp. 51-93.
- Perkowska, M. (2008) *Historias híbridas: la nueva novela histórica latinoamericana, 1985-2000, ante las teorías posmodernas de la historia*, Madrid: Iberoamericana
- Petit, M. (1995) *La Quintrala*, 24th ed., Santiago de Chile: Zig-Zag.
- Portugal, A. M. (1993) 'Las mujeres malditas de Mercedes Valdivieso'. *El Día*, 09/09/1993, p. 2.
- Puyol, A. (1991) 'Mercedes Valdivieso: 'No definiendo a la Quintrala, sólo la entiendo''. *La Segunda*, 22/04/1991, p. 88.
- Quidel Lincoleo, J. (2013) 'Rol y presencia del *mapuzugun* en la colonia frente al proceso de evangelización'. in Nahuelpan Moreno, H., Huinca Piutrin, H., Mariman Quemenado, P., Cárcamo-Huechante, L., Mora Curriao, M., Quidel Lincoleo, J., Antileo Baeza, E., Curivil Bravo, F., Huenul Colicoy, S., Calfio Montalva, M., Millalen Paillal, J., Pichinao Huenchuleo, J., Paillan Coñoepan, E. and Cuyul Soto, A., (eds.) *Ta Iñ Fijke Xipa Rakizuameluwün: Historia, colonialism y Resistencia desde el país Mapuche*, Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Comunidad de Historia Mapuche.
- Renard, J. E. (2001) 'Memorias para un país desmemoriado'. *El Mercurio*, 01/09/2001, p. 7.
- Renard, J. E. (2004) 'El segundo nombre'. *El Mercurio*, 30/01/2004, p. 9.
- Richard, N. (1994) '¿Tiene sexo la escritura?'. *Debate Feminista*, 9(5), pp. 127-139.
- Richard, N. (2004) *Cultural Residues: Chile in Transition*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Richards, P. (2004) *Pobladoras, Indígenas and the State: Conflicts Over Women's Rights in Chile*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Richards, P. (2007) 'Bravas, Permitidas, Obsoletas: Mapuche Women in the Chilean Print Media'. *Gender and Society*, 21(4), pp. 553-578.

- Richards, P. (2013) *Race and the Chilean Miracle: Neoliberalism, Democracy and Indigenous Rights*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Rivera, A. (1991) 'Mercedes Valdivieso: 'Para conocer la realidad, nada hay mejor que la ficción''. *Stylo*, 03/04/1991, p. 28.
- Rodríguez, S. C. (2004) 'Identidad y alteridad escritura femenina en el ciclo del posgolpe chileno: *Maldita yo entre las mujeres* de Mercedes Valdivieso y *Doy por vivido todo lo sonado* de Isidora Aguirre'. *Revista Iberoamericana*, LXX(206), pp. 125-140.
- Rosenbluth, C. O. (2010) 'La 'matria', la mujer como aglutinante social y cultural'. in *La mujer en la sociedad mapuche: siglos XVI a XIX*, Santiago de Chile: SERNAM. pp. 19-47.
- Rutherford, J. (1990) 'The Third Space: Interview with Homi Bhabha'. in Rutherford, J., (ed.) *Identity: Community, Cultural, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart. pp. 207-221.
- Saer, J. J. (2012) 'El concepto de ficción'. in *El concepto de ficción*, Buenos Aires: Seix Barral pp. 9-16.
- Salazar, G. and Pinto, J. (2012) *Historia contemporánea de Chile IV: Hombría y feminidad*, 7 ed., Santiago de Chile: LOM.
- Salinas, C. (1994) *Las chilenas de la colonia. Virtud sumisa, amor rebelde*, Santiago de Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Sarabia, R. (2000) 'Doña Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer y la construcción del monstruo Quintrala'. *Anales de Literatura Chilena*, (1), pp. 35-52.
- Schippers, M. (2007) 'Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony'. *Theory and Society*, 36(1), pp. 85-102.
- Schwartz, H. and Ray, S., eds. (2000) *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Sharpe, J. (1993) *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of the Woman in the Colonial Text*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Soto, M. (2006) 'La gran mistificadora'. *La Tercera*, p. 6.
- Stendhal (2005) *Œuvres romanesques complètes*, Paris: Gallimard-Pléiade.
- Stern, S. J. (1995) *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Sternbach, N. S., Navarro-Aranguren, M., Chuchryk, P. and Alvarez, S. E. (1992) 'Feminisms in Latin America: From Bogotá to San Bernardo'. *Signs*, 17(2), pp. 393-434.
- Stuven, A. M. (2007) *Chile disperso: el país en fragmentos*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio.
- Stuven, A. M. and Fernandois, J., eds. (2011) *Historia de las mujeres en Chile. Tomo I*, Santiago: Taurus.
- Tinsman, H. (2000) 'Reviving Feminist Materialism: Gender and Neoliberalism in Pinochet's Chile'. *Signs*, 26(1), pp. 145-188.
- Valdebenito, W. R. (1991) 'Una novela sobre la Quintrala'. *Renacer*, 30/07/1991, p. 3.
- Valdivieso, M. (1991) *Maldita yo entre las mujeres*, Santiago de Chile: Planeta.
- Valette, P. (2001) 'Los pecados de doña Catalina'. *Qué Pasa*, 04/08/2001, pp. 83-84.
- Vera, R. (1993) 'Ayer se realizaron funerales de la escritora Mercedes Valdivieso'. *La Época*, 06/08/1993, p. B14.
- Vicuña Mackenna, B. (1972) *Los Lisperguer y La Quintrala*, 3rd ed., Buenos Aires: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre.
- Vidal, V. (1991) *Balmaceda: varón de una sola agua*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Los Andes.
- Vidal, V. (2002) *Oro, veneno, puñal* Santiago de Chile: Brosquil Ediciones
- Videla de Rivero, G. (1989) 'La convergencia de Indigenismo y Vanguardia poética en dos poemas de César Alfredo Miró Quesada'. *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, (34), pp. 43-53.
- Villalobos, S. (2008) 'Nuestro pasado desde la reflexión'. in (Comp), L. C. P., (ed.) *Hisotriadores chilenos frente al bicentenario*, Santiago de Chile: Salesianos Impresores S.A. pp. 51-60.
- Viú, A. (2005) 'Jorge Guzmán y la narrativa histórica, un camino ineludible'. *Taller de Letras*, (36), pp. 211-219.
- Viu Bottini, A. (2007) *Imaginar el pasado, decir el presente: La novela histórica 1985-2003*, Santiago de Chile: RIL Editores.
- Waldman Mitnick, G. (2004) 'Chile: indígenas y mestizos negados'. *Política y cultura*, pp. 97-110.

- Ward, R. (2001) 'A Colonial Woman in a Republican's Chilean History: Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna and La Quintrala'. *Journal of Women's History*, 13(1), pp. 83-107.
- West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (1987) 'Doing Gender'. *Gender and Society*, 1(2), pp. 125-151.
- Yankas, L. (1972) *Doña Catalina: un reino para la Quintrala*, Buenos Aires: Orbe.
- Yeager, G. M., ed. (1994) *Confronting Change, Challenging Tradition: Women in Latin American History*, Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc. .
- Zavala, X., ed. (2010) *Algunas otras: Linajes de mujeres para el Bicentenario 1810-2010*, Santiago de Chile: Corporación Humanas.
- Zerán, F. (1991) 'Las osadías de Mercedes Valdivieso'. *La Época*, 31/03/1991, pp. 4-5.
- Zerán, F. (1993) 'Sonia Montecino y las máscaras de Chile: Todos quieren ser blancos'. *La Época*, 27//06/1993, pp. 14-15.
- Zuffi, G. (2004) 'Chile y Uruguay'. in de Cunha, G., (ed.) *La narrativa histórica de escritoras latinoamericanas*, Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor.