Jacob J. Sauer

The Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Araucanian Resilience

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The Archaeology
and Ethnohistory
of Araucanian Resilience

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To Naomi:
For giving me a reason

Acknowledgments

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About the Author

Jacob J. Sauer received his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Vanderbilt University and BAs in Anthropology and History from Brigham Young University. He has lived in and done anthropological and historical research in Chile since 1997, as well as archaeological investigations in the southwestern and southeastern United States, and in Mexico.

Chapter 1
Introduction

Introduction

First contact occurred in December of AD[1] 1536. A small expeditionary force of Spanish soldiers and Peruvian auxiliaries, part of a larger colonization attempt under the command of Diego de Almagro, battled with a sizeable contingent of Che warriors near the confluence of the Itata and Ñuble Rivers in south-central Chile. The Che (often referred to as the Araucanians[2] and who are known today as the Mapuche), is a sedentary agro-pastoralist culture that developed in central and south-central Chile and western Argentina for several centuries prior to European arrival. According to Spanish accounts, in an area called Reynogüelén the Che were repulsed by the Spanish, due in part to European horses, weapons, and armor which the Che had never before encountered. Though allegedly victorious, the Spanish expedition retreated north to near present-day Santiago and the entire colonial enterprise was abandoned by Almagro in early 1537. This first contact at Reynogüelén can be seen as the first salvo in the subsequent "War of Arauco" between the Che and Spanish that persisted with virtually continuous conflict until 1602.

Nearly 75 years before the Spanish, northern Che warriors near present-day Talca, and likely aided by kin and friends farther south, confronted and defeated the expanding Inka Empire. Around 1475, Inkan military forces, successfully bringing most of northern Chile under Inkan hegemony, battled with Che warriors near the Maule River. According to some sources, after a 6-day battle and nearly 50,000 deaths, the Inka were defeated by the Che (de la Vega 1609/2003). The Inka

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[1] Except where noted, all dates are AD.

[2] Even though the title uses the name "Araucanian", i have opted to use the term "Che" throughout this book to refer to the interrelated, *mapundungun*-speaking peoples and communities that live in central Chile, rather than other terms such as "Araucanian" or "Reche." Calling them "Che," in my view, incorporates the geographically separated groups (*Picunche*, *Pehuenche*, *Huilliche*, etc.) and emphasizes their relatedness in pre-Hispanic times. This also avoids the term "Araucanian" which some modern Mapuche communities consider a pejorative term.

retreated to the north, building fortifications near present-day Rancagua (Raffino and Stehberg 1999; Planella and Stehberg 1994). Thus, the Che managed to do what no other indigenous group could do in the whole of the Americas: defeat the two largest empires the continents had known, while maintaining the majority of their pre-existing cultural practices and patterns with limited changes. The Che maintained autonomy over the development of their culture for slightly more than 400 years (1475–1885).

This does not mean that Che culture did not change, nor that every single Che was united in their desire to defeat the Inka and Spanish. Cultural change and evolution is a normal and inevitable process, particularly when confronting outside disturbance (O'Brien and Lyman 2003, 2009; Shennan 2012). In some cases, individuals within the cultures dictate the nature of the change, while often changes lie outside of any individual's control (Barrett 2012; Kockelman 2007).

But it is the nature of those changes to Che culture that make their example unique, in many respects, compared to that of most other Native American groups in North and South America. Others, such as the Puebloans of the southwest United States and the Yucatec Maya of Mexico resisted militarily (Knaut 1995; Liebmann 2012; Wilcox 2009; Farriss 1993; Jones 1989, 1998), but did so well after contact, rather than from the outset like the Che. Others, like the Iroquois of the northeastern United States, restructured their social organization and territory (Parmenter 2010; Witgen 2012), but not necessarily on their own terms. Still others, like the Comanche (Hämäläinen 2008) were highly respected by the Spanish, but did not receive official recognition through treaties like the Che, who in many cases dictated the nature of those treaties, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries (Dillehay and Zavala 2013).

In this book, I present an understudied and unique perspective on the topics of colonialism, resilience, identity, and agency, by examining the archaeological, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic correlates of Che resilience. Of specific interest to this study is that sometime between 1580 and 1598, Che living in the present-day area of Pucón-Villarrica, located in the western Andean foothills in the lake district of south-central Chile (Fig. 1.1), forced the evacuation and perhaps destruction of a small *casa fortificada* (fortified house), today named Santa Sylvia. This *casa fortificada* was likely built for farming, mining, and trade activities as part of a series of support fortifications for the larger settlement of Villarrica, located 30 km to the west on the mouth of Lake Villarrica (Gordon 2011; Harcha and Vásquez 2000; Vidal et al. 1986). Santa Sylvia may have been occupied by a Spanish landowner (*encomendero*) for about 10 years before tensions with the local Che population forced him, other Spaniards, and any native allies (known as *indios amigos* or "friendly Indians") to abandon the site and flee to the larger settlement of Villarrica (Gordon 2011; Sauer 2012).

In 1599, the Che living in the region of Pucón-Villarrica besieged the Spaniards and *indios amigos* at Villarrica as part of a broad military offensive instigated by the Che against the Spanish in late 1598 that encompassed the whole Araucanía. The siege of Villarrica lasted nearly 4 years, eventually forcing the evacuation of all colonizers and allies at the fort. The Che then destroyed this last European holdout, as well as every other Spanish settlement south of the Bio Bio River

Fig. 1.1 Map of places mentioned in the text, including location of Santa Sylvia

(González 1986; Rosales 1674/1989; Saavedra and Sanzana 1991; Tribaldos de Toledo 1630/2009). Subsequent efforts to re-colonize previous settlements, subjugate through military force, or convert the Che were unsuccessful. In 1641, the Spanish Crown formally recognized the Bio Bio River as the southern frontier of the empire, acknowledging the Che south of the Bio Bio as an autonomous, independent people in a treaty largely dictated by the Che and not the Spanish (Abreu y Bertodano 1740; Bengoa 2000, 2003; Dillehay and Zavala 2013; Dillehay and Rothammer 2013; Zavala et al. 2013). No other indigenous group in the whole of the Spanish empire received such coronal recognition, before or after this treaty, as no other known indigenous society in North or South America achieved this level of military success and cultural resilience on their own terms and for such an extended period of time. Not until 1885 did the Che in the Santa Sylvia area become subject to an external power, in this case the modern nation-state of Chile (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008), a period of nearly 400 years (including the Inka invasion) of successful resistance to non-Che authority.

As I argue in this book, the Che accomplished this feat without extensive changes to their existing cultural systems and practices, arguably until the end of the nineteenth century, like those that affected so many other indigenous groups worldwide. As previously mentioned, most other native cultures in the Americas who were colonized directly or indirectly by European nation-states maintained many aspects of their traditional, pre-Hispanic culture (Panich 2013). At the very least, however, they lost political and economic autonomy, or their own control over the structures that formed the basis for their cultural practices. Hybridization and syncretism became the way in which many colonized indigenous societies

(and many who were not colonized; see Witgen 2012) adapted to European incursion. These groups created practices that included elements of pre-Hispanic patterns but contained enough change to be new ways of perpetuating their culture (Restall 2003; Robins 2005; Voss 2008).

The Che, like other indigenous groups elsewhere in the Americas, did change in numerous ways throughout their contact with foreign groups, particularly European expansions after 1415 and 1492 (Jordan 2009). I argue here that they actively incorporated European products into their economy such as horses, cows, sheep, pigs, wheat, and barley (Gordon 2011; Sauer 2012); conversely, they did *not* adopt (and perhaps intentionally rejected; see Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003; Rosales 1674/1989) most Spanish culture, including religious practice, political organization, economic patterns, metallurgy, and other technology. This was done as a way to selectively modify patterns and practices that aided in their military rejection of the Spanish. Most culture patterns and practices that existed before contact with Europeans remained, were emphasized, and continued to develop and evolve. At the same time, Che populations and networks expanded across the Andes into Argentina via trade and marauding raids (called *maloca*), particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (León 1990; Mandrini 1984; Mandrini and Ortelli 2002). This expansion into Patagonia strengthened pre-existing and created new kin ties, both by blood and by fictive relationships (Dillehay 2014) in the Pampas and Patagonia until Che influence reached as far east as the Rio Plata delta, present-day Buenos Aires (see Fig. 1.2; Berón 2006; Mandrini and Ortelli 2002). Once again, during the entire European colonization of the Americas, no other indigenous group accomplished what the Che did: maintain cultural autonomy from the outset of contact and expand in the face of direct military aggression *on their own terms* and for several centuries.

How did they accomplish this? As Padden (1993, p. 71) asks, "What faculty or genius did the [Che] possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed?" It may be extreme to consider it in terms of "success" or "failure," as these are highly subjective and loaded terms. But at the same time, what cultural features allowed the Che to directly confront and defeat the largest, perhaps most successful empire in the Americas when many larger and politically centralized groups did not, such as the Inka and the Aztecs? What individual, group, and cultural features served to minimize changes to the existing culture system and practices? How representative are places like Santa Sylvia of other contact areas between the Che and Spanish? More broadly, what were or are the cultural developmental processes that created a group as resilient as the Che? How can these processes be detected and explained in the archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic records which patterns can then be compared with the colonial experiences of other indigenous groups, past and present, elsewhere in the Americas and the world? What are the wider implications of these processes to our knowledge and understanding of power relations throughout history?

Answers to these questions can be centered in the interconnected political, economic, social, and ideological structures of the Che culture system and, perhaps most importantly, in a social character or individual and group identity. In other

Fig. 1.2 Extent of Che cultural influences and expansion after AD 1550

words, who the Che were (and the Mapuche today are), how they defined themselves, their neighbors, and foreigners, how they organized themselves at various levels, what they believed, and how they acted allowed them to: (1) incorporate particular Spanish material goods and behaviors (i.e., military tactics, horses, foodstuffs, etc.) into their culture while rejecting or actively limiting the influence of others (i.e., social and behavioral patterns, religious practice); (2) eventually remove the Spanish and their allies from ancestral lands and maintain political, economic, social, and ideological autonomy; and (3) minimize for several centuries hybridized and/or syncretized changes to their own way of life, through strategic reorganization of traditional cultural structures.

Che culture changed before and after the arrival of the Spanish, and change in any cultural system is an inevitable, historical process regardless of external stimuli (Wolf 1997). Sahlins (1985, p. ix) argues that a "[cultural] system is a synthesis in time of reproduction and variation." I suggest that the political, economic, social, and ideological structures of Che culture developed well before the arrival of the Spanish, perhaps beginning as early as 150 (Navarro et al. 2012), and was fully established around 1200 (Dillehay 2007). For centuries before European arrival, these structures were "reproduced" (sensu Sahlins) with variations, such as changes in ceramic styles and the construction of ritual spaces, in trajectory similar to other

areas in the Araucanía (Dillehay 2014, 2007). Therefore, Che culture was not static or unchanging before or after the Spanish and up to the present day. Rather, the Che system, already established and stabilized, provided a foundation *flexible* enough to structure the modifications to existing practices and incorporate useful external elements in ways particular and legible to Che agents and actors. At the same time, agents reproduced and in some cases reinvigorated pre-existing cultural patterns and norms as a way to strengthen Che identity across distances and semi-consolidate power in order to successfully confront the Spanish.

These changes and reproductions were part of the political, economic, social, and ideological structures that constituted the Che culture system in pre-Hispanic times and into the Hispanic era. Che agents, particularly kin-group, war, and religious leaders, adapted the existing system to Inka, Spanish, and Chilean (albeit briefly) influences and incursions. Changes that did occur, such as a shift to a semi-permanent war footing, incorporation of refugees, emphasis on broader spatial organizations, *maloca* raiding, trade networks, and others happened as part of the existing cultural milieu and were probably dictated largely by the Che themselves and less by a foreign power (Boccara 1999a; Padden 1993). Strategic changes emerged as part of a mechanism used to defeat external threats and maintain extant cultural norms and practices (Dillehay 2007, 2014). In other words, power over the changes to the Che culture system and structures remained with the Che themselves, with influences from but not dictated by the Inka, Spanish, or Chileans until the end of the nineteenth century.

Historical Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnography of the Che

The need for interdisciplinary approaches to studying the Che, as well as colonial power relations and outcomes, identity, and agency, is fundamental to this investigation. Many researchers have analyzed the long-term developments in Che culture but have emphasized the historical record, principally documents written by Spanish *cronistas* (chroniclers), government officials, clerics, and others (Bengoa 2003; Boccara 1996, 2007; Goicovich 2002, 2006; Parentini 1996; Silva 1994; Silva and Téllez 2001; Villalobos 1989, 1995; cf Dillehay 2007, 2014; Sauer 2012; Zavala 2008; Zavala et al. 2013). These early writers provide important information, but are oftentimes biased, had agendas, or simply were not writing for a scientific or academic audience. Yet, these chroniclers are essential to investigating early Che/Spanish interactions, as they documented aspects of Che culture such as religious practice and spatial organization (see Chap. 5).

However, gaps exist in this information. These chroniclers wrote at one point in time and provided information for specific purposes, such as receiving favors from governmental officials or defending actions to the Spanish crown, not to provide an anthropological or historical treatment of the Che. Lack of information has affected

subsequent Che historical and legal treatment, up to the present day (Dillehay 2002). It has culminated in the modern Mapuche being treated, from a legal standpoint, as the *result* of Spanish arrival, rather than as a people with a long, continuous culture history dating to pre-Hispanic times (Heise 2001; Nesti 2001). This perspective of a recent Che/Mapuche "ethnogenesis" influences land tenure and water rights, standing before the Chilean government, and other legal issues (Boccara 1996, 1999b; cf Marimán et al. 2006). In many cases, historians researching the Araucanians ignore or treat lightly the archaeological and ethnographic record in their studies (Castro and Adán 2001; Dillehay 2007; Gordon 2011; Harcha et al. 1988; Mera et al. 2004; Saavedra and Sanzana 1991; Vidal et al. 1986; Zavala et al. 2013). I take the position of Chacon and Mendoza (2007, p. 240) that "Scholars need to maintain a cautious and healthy skepticism when weighing the relevance and veracity of colonial-era documents against the archaeological record and other cultural evidence." In the case of the Che, this is very true. The documents are extremely important and cannot be ignored, but they must be used together with archaeological information and ethnographic data.

At the same time, ethnographic studies of the Araucanians/Mapuche have illuminated on cultural developments, particularly in the twentieth century (Bacigalupo 2001, 2004, 2007, 2014; Canals 1944; Cooper 1946; Course 2010; Faron 1964, 1968; Saavedra 2002, 2006; Stuchlik 1976; Titiev 1951). As the modern Mapuche have been incorporated into wider Chilean society, many cultural aspects have declined, including speaking *mapundungun*, religious practice, and traditional land use patterns. Ethnographers have sought to record this information before it becomes "lost" (Marimán 2012). Many of these studies, however, have been limited in their use of the archaeological and historical records (cf. Aldunate 1989, 1996; Dillehay 2007, 2014; Marimán 2006).

Archaeology and ethnography, among other disciplines such as geography, genetics, and linguistics, have the potential to offer complementary and critical information (Dillehay and Rothammer 2013). When coupled with the historical record, they offer a stronger or amplified picture of past and present Che cultural practices and patterns, as well as new avenues for research and collaboration (Adán et al. 2007; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010; Castro and Adán 2001; Harcha et al. 1988; Mera and Harcha 1999; Mera et al. 2004; Retamal 2000, 2002). Thus, I build upon the work initiated by Gordon and add, from interdisciplinary perspective, important information on the Che at Santa Sylvia and the wider Araucanía. I combine archaeological evidence from in-depth excavations at the site, ethnographic information from living indigenous informants in the area, and ethnohistorical data on the Che from the extensive Spanish colonial documentary record and modern Chilean historiography.

The long-term development of Che culture and the nature of individual and group resistance to Spanish influence make explanation difficult. During the history of Che/Spanish interactions, several instances appear to be "make or break" moments for the Che. If they defeat the Spanish, they remain in control of their own lands and society. If they lose, they come under the authority of the Spanish. Historians such as Boccara (2007), Goicovich (2006), and Villalobos (1985) have
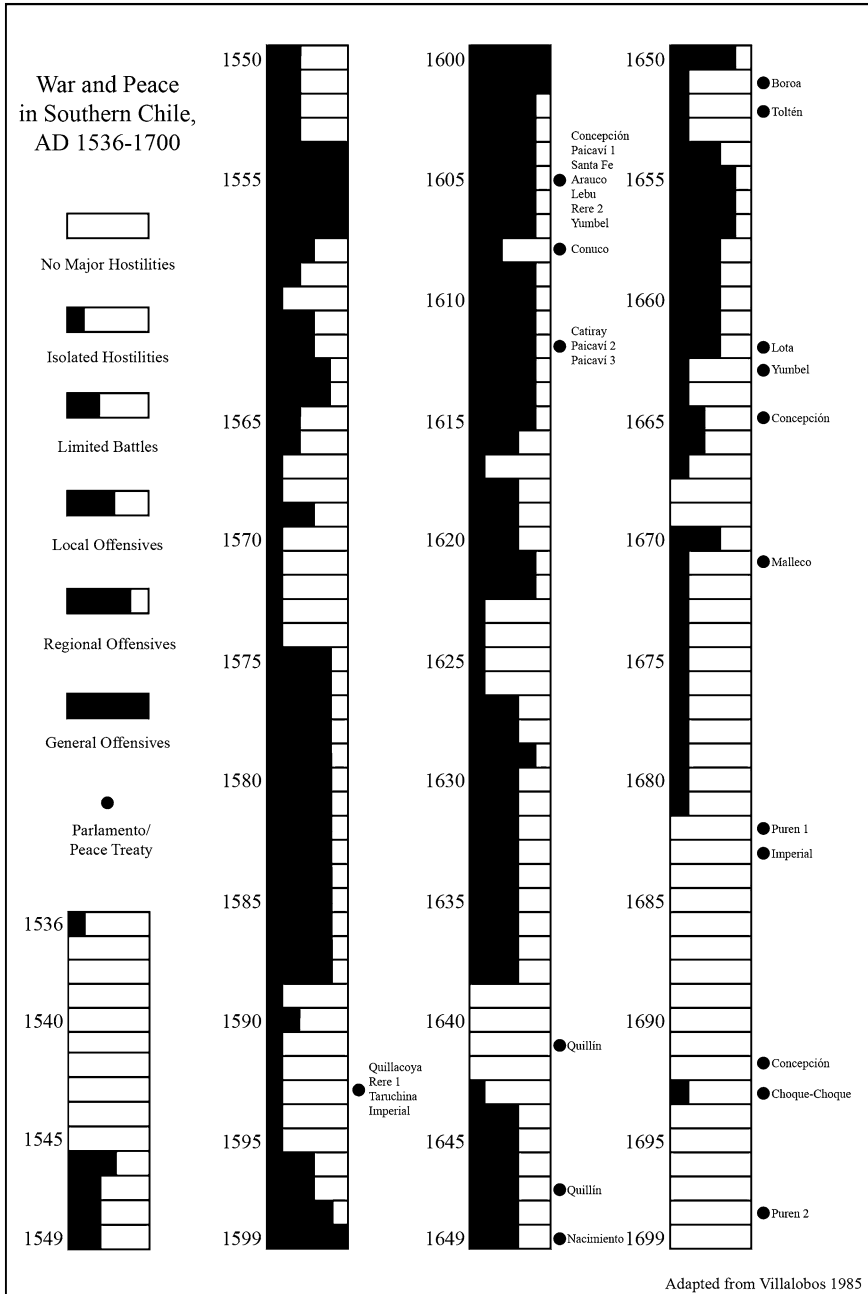
Fig. 1.3 Cycles of war and peace in the Araucanía

note phases of interaction and cycles of "war and peace" between the Spanish and Araucanians. These can also be seen as states of tense peace punctuated by moments of outright war (Fig. 1.3). Two general Che offensives, one beginning in 1553 and the other in 1598, destroyed all Spanish fort/cities south of the Bio Bio River. The latter offensive marked the end of permanent colonization efforts by the Spanish in the Araucania (Bengoa 2000). Sometime in between these offensives, Santa Sylvia was occupied, abandoned, and destroyed.

With these patterns evidenced in the archaeological, historic, and ethnographic records, how can researchers understand the processes that went into Che cultural development and evolution? How did these processes, cultural features, and organizations aid in resisting the Spanish? What mechanisms can account for the ability of the Che system to remain stable, while at the same time being flexible enough to incorporate changes? In what ways can these mechanisms be seen in both time and space? More broadly, what theoretical orientation can provide a framework to answer the above questions, while incorporating issues of identity, agency, and power relations?

Resilience Theory

This work is guided by Resilience Theory (RT), which was initially developed in economics and ecology, and in recent years has been used to describe the interactions between human social systems and the environment (Berkes et al. 2003; Folke 2006; Holling 1973; Schumpeter 1950/1976). In brief, RT states that "resilience is the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function" (Walker et al. 2004, p. 5; see Chap. 2). In other words, a cultural or ecological system is resilient if it can take in or incorporate the effects of outside stimuli, such as the colonization of a new group (plant, animal, etc.), without being affected so much that the system begins to function in an entirely new way.

For example, in this study, an argument can be made that if a culture system loses its political, economic, social, or ideological autonomy, or a combination of them, the system becomes something new, even though some previous traits still exist. Resilience, then, is more than resistance (Hollander and Enwohner 2004; Ortner 1995; Scott 1990). RT emphasizes flexibility, stability, and adaptability in cultural systems, through which agents are able to incorporate useful changes, outside materials, and new ideas without losing autochthonous control of the system itself as it continues to evolve and adapt (Gunderson 1999; Gunderson and Pritchard Jr. 2002; Walker et al. 2004). As Thompson and Turck (2009, p. 256) point out, "RT emphasizes both stability and transformations within systems" thus incorporating both continuity and change, which applies to the development of the Che throughout the Araucanía.

I modify RT here to emphasize social or cultural systems more than ecological or the interplay between the two (Nelson et al. 2006). This method incorporates

individual and group identity (or ethnicity), ideology, and human agency in the
creation and maintenance of cultural systems. How people see themselves and how
they act on that knowledge creates the political, economic, social, and ideological
structures that compose their society (Archer 1996; Giddens 1984; Jones 1997). For
the Che, structures were organized well before the arrival of the Inka or the Spanish,
and done so in such a way that agents incorporated particular elements of Spanish
culture into the system while avoiding other aspects mentioned above. I argue that
these agents were able to use those traditional structures to increase unity among
Che communities to actively fight against and eventually expel the Spanish, while
continuing to adapt and develop, but *on their own terms,* not those dictated by the
Spanish or other foreign groups.

The flexibility and resiliency of the Che system continued through the sixteenth,
seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, passing through several cycles in RT: growth,
conservation, release, and reorganization/rebound within what is called the Adaptive
Cycle (AC; Fig. 1.4). In the early to late nineteenth century and during what this
research defines as a conservation phase in the Che Adaptive Cycle (CAC), some
actors, particularly along the Bio Bio frontier, began to ally more closely with the
Spanish and Chileans, becoming *indios amigos* (Ruiz-Esquide 1993). This appears to
have caused a breakdown down in kin relations and networks in parts of the Arau-
canía (Bengoa 2000). These breakdowns limited the number of available warriors,
restricting Che armies to the point that the Chilean army encountered almost no
resistance when taking Villarrica and Pucón in 1883 and finalizing the defeat of the
Che (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008). Other Che agents could not quickly adapt or
incorporate changes brought by the Chilean government, particularly those stemming
from new technologies such as trains, telegraph, and repeating rifles. By 1885, the
Che culture system and structures had broken down enough from internal and
external influences that the Che lost political and economic autonomy, becoming
subject to the Chilean state (Bengoa 2000; Crow 2013). The system thus entered a
reorganization/exit phase wherein the Che/Mapuche adapted to new power
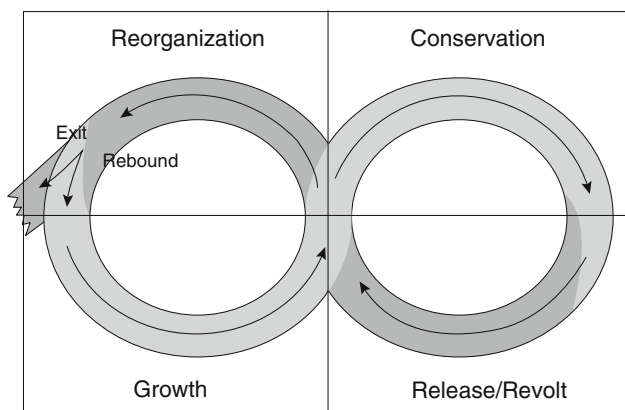
Fig. 1.4 The adaptive cycle

relationships and not on their terms. This use of RT, then, analyzes the long-term processes and phases that structured the actions of Che/Mapuche to maintain their cultural system and structures for nearly 350 years, rather than the analyzing the ability of a culture to resist outside influences (Kicza 1993; Kicza and Horn 2012).

As will be shown in the following chapters, RT outlines these processes and phases through the CAC. Briefly, the cycle is illustrated as a figure-8 Mobius strip, which outlines the four steps or phases that a cultural system passes through in the AC mentioned above: growth, conservation, release/revolt, and reorganization, which I split into rebound and exit. Each phase contains particular material and historic signatures that correspond to the development of the system. For example, the initial growth phase can include the creation or development of the Che cultural structures (political, economic, social, ideological), including the incorporation of new technologies, ritual practices, and political organization.

The conservation phase includes the continued development of the culture system, which can incorporate new technologies and practices, but also can include the arrival and effects of an outside disturbance. In the Araucanía, northern influences, such as the expanding Inka Empire, brought "disturbances" that affected material culture, language, and other cultural practices, which influenced the trajectory of Che development, though control still rested with the Che themselves (Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Gordon 1998). These and other disturbances had the potential to dramatically change the system, leading to a new political or economic order which can include changes to material culture.

Finally in the AC is a release/revolt phase or a "breaking point," the moment when disturbances to the system build to a crossroads: where will the system go? Will it be able to rebound, or will it exit to a new system with new structures and power relationships? The buildup of tensions between the Che and Spaniards came to a head in 1553 and 1598 during what I refer to as the First and Second General Offensives against the Spanish (see Chap. 6). The Che took the fight to the Spanish on a wide scale, incorporating warriors from across the Araucanía, which resulted in the expulsion of the Spanish in both offensives. The Che then "rebounded" to a similar AC with some modifications, such as the abovementioned war footing, broader sociopolitical organization, and incorporation of European materials. Had any confrontation resulted in the Che becoming subject to the Spanish, the reorganization phase would have likely been an "exit" to a new cycle, wherein the political and economic power would have changed from Che to Spanish control. It also would have affected social and religious activities and practices. This did not happen, and the Che system rebounded to the same AC, returning to a brief growth phase and into a conservation phase until an eventual reorganization/exit in the late nineteenth century. These hypothetical stages will be explored further in Chaps. 6 and 7.

These RT processes and phases can be long-term, stretching over decades or centuries; they can also be seen in fast, short cycles, often in a small, localized area (Thompson and Turck 2009). The Che system described here mostly applies to the broader Araucanía and operates in a long-term cycle of resilience, punctuated by several release phases until the aforementioned exit to a new AC around 1885. The short-term cycles and phases, specific to regions such as Pucón-Villarrica, may

have slightly different signatures than others, but exist as a larger Araucanía system and cycle.[3] Research at Santa Sylvia, including the work of Gordon, suggests that the influence of Spanish political organization, economic activity, and religious practice—seen in the material culture in the form of ceramics, lithics, and metal and through the ethnohistoric and ethnographic record—was extremely limited into the terminal nineteenth century. In other areas of the Araucanía, including those closer to the Bio Bio frontier, Spanish material culture and some social practices may have been incorporated more, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Berger 2006; Dillehay and Rothammer 2013). Though the signatures are somewhat different, the overall archaeological, ethnographic, and historical record indicates that the both areas were part of an overall CAC that was likely initiated around AD 150—seen in an increase in sedentism, agriculture, and the introduction of ceramics, and later religious practices and places—to the late 1800s.

The present research argues that the Che maintained autonomy through the ability of agents to strategically utilize the existing culture system to incorporate outside disturbance, while strengthening traditional practices and creating new ones, a "synthesis in time of reproduction and variation" (Sahlins 1985). In large part, this is due to the flexibility of the structures of Che culture as a whole, which allowed for functional re-structuring and opposition to colonization, or anti-colonialism explored below. Perhaps more importantly, ideology played an essential role in both the creation of Che identity as well as the perpetuation of the Che culture system. Numerous writers and researchers (Arias de Saavedra 1650/1984; Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003; Rosales 1674/1989; see also Bengoa 2000, 2003; Boccara 2007; Dillehay 2002, 2007, 2014) point to to the Araucanians creating what can be termed an "anti-colonial identity" (Loomba 2005) which seems to have pervaded most aspects of Che society. Seen by many outsiders as *indomito* (indomitable), this ideology went beyond culture towards a "*[Che] cause*" (Dillehay 2007, p. 386). This "cause" appears to have emphasized continued of independence, avoidance of hybridized practices, and maintenance of traditional practices, born out in the explicit actions of Che agents.

Timing was also important, as direct, offensive confrontation with the Spanish occurred within 3 years of Spanish-initiated settlements south of the Bio Bio River (Valdivia 1552/1929; Vivar 1558/1979). These tensions and military confrontations remained basically continuous for the next 50 years, until the Spanish were fully expelled from south of the Bio Bio and the Che were considered an independent people through treaty with the Spanish crown (Abreu y Bertodano 1740; see also Bengoa 2003). Unlike most indigenous groups in the Americas, the Che acted quickly and effectively from the outset of contact (if not before, initiated by Inka expansion), utilizing existing cultural systems and structures to repel the invaders. Essential to this are the actions of Che individuals, particularly the disbursed nature of Che leadership and authority (see Chap. 2) and communities to protect and

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[3] These large-scale and small-scale cycles are known as "Panarchy" (Gunderson and Holling 2004) and will be explored in Chap. 3.

defend their ancestral lands, cultural system, and liberties, as well as to eschew those aspects of European material culture they did not wish to incorporate into the system (Marimán et al. 2006).

I will demonstrate here the utility of RT for analyzing the long-term processes that go into developing and maintaining political, economic, religious, and social controls in a culture system and the various stages or phases through which a system can pass while confronting outside disturbance. In this case, it is the hypothesized ability of the Che to successfully reject the Spanish while preserving traditional cultural patterns and practices with limited systemic changes (Dillehay 2007). Again, this research emphasizes long-term and interdisciplinary analyses, which employ the archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic records. By looking at a broader picture of cultural development and change, researchers can better understand the myriad processes and effects of cultivating and retaining cultural systems or, conversely, how systems may experience dramatic changes and how those changes affect the individuals and communities that make up the system. RT, as compared to other theoretical orientations, provides a flexible framework that includes can include concepts of identity and agency through a long-term perspective that includes archaeological, ethnographic, and historic information. The Che represent an important and under-utilized example of a cultural system that effectively conserved integrity while confronting external disturbance (Marimán et al. 2006).

More broadly, the Che example can speak to wider issues of colonialism, agency, identity, ethnicity, power relations, and other topics of interest to societies worldwide. How can native groups successfully protect their own culture while confronting the "disturbance" of increased globalization? Why do some nations resist outside influences in particular ways, and how does that resistance affect their culture system? What role do agents play in developing and maintaining identities, both individual and ethnic? How can individuals and communities navigate shifting power relationships and maintain autonomy? The Che example presented here and the use of RT has the potential to suggest answers to these and other questions important to researchers worldwide.

Organization of the Book

In Chap. 2, I provide a deeper overview of the theoretical constructs that guide this research. Much of this theory is a combination of identity, agency, and structure that fleshes out the implications of RT for cultural studies. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the Che, their cultural system, and its supporting structures. This includes political organization, economic activity, social interactions, and ideological constructs. These structures oftentimes blend into one another, and certainly affect one another, and all continue to evolve and develop over time and based on the actions of agents within the system and outsiders.

Chapter 4 explores the colonization efforts of the Spanish in the Americas and how it relates to their interactions with the Che. What worked in one part of the

Spanish empire, such as the *encomienda* system, missionization, and reservations, did not work among the Che, until the Spanish officially gave up trying to officially colonize the Araucanía. I also examine the role of early Spanish chroniclers and the Chilean historians who followed in their respective treatments of the Che through time. I argue that much of what people say about the Che is based on biased and faulty information that relies too heavily on the incomplete documentary record. Because of this, the modern Mapuche have had their territory slowly eroded over the last 150 years and have become somewhat marginalized in Chilean society. In fact, Chilean law does not recognize the Che as even existing as a people prior to the eighteenth century, enacted as law in large part due to misappropriations of the documents and the lack (or intentional obfuscation) of critical archaeological and ethnographic information.

I give the archaeological background to this research, the *casa fortificada* Santa Sylvia, in Chap. 5. Together with archaeological and ethnographic research in other parts of the Araucanía, Santa Sylvia shows the continuities in Che material culture through time (ca. AD 900–1850) with limited influence from the Inka, Spanish, or Chileans. In Chap. 6, I use the archaeological data from Santa Sylvia together with the documentary record to show how the material correlates of the site relate to long-term Che resilience, as well as the different phases through which the Che passed in the adaptive cycle from about AD 150 to 1700. Chapter 7 continues this theme, relying more heavily on the documents due to the lack of archaeological materials, to the present day. In the late nineteenth century, the Che (by that time calling themselves the Mapuche) were defeated by the Chilean and Argentinian armies and placed on reservations throughout the Araucanía and Patagonia. I show how breakdowns in networks in the late eighteenth century led to the Che exiting the previous adaptive cycle and entering a new cycle under the political and economic authority of the Chilean state, which also led to an erosion in social and ideological structures. Finally, in Chap. 8, I present a review of the information in the book and argue for the further utility of RT in social science research.

As I argue throughout the book, the Che are a unique and understudied example within the broader topics of colonialism, culture contact, resistance, resilience, continuity and change, and other important avenues of research. Though other groups throughout the Americas share many similarities with the Che, no other group accomplished what they did and for as long. These connections with other groups, however, are extremely important as they provide counterpoints and juxtapositions, and might induce researchers to re-examine many of the assumptions made about how indigenous groups were affected by colonizers and other foreign groups. Rather than assuming that colonization was an a priori conclusion, we should look at the nuances of cultural interaction and recognize the multifaceted nature of cultural contact and interaction, or "decolonize" how researchers treat native societies (Liebmann and Murphy 2010; Oland et al. 2012). Hopefully, the examples presented in the following chapters can add to the current discussions and contribute new avenues of exploration to studies worldwide.

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Chapter 2
Resilience Theory and Inevitable Change: Che Agency, Identity, and Strategic Reorganization

Who people are, how they see themselves and are seen by others, and the decisions they are capable of making are central to research in the social sciences (Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Burke and Stets 2009; Cohen 2000; Farnen 1994; Grossberg 1996; Holland et al. 1998; Jenkins 2008; Meskell 2007; Samaniego and Garbarini 2006; Stets and Burke 2000). A basic question here is "Who." Who are the people studied from ethnographic, archaeological, historic, and biological perspectives? What are the criteria for distinguishing one group from another? How do we define identity archaeologically, particularly without written records or living descendants? Though it appears simple enough, defining identity is hotly debated, particularly in sociology, anthropology, and psychology, as researchers come to terms with the multifaceted and sometimes contradictory aspects of human identity both past and present (Casella and Fowler 2005; Cohen 2000; Díaz-Andreu et al. 2004; Insoll 2007). This is an important issue in researching Che resilience. Differentiating between "Che" and "Spanish" material culture and being able to discern changes and continuities in the same material culture through time, and to parse its meaning, is key to understanding the effects of interaction, the changes and continuity in the Che cultural system[1] and Che resilience in both time and space.

How people see themselves and others affects the decisions made and actions taken by both individuals and groups. Over the last few decades, researchers have examined the role of agency, or individual and group goal-oriented decision making, in identity creation and cultural development. Decisions are oftentimes based on social identity, power relations, education, and other factors (Archer 2000; Callinicos 2004; Dobres and Robb 2000a; Wolf 1999). Or, *who* people are, as perceived by themselves and others, often determines *what* actions they can perform, *why* they act, as well as *what* is behaviorally expected of them. However, the results of and reactions to those actions and behaviors fall outside their control (Gardner 2004). For example, among the Che, *toqui* war leaders gained power and authority from soldiers and allied kin groups to conduct war based on their military prowess and rhetorical skills. These leaders then used that authority to recruit warriors and direct battles, and would often take positions of prestige in their home

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[1] And, indirectly, the changes in Spanish culture as well.

communities at the end of their fighting days (Bengoa 2003; Dillehay 2007). This mixture of authority, power, ability, and knowledge structured how *toqui* acted, not just in military matters but also in accordance with traditional cultural practices. Failure to act in ways acceptable to their followers and based on Che cultural norms could mean removal from the position of *toqui* and loss of power and prestige (Rosales 1674/1989; see also Leon Echaiz 1971). Agency, or the ability to act and be acted upon, is fundamental to any anthropological or historical study, and shaped the nature of Che resilience to the effects of Spanish incursion.

In studying the Che before, during, and after European arrival, identity and agency are important parts of the formation of Che society and culture, perceptions of self and outsiders, and actions taken based on these perceptions. This recursive relationship between identity, agency, and power affected how and why the Che incorporated select Spanish materials and not others while strategically restructuring pre-existing cultural practices. ResilienceTheory (RT) illustrates how this may have happened, by combining the long-term processes that create or heavily influence individual and group identity, and the cultural structures that contribute to cultural resilience. Thus, identities, agency, and power form the base for resilience in cultural systems and can be gleaned from the material record, historic documentation, and ethnographic information. I argue that the traditional or pre-Hispanic structures of the Che, both direct*ing* and direct*ed* by the actions of internal agents, developed the stability and flexibility over centuries to incorporate useful items and concepts without causing a complete change to the pre-Hispanic culture, or, importantly, autonomous control over the cultural system. In other words, inevitable changes to culture that come with time and exacerbated by culture contact did not affect the Che so much that a different, hybrid society emerged. Rather, the Che maintained *control* over what changed, how it changed, and the nature of their continued cultural development until the nineteenth century. I use RT to hypothesize how the Che and their culture could absorb influences from the Spanish without experiencing the kinds of changes that would create different power relationships, or led to the loss of Che control over political, economic, social, and ideological structures of their culture.

RT is generally defined as "the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function" (Walker et al. 2004, p. 5). RT, as I use it here, draws heavily on theories of structuration developed by Giddens (1979, 1984), Bourdieu (1977, 1990), Archer (1996, 1988/1996, 2003) and others. RT goes beyond these theories of structuration like those used by Giddens, however, as emphasis is placed not just on the nature of the structures that constitute a cultural system, but also the *flexibility* of systems, individuals, and groups to absorb disturbance. This emphasis on flexibility is contingent upon the identity, agency, and power of the individuals within the system and their ideology: how these actors see themselves, how they perceive the system itself, and how they see others from outside the system affects what they incorporate, what they change, how they do so, and why. Ideology, then, is an important aspect in how actors are able to maintain and restructure a cultural system (Dillehay 2007). Conversely, changes to the ideology, or individual/community

perceptions of the same, can cause a chain reaction with has the potential to disrupt the entire cultural system, as happened with the Che in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries described in Chap. 7.

Below, I further define identity and agency, their interconnectedness, and their relationship to the nature of resilience and RT. I then expand on RT, including facets such as the Adaptive Cycle (AC), and Panarchy, that flesh out the nature of RT, the relationships with agency and identity, and how RT is a useful heuristic not just for studying the Che, but for other cultural systems worldwide.

The Concept of Identity

As sociologist Richard Jenkins stated, "[much] writing about identity treats it as *something* that simply *is*." (Jenkins 2008, p. 17, emphasis his). That people perceive themselves and others in particular ways is generally taken to be apodictic reality. Human beings, whether through instinct or acquisition, classify themselves based on certain social and physical patterns and in turn apply those classifications to others. Anthropology, sociology, and history, for much of their intellectual histories as disciplines, treated identity matters as something obvious, or to be simply defined by the researcher (e.g., archaeological "traditions" and "cultures"). To classify the world is both instinctive and taught, and part of the human condition irrespective of area of the world or the society/individual under study (Burke and Stets 2009). Identity and identification, *sensu* Jenkins, simply *is*, and many researchers have treated it as a "human universal" (Brubaker 2004). It is difficult to argue against such a position. Ask any person on the street about identity (theirs or others) and it will often be treated as something that just *is*.

However, Jenkins goes on to argue:

> Careless reification of this kind pays insufficient attention to how identification works or is done, to process and reflexivity, to the social construction of identity in interaction and institutionally. Identity can only be understood as a process of 'being' or 'becoming'. One's identity—one's identities, indeed, for who we are is always multi-dimensional, singular and plural—is never a final or settled matter (Jenkins 2008, p. 17).

Jenkins' direct criticism of the "careless reification" of identity illustrates the important point that identity, in its myriad forms, should not be taken as simply something that exists in and of itself, or *a priori*, but is a *process*: of creation, destruction, organization, reflection, absorption, and a host of other factors that go into influencing who a person or group is, how they relate to others, and how others relate to them. Identity is also contextual, defined through the life experiences, activities, and interactions between individuals and groups. Who a person is, as seen by themselves and others, changes regularly throughout the life of the individual and throughout the development of the group. Often, identity is modified, challenged, or appropriated even after death (Meskell 2007; Jones 2007). In sum,

identity should not be treated as something that *is*, but as a concept integral to the whole of anthropological and historical research.

In many instances, who an individual is finds definition in whom or what they are *not*, be the distinction social, religious, sexual, genetic, or another mental or physical construct, (Grossberg 1996). Jenkins states, "We need to recognize that identification is often most consequential as the categorization of others, rather than as self-identification" (2008, p. 15). As Meskell (2007, p. 280) suggests:

> [self]-definition today coalesces around genealogy, heritage, citizenship, and sameness, but underlying that are also diverse and troubling contemporary concerns about disenfranchisement and difference. The constitutive outside, premised on exclusion and otherness, forms the corona of difference through which identities are enunciated.

In essence, it is through enumerating the differences between "us" and "them," (particularly "them"), as well as formulating the behavioral expectations of both "us" and "them" that the bulk of personal identity is formed. This is particularly prevalent today as increased globalization has led to the endeavors of countless individuals and communities to define their own identity to confront encroachment from outside influences. Doing so, as shown below, is nothing new.

Defining Identity

Every discussion of identity contains a different definition, some simple and some complex. Perhaps one of the simplest yet encompassing definitions comes from Burke and Stets, who define identity as "the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person" (2009, p. 3). Further, identity is a process of "self-categorization," that which forms individual and group identity (Stets and Burke 2000, p. 224), and is "rooted in language—to know who's who and what's what" (Jenkins 2008, p. 5). Again, the emphasis is on the *process* of identity and identification (Hall 1991, 1996; Grossberg 1996). Identities can be acquired and lost, ascribed and removed, invoked and revoked, explicit and inferred, and all of this by the individual and group from within, and from outside by others (Brumfiel 2003; Grossberg 1996; Russell 2005). Voss (2005, p. 461) points out that "[identities] simultaneously provide ontological security (we know who we are) and are flashpoints in social conflict…" To know oneself provides a sense of belonging as well as psychological and a degree of physical security. To know oneself in relation to others can also provide security, but often leads to antagonism, particularly when resources or ideology come into play (Brubaker 2004).

Forming personal identity begins at birth and continuously evolves over time. I suggest that there are two types of individual identity: biological and psycho-social. Biological identity is rooted in genetic material, exhibited in such diverse forms as sex, height/size, skin/hair/eye color, age, and genealogy, and is closely related to

ethnicity (see below). Biological identity is largely uncontrolled by the individual and immutable—most people cannot change their skin color, nor can they modify their height or age, and even transgender individuals are still genetically male or female—but are closely linked with and often define many aspects of psycho-social identity.

Psycho-social identity is often ascribed to or adopted by individuals, based on the above biological factors and elaborated by as religion, history, class, race, geography, education, and perception imposed by others (Bernbeck and Pollock 1996; Burke and Stets 2009; Brumfiel 2003; Hall and du Gay 1996). It is psycho-social identity that may be the most important, as it is the identity defined by the individual and determines how that person lives their life, how they interact with others including actions and reactions based on behavioral expectations and realities, or how one is *expected* to act versus how one *really* acts and the consequences of both, and how they negotiate changes to or consistency in their identity. Identity negotiation is a daily occurrence both within the individual mind and in social situations, which has repercussions in the individual life and in the lives of others (Hall 1996; Jenkins 2008). In essence, identity is who we are and influences what we *can* do and influences what we *think* we can do. Whether or not we can actually do anything is influenced by the society in which we live with its attendant possibilities, restrictions, and expectations, our understanding of those factors, and our physical abilities themselves.

Identity and Ethnicity

Closely allied with discussions of identity is the concept of ethnicity. Like identity, ethnicity has been a part of the social sciences for quite some time, though it was the work of Barth (1969) that influences ethnicity as an area of study within itself (Cohen 1978; Emberling 1997; Jones 1997). In many respects, ethnicity can be seen as taking to the group level the same concepts and definitions related to individual identity. In most studies, the word "ethnic" is often near the word "group." Whereas identity can be seen as something wholly individual, depending on the scale of analysis, ethnicity as a concept is often reliant on a larger association (Barth 1969; see also Brubaker 2004 for a critique of the "group" concept). In other words, ethnic *individuals* only exist as part of a larger ethnic *group*, often in particular or situational contexts (Wimmer 2013).

Though work of Barth thrust ethnicity into the social sciences, the concept was much older, as part of anthropological research into "culture areas" (Kroeber 1939), and social boundaries (Evans-Pritchard 1962; Moerman 1965; see Emberling 1997 for a review of research on ethnicity). Barth (1969, pp. 10–11) proposed that an ethnic group be defined to "designate a population which…has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category

distinguishable from other categories of the same order." In other words, ethnicity is defined by membership in a particular group that self-identifies as having particular traits (language, territory, materials, ancestry, ideology, etc.) unique to that group, and is in turn identified by outsiders as being a unique group.

Another way of looking at the concept of ethnicity can be though "collective identity," which is defined by Polletta and Jasper (2001, p. 285) as "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution". Further,

> Collective identities are expressed in cultural materials-names, narratives, symbols, verbal styles, rituals, clothing, and so on-but not all cultural materials express collective identities. Collective identity does not imply the rational calculus for evaluating choices that "interest" does. And unlike ideology, collective identity carries with it positive feelings for other members of the group. (ibid)

Ethnicity can be seen, then, as a collective identity, though not all collective identities are necessarily related to ethnicity. This is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the United States, where different groups vie for the designation of "ethnic." For example, to be "Hispanic" generally means to have ancestors who came from Central or South America with Spanish and Native American roots, with a specific language (Spanish) and other customs or cultural patterns particular to the country of ancestry though not wholly different from neighboring communities or nations that have similar genealogies. Membership, as with most other ethnic groups, is generally a matter of genetics—though an individual from northern Europe can speak Spanish fluently, live in Latin America, and practice numerous local customs, that individual will never be considered Hispanic.

This suggests up two important points. First, ethnicity is related to genetic identity and lies within the context of a group (Emberling 1997). Ethnic identity, in turn, is often a minority within a larger population and may in fact be defined by that minority status. Ask an average person in the United States of northern European descent to identify their ethnicity and they would likely say "American" or a combination of nationalities (Irish, English, German, Polish, etc.). Ask a minority and they would probably state their ethnic identity and in turn be identified as that ethnicity by outsiders. For the majority of people, ethnicity is synonymous with race, culture, heritage, and language, though it need not be so (Terrell 2001).

This leads to a second point: like individual identity, ethnicity is malleable and situation-based. Though ethnicity as a concept is a part of everyday discourse within the social sciences, it is by no means uncontested (Brubaker 2004; Leve 2011; Shaw 1994). Who gets to define a particular ethnic group? Who defines membership? For example, research among the Lemba of South Africa has suggested a strong genetic relationship with Semitic peoples living in the Middle East, particularly Jews (Browdin 2002). Genetically speaking, the Lemba are Jewish, which concords with their oral traditions, but does not automatically make them Jews, as recognized by the state of Israel or most other Jewish groups. This is due in

large part to traditional Jewish methods of determining descent, cultural practice, and conversion, which the Lemba do not follow (ibid: 325). Another example comes from the United States, where numerous groups attempt to identify as "Native American" for various reasons (Haley and Wilcoxon 2005; Kohl 1998). These identities are debated by governmental agencies and other, more "established" Native American groups, and demonstrates that defining ethnicity, like identity, is no easy feat.

Brubaker (2004), as with identity, critiques the concept of ethnicity and encourages researchers to "rethink" ethnicity as a reality and what that means for a "group" as a whole. He argues that the use of "groups" is a forced concept that does more damage than good. Classifications of "ethnic groups" actually reify the groups instead of acting as a simple definitional schema, which can lead to unnecessary conflict and confusion. Groups, then, are not real: what is real is a shared feeling of "groupness" that defines the membership. In one sense he is correct; groups in fact do not exist outside of the minds of the people who create them. But the fact that the groups do not "exist" makes them no less real. As Jenkins (2008, p. 9) points out, a "group" is a "human collectivity the members of which recognize its existence and their membership of it." To put it another way:

> An ethnic group is not one because of the degree of measurable or observable difference from other groups; it is an ethnic group, on the contrary, because the people in and the people out of it know that it is one; because both the ins and the outs talk, feel, and act as if it were a separate group (Hughes 1984, pp. 153–154).

Thus, reified or not, groups exist to people and therefore affect their own personal identity and affect what they want to do, are capable of doing, and can actually accomplish.

Within the present Che example, identity and ethnicity appear linked across scales and form what it means to "be Che." By this I argue, as above, that native individuals living at Santa Sylvia and the wider Araucanía before, during, and after Spanish occupation likely self-identified as Che, based on material culture that exhibits continuity in style from pre-Hispanic times. At the same time, these individuals appear to have avoided using most European cultural materials. Individuals and families may have considered themselves part of the larger Che ethnic group, linked by shared language, materials, and interactions across the Araucania, a "socio-geographic region" (see above). These senses of identity probably influenced those who actively fought against as well as those who allied themselves with the Spanish (*indios amigos*). Identity also structured how certain leaders (*lonko*, *toqui*, *machi*; see Chap. 3) acted in particular ways and times for the maintenance or restructuring of the system. This identity also influenced recruiting others to follow their lead. These formulations of identity and ethnicity may have been less strict in pre-Hispanic times (Boccara 1999), though still in existence, and were strengthened considerably during the protracted fighting against the Spanish and Chileans. This continued to develop into present Mapuche identity (Dillehay 2007, 2014; Saavedra 2006).

Agency and Structure

Aligned with analyses of identity and ethnicity is the ability of people to move and act in accordance with how they perceive themselves, are perceived by others, and what they are able to do in their social milieu. These abilities and perceptions are often based on relationships of power, control, and negotiation (Wolf 1999). Decision-making processes to move and act, to control and negotiate, is defined by researchers as agency, and has enjoyed an increase in analysis over the few decades (Dobres and Robb 2000b). The concept of agency as an analytical tool, particularly in archaeology, is heavily influenced by the works of Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and Giddens (1979, 1984) who analyzed the structures that create a society and affect individual and group action. These structures, per Giddens, define individuals and societies and are in turn defined by the same individuals and societies (Giddens 1979). Bourdieu perceived these structures as part of *habitus*, or the "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures (Bourdieu 1977, p. 72). In other words, the structures that make up human societies —political, economic, social, and ideological—provide both the structure *for* and are structured *by* human activity and action: "people create the conditions and structures in which they live, largely as a result of the unintended consequences of their actions" (Dobres and Robb 2000b, p. 5). Or, as Silliman (2001, p. 192) states, "…social agents are both constrained and enabled by structure."

Numerous critiques of Giddens and Bourdieu have focused on their uses of structure and agency as essentially co-equal, or a chicken-and-egg approach to which comes first. Archer (1996, 1988/1996) states that both agency and structure should be treated as separate entities and analyzed as such, so-called "analytical dualism." She states that agency and structure "are neither co-extensive nor co-variant through time, because each possesses autonomous emergent properties which are thus capable of independent variation and therefore capable of being out of phase with one another in time" (Archer 1996, p. 66). Archer further argues

> …methodologically it is necessary to make the distinction between [structure and agency] in order to examine their interplay and thus be able to explain why things are 'so and not otherwise' in society. This interplay between the two is crucial for effective theorizing about the social world, whether our concern is with everyday personal dilemmas or with macroscopic societal transformations….It is only through analyzing the processes by which structure and agency shape and re-shape one another over time that we can account for variable social outcomes at different times (ibid, p. 64)

Thus, both structure and agency, though separate, are intrinsically connected. In defining a structure, Callinicos (2004, p. xxiii) states a "structure is a relation connecting persons, material resources, supra-individual entities (social institutions of some kind), and/or structures by virtue of which some persons (not necessarily those so connected) gain powers of some kind." Structure and agency are thus tied closely to relationships of power, or who can do what within the confines of particular structures, or can act outside those structures.

The processes behind modifications to cultural systems and shifts in power relationships come in many forms. I argue that four components or structures compose a cultural system: *political*, *economic*, *social*, and *ideological* see also (Dillehay 1981; Foucault 1977; Wolf 1999). Each of these has institutions or organization within that flesh out their nature and the practices of each, but every culture contains these four structures as a base that gives form to the resulting institutions and positions of power. *Political structures* deal with issues of governmentality, from small egalitarian groups to large states and empires, how laws are enacted and enforced, decision making at the group level, and other factors. *Economic structures* are those that direct how individuals and groups support themselves, including subsistence strategies, exchange/trade networks, and technology. *Social structures* comprise the settlement strategies, inter- and intra-group social organization, gender relationships, and hierarchy. *Ideological structures* include religion, beliefs, and associated activities and organizations, which particularly affect individual and group perceptions of the group and outsiders. It is how these structures are maintained and controlled, and by who, that affects the long-term resiliency of a cultural system. Importantly, these structures are highly connected or intertwined. Effects to one invariably affect the others. This is readily apparent in political and economic structures—although for the sake of definition, and that many of the institutions within the respective structures are distinct, both politics and economy affect each other the most. A shift in political structures generally includes a shift in economic structures as well, as the new political system seeks control over the economic practices and institutions. Eventually, the social and ideological structures change as well.

Bourdieu (1977) argued that individual action is generally "unconscious" or the day-to-day result of habit or instinct, and that most (not all) human action is unintentional in nature. Giddens, on the other hand, states that "humans are neither to be treated as passive objects, nor as wholly free subjects" (1979, p. 150; see also Silliman 2001, p. 192). Despite the instinctive nature of actions, in many cases, and contrary to Bourdieu, they are not specifically unconscious acts, but rather subconscious, available for later review and reflection by the actor or actors (Dornan 2002; Throop and Murphy 2002).

It may be a semantic argument to differentiate between "subconscious" and "unconscious" actions, though subconscious, at least in this research, allows for more personal control. Unconscious action is more instinctive and uncontrolled, whereas subconscious action is more indicative of the ability of the actor to control their actions. Though the individual may not be wholly aware of the action they are taking, they note it on some mental level. Unconscious acts, then, are not given to review—one cannot stop the beating of a heart, or the twitch of a muscle, even though they are acts—whereas subconscious acts can be reflected upon and will be used to define, constrain, and affect action in the future.

This aspect of agency is very broad. In one sense, all people are agents unto themselves. If all individuals are agents, the concept of agency loses much of its expository ability. Like identity, agency can be applied to everything to the point that it means nothing (Archer 1996; Ortner 2001; Silliman 2001). To strengthen the

concept, then, theorists have inserted the importance of goals, for how agents move and accomplish activities. Hodder (2000, p. 22) further refines this by stating that agency can be "seen in terms of the resources needed in order to act" along with a degree of "intentionality." "Action is the doing, the mobilization of resources to have an effect" (Barrett 2012, p. 61). For an individual to have agency, they must have knowledge of and access to the resources that will allow the achievement of goals via direct action, negotiation, and so on. Some of these actions can be small scale, such as a farmer needing the knowledge and materials to plant a crop and reap a successful harvest, or for a politician to use money, material, and an understanding of their constituency to get elected. Some actions can be large scale, such as rebels acquiring access to weapons in order to overthrow a regime, or a cabal of individuals working to destabilize a government. In any case, the fundamental precursor to action is knowledge of who the individual is (or what the group is), how the society is organized, what their role is, and how they can move and act based on that organization. Thus, individuals (*sensu* Silliman 2001) are "both constrained and enabled" by their understanding of self (identity), relationships to others (ethnicity), power structures, knowledge, and other factors to bring to pass change or maintain the *status quo*.

Agency, then, is the ability of individuals to exercise power to act, based on who the person is, what they believe they can do, and what others are willing to let them do (i.e., how others perceive them). Some aspects of agency are actionary and reactionary: individuals act in one way, which causes others to react to those actions in another way. For example, the construction of Santa Sylvia was an act on the part of the Spanish *encomendero*, as well as the decision by some Che to be *indios amigos*. Che leaders near Santa Sylvia and throughout the Araucanía chose to act to expel the Spanish. Other Che chose to follow these leaders in those efforts and to maintain autonomous control over traditional cultural structures and practices (Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003; Rosales 1674/1989). Che leaders, those who chose to follow them, and the Spaniards moved and acted based on their identity as perceived by themselves and others, and through the cultural structures which they viewed as the most appropriate way to do things. More broadly, Che leaders strategically restructured the system in different ways (such as the increased importance of *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu*), adjusting to the necessities of the continued war, the incorporation of new materials and refugees, and the concurrent increase in the concept of "being Che" (Bengoa 2000, 2003; Boccara 2007; Dillehay 2014). Thus, Che and Spaniards appear to have acted in specific ways based on their knowledge, abilities, and perceptions of themselves and the others.

Che agents are individuals who have an understanding of the system and one or more of its structures, and are able to navigate the same to meet their own or wider social goals, such as removal of the Spanish and emphasis on ancestor propitiation for success in that effort. "Action depends upon the capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events. An agent ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to 'make a difference', that is, to exercise some sort of power" (Giddens 1984, p. 14). Agency is not simply the ability to move and to act, but to do so with a purpose, or with the potentiality of

achieving a certain design or goal. Agency, knowledge, ideology, and power are inextricable: to be an agent means to have knowledge and power to move and act; to have knowledge provides the potentiality to be an agent with power; and to have power means to know how to act and move in a particular sphere (Mann 2012; Wolf 1999, 2001).

Within the conceptual framework of RT, agents are the prime movers who affect and are affected by the structures and broader cultural systems. Structures and systems only exist inasmuch as people *make* them and are recursively made *by* them (Giddens 1984; cf Archer 1996). For a system to be maintained, or to "absorb disturbance while retaining essentially the same function" (Gunderson and Holling 2002) depends on the actions of agents within. If Che agents had failed to act, or acted in a way detrimental to the system, the traditional structures would have shifted to the authority and power of the Spanish. RT provides a framework for understanding this interplay between structure, system, agency, and action. By applying this to the Che example, a richer understanding of how the Che could and did resist the Spanish and maintained independence comes to light. Analysis of the material correlates along with oral and written histories, Che resilience can include (1) a continuation of a pre-existing or traditional system that included political, social, and economic patterns and (2) the incorporation of useful Spanish goods, such as foodstuffs and animals, with a concurrent avoidance of foreign control and influence.

Cultural systems, through actions inside and outside, pass through developmental cycles or phases (the Adaptive Cycle, or AC; see below): growth, conservation, release, reorganization/rebound, and reorganization/exit (Fig. 2.1). Resilience is thus more than resistance, or "oppositional behavior" (Hollander and Enwohner 2004), and more than structural functionalism (Murdock 1949; Parsons 1960). RT incorporates stability, flexibility, absorption, restructuration, and importantly agency and ideology. These aspects influence how actors experience and incorporate change into their cultural systems, while at the same time maintaining the base structures or traditions (Thompson and Turck 2009). This research further hypothesizes that for the Che, these facets of RT (flexibility, absorption, modification) came about through the actions of agents on *their* terms, not Spanish terms, which aided in avoiding
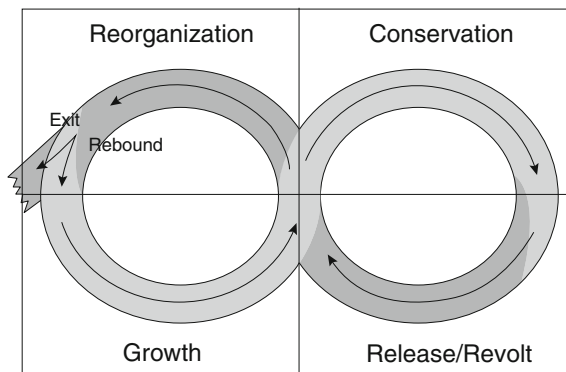
Fig. 2.1 The adaptive cycle

hybridized or syncretized cultural practices, perpetuating the Che cultural system and ideology for nearly four centuries.

In a counterexample to the Che, the Puebloans of central New Mexico in the United States, like the Araucanians, managed to expel the Spanish in a revolt that lasted from 1680 to 1692 after having been subject for nearly 100 years (Barrett 2002; Bowden 1975; Kessell 2002; Liebmann 2010; Silverberg 1994). The Pueblo Revolt, however, was not be sustained for multiple reasons, notably changes that came to their traditional economic (increased reliance on Spanish goods), social (movement away from prior settlements to Spanish towns and forts and the introduction of a mestizo class), political (pueblo chiefs allying themselves and their peoples with Spanish governors) and ideological (introduction and adoption of Catholicism) systems from AD 1598 to the revolt in 1680 (Liebmann 2012; Preucel 2002; Riley 1999; Weber 1999; Wilcox 2009).[2] Even though the Puebloans managed to expel the Spanish for a decade, the accumulated effects from years of Spanish authority had already shifted their culture system into a new social structure, one that could not sustain the efforts to return to previous forms and autonomy. Power relationships had shifted, alliances changed, and concepts of identity were transformed. Attributes of the previous system persisted, such as some religious practices, settlement patterns, and kin relationships (Adams 1991; Roberts 2004), but overall a new cultural system came into being in new AC, along with new identities, recognitions of ethnicity (including the growing mestizo class; Dobyns 2001), and different avenues of agency and power.

In sum, RT can frame the processes that constitute the maintenance, sustainability, and resurgence ("synthesis in time of reproduction and variability," Sahlins 1985) of cultural systems and structures against outside disturbance. RT works as a conceptual device useful for understanding the development and maintenance of cultural systems and structures while incorporating elements of agency and power as part of the explanatory framework.

Resilience Theory

Overview

The basis of RT is derived from the work of economist Joseph Schumpeter, who analyzed the stability of the capitalist economic system in the mid-twentieth century (Schumpeter 1928, 1950/1976, 1991). Schumpeter argued that the capitalist system was one of "creative destruction" wherein new goods and services would enter in the system, thereby "destroying" the old ways via new creativity (Schumpeter

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[2] And, like the Che, the Puebloans experienced intergroup fighting, but in the case of the Puebloans the infighting was widespread enough to limit the ability of revolutionary leaders to maintain the revolt (Haas and Creamer 1997; McGuire and Saitta 1996).

1950/1976). However, the overall structure of the capitalist system remained, incorporating these outside "disturbances" into the pre-existing structure (Schumpeter 1928). He further argued, particularly in his discussions on Marxism and Socialism, that sociological effects could have the impetus to destroy the capitalist system if pushed to that level, as seen in the Russian and Chinese Revolutions (Schumpeter 1991). Schumpeter's argument, then, suggests that social and economic interests are inextricable, and that a system could be resilient if it could absorb outside disturbance without experiencing fundamental systemic change.

Schumpeter's arguments found limited use in anthropological or sociological circles and the RT model did not work into a general theoretical schema until the 1970s. In 1973, ecologist C.S Holling first defined RT, specifically in the management of ecological systems. Holling argued that some ecological systems tended toward being "resilient" rather than "stable," by which he meant that stability would tend to lock a system into a pattern that, when perturbed from the outside, would be unable to maintain systemic integrity and would morph into a new system. A resilient system, on the other hand, would be able to take in outside disturbance without experiencing the systemic shifts seen in less-resilient systems. Stability, though seemingly desirable, would not be conducive in the long term to managing or maintaining a system because all systems, at one point or another, are affected by some sort of outside disturbance (Holling 1973). This is similar to how all cultures are in contact with and influenced by others (Wolf 1997).

RT has gained traction amongst ecologists over the last 30 years, particularly in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Gunderson 1999; Gunderson and Pritchard 2002; Pritchard and Sanderson 1999; Walker 1995). Other researchers with interests in human-environment interactions began to adapt and expand the theory to analyze the interactions between human society and ecological systems, particularly how humans could learn to manage the environment for the purposes of sustainability (Walker and Salt 2006, 2012). The formation of The Resilience Alliance in 1999 brought together researchers from various disciplines to study the effects of humans on the environment and vice versa, and to develop the methodologies for governance and maintenance of so-called "social-ecological systems" (or SES; Berkes et al. 2003b; Folke 2006; van der Leeuw and Aschan-Leygonie 2001).

To the present day, most studies using RT tend to focus on SES analyses, since "[systems] of people and nature co-evolve in an adaptive dance" (Gunderson 2003). These interdisciplinary studies center on the interplay between humanity and ecology. Though ecological studies using RT are often treated alone, rarely do these studies look at the social systems by themselves without an ecological viewpoint. This has been the case in recent archaeological uses of RT (Hegmon et al. 2008; Nelson et al. 2006; Redman 2005; Redman and Kinzig 2003). Like SES studies, RT in archaeology grew from analyses of human-environment interactions in ecological and landscape anthropology and archaeology (Crumley 1994; Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995; Redman 1999; Redman et al. 2004; Stewart and Strathern 2003). In some instances, researchers have used RT without defining it as such (Nelson and Hegmon 2001; Upham and Plog 1986). My focus here is on using RT for strictly social phenomena, rather than the incorporation of ecological information.

Archaeology is particularly suited for using RT, due to the long-term views used in most research. Redman (2005, p. 70) states that, in studying the interactions between different aspects of human society, "[these] interactions can best be understood from a perspective that takes those long-term dynamics into account and addresses question from an integrated, often interdisciplinary, perspective on human societies…." Further, archaeology "permits more in-depth monitoring of the slow processes and low-frequency events that appear to be the key to ultimate system resilience" (ibid). Thus, archaeology is in the unique position to provide *longue-durée* analyses that bolster the theoretical strength of RT (Redman and Kinzig 2003). However, as Redman (2005) points out, RT should be used from an "integrated" and "interdisciplinary" perspective. Therefore, studying the Che, particularly during the era of Spanish contact (AD 1550–1602), must use archaeology, ethnography, and ethnohistory to view the development of culture and resilience through time, and the applicability to other Araucanian groups during the same time period elsewhere in south-central Chile.

Specifics of Resilience Theory

RT itself has been defined by The Resilience Alliance and by most users of the theory as:

1. The amount of change [a] system can undergo and still retain the same controls on function and structure, or still be in the same state, within the same domain of attraction;
2. The degree to which [a] system is capable of self-organization; and
3. The ability to build and increase the capacity for learning and adaptation (Berkes et al. 2003a, p. 13)

Simplified, Walker et al. (2004, p. 5) define RT as "the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks." A system is resilient if, when exposed to strong outside forces, it can absorb or adapt to that change in such a way as to retain the overall pre-existing structural form with limited effects to the system, or without the base components of the system being modified into something new. The change that comes to a system, also called a "regime shift," may have strong similarities to the previous system or subsystems, but at some level its nature has changed. As it is applied in this research, a regime shift signifies a change in power relations from one group to another, or when a culture reorganizes and political, economic, social, and/or ideological authority is vested in a foreign group. For the Che, I argue that a regime shift did not transpire until the late nineteenth century (see Chap. 7).

My use of RT emphasizes the flexibility of a system, as well as its adaptability and transformability as directed by goal-oriented actors and their ideology. This sets RT apart from other, similar social theories such as structure-functionalism or Systems

Theory described by Bourdieu, Giddens, and others (Gunderson et al. 2010; Redman and Kinzig 2003; Thompson and Turck 2009). The ability of a system to "absorb disturbance" and "retain…the same function" is largely based on the actions of agents with particular ideologies, which provides stronger ontological security for theorizing cultural continuity and change than other concepts by themselves. RT incorporates, in the vein of Giddens (1979) and Archer (1996), human agency in mitigating disturbance, strategic modification, and systemic maintenance and perpetuation.

More specifically, Walker et al. (2004) include four "crucial aspects" of resilience that can "apply…to a whole system or the subsystems that make it up." These are

1. *Latitude*: the maximum amount a system can be changed before losing its ability to [rebound] (before crossing a threshold which, if breached, makes [rebounding] difficult or impossible).
2. *Resistance*[3]: the ease or difficulty of changing the system; how "resistant" it is to being changed.
3. *Precariousness*: how close the current state of the system is to a limit or "threshold."
4. *Panarchy*: because of cross-scale interactions, the resilience of a system at a particular focal scale will depend on the influences from states and dynamics of scales above and below. For example, external oppressive politics, invasions, market shifts, or global climate change can trigger local surprises and regime shifts.

These four aspects will be explored in more depth below, but serve to point out that systems are usually multiscalar, and that disturbances can have both bottom-up and top-down effects on the system, structures, individuals, and groups. For example, in the Che system some disturbances might be identified at the household (*ruka*) level which can radiate upwards to the *lof*, *rehue*, *ayllarehue*, and *butanmapu* levels. These *ruka*-level disturbances may exhibit agency, as the *ruka* acts to rectify the disturbance by calling on kin relations and networks. If the disturbance is strong enough, those networks can expand to incorporate greater organizational levels. From the top-down, leaders of *butanmapu* and *ayllarehue*, recognizing an encroaching threat, might use their own networks to call upon warriors from various *rehue* and *lof*, which eventually affects the *ruka*-level organization (see Chap. 3).

Additionally, some disturbances are immediate and acute, while others may percolate for a period of time before affecting the system. "A key insight is that… resilience is mediated and lost due to the interaction of variables that operate at distinctive scales of space and time" (Gunderson et al. 2010, p. xvii). RT becomes highly useful as an analytical and heuristic tool for archaeologists and historians dealing with long cultural sequences with multiple variables and impacts. The

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[3] Not resistance in the same sense discussed above (see Hollander and Enwohner 2004; Ortner 1995).

construction of Santa Sylvia itself can be perceived as an "immediate and acute" event for the Che living in the area, while in the wider Araucanía the effects of one settlement may not be seen to be as affecting the overall cultural system, but the general Spanish incursion does. After the expulsion of the Spanish from the area in the late sixteenth century, the prolongation of tensions and fighting along the Bio Bio frontier to the northwest was then "immediate and acute" in that area but does not appear to have exerted the same degree of effect on the Santa Sylvia area in the subsequent seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. RT can be used to describe these multi-faceted and multiscalar effects of Che and Spanish interactions on the overall Che system and the interactions between individuals and communities.

The four intertwined system structures[4] mentioned above compose the bulk of system organization. Each structure functions separate from but in concert with the others under an overall cultural system, and the loss of control one or more has the potential to alter the others and the system as a whole. Again, changes to the political and economic structures may have a limited effect on social organization or religious practice, but changes to the former structures can modify the cultural system as a whole, eventually bringing change to the latter and altering, often irrevocably, the total system. These structures function together to structure the cultural system, to absorb and distribute disturbance or mitigate the effects of the same on the structure as a whole. These structures are created and maintained by agents, acting in particular ways based on their knowledge, identity, ethnicity, ideology, and goals. They are not in existence by and for themselves, but as part of the cultural system composed of individuals and related communities or groups.

The Adaptive Cycle

Because of its diachronic nature, RT is cyclical, or the result of actions and reactions to multiple disturbances at various scales over time (Folke 2006; Gunderson and Pritchard 2002; Gunderson and Holling 2002; Redman 2005). This is illustrated in what Gunderson and Holling (2002) term the abovementioned "Adaptive Cycle" (Fig. 2.1).The Adaptive Cycle (AC) illustrates the stages through which a system passes and can be expanded to fit various connected scales, known as *Panarchy* (Gunderson and Holling 2002; Walker et al. 2004). The cycle is seen as a Mobius strip of four phases: growth, conservation, release/revolt, and reorganization, to which have been added "rebound" and "exit" subcomponents to better illustrate the ability of the system to return to the previous AC without experiencing a regime shift (*sensu* Thompson and Turck 2009). Though illustrated as passing from one to another, systems can in fact skip phases based on disturbances or events and are not locked into a particular sequence, e.g., a system can pass from growth

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[4] These are also what Walker et al. (2004, p. 2) call "nested dynamics operating at particular organization scales."

directly to release and reorganization, bypassing the conservation phase. There is also no time limit to these phases, the conservation phase perhaps being the longest of the four in a given cycle. If a system, through the agents within, navigates disturbances to the system in the other phases, during the reorganization phase the system can "rebound" back into the same AC. Additionally, an exit may exist within the reorganization phase for the creation of a new system if the former system cannot rebound, entering a new RC. This is known as a "regime shift," or movement to a new "stability domain" (Gunderson et al. 2010; Holling et al. 2002b; Walker and Salt 2006).

In a generic culture system, the growth phase usually involves the initial development of cultural attributes, particularly population increase and the creation of particular material culture elements. It can also include the development of trade and exchange networks (economic structures), household- and or kin-level patterns and interpersonal relationships (social structures); inter- and intra-community relations (political structures); and religious activities (ideological structures). Archaeologically speaking, the development of these systems can include or be suggested by attendant material correlates. For example, the early United States borrowed heavily from Great Britain for social foundations, but after independence developed separate trade networks, social hierarchy, political organization, and religious patterns, which could be seen in money, the construction of Washington D.C., road networks, the flag, and church diversity, among many other indicators of a "regime shift" from the British system to the new American system (Wood 1998).

The conservation phase generally continues systemic development from the growth phase, which can be seen as the amassing of political, economic, social, and religious capital, or overall "cultural capital" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).[5] In this phase, the system continues to operate in a state perhaps more stable than before as the base structures have been in place and function with minor modifications. Modifications may include the adoption of a new style of pottery or other technology, the transition from one governing individual or body to another, overall population increase, trade with a new partner, and so on. In essence, however, the fundamentals remain the same overall.

During the conservation phase, the system has the potential to enter into what is called a "rigidity trap" or what Holling initially viewed as a "stable system" (Holling 1973; Holling et al. 2002a; Hegmon et al. 2008). Hegmon et al. (2008, p. 314) state that "[rigidity] traps may be unintended consequences of repetitive acts that reproduce or extend the structure (i.e., a bureaucracy). In other cases, some segments of society may contribute to the creation of a rigidity trap by intentionally attempting to maintain a situation that they perceive to be beneficial." In essence, during the conservation phase the system has some degree of *latitude* (see above) to change and adapt, and if a system becomes too rigid then the latitude decreases (Walker et al. 2004). There can be multiple ways that social systems can fall into a

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[5] Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) consider cultural capital to be separate from political, economic, or social capital.

rigidity trap, including strict ideology, lack of innovation, the aforementioned bureaucracy, and others, both internal and external to the system and agents. These can cause the system to be increasingly *resistant* to change which can be seen as detrimental to the system. For example, the Rappite religious sect in the eastern United States during the early nineteenth century believed that sexual intercourse would lead to "disharmony" and thus practiced an extreme form of celibacy. Their numbers increased somewhat through the mid-1800s, but with no children being born into the sect the number of adherents declined rapidly. Though some advocated sexual activity for the purposes of procreation, sect leadership refused and the group eventually became extinct by the beginning of the twentieth century (Sutton 2003). Rigidity traps, perhaps centered in the ideology of actors within the system, inhibit how the system "absorbs disturbance" and maintains integrity against outside influence. Rigidity traps may be the primary cause behind systemic shifts into new stability domains (Gunderson 1999; Holling et al. 2002b).

Falling into a rigidity trap can facilitate cycling into the release phase of the AC, yet any form of strong disturbance can lead the system into the release/revolt phase, which Holling et al. (2002b, p. 34; drawing upon Schumpeter 1950/1976) also call "creative destruction." This phase exhibits the *precariousness* of the system. In some cases, particularly ecological, the system becomes increasingly fragile during the conservation stage, and the introduction of disturbance forces the system to either adapt or reorganize (Holling et al. 2002a; Walker and Salt 2006, 2012). In social systems, internal pressures can be the stressor that facilitates systemic change, though often it is external disturbance that throws into relief the fragility or rigidity of the system and structures (Redman 2005; Redman and Kinzig 2003; Walker et al. 2004). As will be discussed below, the principal stressor for indigenous groups in North and South America was the arrival of European colonizers who brought new structures and basins of attraction, and attempted to impose these on the native groups encountered.

After releasing/revolting, or experiencing "creative destruction," a system and its agents have two options: exit to a new, different AC, or maintain systemic fundamentals and rebound back into the AC. A different AC as part of a new stability domain is, in essence, a new system as some facets of the system structures have changed. This is often seen in a change in the power relationships within the system. The vestiges of the previous fundamentals are there, but overall the society in question exists with new structures and power relationships. With the same Rappite example, after the system could no longer be self-sustaining, the remaining followers exited to a new system. They likely adhered to many of the previous tenets and propagated those beliefs, but the general Rappite system and attendant structures were abandoned. The power that leaders had over adherents was lost, and the movement became extinct (Sutton 2003). Again, the internal and external effects on a system and movement through the different phases of RC come about because of the actions of individuals and groups, not because of the system itself.

Panarchy

Mentioned above, RT and ACs are also a matter of *scale,* and generally involve a consistent interaction between various scales, both top-down and bottom-up. Additionally, these scales can and do move at different speeds. Sometimes large-scale changes take time to reverberate down to the small scale and vice versa. This scalar- and speed-based analysis is known in RT as *Panarchy* (Gunderson and Holling 2002). Holling et al. (2002b, p. 74) define Panarchy as "a cross-scale, nested set of [resilience] cycles, indicating the dynamic nature of structures…." (see also Berkes et al. 2003b; Folke 2006; Folke et al. 2004; Redman and Kinzig 2003; Walker 1995).

Panarchy, illustrated in Fig. 2.2, shows the interconnected, scalar nature of adaptive cycles. All cultural systems operate in scales, whether it be a hierarchy or heterarchy within, or how the system relates to exterior stimuli, including other social systems and the environment. Some scales change rapidly, others slowly, depending on the aforementioned interior or exterior disturbances each with a connected AC and the action of agents (Holling et al. 2002b). Smaller scales are generally affected the most by disturbance, moving into the release phase more often, which can eventually affect higher levels. Ripples of disturbance can continue to reverberate and affect increasingly higher levels if not contained or acted upon. This may be illustrated by a town such as Nashville, Tennessee being affected by a disturbance such as the flood of 2010, which effects reverberated to the regional level of Middle Tennessee. If the system is resilient, the state of Tennessee should be able to mitigate the effects of the disturbance (the "remember" in Fig. 2.2) and return Middle Tennessee and Nashville to a stable state (reorganization in the AC). If the system breaks down at the state level, then the Federal level steps into aid in return to a stable state. If the effects are so great that the various scales break down, then the entire system and Panarchy will exit the previous system and reorganize anew (a new overall AC).

Fig. 2.2 Panarchy
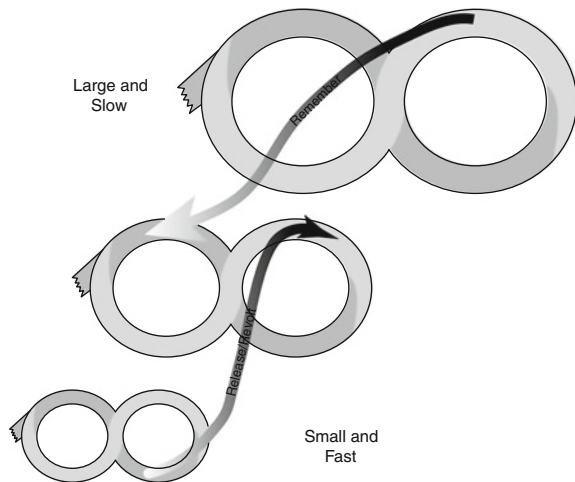
This example is overly simplistic, but illustrates the nested nature of human cultural systems within an RT framework. These can be broken down into smaller scales per investigative needs. Scales are important in the Che example as local and regional connections, interactions, and differences aided actors in overall Che system resilience. "No [system] can be understood by examining it at only one scale" (Walker et al. 2004). Though I emphasize here what the Che did at Santa Sylvia during a particular time, they were nonetheless part of larger Che cultural system that extended geographically through kinship relations and other networks, seen in the sharing of artifact styles, religious practice, and settlement patterns across distances; oral and written histories; and modern ethnographies. Thus, Santa Sylvia is a part of the broader context of the Che culture system and within the wider scope of the RT framework. Distinct but similar processes of adaptation and Panarchy happened elsewhere in the Araucanía, such as in Purén-Lumaco (Dillehay 2014; Dillehay and Zavala 2013), which, through social networks, affected Che living in Pucón-Villarrica, and vice versa.

Summary

Human systems, then, are affected by disturbances from both the inside and outside. Sometimes, the decisions made by agents within affect the system. Other times, the outside disturbance affects the system, or exerts such an influential "pull" that there is nothing the members can do to avoid changes to the system resulting in a loss of autonomy and a switch to a different AC. Most times, though, it is a combination of the outside disturbance and the decisions of the agents in the system that can determine whether or not the system avoids a new domain, state space, and AC. Critics of RT have questioned normative issues of "good" versus "bad" resilience—whether or not the shifts to new cycles or spaces is beneficial to the system or not (Duit et al. 2010; Leach 2008). In human systems, such debates can tend to the philosophical minutiae of moralizing "right" or "wrong" aspects of culture. On the one hand, if decisions made within an AC maintain an oppressive political regime (see Duit et al. 2010), then the argument may be valid to say that such resilience is "bad." Decisions made within that political regime that cause a shift to a new basin of attraction leading to an exit from the AC, making the previous system not resilient may be seen as "good." In either case, Resilience Theory can be used to explain the various scales, shifts, attractions, decisions, and actions that go into make a system resilient or not, while emphasizing how agents within the culture system are the prime movers in how changes come about. This also incorporates the nature of identity and ethnicity, as individuals are more willing to enact or accept changes based on who they perceive themselves to be, and how they perceive and are perceived by others.

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Chapter 3
The Che of South-Central Chile

This chapter presents a brief overview of the Che of southern Che and the development of the political, economic, social, and ideological structures of their cultural system referred to in the previous chapter. Many of the terms describing leadership and household activity appear throughout the following chapters, and in most cases native *mapudungun* words rather than Spanish or English equivalents are used. Much of this work is derived from ethnographic research from Chile and Argentina (Aldunate 1996; Bacigalupo 1993–1994, 2001, 2007, 2010; Cooper 1946; Course 2010; Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010; Zavala and Dillehay 2010). Relationships noted between geographically-separated Che communities in both the historical and ethnographic records (Crow 2013; Quiroga 1577 in Medina 1959) do not suggest major differences in structures between Che communities throughout the Araucanía until the early nineteenth century. The material record, including ritual spaces (*kuel* and *nguillatun* particularly; see below), ceramic styles (Pitrén, El Vergel and Valdivia styles), house construction (*ruka*) and settlement patterns also indicate continuity through time between Che communities in south-central Chile and western Argentina (Berón 2006; Dillehay 2010; Gordon 2011; Mandrini and Ortelli 2002; Mera and Harcha 1999; Mera et al. 2004). Thus, without any contradictory evidence, the ethnographic record produced elsewhere in the Araucanía applies to the Che at Santa Sylvia for information about the traditional structures of the culture system. It may also be projected backwards into the archaeological record (Ascher 1961; Peregrine 2001).

As with every human society, Che cultural patterns and practices developed over centuries. Below I offer an outline of the possible composition of Che culture at first Spanish contact in 1536. These organizations and structures remain, in general, to the present day, though with reorganization and restructuring as part of a continuous cultural evolution noted in Chap. 1, in particular since the nineteenth century. Dillehay (2007, 2014) suggests that "proto-Araucanian" culture likely arose around AD 1000, and by 1550 had developed into what might be recognized as Araucanian culture "proper," which continued to evolve. My research diverges from Boccara (1999a, 2007) and others (Goicovich 2006; Silva 2005) who argue that modern Mapuche culture and identity is the result of ethnogenesis in the late eighteenth century *because* of interactions with the Spanish. I argue, in contrast, that

Che/Mapuche culture is the result of many centuries of development and evolution, and that the arrival of the Spanish, while impacting, did not create Che/Mapuche culture or identity (see also Dillehay 2014). The archaeological record at Santa Sylvia and throughout the Araucanía shows that Che culture was well established by European arrival in the mid-sixteenth century, and that the reorganization and restructuration that occurred in subsequent centuries is not the genesis of a new culture or identity, but rather another stage of long-term cultural development built upon the organizational structures already in place.

The Che

As noted in Chap. 1, I use the term "Che" ("people," or "man" in *mapundungun*) to refer to the interrelated, *mapundungun*-speaking communities that inhabited most of southern Chile in the pre-Hispanic era and into the post-1536 era. In much of the literature, these same groups are often referred to as "Araucanian" (Boccara 2007; Cooper 1946; Dillehay 2007; Sánchez 2007; Zavala 2008b). These communities, mentioned to in historical texts and later anthropological writing, included the northern *Picunche* ("people of the north," often called *Promocaes*) who lived north of the Bio Bio River; *Pehuenche* ("people of the pine") who lived in and around the Andes Mountains in both Chile and Argentina; *Huilliche* ("people of the south") who lived south of the Rio Bueno; and later *Tehuelche* ("people of the east") who lived in Patagonia (Nacuzzi and Nesis 2008; Silva 1990; Silva and Tellez 1993; Villalobos 1989).[1] Evidence suggests that these groups all spoke the *mapudungun* language, likely with some regional dialects, and shared the same general material culture with limited regional variation (Boccara 2007; Zavala 2008b). Many of the above names are derived from Spanish *cronistas*, and subsequent historians have built upon the perceived differences outlined in historical texts with limited archaeological or ethnographic information (Boccara 1996, 1999b, 2007; Silva 2005; Silva and Tellez 1993; Tellez 2004; Villalobos 1989).

Most scholarly work before about 1990 refers to these groups as "Araucanian" or sometimes "Mapuche," the name by which they began calling themselves in the eighteenth century (see Chap. 8). Zavala (2008b) indicates that the terms "Araucanian" and "Mapuche" were first utilized in the historical and ethnographic literature in the late nineteenth century, though Molina (1795/2000) may have first disseminated the term "Araucanian" in the late eighteenth century. Boccara (1996, 1999a, 1999b, 2007) has argued extensively that the different communities may have referred to themselves as *Reche* ("true people") before Mapuche, though there is limited ethnographic support for this position (see Faron 1962; Sánchez 2007). Today, for political purposes, many governmental and nongovernmental organizations, as well as some Mapuche themselves, use the term *pueblos originarios*

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[1] Notably, there is no—*che* related name for the communities who lived in the Spanish-defined Araucanian "Estado," likely due to this being the area of activity of most *cronistas*.

("first people") when referring to the Mapuche and other indigenous groups in Chile (Boccara and Bolados 2008; Haughney 2006).

Without evidence to the contrary, this research aligns with the position of Faron (1962, p. 1163)

> Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic divisions existed among the pre-reservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary.

Thus, as I note in Chap. 1, using the name "Che" incorporates these geographic distinctions, likely proscribed by the Spanish and later researchers, without some of the emotional or historical baggage the name "Araucanian" may imply (Payás et al. 2012; Sánchez 2007).

As shown below and by others (Dillehay 2007; Sánchez 2007) spatiality and geographic orientation was and continues to be important for communities throughout the Araucanía. The names *Picunche*, *Pehuenche*, *Huilliche, Tehuelche*, etc. appear to have been recorded by the Spanish as specific ethnic identifiers based on the position of the interlocutors, i.e., speaking as an individual living near Arauco or Purén, and identifying groups based on compass directions. Most pre-Hispanic communities may have considered themselves "Che" or *Reche* ("true people," Boccara 1999b; cf Payás et al. 2012) at least until the mid-eighteenth century when the Araucanians began using the name "Mapuche" ("people of the land") to refer to themselves and their relations (Bengoa 2000; Boccara 2007; Zavala 2008b).

Geographically, *mapudungun*-speaking Che peoples ranged throughout central and south-central Chile (see Fig. 3.1). The northernmost extent of what may be termed the *Picunche* was north of the Maipó River (near present-day Santiago) and south to the Itata or Bio Bio Rivers. These northern communities likely allied and interacted with those to the south, and drew upon relationship networks when the Inka arrived in the fifteenth century for warriors and defense (see Chap. 6). Dillehay (2007) differentiates between the "northern Araucanians," which include the *Picunche* communities north of the Bio Bio River, and the "southern Araucanians," including those communities south of the Bio Bio or in the traditional "Araucanía." Unfortunately, archaeological and ethnographic work are close to nonexistent in the region between the Maule and Bio Bio Rivers that could illuminate the relationships between these communities in the pre-Hispanic period. Despite this, evidence indicates that many northern Che may have fled south of the Bio Bio and were incorporated into communities in the Araucanía, or became subjected to the Spanish in the mid-sixteenth century (Bengoa 2000; Rosales 1674/1989; Sauer and Dillehay 2012). In either case, historians have argued that most *Picunche*, or northern Che, were assimilated or mixed into Spanish colonial society in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Goicovich 2007; Silva 2005; Villalobos 1989). Further archaeological research could confirm or contradict this argument.

Fig. 3.1 Excent of Mapundungun-speaking and Che-related peoples in Southern Chile

The area between the Bio Bio and Toltén Rivers can be considered the Che "heartland," or what this research calls a "sociogeographic region" (Jones 1997; Parmenter 2010; see Chap. 2). The area contains the highest concentrations of Che populations in both pre-Hispanic and Hispanic times who resisted[2] the Spanish and Chileans via direct military confrontation for the longest time (Aldunate 1989; Bengoa 2003, 2004; Dillehay 1990a, 2007; Dillehay and Zavala 2013; Zavala and

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[2] The southern Che may have also resisted the Inka, or sent warriors to aid their northern relations in their efforts, but this is an area that requires further study (see Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Gordon 1998; Sauer and Dillehay 2012).

Fig. 3.2 Map of Early Spanish Settlements in Chile

Dillehay 2010). The largest Che communities and principal Spanish settlement attempts occurred between the Bio Bio River in the north (near modern-day Concepción; Fig. 3.2) and the Bueno River (near modern-day Valdivia) in the south. The *Huilliche* lived from the Bueno River south to Reloncaví Bay, and may have extended even farther south into the Chiloe archipelago (Aldunate 1989; Boccara 2007; Jones 1999).

Social Organization and Settlement Patterns

The distributed nature of Che settlement patterns and social organization, seen generally throughout the Araucanía, is one of their most striking features. This was first noted by the early Spanish *cronistas*[3] (Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán 1673/2001; Ovalle 1646/2003; Quiroga 1690/1979; Rosales 1674/1989; Vivar 1558/1979) as well as later anthropologists (Cooper 1946; Dillehay 1992; Faron 1968/1986). Titiev (1949, p. 3) states that "[there] are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town." Quiroga (1690/1979), a Spanish soldier writing in the late seventeenth century, noted that the Che generally lived "distant from each other" in the various river valleys of south-central Chile. However, Quiroga and Pedro de Valdivia (1550/1929) both indicate that before the arrival of the Spanish Araucanian settlements may have been more nucleated (see also Bengoa 2003; Dillehay 1990a). Settlements were found on hilltops or in areas with views of neighboring habitations, and close to water sources and arable farmland (Bengoa 2003; Cooper 1946; Gonzalez de Najera 1614/1889; Rosales 1674/1989). Archaeological surveys done in Purén-Lumaco and Pucón-Villarrica support this pattern (Dillehay et al. 2007; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010; Dillehay and Zavala 2013).

Che settlements were divided into several spatial and organizational levels. The most basic level is the patrilocal and patrilineal nuclear family, which included a man, his wives, and children, known as *ruka*, which is also the name given to an individual house (Boccara 1996). The extended family living in the same general area is known as *lof* (or perhaps *levo* in some of the chronicles; see Cooper 1946; Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960), and the semiconsolidation of their houses, the closest thing that could be considered a village or hamlet, was known as *lofche* (Titiev 1951). *Lof* (sometimes spelled *lov* or *lob*) would be headed by a *lonko*, a man who was generally older, respected and often wealthy (see below for more on *lonko*; Cooper 1946; Titiev 1951). Several *lof* related through a common ancestor or ceremonial space, or who were related through wife exchange and trade networks are referred to as a *regua*[4] (Cooper 1946; Dillehay 2007; Nuñez 1673/2001; Ovalle 1646/2003). In pre-Hispanic times, the *lof* and *regua* appear to have been the central focal points of social organization or recognition of neighbors and relationships (Bengoa 2003; Titiev 1951).

Nine *regua*, "allied geopolitically and religiously" (Dillehay 2007, p. 116) composed the next level of organization, known as *ayllarehue* (Cooper 1946;

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[3] It should be noted at the outset that (and has been illustrated by other anthropologists; Cooper 1946; Dillehay 2007; Titiev 1951) many of the Araucanian terms for social and political organization vary widely amongst each *cronista*, sometimes contradictory and confusing in their employment. For the present purposes, I use the terms as most widely accepted today.

[4] As Dillehay (2007, p. 116) points out, the term *rehue* had several different connotations and uses, and were often confused or used interchangeably by *cronistas* and anthropologists.

Latcham 1924; Zavala 2008b). Though likely predating the arrival of the Spanish[5] (Olaverria 1594 in Medina 1960), the *ayllarehue* organization increased in importance in the sixteenth–nineteenth centuries as a way for military leaders to draw upon warriors from various *lof* and *regua* throughout the Araucanía (Bengoa 2003, 2004; Dillehay 2007; Latcham 1924; Padden 1996; Zavala 2008b). Above the *ayllarehue* was the *butanmapu*, which divided Araucanian territory longitudinally (Fig. 3.3). Initially composed of three regions encompassing the coast, the central valley, and the western Andean foothills, *butanmapu* later incorporated the Argentinian Patagonia (Dillehay 2007; Molina 1788/2000; Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán 1673/2001; Titiev 1951). Some historians (Goicovich 2006; Silva 2001, 2005; Silva and Téllez 2001) have argued that the *butanmapu* was created at the arrival of the Spanish or in the early seventeenth century as an organizational schema to confront the invaders (see also Zavala 2008b).

This formed what Dillehay (2014) refers to as a "telescopic polity." Though the Che did not attain nation-state level status with centralized authorities or bureaucracies generally associated with that level of sociopolitical complexity (Johnson and Earle 2000; Richards and Van Buren 2000; Smith and Schreiber 2005). The Che, Dillehay argues, formed a "confederated proto state" at a level of social organization that allowed for connections, aggregation, and cooperation through kin and trade ties without requiring coalescence into communities larger than those described above (ibid, p. 4). The "telescoping" nature of social organization, i.e., *ruka → lof → regua → ayllarehue → butanmapu*, increased the scope of Che culture and organization at certain times and in certain situations. In other words, much like the political organization described below, Che social structure was based on contingencies such as conflict and trade, wherein an *ayllarehue* or *butanmapu* may have particular importance. At the end of a conflict, for example, the relationships created in the *ayllarehue* may be maintained, but the social focus reverts back to the *lof* and *regua* level and decisions are made primarily at that scale. This ability to "expand" and "retract" played a major role in Che resilience and is particularly relevant within RT (see Chaps. 2 and 6).

Che geopolitical and social organizations were and continue to be based in the household (*ruka*) unit. The Che are patrilineal and patrilocal, determining descent and inheritance based on the father's bloodline (Faron 1956, 1968/1986; Titiev 1951). Faron (1961a, b) suggested that the Che may have been at one time matrilocal and matrilineal, but over time patrilocality and patrilineage began to dominate. Incest is strictly taboo, and wives were acquired from outside the *lof*, through purchase, trade, or raiding (Cooper 1946). Exogamy also increased kin ties throughout the Araucania, strengthening *regua* and *ayllarehue* relationships. These relationships were further strengthened in ceremonial events and trade activities (Faron 1968/1986).

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[5] It is possible that the Inka or some other northern Andean Quechua-speaking group influenced the creation of the *ayllarehue* organizational unit. The prefix *aylla-* is similar to the term *allyu*, which refers to a community related through lineage that would come together in common defense, trade, etc. (Zuidema 1977; see also Dillehay 2007, p. 24).

Fig. 3.3 General extent of the 4 *butanmapu*: coast, central valley, pre-cordillera, and Patagonia

Houses, called *ruka* (Fig. 3.4), were built of thatch around a wood or cane framework of varying sizes. They are generally oval in shape, *ruka* were often built with multiple doorways depending on the owner's eminence and the number of wives (Cooper 1946; Joseph 1920/2006). Dillehay (1990b) posits that *ruka* settlements could be quite mobile, their movements coinciding with hunting or gathering activities or changes in social leadership. Depending on the need, *ruka* could house numerous individuals (Sors 1921, cited in Cooper 1946), though inhabitants were generally limited to the owner, his wives and unmarried children (Joseph 1920/2006; Titiev 1951). Besides each wife having her own entrance into the *ruka*, wives had separate firepits and exterior areas for keeping animals

Fig. 3.4 A Traditional Che *Ruka* House

(Boccara 1999b). Excavations at Santa Sylvia suggest the presence of at least three firepits within or near a possible *ruka*, as well as an exterior animal pen (see Chap. 5). As noted above, *ruka* and the larger *lofche* settlements were built in fertile areas with close access to water and arable land, often on hills or above rivers in areas that afforded clear views of enemies and lines of sight to other *ruka* (Cooper 1946).

Political Organization

The heterarchical, (and telescopic) nature of Che political organization strengthened overall cultural resilience. A heterarchy, as defined by Crumley (1995) is "…the relation of elements to one another when they are unranked or when they possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways." In other words, a "diffused but complementary corporate leadership" wherein "power was not unified in any one person, lineage or religious or political institution but heterarchically structured in different local and regional settings, whereby one or more categorical leaders dominated over others, whether it be in a ritual, battle, or political setting" (Dillehay 2007, p. 339, 342; see also Dillehay 2014). In a heterarchy, leaders function at different times and places based on the cultural system and structures, though coordination can and does occur. Evidence suggests that this was the case with the Che (Dillehay 2007). Importantly, authority was based on skills and abilities and through the consent of members in particular lineages and communities, as in the case of political and military leaders, or in their skills in healing and ancestor propitiation in the case of religious leaders. Thus, power and authority was disbursed, not residing in any one individual or specific *lof* or *regua*. This vexed the

Spanish, who were used to dealing with corporate leadership that spoke for communities or whole groups. In this way, the political heterarchy dovetails with the telescopic social organization, as distinct political leaders as well as scales of social organization take particular positions at certain prescribed times.

Che political organization was centered in the *lof* or *regua*, led by *lonko*[6] (chiefs, called *caciques* by the Spanish; Ovalle 1646/2003; Rosales 1674/1989; Valdivia 1550/1929; Vivar 1558/1979). The position of *lonko* was often hereditary, but as noted above authority of the *lonko* was earned, not generally assumed or given (Titiev 1951). *Lonko* and similar leaders such as *toqui* (see below) relied on their abilities to forge alliances, wealth distribution at reunions such as *cahuin* and *nguillatun*, as well as rhetoric. Wealthy individuals, known as *ülmen*, also had positions of power and prestige, comparable with but not equal to *lonko*. *Ülmen* could become *lonko* through skill and alliance forging, particularly if a *lonko* was too young or considered unable to perform his responsibilities (Cooper 1946).

In times of war, noted by the Spanish in the sixteenth century, numerous related *lonko* (likely within *regua* or *ayllarehue*) came together in *cahuin* (or "council"), to discuss conflict, tactics, and to elect *toqui* war leaders (Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003). These *toqui*, similar to generals today, recruited warriors, planned strategies, and directed the course of battle (Alvarado 1996). Like *lonko*, *toqui* relied on rhetorical skill and their abilities in battle to conserve their position as *toqui*, which even then could be tenuous if their warriors and followers so decided.[7] According to Ercilla (1569/2003), *toqui* were elected based on reputation and through feats of strength. Upon election a *toqui* was given a *toquikura*, a stone axe worn around the neck as a symbol of position (Rosales 1674/1989), fragments of which were found by Gordon at Santa Sylvia (Gordon 2011). When they "retired" from war, *toqui* generally returned to *lonko* or *ülmen* status with no greater authority than before, though with increased prestige often drawn from the spoils of war in the form of animals, goods, and wives. Prior to the Spanish, it is possible that *toqui* directed small-scale intercommunity or interregional fighting at the *regua* or *ayllarehue* level (Alvarado 1996). To combat the Spanish, the *toqui* authority appears to have increased to draw upon fighting forces throughout south-central Chile in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through *ayllarehue* and the formation of *butanmapu*, some *toqui* perhaps presiding over the different *butanmapus* (Molina 1788/2000). This is seen in the various direct Araucanian offenses against the Spanish, which were often directed overall by at least two *toqui*, one of whom seems to have had supreme authority (known as *gentoqui*; Ercilla 1569/2003; see also Chap. 6).

In addition to their war leader positions, *toqui* often acted as a bridge between the religious and political spheres (Dillehay 2007). In the heterarchy of Araucanian society, the *toqui* could serve as a mediator amongst *lonko* and religious leaders to

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[6] Boccara (2007, 1999) argues for the term *ülmen* in place of *lonko* to define these hereditary kin-group leaders. Dillehay (2007) argues that *ülmen* and *lonko* may have been interchanged by the Spanish, though *ülmen* generally refers to a wealthy, respected individual and *lonko* to the chief. Today in Pucón, the hereditary leader, Rosita Quiñanao, is called a *lonko*.

[7] Such as in the case of Lautaro, whose warriors essentially rebelled against marching on Santiago, forcing a retreat back south. See Chap. 7 for more on that episode.

gain support and recruit warriors. *Toqui* and *lonko* also worked to incorporate refugee, displaced, and fragmented Araucanian populations, particularly those that fled from areas north of the Bio Bio River. Research indicates that these displaced groups were incorporated into more stable functioning *regua* and *ayllarehue* (Dillehay 2014).

Notably, because of the decentralized nature of the Che cultural system and settlement patterns, most *lof* and *regua* were independent of one another. They created kin ties, trade networks, and engaged in other activities without necessarily seeking approval from other *lof* or *regua*. This obviously caused major conflict in pre-Hispanic times, which affected how some *lof* and *regua*, particularly along the coast near the Bio Bio river delta, interacted with both the Spanish and their Che kin (Berger 2006; Zavala 2008a). The nature of what the Spanish called "*indios amgios*" (friendly Indians) and "*indios enemigos*" (enemy Indians) is related to the independence of lof and regua, guided by their lonko and other leaders, and will be explored in Chap. 4. However, there are no indications in the archaeology, documentary record, or ethnographic accounts to suggest that *indios amigos* or *indios enemigos* ever perceived of themselves or other Che as being anything other than Che, despite the independence of Che communities (see Chap. 2).

Economic Organization

Economically, the Araucanians are considered subsistence-based sedentary agro-pastoralists. In pre-Hispanic times, from about AD 300 to 1500, they raised llamas and possibly chickens in some areas (Storey et al. 2007), fished in lakes and rivers, and grew maize, beans, quinoa, peppers, and other plants. Agricultural activities appear to have started around AD 300 in various parts of the Araucania (Aldunate 1989; Bengoa 2004; Dillehay 2007; Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1673/2001; Saavedra 2006; Valdivia 1550/1929; Vivar 1558/1979). Along the coast, communities hunted seals and gathered shellfish (Quiroz 2001), and gathered piñon seeds from the Araucaria tree in the Andes, from which the name "Araucanian" is derived (Aldunate 1989; Dillehay 1990a; Faron 1968/1986; Millalén 2006; Parentini 1996). Gathering of wild plants and hunting animals remained essential into the Hispanic period (ca. 1550), particularly along the Andes among the *Pehuenche* populations. Recent and past excavations at Santa Sylvia revealed not only the use of maize from pre-Hispanic into Hispanic times as well as fishing in the local rivers and lakes, but also the continued exploitation of wild plants, such as strawberries and edible grasses (see Chap. 5; Gordon 2011).

After the Spanish expanded into Chile starting in 1536, llama herding gave way to raising horses, sheep, cows, and pigs. Horses in particular became important both for mobility and as signs of prestige (Aldunate 1989; Bengoa 2004; Stuchlik 1976; Padden 1993). The concept of individual land ownership was weak, each *lof* and/or *regua* generally claiming territorial rights to particular tracts of land for settlement, agriculture, and gathering. These rights would be passed down from father to sons

(Cooper 1946), but the concept of "ownership" has changed over time, particularly along the later Bio Bio River frontier and into the modern era (see Chap. 7; Bengoa 2000, 2004). The reasons for these changes are due in large part to Chilean state efforts to privatize communally held lands, especially in the late 1970s and 1980s (Millalén 2006).

Trade networks that stretched from the coast, across the Andes, and into the Argentinian Pampa and Patagonia were essential in Araucanian culture from early pre-Hispanic times (Navarro and Pino 1999; Quiñanao, personal communication, 2010). Trade was often closely tied to religious activities, particularly *nguillatun* and *coyantun* festivals. At these festivals, families from invited *lof* or *regua* came together to perform ceremonies, feast, trade goods and information, exchange wives, and strengthen ties. The Araucanians also engaged in *maloca*, raids to capture women and goods and to avenge wrongs perpetuated against allies (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1673/2001). Later, *malocas* were used on the frontier and across the Chile-Argentina border, perhaps originating in around Pucón-Villarrica (Harcha and Vásquez 2000) as a form of "continuous war" against the Spanish (Berger 2006; Leon 1990). Berger (2006) argued that this "continuous war," primarily via *maloca* along the frontier, was seen as mutually beneficial for the Araucanians and Spanish. Those living along the frontier took advantage of the resources sent by the viceroyalty in Santiago to protect the border (see also Berger 2001; Leon 2005).

Religion

Of all the structures of the Che cultural system, no evidence exists for Spanish influence on Che religious practice, at least through the last century (Faron 1964). Most indigenous groups in the Americas experiences varied forms of syncretism after European arrival (Lindenfeld and Richardson 2012; Stewart 1999). However, the Che eschewed the influence of missionaries and non-Che religious practices, maintaining traditional religious practices. These practices, developed in prior centuries, grew to transcendent importance amongst the Che in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—perpetuating memory, creating alliances, and protecting overall cultural integrity (Bacigalupo 2007; Dillehay 2007; Foerster 1993; Foerster and Gundermann 1996). Constructing the landscape through ritual mounds as well as sacred and ceremonial spaces was integral in these practices. Ritual constructions provided "reconstituted social meanings, genealogies, memories, compatriotism, and shared political identities" (Dillehay 2007, p. 153). The constructed landscape was essential to creating Araucanian social and religious identity and affected all else, including trade relationships, agency, social interactions, and political organization.

Though Che religious activity recognizes several different deities, practices center more on ancestor propitiation and forces of nature (Foerster 1993). Latcham (1924) emphasized the importance of totemism, which Foerster (1993, p. 49) explained as "the phenomenon from which a certain group of individuals, united by real or fictitious blood ties, derives their name. This is, at the same time, the distinct

Fig. 3.5 Che *chemamull* lineage markers

name of the group and, in the end, the mark, sign, or device collectively employed by the group to externalize their name." For different *lof* and *regua*, these names derive from a common ancestor, who may also be entombed in some ritual mounds, such as those found near Pucón-Villarrica and more particularly the Purén-Lumaco valley (Dillehay 1990b, 1995). These tombs are specifically named ritual mounds known as *kuel* (Dillehay 1986; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010; Faron 1964).

Lineage markers can also be seen in the construction and placement of wooden statues known as *chemamull* (Fig. 3.5), which function as lineage border markers and serve for spatial orientation. Constructing *kuel* (a process known as *kueltun*), was an important ceremony that brought together related lineages and invited allies, which aided in establishing spatial organization. Different *kuel*, known by name, became a way by which individuals and communities oriented themselves on the landscape and in relation to other communities (Dillehay 1995, 1999, 2007; Faron 1964; Foerster 1993). *Kuel* seem to have first been constructed around AD 1200 in the Purén-Lumaco valley and in Pucón-Villarrica, indicating some degree of connected pan-Araucanian religious practice between the two areas before Spanish arrival (Dillehay 2007, 2010). Several *kuel* have been identified close to the site of Santa Sylvia itself, though more investigation is needed on these mounds (Dillehay and Saavedra 2010). While important individuals often received internment in *kuel*, most Che were buried in cemeteries, often located on hills or in groves near *lof* lands (Cooper 1946). Individuals were buried in wooden coffins (ibid) or in large funerary urns (Bullock 1955; Gordon 1978) as part of the *awn* funerary rite. The *awn* included inviting related communities, and over several days memorialized the deceased and helped the spirit to join the ancestors (Cooper 1946; Faron 1964, 1968/1986; Foerster 1993).

Another important ceremony mentioned before is the *nguillatun*, which may be most closely defined as an annual or semiannual fertility festival (Faron 1964; Foerster 1993). *Nguillatun* also served as venues for *cahuin*, *parlamento*, or other ceremonial purposes (Dillehay 2007; Zavala 2005; Zavala and Dillehay 2010) and
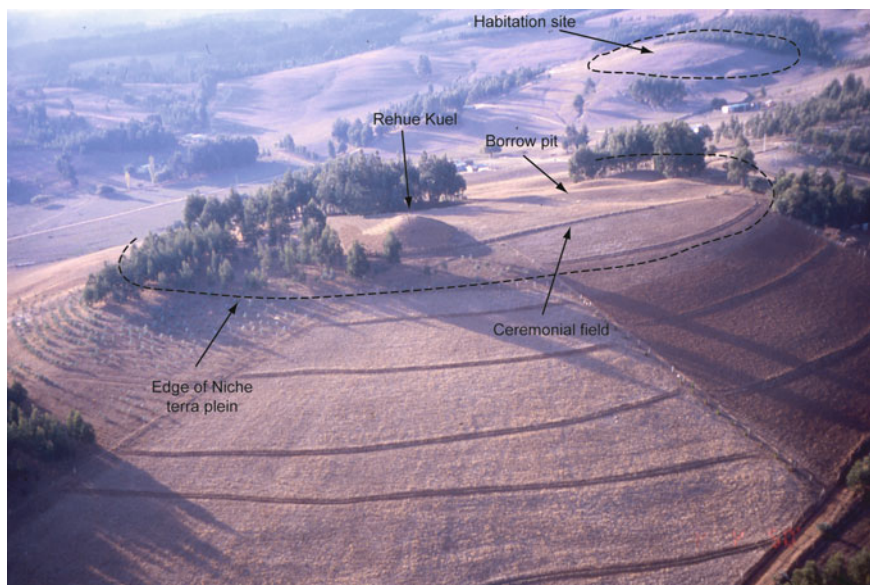
Fig. 3.6 Overhead view of *nguillatun* complex, with *kuel*. Photo courtesy T. Dillehay

are related to a similar, though less religious, gathering known as *coyantun*. For *nguillatun*, a lineage head *lonko* invited at least two other allied lineages to a ceremonial field (*lepún*, often with an associated *kuel*; Fig. 3.6), where the host and invitees performed rites, played games such as *chueca* (similar to field hockey), traded goods, exchanged wives, discussed events, and other activities (Foerster 1993; Titiev 1951). Within a few years, invited lineages were expected to reciprocate by hosting their own *nguillatun* (Dillehay 2007). Thus, alliances were forged amongst many lineages and spread across the Araucania, which networks were used by *lonko* and *toqui* for the war against the Spanish and to maintain and reinforce the Che culture system. Like *kuel*, several *nguillatun* fields have been identified in Pucón-Villarrica and in Purén-Lumaco, and a *nguillatun* was held near Pucón as recently as December 2010 (Dillehay and Saavedra 2010; Quiñanao, personal communication, 2010).

Ritual specialists, who in the past may have been known as *boquibuye* and *nguillatufe* priests, presided over these and other rituals and would direct activities along with *machi* shamans (Faron 1964; Titiev 1951). In centuries since the arrival of the Spanish, *machi* seem to have taken over performing most religious practice (Bacigalupo 1996, 2007). Since the eighteenth century, *machi* are generally female, though evidence suggests that male transvestites dominated in pre-Hispanic times and some remain to the present (Bacigalupo 2004). Besides directing ritual activities, *machi* also serve as healers of humans, *kuel*, and other ritual spaces, repositories of sacred and secular knowledge and oral histories, legal arbiters, and the religious counterpart to the secular *lonko* (Bacigalupo 2010). If the authority of the *lonko* is

seen as acting in the real, secular world and in daytime activities, the authority of *machi* encompasses the spiritual world and nighttime activities (Bacigalupo 2007; Cooper 1946; Dillehay 2007). According to Mapuche informants in Pucón, *machi* are born, not made, and thus the area around Pucón and Santa Sylvia currently (as of 2014) does not have a *machi* (Quinenao, personal communication, 2014).

Summary

This outlines the basic organization of the Che cultural system, particularly the political, economic, social, and religious structures that compose it. As mentioned above, Dillehay (1992, p. 387) describes Che political organization as "heterarchical peer groups" rather than a typical hierarchical chiefdom or other form of political structure. By diffusing power and authority to specific individuals at certain times and often in certain places, the Che system, at least in pre-Hispanic times and into the eighteenth century, was more flexible than many other indigenous groups in the Americas. Because of this flexibility, I argue that the Che were able to incorporate changes to their cultural system more fluidly, or adapt more quickly to the effects of outside disturbance, than most Native American groups confronted by European incursion. The material record seen at Santa Sylvia and elsewhere in the Araucania, combined with ethnohistoric and ethnographic data, show that the Che built the structures to support a cultural system that could incorporate changes without losing autonomous control. The disbursed nature of authority and power among the Che afforded actors such as *toqui*, *lonko*, and *machi* the venues to intentionally modify these traditional structures at particular times and places, or use them to a specific advantage, in order to incorporate what was deemed useful from the Spanish, such as horses, cows, wheat, and barley. At the same time, these leaders acted to avoid or prohibit the incorporation of other materials, practices, and beliefs, while maintaining and perhaps magnifying the cultural system itself. These leaders were also able to recruit and incorporate individuals from different *lof*, *regua*, and *ayllarehue* as well as refugees in their kin networks, thereby strengthening relationships across distances until most within the Araucania came to call themselves Mapuche (Boccara 1996, 1999b; Dillehay 2007; Marimán 2006).

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Chapter 4
Spain in the Americas

In 1815, Simón Bolivar informed Englishman Henry Cullen his views on independence from Spain for the nations of South America, in which Bolivar was actively engaged. He stated that Chile

> is resisting the enemies who seek to dominate it…because those who previously stopped the Spaniards in their tracks, the free and indomitable Araucanians, are their…fellow patriots. Their sublime example is sufficient to prove…that a people who love their independence will end up winning it (Bolivar 1815/2003, p. 14)

This statement by the leading revolutionary figure of all of South America is not short on hyperbole, but nonetheless illustrates the stature the Che had gained since the sixteenth century. With the 1569 publication of *La Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla, the Che and their conflict with the Spanish were thrust onto the world stage (Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003). Other epic poems followed, such as *Arauco Domado* ("Tamed Arauco"; Oña 1596/1917) and *Puren Indomito* ("Indomitable Purén"; Arias de Saavedra 1650/1984), which built on the theme of the unconquered Che and their unprecedented ability to wage war with Spanish. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Che had successfully expelled the Spanish and maintained a frontier détente along the Bio Bio River for 200 years, punctuated by sporadic conflict and numerous raids known as *maloca* (León 1990, 2002, 2005; Berger 2006). Real or imagined, the perception of the Che as formidable, unconquerable warriors no doubt influenced the trajectory of Che-Spanish interaction in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and contributed to Che/Mapuche resilience and continued autonomy over their cultural system.

An essential facet that underlies the nature of Che cultural resilience is the precipitating factor of the arrival and attempted colonization by the Spanish empire. As I argued in Chap. 2, individual and group agency are driven in large part by perceptions of self and others. How we see ourselves and are seen by others affect what we do, where we go, and how we interact with our neighbors. For the Che, how they were perceived by the Spanish in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries affected interactions, notably in the nature of *parlamento* ceremonies (Dillehay and Zavala 2013; Zavala et al. 2013). After the independence movements of the nineteenth century, perceptions of the (now named) Mapuche shifted and dramatically influenced the nature of interactions and historic treatments of the people and

their culture that persist to the present-day in most Chilean historiography and enshrined in Chilean law. As I discuss below, the melding of these factors—Spanish colonization, perceptions of the Che in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, and the shift in perception in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—affected the nature of Che resilience and the trajectory of their cultural development. Recent scholarship by anthropologists and Che activists (Saavedra 2002, 2006; Marimán et al. 2006; Nahuelpan et al. 2012; Marimán 2012) are working to overcome the biases replete in the historic and anthropologic treatments of the Che/Mapuche.

Colonialism and Culture Contact

"[Colonialism] can be defined as the conquest and control of other people's lands and goods" (Loomba 2005, p. 8). The interrelated studies of colonialism and culture contact (and subareas of study, including postcolonialism, anticolonialism, etc.) developed largely from literary criticism in the 1950's in the works of Fannon (1961/2004), Cesaire (1955/2000), and Memmi (1965, 2006). These writers were influential in the "liberation" movements of previously colonized groups in North Africa, Southeast Asia, and India beginning before World War II. These movements reached their height in the 1950's and remain the base for colonial studies today (Sartre 1964/2006; Barker et al. 1994). Writers and orators described the "colonial experience" of individuals and groups that came under the direct political, economic, social, or ideological control of an outside foreign power, usually from western European nations after AD 1492. This laid the foundation for later studies in numerous disciplines (Patterson 2008).

Though the topic had received limited discussion in the social sciences (Asad 1973; Crosby 1972; Horvath 1972; Lewis 1973), colonialism as a focus of study expanded significantly after the publication of Said's *Orientalism* in 1978. Said argued that "western" officials and writers "exoticized" the people they met in the Middle East and east Asia, and by so doing created representations that had little to do with reality (Said 1978; Seed 1993). In essence, the "western" perceptions of these people affected how they were treated by colonial officials and led, directly or indirectly, to their own perceptions of self and cultural history. This is readily apparent in the example of the Che. Said's work influenced subsequent studies of colonialism and postcolonialism, particularly Spivak (Spivak 1988), Chaterjee (1993) and Bhabha (1994). Their analyses and criticisms also received influence from the works of social theorists such as Marx, Engels, Gramsci, and Foucault (Patterson 2008). These philosophers and their intellectual descendants studied the effects of European colonialism from the perspective of the colonized and how previously colonized people adapted to the "postcolonial" world. They also discussed how most, if not all, indigenous groups were marginalized or ignored in the "official" histories of colonization (Adorno 1993; Stern 1992). Many recent studies analyze how these groups resisted or rebelled against the colonizers, trying to protect and/or maintain previous cultural practices (Taylor and Pease 1994;

Hoffman 1999; Katz 1988; Kicza and Horn 2012; Ortner 1995; Silliman 2009; Stern 1987; Oland et al. 2012).

Generally, two lines of research developed over the last 30 years: colonialism, primarily focusing on European colonialism from 1415 to about 1950 in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Australia; and postcolonialism, the effects of the end of colonial domination from 1950 to the present (Abernethy 2000; Cooper 2005; Barker et al. 1994; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Mignolo 1993; Spencer 1997). Many of these colonial or postcolonial studies examine societies colonized by a foreign power (Boccara 2002a, b; Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Some have broadened the scope of colonialism to include the efforts of empires such as Rome (Dietler 2010; van Dommelen 1997, 2002). These later studies have pointed out that colonialism is not just the domain of European nation-states (Gosden 2004; Loomba 2005; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002).

Colonialism is about intergroup relationships of power (Mann 2012b, Mann 2012a; Cooper 2005; Wolf 1999). Restating Loomba's definition, colonizers seek to control lands, goods, and services, which can be broken-down to a chance in control and power from one group (indigenous) to another (foreign). Often, power is exerted over political and economic activities, such as the establishment of a colonial government or the imposition of capitalism onto native economies (Hall and Silliman 2006; Leone and Potter 1999). Power is also seen in the nature of the documentary record which tends to emphasize the European over the native (Dillehay 2002; Oland et al. 2012).

For the Che, the limited number of studies on the colonial era tend to focus on the Spanish colonial perspective rather than indigenous culture. Many emphasize the primacy of the Spanish documentary record without including archaeological or ethnographic information (Boccara 2007; González 1986; Villalobos 1995; cf Dillehay 2002). Several interdisciplinary. approaches have been attempted in recent years to bridge the gap between the archaeological and ethnohistoric records (Adán et al. 2007; Castro and Adán 2001; Dillehay 2007, 2014; Gordon 1975, 2011; Harcha and Vásquez 2000; Mera and Harcha 1999; Mera et al. 2004, 2006; Zavala and Dillehay 2010; Zavala 2008) but more work remains to be done.

It is important to remember that, in contrast with many older histories that treat the colonization of the Americas as *a priori* conclusion, or as the inevitable domination of lands and people by the "superior" European civilizations (Prescott 1843 and 1847/1847; Turner 1893), colonization is a process, or give-and-take between colonizers and colonized (Gasco 2005). Spanish colonial efforts were not a monolithic enterprise wherein the methods employed for control were the same across the whole of the Spanish empire. Rather, local Spanish leaders developed their own ways of doing things, though under the purview of the Spanish crown (Lynch 1992; Restall 2003). In some cases, these modifications incorporated aspects of indigenous culture or worked as forms of negotiation between Spaniard and native (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005; Wernke 2011). Indigenous goods and practices also made their way back to Europe, part of what has been termed the "Columbian Exchange" (Crosby 1972). In confronting the Che, Spaniards adopted

some aspects of their culture such as clothes and food, indicating that the effects of contact were felt by both the Araucanians and Spanish, though to differing degrees (Berger 2001, 2006).

Culture Contact

Eschewing the colonialism label, studies of culture contact attempt to go beyond the one-sided nature of many colonial studies (Cusick 1998; Malinowski 1938; Paterson 2011). Culture contact research looks to the multiple forms of contact, including colonization, as well as the many ways in which different people interact and affect one another (Flexner 2014; Silliman 2001, 2005; Williamson 2004). Instead of being caught up in a methodology that treats colonization and power transfers as inevitabilities, researchers have sought to understand the effects of contact at different scales (Murray 2004; Trigger 1980). These works have indicated that even within seemingly opposed groups (colonizer/colonized, indigenous/foreign, etc.) multiple strategies existed for mitigating the effects of contact (Ferris 2009; Parmenter 2010; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; Arkush 2011; Witgen 2012). Some strategies were successful, many were not. The dichotomy of colonizer/colonized that has pervaded history, anthropology, sociology, and other disciplines has given way to examining the myriad possibilities of interaction and exchange (Góngora 1975/1998; Gosden 2004; Himelblau 2004). This may be due to a lack of consensus amongst researchers on how to interpret contact situations, including colonial events (Cooper 2005; Saunders 1998; Thomas 1989).

Each contact experience is different, though some general processes do occur. Contact forces groups to make definitions, usually "us" or "them," and hearkens back to the discussion of identity in Chap. 2. For indigenous people, it can cause a reevaluation of what it means to be a member of the group, fomenting the discussions on the nature of identity and ethnicity, or what it means to "be native" (Brubaker 2004; Jenkins 2008). Loomba (2005, p. 163) argues that in many cases these identities, particularly those she calls "anti-colonial," are "shaped by a shared national past or a cultural essence which in turn becomes synonymous with a religious or racial identity" (see also Dillehay and Zavala 2013) Thus, the nature of culture contact often forces the issue of identity creation or delineation as well as power relations.

Gosden argues:

> Dividing culture contact from colonialism is trickier. As there is no such thing as an isolated culture, all cultural forms are in contact with others. Culture contact is a basic human fact. Yet the nature of contacts between cultures varies enormously, and what differentiates colonialism from other aspects of contact are issues of power, which…is a differential power of material culture to galvanize and move people. Colonialism brings a new quality (or rather inequality) to human relations. (2004, p. 5).

It is these relationships of power that are central to understanding Che resilience, agency, and identity. Shifting relationships of power affect the development of

particular cultures from both the inside and outside (Foucault 1977; Saunders 1998; Wolf 1999, 2001). These shifts then affect individual and group identity and agency. How individuals and the wider indigenous society react to outside force can partially determine how the culture or cultural system will continue, how individuals and groups will perceive themselves and their culture during contact situations and into the future, and how they will be perceived by outside groups (Loomba 2005).

The Che straddle the line between colonialism-specific studies and wider contact studies. Both highlight the processes that go into interactions between cultures and the give-and-take between the groups in question. Contact studies can examine the multiple possibilities of interaction, incorporation, cooperation, and resistance that transpire in these situations. Colonization studies emphasize the differential power relationships that shift or are maintained as outside forces attempt control of indigenous people and territories. The Spanish efforts at Santa Sylvia specifically and in southern Chile generally were colonial in nature, but because Spanish success was limited, incorporating aspects of general contact studies can help draw out the possibilities behind Che success. This information can then be applied to broader examinations of both colonialism and contact worldwide.

Cultural Systems and Structures: Relationships of Power

Colonization-as-power (*sensu* Gosden 2004) is the process whereby cultural systems experience shifts from autochthonous to heterochthonous control of the structures described in Chap. 2 (Barker et al. 1994; Stern 1992). To say that a group has been colonized means that at least one but usually several of these structures come under the authority, or power of an outside group. The *institutions* within the structures that give them coherence may remain largely intact, but fall under the overall control of a foreign group. The indigenous cultural system is thus changed from what it was prior contact and includes modifications to power relations. For example, the Spanish managed to exert political and economic authority over many of the indigenous societies between the Southwestern United States and south-central Chile (Elliott 2009; Guy and Sheridan 1998; Kessell 2002). Though many facets of traditional cultures were maintained, such as some social organization or religious practice (Williams 1999; James 1997; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010), most political and economic structures came under Spanish authority. Colonized indigenous groups then experienced fundamental changes to their cultural system, making them similar to but distinct from what they were in pre-Hispanic times.

This is not to say that power shifts are unavoidable or unwanted, or that resistance to the effects contact does not occur. As Rothschild (2003, p. 3) points out, "…responses to invasion also held significant commonalities [among Native Americans], as they actively reorganized and altered European plans rather than passively acquiescing to them." How many indigenous groups reorganized and maintained aspects of traditional culture was not always done on their own terms.

Again using an example from the Southwestern United States, the Puebloans in northern New Spain (present-day New Mexico), moved religious ceremonies to secret underground settings to protect the *Katsina* cult from the Spanish (Adams 1991; Knaut 1995; Wilcox 2009; Kessell 1987). This may be seen as an act of rebellion, or a way to protect preexisting religious practice (Liebmann 2010). By so doing, however, the Puebloans were acting in their own way but not on their own terms. By taking the *Katsina* cult underground, they reacted to Spanish terms, imposition of Catholicism and punishment for traditional religious practice (Riley 1999), while under colonial authority.

In contrast, the Che set the terms whereby preexisting cultural practices were maintained along with autonomous control. This is illustrated in the archaeology of *parlamentos* ("parleys", or peace treaties) sites between Che and Spaniards beginning in the late sixteenth century (Contreras 2007; Dillehay and Zavala 2013; Pavez 2006; Zavala 2005; Zavala et al. 2013). Recent ethnohistoric and archaeological work at *parlamento* sites suggest that the Che, not the Spanish, specified where the *parlamento* would take place, who would camp where, and the terms of the treaty (Dillehay and Zavala 2013; Zavala and Dillehay 2010; Zavala et al. 2013). Excavations at Santa Sylvia may indicate a similar pattern occurring in the Pucón-Villarrica area. The lack of Spanish-style materials suggests that the Che may have dictated many aspects of Spanish settlement through use of Che, not European, ceramics, limited metalwork, and incorporated of wheat, barley, horses, and cows (see Chap. 5). These practices continued after the Spanish were expelled from south of the Bio Bio River (Dillehay 2014; Molina 1788/2000). General tensions that persisted in the area were encouraged by *toque* and kin in other parts of the Araucanía contributed to the limited occupation of the site, again precipitated by the actions of the Che as a reaction to the Spanish, but on their terms (Rosales 1674/1989).

Timing is also fundamental to both resistance and colonial efforts. *When* people act is as important as *how* and *why* they act. Resistance can be violent, such as in the Pueblo Revolt (Knaut 1995; Liebmann 2010; Silverberg 1994), Yucatec Maya revolt in Mexico (Jones 1989, 1998), and Tupac Amaru rebellion in Peru (Stern 1987; see also Robins 2005); or they can be seemingly passive forms of everyday resistance (Scott 1985, 1990). What is important about the above examples, however, is that these military confrontations or revolts came to pass *after* the Spanish had already established political and economic control, often within a few decades after initial contact. Authority over political and economic structures (and often social and ideological as well) had already shifted from indigenous to Spanish control decades before the uprisings came about.

The Che, in contrast, fought against the Spanish from the outset of first contact with Alvarado in 1536 (Amunátegui 1913; Armando de Ramón 1953) and the subsequent efforts of Valdivia and his successors beginning in 1541 (Valdivia 1545/1929, 1558/1929). Though initial accommodation and collusion appears to be transpired in some areas of the Araucanía (particularly along the coast near Concepción) among Che communities, perhaps aiding in the establishment of Spanish settlements such as Santa Sylvia and many others, the overwhelming evidence

points to Che leaders throughout the Araucania perpetuating resistance to the Spanish from initial contact. A general state of tension and conflict persisted from at least 1553 through 1602 throughout the Araucanía (Alvarez de Bahamondes 1600 in Medina 1961; Anonymous 1580 in Medina 1959; Benítez 1565 in Medina 1899; Obregón 1566 in Medina 1956; Quiroga 1577 in Medina 1957; Ruiz de Gamboa 1569 in Medina 1956; 1580 in Medina 1957; Santiago 1599 in Medina 1961; Toledo 1569 in Medina 1956). Drawing upon extensive social networks for warriors these leaders maintained a general state of tension that translated into a shift to a permanent war footing for the Che in the mid-sixteenth century and eventual expulsion of the Spanish (Ercilla y Zuñiga and 1569/2003; Quiroga 1566 in Medina 1963).

Spain in the Americas and Indios Amgios

Any Spanish success in the Americas relied heavily upon what the Spanish called *indios amigos* (Matthew and Oudjik 2007; Ruiz-Esquide 1993). Records indicate that native allies were central to the conquest of both the Inka and Aztec Empires, and without those allies it is probable that the Spanish endeavor in the Americas in general would have failed (Restall 2003; Schroeder 2007). Liebmann and Murphy (2010:4) point out that "indigenous people in the Americas navigated the colonial encounter at various times by means of cooperation, compliance, collusion… ambivalence…and a host of other calculated tactics" (see also Altman 2007). Thus, Spanish success came about from their ability to recruit indigenous allies, who often had agendas of their own irrespective of Spanish colonial intent (Restall 2003). Calling individuals and communities *indios amigos* ("friendly Indians") was a catchall term that included natives who did not directly confront the Spanish, slaves, and others that associated themselves with the Spanish, voluntarily or not. Often the numbers of supposed *indios amigos* were inflated to indicate Spanish superiority to leadership in Europe (Oudjik and Restall 2007).

Indios amigos who allied with the Spanish were found across Chile, in the Araucanía (Ruiz-Esquide 1993), and likely at Santa Sylvia (Gordon 2011). Pedro de Valdivia brought an estimated 2,000 Indian auxiliaries (often called *yanacona*) from Perú to aid in the conquest of Chile (Pumar 1990). Many of these *yanacona* aided in the establishment and construction of fort/cities in the Araucanía after 1550 (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/1990; Vivar 1558/1979). Spaniards also recruited Che allies, though these appear to be fewer in number (Rosales 1674/1989). One account suggests that, were it not for the "atrocities" committed by the Spanish, the Che would have "willingly" subjected themselves to Spain and been *indios amigos* (Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán 1673/2001). The truth of this statement is debatable, yet nonetheless numerous Che from Santiago to Punta Arenas willingly allied with the Spanish and were counted as *indios amigos*. Zavala (2008) estimates that approximately 80 % of the Che were *indios enemigos* ("enemy Indians"), 15 % *indios amigos*, and 5 % unaffiliated. In many cases, Che that were "given" as

part of an *encomienda* land grant were referred to as *indios amigos*, regardless of their actual status (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960; Quiroga 1690/1979; Rosales 1674/1989; see also Ruiz-Esquide 1993).

However, records suggest for many Che the nature of being an *indio amigo* was extremely fluid (Rosales 1674/1989; Valdivia 1552/1929; Vivar 1558/1979). Quiroga (1690/1979) and other writers state that many *indios amigos* were "traitorous," giving fealty to the Spanish in one moment, then fighting against them the next. These actions may illustrate aspects of an underlying ideology among the Che that served resisting the Spanish. Similar to other examples of "cooperation and collusion" (Liebmann and Murphy 2010), some Che actively sided with the Spanish in order to learn as much as they could (Ercilla y Zuñiga and 1569/2003). Others may have allied briefly with the Spanish, but social pressures from other Che communities caused them to break those ties (Toledo 1630/2009). Overall, many Che leaders seem to have worked to promote an ideology of "being Che," which aided in the creation of a "shared national past and cultural identity" (*sensu* Loomba 2005) and resistance to the Spanish. Later, this ideology would be recognized by the Spanish and other nations as they referred to the Che as *indomito* ("indomitable"; Arias de Saavedra 1650/1984) as well as affect how the Che viewed themselves, even to the present day.

Despite different and changing motives, with the help of *indios amgios* Spanish success was the greatest north of the capital of Santiago (established in 1541; Valdivia 1545/1929). Most of the northern indigenous groups had been assimilated by the Inkas and were then incorporated into the Spanish empire with little resistance (Ampuero 2007; Antei 1989; Bengoa 2004). As they had elsewhere in the Americas (Himmerich y Valencia 1996; Simpson 1950/2008), the Spanish instituted systems of *encomienda* grants in Chile, which included the "right" to use native labor for mining and agricultural work (Góngora 1970; Orellana 2005). Successful in the north after several years of effort (see Rosales 1674/1989), the *encomienda* system was never effectively incorporated south of the Bio Bío River. This is likely due to the inability of the Spanish to actually maintain general colonial control.

After the Second General Offensive of 1598–1602 (see Chap. 6), the *encomienda* system was replaced by attempts at *repartimientos*, or forced labor systems similar to other parts of the Spanish empire (Voss 2008). These were also unsuccessful, likely for the same reasons as the *encomienda* system. At the same time, Catholic missionaries attempted to institute the *reducción* ("reduction", or reservation) system, wherein populations of "converts" would be moved to new settlements or missions under the auspices of the missionaries. Through this, the missionaries thought to control Araucanian lands in piecemeal fashion (Boccara 1999b, 2007; Foerster 1996; Pinto et al. 1991). Like the other systems, *reducciónes* were unsuccessful until the late nineteenth century (Guevara 1913). The number of true Catholic converts appears extremely limited (Foerster 1996) and unlike other areas of the Spanish empire, the mission system was by and a large failure (Jackson 2000; Reff 1995; Wade 2008). Not until the Chilean army occupied the whole Araucanía in the late nineteenth century were the Mapuche placed on *reducciónes*, which were lands set aside based on *lof* and *rehue* traditional borders, rather than forced relocations (Dillehay, personal communication, 2011; see Chap. 7).

In sum, many researchers have pointed out that colonial interactions worldwide were and continue to be much more multifaceted than simple domination/resistance or colonizer/colonized dichotomies (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Patterson 2008; Rothschild 2003). Each culture dealt with European invasions and its attendant fallout in culturally specific ways. Some managed to sustain many of their preexisting cultural structures (Kicza and Horn 2012; Parmenter 2010) and others used different tactics and methods in order to maintain some degree of cultural order (Sheptak et al. 2011; Witgen 2012). What distinguishes the Che from other indigenous groups in the Americas is that the majority militarily confronted the Spanish and maintained control over their cultural system for over 350 years. Che resistance to the Spanish began at the outset of contact, on their own terms and through the flexible rubric of pre-Hispanic structures. The political, economic, social, and ideological structures already in place allowed for local actors, in concert with kin and compatriots elsewhere in the Araucania, to incorporate useful European products while modifying the system (i.e., increased importance of *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu*) in such a way that it (the system and the people) became highly resilient and capable of defeating the Spanish. Again, this does not mean that *all* Che were actively engaged in maintaining the cultural system or fighting with the Spanish, but the vast majority appear to have worked to propagate both resistance to the Spanish and pre-Hispanic culture.

Historical Treatments of the Che

How the Che have been treated and/or represented in the written record has had dramatic influence both on their perceptions of self, and how the Mapuche are treated by the modern Chilean state today. The majority of what is written, said, and interpreted about the Che is derived from the Spanish *cronistas* and government officials who wrote extensively in the mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Documents include official government, church and individual correspondence with the Spanish crown, journals, memoirs, and specific histories. These works constitute the primary source material from which other historical treatments of Araucanian/Spanish interaction derive (Bengoa 2000). Importantly, these early sources also color later interpretations of that interaction, as many authors had specific agendas in mind when writing, which included spreading Catholicism, requests for Coronal favors and subsidies, and justifications for actions. For example, Spanish soldiers such as Vivar (1558/1979) and Gonzalez de Najera (1614/1889), who fought in numerous battles, were inclined to call for the eradication and/or enslavement of the Araucanians rather than colonization and cohabitation. Missionaries, such as Rosales (1674/1989) and Luis de Valdivia (1615/1897), attempt to show the positive aspects of Che culture and argued for increased missionary activity to "civilize" the Che and bring them in to the Spanish fold. Government leaders, such as Pedro de Valdivia (1552/1929) and Rodrigo de Quiroga (1577 in Medina 1963), emphasized their actions against the Araucanians in defense of the

The Araucanía and
Che "*Estado*" in
Southern Chile

Pacific Ocean

Argentina

Legend

- - - Limit of the Che "*Estado*"

▨ Traditional Araucania

0 ⬤▭▭▭▭ 90km   N

Adapted From Dillehay & Gordon 1988

Fig. 4.1 Map of extent of the traditional Araucanía and the "*estado*"

crown in order to receive favors and monies. Because of this, researchers "need to maintain a cautious and healthy skepticism when weighing the relevance and veracity of colonial-era documents against the archaeological record and other cultural evidence" (Chacon and Mendoza 2007, p. 240). Though full of valuable information, documents should be treated as artifacts of the period in which they were created.

These early writers indicate that the Che often acted deliberately and strategically to maintain their traditional cultural system from the outset of contact, exercising agency in the perpetuation of their culture. Though tending to focus on one geographic area (the so-called *Estado*, see Fig. 4.1; Dillehay 2014), these documents suggest that the Che were culturally united to some degree from the coast to

the Andean foothills, operating far-flung networks that were used for trade, warriors, religious activity, and other practices. Ercilla's description of a *cahuin* that brought together numerous *lonko* and *ülmen* for the election of the *toquis* Caupolican and Lautaro suggests that some leaders, such as Colo Colo, were able to bring people together through networks and alliances before the Spanish incursion (Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003). Olaverria (Olaverria 1594 in Medina 1963) indicates that *ayllarehue* had increased in importance by the end of the sixteenth century, with leaders drawing upon disparate communities. These networks were likely in place before the Spanish arrival and remained in use at least until the late nineteenth century. It is possible that the initial *cahuin* described by Ercilla brought *lonko* and *ülmen* from Pucón-Villarrica. An attack on the fort/city of Villarrica soon after the death of Valdivia in AD 1553 indicates coordination across distances, perhaps employing *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu* spatial organization and connections (González 1986).

Importantly, early chronicles indicate that the political, economic, social, and religious structures of the Che cultural system appear centered in the *lof* and *regua* at the Spanish arrival (Valdivia 1552/1929). Religious activities such as *nguillatun*, which Góngora Marmolejo (1577/1990) and Mariño de Lobera (1595/1960) call *borracheras* appear to happen frequently, directed by *boquibuye* and "priests" (*sacerdotes*). Each chronicler speaks to leaders, often mixed between *lonko*, *ulmen*, and *toqui*, calling upon thousands of warriors when battling the Spanish. Though the numbers may be inflated, they indicate that leaders were nonetheless able to draw upon considerable forces, likely across distances and utilizing kin and social networks. As noted previously, none of these early chronicles indicate what the Che called themselves. Boccara (1996, 2007) argues for the name *reche*, meaning "true people" and Sánchez (2007) argues for *che* or "person" by the end of the sixteenth century, with which I agree. Other terms such as *Promocaes* are mentioned, as in Vivar's chronicle (Vivar 1558/1979, p. 89) though this is in reference to indigenous groups living around Santiago. Despite this lack of a specific name, the communication and coordination among communities across the Araucanía, indicated in numerous sources (Anonymous 1580 in Medina 1959; Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003; Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960; Quiroga 1577 in Medina 1960) indicates Che having a shared cultural identity recognized across distances. Identity as "being Che," individual and community agency in actions against the Spanish, and strategic use of the cultural system can be discerned among the Che in these early chronicles.

The beginning of the seventeenth century marked a change in Chile in several ways. First, the expulsion of the majority of Spaniards south of the Bio Bío River in 1602 again affected colonial attitudes toward the conquest, culminating in the peace treaty at Quillin in 1641 (Abreu y Bertodano and 1740). The treaty between the Spanish crown and the Che, dictated in large part by the Che, "ceded" lands south of the Bio Bio River, which was established as the southern frontier of the Spanish empire in Chile (Bengoa 2003). Second, the arrival of Franciscan missionary Luis de Valdivia began a period of "defensive war" on the frontier, which was intended to maintain the Bio Bío while sending missionary parties south. This campaign lasted for about 20 years before the removal of Father Valdivia and increased conflict around the

frontier. These hostilities culminated in attacks on Spanish settlements north of the Bio Bio, including the destruction of Chillan in 1655 (Foerster 1996; Zapater 1992).

Most information on the Che in seventeenth century is derived from Catholic missionares, such as Rosales (1674/1989), and Ovalle, (1646/2003), who provided invaluable insights into extensive treatments of custom, social and political organization, and history throughout, based on personal travels throughout the Araucania, not just in *El Estado*. Rosales mentions the importance of *lof* and *regua*, and is among the first to describe the increasing importance of *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu* (Rosales 1674/1989). He also breaks down more completely the distinctions between *lonko*, *ülmen*, and *toqui*, paying particular attention the role of the latter in the ability of the Araucanians to defeat the Spanish (Ibid, p. 117). The work of Rosales, compared to earlier works, also delineates some of the changes that came about in the Che system, particularly the emphasis on broader spatial oranizations, the aforementioned *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu*, and the incorporation of horses into the creation of the Che cavalry. Of note is his attention to detail, particularly regarding Che customs in *kuel* construction and *nguillatun* ceremonies, which has been utilized extensively by later historians, anthropologists, and in the present research (Bengoa 2000; Cooper 1946; Dillehay 2007; Titiev 1951).

In the mid-seventeenth century, several new chronicles were published that recounted the history of Che and Spanish interaction from the efforts of Almagro to the peace treaty at Quillin. These histories relied on earlier *cronistas* such as Vivar, Marmolejo, and Ercilla for the sixteenth century information, then drew upon their own experiences for most events in the seventeenth century. The first of these was written in 1646 by Alonso de Ovalle, a Jesuit missionary born in Chile in 1601 and who attempted to preach amongst the Che in the *Estado* region for several years (Ovalle 1646/2003). Ovalle's history draws primarily on Ercilla for the events of the sixteenth century, then his own experiences until the early 1640's. Ovalle calls for the necessary conversion of the Che and makes particular reference to the "martyrdom" of numerous missionaries as justification for taking over Che territory. Ovalle, like Rosales and others, first provides a general ethnography of the Araucanians, noting their social customs in *nguillatun* and other festivals, spatial divisions in river valleys, political organization around *lonko* and *toqui*, and connections between communities from the coast to the Andean foothills (Ovalle 1646/2003).

These early chronicles, though flawed, provide essential insights into understanding Che identity agency, political, economic, social, and ideological structures, and evolution through contact with the Spanish, which can then be compared to the archaeological record. These chronicles show that Spanish colonial effort in Chile was not a monolithic enterprise, but a process as the Spanish employed different methods to subject the Che without long-lasting success. Additionally, the Che themselves are shown to be composed of competing factions and with varied interests, such as the distinctions between *indios amigos* and *indios enemigos*. Rosales (1674/1989) indicates that some *indios amigos* readily broke agreements with the Spanish, shifting alliances when deemed necessary to protect the interests of the *lof* or *regua*.

From the mid-sixteenth into the seventeenth centuries these chronicles suggest that the Che became more united across distances, under the direction of *lonko* and *toqui* (Rosales 1674/1989; Quiroga 1690/1979). The importance of the *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu* as aspects of social organization make their first appearance in the Spanish chronicles in the late sixteenth century (Olaverria 1594 in Medina 1960). This indicates that, along with a semipermanent war footing, Che agents again strategically restructured their cultural system toward broader social networks (Rosales 1674/1989; see also Goicovich 2006; Silva 2001; Silva and Tellez 2001). At the same time, the Che continued to incorporate and develop Spanish materials for their own use. By the early seventeenth century, the Che cavalry was seen as equal, if not superior, to that of the Spanish (Lewis 1994), and wheat and barley were cultivated to great effect (Harcha and Vásquez 2000). Other materials, such as metal, did not enter the general Araucanian toolkit; rather, metal objects were used as markers of prestige captured in war, rather than utilitarian objects (Rosales 1674/1989).

Chilean Historians from the Eighteenth Century to the Present

The dawn of the eighteenth century coincided with what appears to be a gradual easement of overt, direct hostilities between the Che and Spanish. Since the destruction of Villarrica in 1602 the main interactions between Che and Spaniard during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came in the form of Catholic missionaries (Olivares 1793/1874; Treutler 1883/1958). The last large scale (but not Araucanía-wide) Che offensive north of the Bio Bio River in 1655 gave way to a generalized frontier détente, with an increase in trade and exchange between the two groups and sporadic offensives (Berger 2006; Villalobos et al. 1982) Instead of direct battles, the Che engaged in small-scale raids, or *maloca*, into Spanish-controlled territory north of the Bio Bio River and across the Andes into Argentina (León 1989, 1990). This allowed the government in Santiago to dedicate more time and resources to building up the northern infrastructure while keeping a wary eye on the southern frontier into the eighteenth century. The primary European efforts in southern Chile involved the missionary work of the Jesuits and Dominican orders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which had little success (Hanisch 1974; Olivares 1760 in Barros Arana 1874).

Chilean historiography has its basis and greatest influences in the works of the early Republican historians who wrote after Chilean independence from Spain, during the Pacific War between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia from 1870 to 1875, and after the "Pacification of Arauco" in 1885. Limited historical work transpired during the earliest portion of the Republican period between 1810, Chile's official independence year and about 1840, as numerous intrigues, civil wars, and international troubles between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia constrained the publication of Chilean histories (Collier and Sater 2004).

The "father" of Chilean history, Diego Barros Arana, wrote his multivolume *Historia de Chile* (*History of Chile*) over the course of 20 years, publishing the whole in 1902 (Barros Arana 1887/1999). Barros Arana also compiled a *Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile* (Collection of Chilean Historians) with other historians such as Tomas Guevara and Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna. This multivolume compendium of most, if not all, Spanish *cronistas* and other historical works included chronicles, letters, official correspondence, and other materials such as the rediscovered Olivares (1760) and Carvallo (1792/1875). Heavily involved in politics, Barros Arana wrote during the War of the Pacific, and the subsequent "pacification" of south-central Chile. His attitudes toward the Mapuche are forceful in his works. Though extremely detailed, the writings of Barros Arana reflect extreme bigotry against the Mapuche, considering them "filthy," "barbaric," "uncivilized," and in need of either subjugation or eradication (Barros Arana 1887/1999; Lewis 1994).

This attitude was not unique. As Lewis (1994) points out, at the time Chile had just won the War of the Pacific, and with the military now focused on conquering Mapuche lands, Guevara, Barros Arana, and others wrote that the Mapuche were "thieves" and "barbarians" and that the atrocities committed by the army were justified (or ignored) in order to make the country "whole." This attitude colored not only the histories written, but the attitudes of Chileans in general which often persist to the present-day (Dillehay 2002; Dillehay and Rothammer 2013; Villalobos 1995; Villalobos et al. 1982).

These attitudes are important for understanding the representations of the Che in history and popular culture, which influenced both their sense of cultural identity and their treatment at the hands of the Chilean government. On a basic level, references to the Che/Mapuche as "savages" and "barbarians" reified in the minds of many later researchers and others inherent racial characteristics that underlie the nature of Che culture and development. Terms used to refer to Che/Spanish conflict, such as "uprising," and "rebellion," are incorrect. Neither 1553 nor 1598 were rebellions, nor uprisings. They were *offensives* by the Che within a protracted war against the Spanish. The offensives of 1553 and 1598 in particular were general offensives because they incorporated the whole of the Araucanía and the majority of Che communities and individuals, and both resulted in the complete expulsion of Europeans to north of the Bio Bio. From 1550 to 1598 the entire "War of Arauco" was a continuous round of tensions and battles; thus regional or localized offensive and defensive actions by both the Spanish and Che ensued. But to characterize anything the Che did as a "rebellion" or "uprising" implies long-term Spanish colonial success or control, or the loss of Che autonomy. Neither of these things occurred. But because these terms continue to be used (Foerster 2004; Goicovich 2006; León 2011; Zavala et al. 2013), the concept that the Che were colonized continues to be perpetuated within historical and anthropological research, which ignores the preponderance of interdisciplinary evidence that points to Che autonomy from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, and the tenuous nature of Spanish colonial attempts.

Other historians and anthropologists have argued for Mapuche "ethnogenesis" in the eighteenth century, which perspective influenced Chilean law (see Chap. 7).

Boccara (1999b) states that the modern Mapuche exist as a result of Spanish interaction, and bear very little resemblance to their Che forbears (*Reche*, in Boccara's terminology; see Chap. 2). He bases much of this argument on an interpretation of what the Che may have called themselves in the early Hispanic period, the use of the name "Mapuche" beginning in the eighteenth century, and interpretations of the changes in Che culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Boccara 1996, 1999b, 2002a, 2007; see also Martínez 2004; Sánchez 2007). This position is based almost completely on the documentary record and virtually ignores the anthropological treatments of the Che/Mapuche (Dillehay 2014).

While I do agree that considerable changes transpired among the Che/Mapuche during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the nature of those changes is not ethnogenesis, or the creation of a new ethnicity or ethnic identity. As I demonstrate in the following chapters, Che/Mapuche identity remained consistent, seen in the creation of material culture and its persistence through time, as well as a finer reading of the documentary record that points to that same consistency, rather than a sea change in identity and social organization alluded to by Boccara (1999a, 2002a). Not only does the archaeology at Santa Sylvia indicate the resilience of the cultural system and structures of the Che/Mapuche until the late nineteenth century, other areas of the Araucanía indicate the same pattern. Dillehay (2014, p. 287) considers the changes to the Che\Mapuche as an "ethnomorphosis" rather than ethnogenesis or the creation of a new identity. Based on information from archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric investigations in the Purén-Lumaco valley, Dillehay argues that Che/Mapuche identity simply "intensified and changed into a more formal and politically and materially (archaeologically) visible entity" (ibid, p. 288). Che/Mapuche identity, rather than being the outgrowth of influences from outside parties, such as the Spanish, is like any other culture: a result of the continuing processes of cultural development and evolution (Boyd and Richerson 1985).

Summary

Why be concerned about this, the attitudes of researchers, the uses of terminologies and the nature of the documentary record? In simple terms, words have meaning. Referring to the Che offensives as "rebellions" and "uprisings," or arguing for ethnogenesis creates what Dillehay (2002) calls an "incomplete history and a biased identity" for the Che/Mapuche through time. Whether this is done intentionally or not is irrelevant; what is relevant is what the terms and historiography *do*. They give primacy to the biases inherent in and the incomplete nature of the historical record and they diminish the legitimacy of Che/Mapuche cultural identity and the long-term processes that have gone into the creation of the same. I do not argue that the Che/Mapuche are somehow "better" or "pristine" or anything else, nor do I wish to create a hagiography. However, how the Che/Mapuche are treated by historians and anthropologists is important and affects how they are regarded as a people today (see Chap. 7). As stated above, researchers need to "maintain a cautious and healthy

skepticism" with regards to the historical records (and archaeological record, for that matter) and incorporate as many lines of evidence as possible.

As I have shown here, the historical record, particularly the documents from the earliest contact period, is essential for Che, but is not the *only* line of evidence. The Che straddle the line between "history" and "prehistory" (two terms I have tried to avoid; see Lightfoot 1995; Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013a, b) and any research requires that documents, archaeological materials, and ethnographic data be consulted. But these sources of information, it must be remembered, are incomplete and products of their time and place. By using them together, however, "if critically read, there is a wealth of information…that can be employed…in studies of culture change" (Lightfoot 1995, p. 205).

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Chapter 5
Resilience on the Ground:
The Archaeology, Ethnohistory,
and Ethnography of Santa Sylvia

In the following chapter, I present the geographical and archaeological context of Santa Sylvia, which contains archaeological correlates of Che resilience and is comparable to other archaeological sites in the Araucanía, within the framework of Resilience Theory (RT). What makes Santa Sylvia unique is that it is the only excavated site to date that contains Che and Spanish elements in one place as well as two pre-Hispanic Che occupations. If the cultural system of the Che of Santa Sylvia was largely unchanged by the Spanish, as I argue, the material culture should hypothetically reflect a continuity in artifact styles, settlement patterns, and religious practice from before contact between the two cultures. Below is a brief outline of the geographic context for Santa Sylvia, a summary of the initial research carried out by Américo Gordon at the site from 1988 to 1999, and my archaeological excavations carried out at the site.

Site Context: The Pucón-Villarrica Region

Geographically, Pucón-Villarrica is dominated by the Andes Mountain range, which runs north-south to the east of Santa Sylvia. Several volcanoes are visible from the site, including Villarrica, Quetrupillán, and Lanín (Fig. 5.1). To the northeast about 40 km (25 miles) are the remains of the Sollipulli Volcano, the primary obsidian source for tools recovered from sites in the region and elsewhere in the Araucanía (López et al. 2009; Stern et al. 2009, 2012). Lake Villarrica (*Mallohuelafquen*, or "Sea of White Earth" in *mapudungun*) lies immediately west of Pucón, Lake Caburgua due north of Santa Sylvia, and several other montane lakes are scattered throughout the Andes along the border with Argentina. These lakes were likely formed during the last glaciation, around 15,000 years ago, and filled with water after the glacial retreat (Moreno and Gibbons 2007; Pucón 2007). Numerous rivers and streams, forming part of the Tolten hydrographic basin, run down from these lakes, which combine to form the Liucura River which runs just below Santa Sylvia. The Liucura joins with the Caburgua River to the west of the site before combining with the Pucón River, which runs into Lake Villarrica. The lake itself drains to the west out by the present-day town of Villarrica, through the
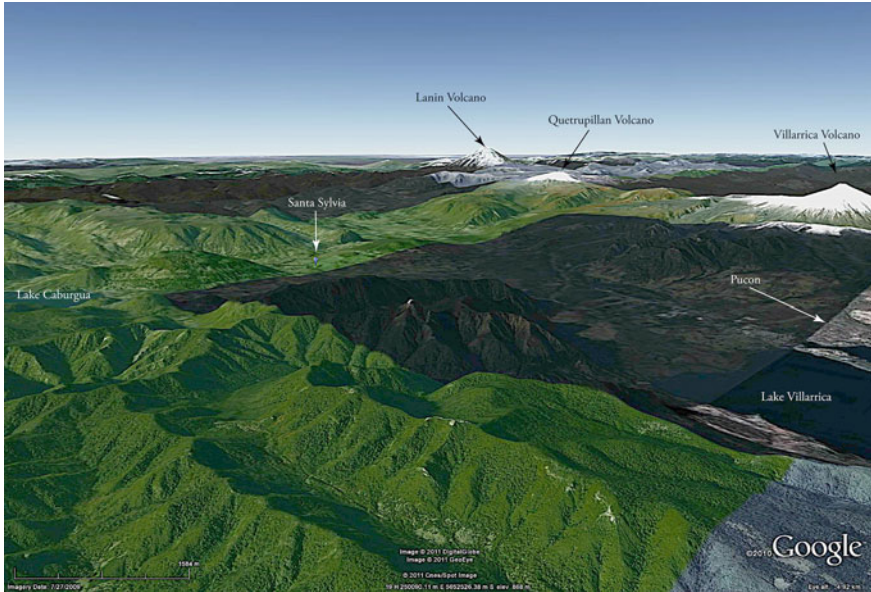
Fig. 5.1 Map of location of Pucón, Santa Sylvia, and the volcanoes described in the text

Toltén River which runs west to the Pacific Ocean (Pucón 2007; Saavedra and Sanzana 1991). The Toltén was an important route of both communication and conquest from pre-Hispanic to Hispanic times (Inostroza 1992; Ovalle 1646/2003).

Volcanic activity has been continuous since the end of the Pleistocene and early Holocene. The Villarrica volcano (called *Quetrulpillan* or "God of Fire," and *Pukon* or "dove's nest" in *mapudungun*) is one of the most active volcanoes in all of South America, having erupted at least 59 times since AD 1558 (Fig. 5.2). The last two major eruptions happened around 1750 BC and AD 330, one of which may have deposited a thick ash layer seen in the stratigraphy at Santa Sylvia (see Sauer 2012). These eruptions have provided abundant and fertile soil throughout the region, as well as the large quantities of basalt, granite, quartz, and other minerals (Pucón 2007).

The numerous water sources, combined with the temperate climate and ancient volcanic activity have created rich soils conducive to numerous plants both native and foreign. The area of Pucón-Villarrica lies in a "western climate type with Mediterranean influence" deciduous forest (ibid), dominated by oak and laurel trees in the lower elevations, with oak and araucaria pine trees up in the mountains (Aldunate 1989). The average yearly temperatures range between 6 and 18 °C (42 and 70 °F), with an average rainfall of between 1,100 and 2,100 mm (42 and 82 inches).[1] Because of these factors, as well as the fertile volcanic soil, corn,

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[1] In an El Niño year, such as that of 2009–2010, the quantity of rainfall can increase dramatically. Benjamin Davis informed that, by December of 2009, over 3,300 mm (130 inches) of rain had fallen in Pucón.

Fig. 5.2 View of Santa Sylvia with Villarrica volcano in background, looking southeast

wheat, and barley are grown in abundance (Pucón 2007). Today, the majority of economic activity in Pucón-Villarrica relies on tourism and agriculture (ibid).

These environmental factors appear to have remained relatively unchanged from the late Pleistocene and Holocene epochs to the present day, at least until the arrival of the Spanish (Moreno and Gibbons 2007; Torrejón and Cisternas 2002). Apart from the important Araucanian pine (*Araucaria araucara*), *laurel* (*Laurelia semprevirens*), coligüe (Chusquea sp.), and *lingue* (*Persea lingue*) trees, the vegetation has included *boldo* (*Peumus boldus*), Chilean wineberry also known as *maqui* (*Aristotelia chilensis*), and *copihue* (*Lapageria rosea*), among other plants (Gordon 2011). Fauna include gray fox, mountain lion, skunk, hare, wild duck, partridge, salmon (in the lakes) and dog, as well as llama. The llama appears to have disappeared soon after the arrival of the Spanish, likely supplanted by horse, cows, sheep, and pigs (Gordon 2011; Valdivia 1550/1929).

The site of Santa Sylvia itself lies at about 351 m (1,150 feet) above sea level, at the top of a steep rise on the south bank of the Liucura River, approximately 14 km (9 miles) east of Pucón and about 1 km (0.8 miles) west of the small town of Villa San Pedro (see Fig. 5.1). The site affords a strategic view of the Pucón river valley to the west (with Lake Villarrica visible in the distance) as well as views of the various valleys that lead to year-round passes between Chile and Argentina. The fertile, along with the strategic location and the possibility of precious minerals in

the rivers and mountains, made Santa Sylvia a promising place of habitation, not just for the Spanish but for the Che as well. Rosales, writing in the seventeenth century, stated that the area "is the most delightful, the most enjoyable, and has the best vista, of all that are found in the Kingdom of [Chile]" (Rosales 1674/1989, p. 411).

Discovery and Testing

Toward the end of 1987, workers of Fondo El Coihue discovered ceramic Spanish-style roof tiles during tree removal. The landowner, the late Benjamin Davis, contacted archaeologist Américo Gordon from the Universidad de la Frontera in Temuco, who visited the site in January of 1988. Gordon identified the possibility of buried subsurface features, indicated by several raised mounds. He inferred that the mounds and associated artifacts on the ground surface were from the colonial period. After discussion with Davis, Gordon received permission to excavate immediately with funds provided by Fondo El Coihue (Gordon 2011). According to Gordon, the lack of documentary evidence[2] for the region led him to name the site "Casa Fuerte Santa Sylvia" in honor of Davis' wife Sylvia, who was an active supporter of the project[3] (Gordon 1991).

Initial test excavations were carried out April to May 1988. Gordon laid out the site in 2.5 m × 2.5 m units, beginning in the northwest portion of the mounds and following their outline from east to south. The units were identified alphabetically north-south and numerically east-west.[4] Initially, the grid covered 6,600 m^2, which was reduced through the course of excavation to about 2 hectares. This appeared to encompass the whole of the site, or at least the Spanish *recinto*.[5] Of that, about 600 m^2 were excavated during the course of Gordon's project, or field seasons in 1988, 1989, and 1990 (Fig. 5.3; Gordon 2011).

Based on his initial work, Gordon hypothesized that Santa Sylvia contained the remains of a *casa fortificada* ("fortified house") built by a Spanish *encomendero* sometime in the mid- to late-sixteenth century. He believed that the *encomendero* had primary residence in Complex B, the only one of the five to have a tile roof, indicated by the quantity of tiles found in and around this complex and the lack of tiles with the other complexes. Gordon suggested that the other complexes may have been roofed with thatch. Gordon further argued that Complexes B and C

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[2] See Chap. 6 for information on the possibility that Santa Sylvia was first named Antelepe.

[3] The eponymous Sylvia, wife of Benjamin, contended that the site was named for Saint Sylvia, upon whose feast day the site was discovered. Gordon, however, explicitly stated at the Congreso Nacional de Arqueologia Chilena in 1988 that the site was indeed named after Sylvia, wife of Benjamin (Gordon 1991).

[4] The location of Gordon's primary datum is unknown, and thus the exact locations of his excavation units are impossible to determine at this point in time.

[5] The *recinto* is the area I identify as surrounded by the modern fence (see Fig. 5.7).
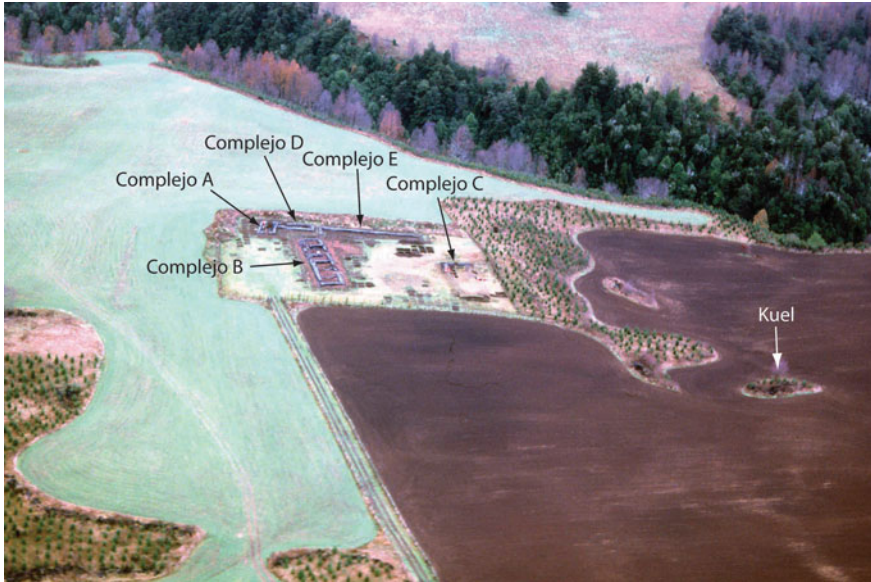
Fig. 5.3 Overhead view of Santa Sylvia during Gordon's excavations, noting location of the five "complexes" described in the text. From Gordon 2011, photo courtesy T. Dillehay

(which Gordon called the "*indios amigos* house") appeared to have been made by stacking three rows of river cobble held together by clay separated by about 50 cm of compacted earth to form thick defensive walls (Fig. 5.4). The upper structure of the wall was then formed by compacted earth, the entire wall reaching a height of about 2 m. Complex A may have served as the chapel or mausoleum, and Complex C was the habitation/work area of the *indios amigos* that worked at the site. Gordon hypothesized that the construction, which required a skilled workforce experienced in working with stone and making roof tiles, may have been done initially by *yanacona* from Peru as the Che likely had no individuals skilled in working stone or making tiles (Harcha et al. 1999). Gordon further argued that the site was occupied until about 1598, abandoned in order to flee to the defense of Villarrica, which had just come under siege (Tribaldos de Toledo 1630/2009). At some point after the Spanish abandonment, the site was burned to the ground (Gordon 1991; Harcha et al. 1999).

Later excavations focusing on the Spanish layer, which Gordon determined to end with the lowest roof tile, or about 30 cm below the present ground surface[6] (Harcha et al. 1999). Some test pits went deeper for a stratigraphic profile, yet the

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[6] Today, the plastic sheeting Gordon placed to mark the lowest level of excavation can be seen in many areas of the site, having eroded over the course of 20 years and showing that the excavations performed were not very deep. Subsequent excavation also confirmed an average limit of about 30 cm depth of excavation.

Fig. 5.4 View of wall in
Complex C, looking east

majority of work was limited to the Spanish occupation due to time and funding
constraints, even though Gordon suggested that a *ruka* may have existed at the site
previously (ibid).

Priority was given to Complex B, which was excavated in its entirety. The
complex measured approximately 38 m north–south by 10.5 m east–west, subdi-
vided into two "houses," (20.4 and 17.4 m long, respectively) each with a separate
doorway (Fig. 5.5). Each "house" was further divided into three rooms (*recintos*)
separated by earthen walls which were somewhat thicker in House #1. The
threshold of each doorway was formed by a row of unworked river cobbles covered
partially by a coligüe beam, which appeared to be burned. No furniture or similar
household items were recovered, as they may have been burned or moved during
the evacuation. A limited number of iron nails were discovered, which Gordon
notes that "due to the lack of iron in Chile and the high price of nails," the
constructors of Santa Sylvia opted for wooden dowels made from coligüe as fas-
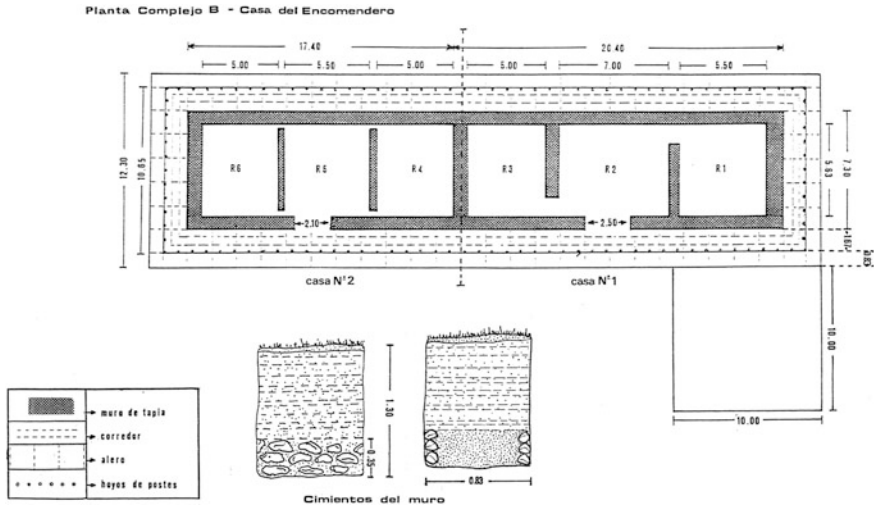teners and support (Gordon 2011; Guevara 1902).

Fig. 5.5 Diagram of rooms within Complex B (*casa del encomendero*). From Gordon (2011)

Gordon argued that only the roof of Complex B had tiles, perhaps made on-site by *yanacona* or *indios amigos*, or possibly imported from Villarrica (Harcha et al. 1999). Of particular note in Complex B was the discovery and removal of two buried barrels made from *coligüe* branches lashed together with leather (see Gordon 2011). One barrel was filled with wheat and barley, the other, slightly larger barrel was filled with corn all with evidence of burning. Gordon estimated that the barrels held about 9 m^3 of material (2.73 m^3 of wheat and barley and 6.14 m^3 of maize, respectively; Rossen 2011), which could have fed 21 people for 1 year. This amount of material, Gordon argued, indicated intensive agriculture utilizing oxen-pulled plowing. Additionally, Gordon noted that subterranean storage was not generally not used by the Spanish. Elsewhere in the Araucania, maize and other seed materials were stored by the Che in large ceramic vessels, and *Pehuenche* communities along the mountains utilized subterranean silos (Gordon 2011). The use of buried coligüe barrels, Gordon suggested, may indicate a mixing of traditions for food storage between the Spanish and Che, particularly as the barrels were buried in the *encomendero*'s house and not in Complex C, the so-called *indios amigos* house (Gordon 2011; Rossen 2011).

Excavations in Complex A also revealed several burials in what Gordon considered to be the "chapel/mausoleum" of the *encomendero* (Gordon 1991; Harcha et al. 1999). This conclusion was reached during the test excavations of 1988–1989, based on the location of the structure and its layout, which appeared to be similar to a chapel unearthed at a site named Puerto del Hambre (Gordon 1991; Ortiz 1977). Further excavations in this complex revealed a thick layer of charcoal with ceramic fragments, grinding stones, and cow bone mixed in, just above what Gordon termed as the "floor" of the chapel. Removal of the charcoal and the floor layer revealed 8 burials—five European males, two indigenous females, and one infant (Fig. 5.6).
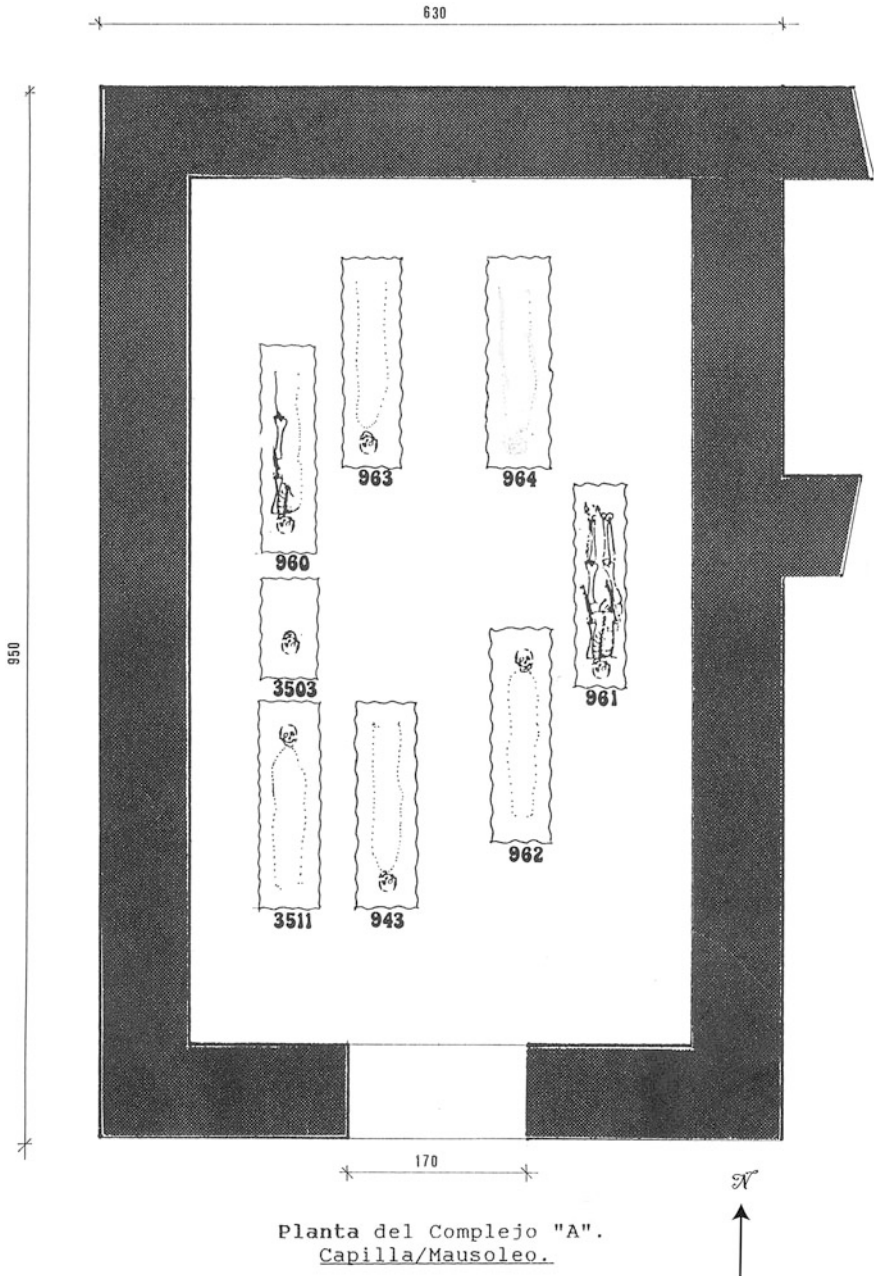
Fig. 5.6 Locations of burials uncovered in Complex A (*capilla*). From Gordon (2011)

Five of the burials consisted only of cranial remains: #943, a male; 962, a female; 963, a male; 3,503, a male; and 3,511, a female. One burial (#960) had a cranium and most of the left side of a Spanish male, and another (nicknamed "Carlitos", #961) contained most of the remains of an individual of about 25 years of age who died from some form of trauma. A final burial (#964) contained no human remains (Gordon 2011).

Other burials were found in what Gordon defined as a "cemetery" between Complexes B and C, though how many is unclear from the surviving notes. Two things are of particular note in the cases of each burial: first, the European burials were oriented with the head to the south and all the indigenous burials were oriented with the head to the north. Gordon proposed that this orientation indicated that the European, Catholic males would be resurrected facing the chapel altar, while the indigenous "pagan" females would arise to face Villarrica Volcano. If such is the case, then this may indicate that, though the indigenous females were part of the *encomendero*'s house, and would have been baptized into the Catholic Church, retention of indigenous burial rites may have been maintained. Then, at least at Santa Sylvia, the Spanish did not exercise religious control over the Che, and the amount of syncretism that transpired appears extremely limited. Second, no funerary material was recovered from any burial, which Gordon believed stemmed from an "eagerness to eliminate all vestiges of traditional indigenous funerary rites" (ibid).

During the excavations of Complex A, another complex was found immediately adjacent to the east. Excavations in this area, labeled Complex D (see Fig. 5.3) were limited, and Gordon estimated that the small structure (12.4 m × 4.2 m) served as a work area or storage. Separated by Complex D by about 1.25 m, excavations in the area labeled Complex E revealed the remains of three small firepits, fractured grinding stones, a few fragments of Spanish ceramics, and other limited materials. These artifacts were part of what Gordon termed to be the "Soldier's quarters, a complex about 38 m long east-west and 10 m wide north-south." This complex had essentially the same dimensions as Complex B, though it lacked the internal divisions, three-layer stone foundation, tile roof, and artifact quantity.

Excavations at Complex C were limited, according to Gordon's remaining notes (Gordon 2011), to "four squares" in addition to the work during the test season that identified the wall and northwest corner of the complex. In total, Complex C measured 29 m north–south and 12 m east–west, bordered on the west by a patio area and on the east by a "defensive trench" with a stone-lined defensive wall above the Liucura River. The only information available from the work at Complex C indicates the recovery of ceramic fragments and lithic material, particularly obsidian flakes, and points to the lack of roof tiles. Recent survey indicated that more than four squares were excavated, perhaps as many as 8–10 in the southern half of the complex. These units remained open after the termination of Gordon's work. Several units, perhaps 10–12, were excavated in the defensive trench, information on which is not available.

Approximately 40,000 ceramic fragments were recovered by Gordon, not including roof tiles, which were divided into 12 types (see Gordon 2011). Of those

fragments, the majority[7] appear to have been of indigenous make, varying between red, black, gray, white, and brown slip with sand temper. Several of the painted red-on-white or red-on-gray Valdivia style fragments were also recovered. Other ceramic artifacts included several pipes, vessel lids, and gaming dice. These dice were part of a game called *Quechucahuiñ* played by the Araucanians from a possible Inka influence and mentioned by Rosales and Ovalle (Mera, personal communication, 2009; Ovalle 1646/2003 Rosales 1674/1989).

Several thousand lithic artifacts were recovered, including projectile points, grinding stone, pipes, axes, scrapers, awls, and lances, the latter possibly for drawing blood. Most of the larger artifacts (were made of andesite or granite, likely made from the abundant river cobbles. Smaller artifacts (projectile points, lances) were made from obsidian or chert/chalcedony. The exact number of lithic artifacts recovered is unknown.

Analysis of agricultural materials by Rossen indicates the use of maize, wheat, barley, and potatoes during the Spanish occupation, as well as the continued use of wild plants (Rossen 2011). As noted above, the two storage barrels under the floor of Complex B were filled with wheat, barley, and corn in quantities that may have supported 21 people for a year. Of the maize, two types were identified. The first, composing 90 % of the sample, was a known strain named "Arauco." The other type, which composed 10 % of the sample, was of an unknown type, apparently imported from elsewhere. This type may have been brought in by Peruvian *yanacona*, though this is speculative (Gordon 2011).

Finally, numerous animal bones were recovered. Gordon speculated that llamas (*Lama glama*, known as *ovejas de la tierra* or "land sheep" by some *cronistas*) were used certainly before and probably after the arrival of the Spanish, though no remains were recovered. In total, 78 bones were identified, 66 % from equines and 33 % from bovines, with 1 identified as pig (ibid).

In total, Gordon excavated approximately 600 m^2, which appear to have included the entirety of Complexes A, B, and D, most of Complexes C and E, portions of the eastern defensive trench, and other test areas within the confines of the barbed-wire fence (Dillehay, personal communication, 2011). Overall, Gordon's work was one of the first to examine the interactions between the Che and the Spanish in the mid-sixteenth century. His research, though unfinished, provides a baseline of information and estimated dates on the Spanish occupation of Santa Sylvia and some of the material correlates of European/Indigenous interaction. Due to time constraints, Gordon was unable to explore the development of Che culture through time at the site. Gordon recognized the possibility of a previous occupation (Gordon 2011; see also Dillehay and Saavedra 2010), but focused on the Spanish constructions and artifacts, or any occupations lying away from the constructed complexes.

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[7] The exact number of Spanish- style fragments recovered from by Gordon is unknown, though inferred from the surviving notes, it is likely that less than 1 % could be positively identified as European/Spanish in origin.

Recognizing the importance of Santa Sylvia both for the colonial period and for analyzing the development of Araucanian culture, this present research proposed to excavate in areas outside of Gordon's excavations and probe deeper to determine any sequences of occupation at the site. Using Gordon's research as a baseline, further investigation at Santa Sylvia has the potential, now and into the future, to provide essential information about both Che and Spanish culture in the area.

Other research conducted near Santa Sylvia sheds some light on the use of the area by both the Che/Mapuche and Spanish. Dillehay et al. (1986, 1990; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010) have conducted extensive survey and testing of the immediate area of the site, focusing on the identification of *kuel* ritual mounds, *nguillatun* ceremonial fields, and Che habitation sites (Dillehay 2007, 2010). Test excavations and radiocarbon dates indicate that the first *kuel* were constructed in the area beginning around AD 1200, and constitute the second-highest known concentration of mounds in south-central Chile, second only to Purén-Lumaco (Dillehay 2007). Habitational sites and cemeteries near Villarrica Lake, particularly on the peninsula, were occupied or used by about AD 1200 (Navarro et al. 2012; Seelenfreund and Contreras 2001).

Surveys conducted by Mera and colleagues (Mera and Harcha 1999; Mera et al. 2001) identified 10 sites of "defensive character" around Santa Sylvia, and others were found across the Andes into the Neuquén Province of Argentina (Goñi 1987). Of particular note is that these sites are of Che construction, some dating to before the arrival of the Spanish. These pre-Hispanic fortifications may have been constructed and used by local *lof* or *rehue* as defense against enemy Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times, then later as places of redoubt against the Spanish. These fortifications may have also served as staging grounds from which the Che near Santa Sylvia launched offensives against Spanish settlements (Mera et al. 2006). However, more work remains to be done with regard to all aspects of indigenous fortifications in south-central Chile.

Research at Santa Sylvia, 2006–Present

I carried out reconnaissance surveys at the site and the surrounding area in March of 2006 and February 2009.[8] The site appeared in relatively good preservation, encumbered by wild blackberry bushes (*Rubus ulmifolius*) and *notros* (Chilean firebush, *Embothrium coccineum*) trees planted by Davis after the site was discovered. Informants indicated that the site may have been looted by individuals living in Villa San Pedro (2 km to the east) and Pucón, though no indications were seen on the surface of looting activities. In the southern end of Complex C and to its immediate east, or what Gordon identified as a "defensive trench," numerous open

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[8] Mera et al. (2001, 2006) also conducted brief reconnaissance survey at the site with the same results.

pits were seen of similar size, likely open excavation units from Gordon's excavations and looting. Several trowel and shovel tests were placed north of the site, about 100 m north and northwest of the modern fence line, to see if any substantial cultural materials extended to the north. No deposits or materials were identified in these tests, indicating that the majority of activity took place around the Spanish constructions on hill above the Liucura River.[9]

I initiated excavations at Santa Sylvia in late 2009. As the full extent of Gordon's excavations is unclear, some degree of overlap inevitably took place between where he excavated and the present study (Gordon 2011; Harcha et al. 1999). As noted before, Gordon focused on the mounded areas, or the Spanish complexes, apparently without testing to the west or south, and the Spanish occupation layers, with limited excavations below about 30–40 cm, though some areas along the walls within Complex B and test pits went deeper (Gordon 2011). Subsequent testing (Dillehay and Saavedra 2010) indicated pre-Hispanic features which had not yet been explored in greater depth. Thus, initial test trenches were planned in four areas of the site, two near the Spanish architecture (the five "complexes" defined by Gordon; Fig. 5.7), within the confines of a modern barbed-wire fence erected by Davis (referred to as the site "interior"); and two away from the complexes in outside the barbed wire fence (the site "exterior"). These areas were unexcavated and later testing identified possible buried deposits.

Work in the interior was intended, in part, to reconfirm the stratigraphy of Gordon and to explore identifying a possible *ruka* referred to by Gordon (see Gordon 2011). The first trench, labeled Trench 1 (see Fig. 5.7), began as a 2 × 1 meter unit oriented east-west that eventually expanded to the east and south for a total of 26 m². Excavations in Trench 1 (T1) were in an apparent "plaza/patio" area between Complexes B and C in an area apparently unexcavated. Work in this trench sought materials that would shed light on the nature of Complex C. If *indios amigos* lived in this complex, as Gordon suggested, were they Peruvian *yanacona* or Che? Unfortunately, insufficient cultural materials left the question unanswered.

Trench 2 (T2) was placed to the south of Complex A, area that did not appear to have been excavated. T2 began as a 2 × 1 m excavation oriented north-south, eventually extending north and south for a total of 31 m². T2 was placed in this area to discover any remaining Spanish era materials and identify any pre-Hispanic occupations in this portion of the site, as indicated by previous testing (Dillehay and Saavedra 2010). Since it appeared that Gordon had not excavated in this area, it likely had a high possibility of recoverable materials from the Spanish occupation, as well as pre-Hispanic. The exact number of Spanish-style materials recovered from Gordon's excavations is unclear, though fragments of ceramics, bones of horse, cow, and pig, as well as a few metal objects were discovered. It was hypothesized that that further excavations close to the Spanish complexes might yield more objects to bolster the analysis of Spanish material culture at the site and

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[9] Other surveys (Dillehay 2010) found *kuel* mounds approximately 500 m northwest of the site, but the lack of artifacts in-between the two sites suggests no specific relation.
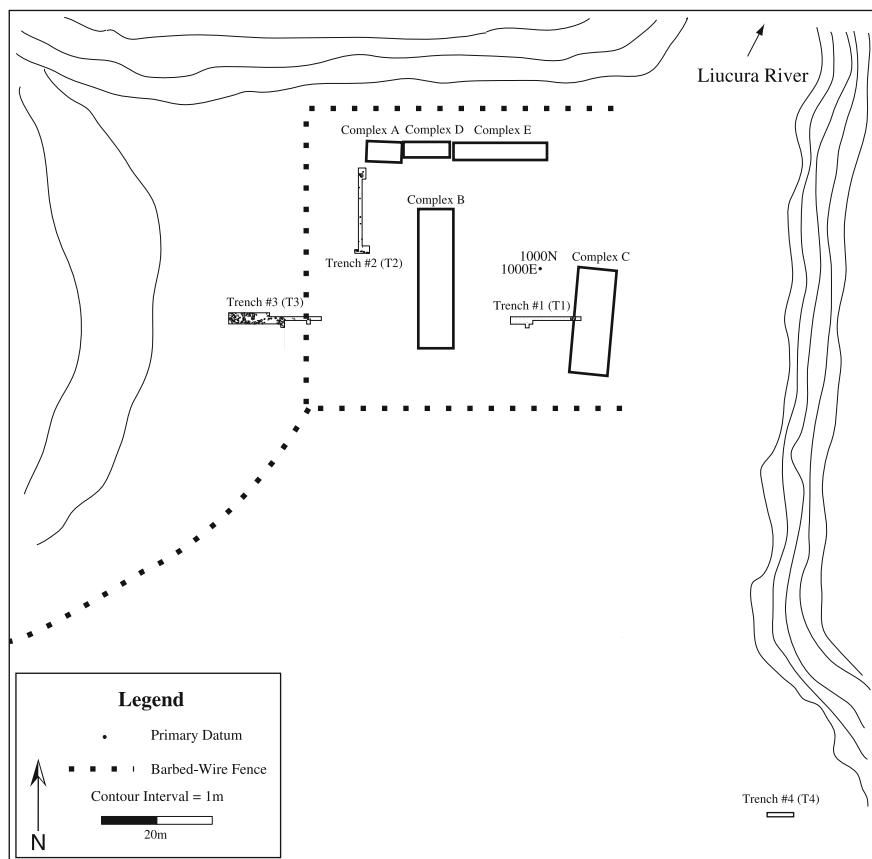
Fig. 5.7 Map of Santa Sylvia with recent excavation trenches

its effects on the Araucanians. Again, as in T1, no materials of Spanish manufacture were recovered in T2.

A third trench, labeled T3, was excavated west of the barbed-wire fence adjacent to the Spanish complexes. T3 began as a 2 × 1 m excavation oriented east-west that eventually extended west, east, north, and south for a total of 51 m^2. These units yielded the greatest quantity of artifacts, over 8,000 ceramic and 4,000 lithic fragments, grinding stones, arrowheads, and charcoal. The majority of materials appeared to be of indigenous manufacture, with only three fragments securely identified as Spanish in origin (Fig. 5.8). Additionally, 115 features, primarily soil stains, were identified in T3 (Fig. 5.9). Many of these appear to have been post holes that may indicate the presence of *ruka* or similar structures, as well as a possible animal pen, firepits, and other features. These materials and features were located in what may have been three separate occupation episodes, based on C^{14} dates from charcoal and the stratigraphic profile. The first possible occupation in
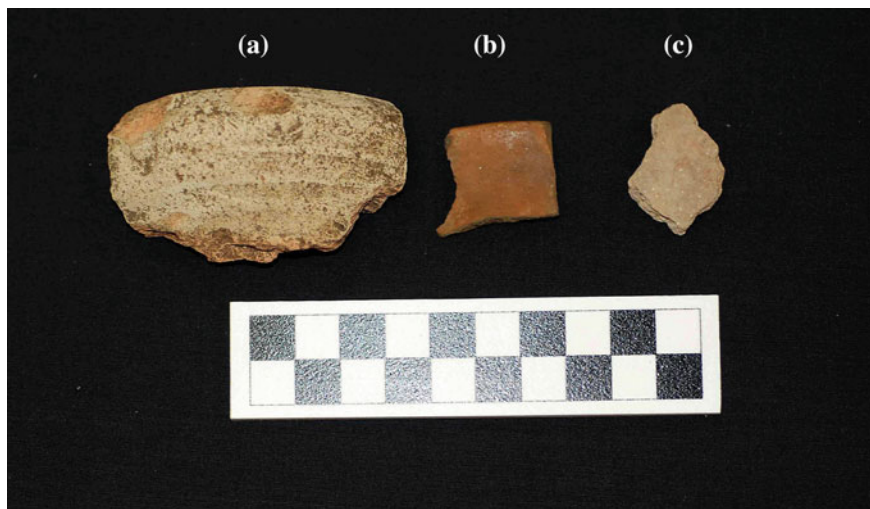
Fig. 5.8 Spanish-style ceramics recovered from Santa Sylvia

this area of Santa Sylvia began around AD 900, the second occupation around AD 1100, and the third occupation around AD 1580 (see Fig. 5.10).

A fourth trench (T4), was placed to the southeast of the main part of the site, near the main slope down toward the Liucura River.[10] T4 was oriented east-west for a total of 6 m^2. This trench revealed scarce artifacts, about 30 ceramic sherds, 50 lithic fragments, 3 broken grinding stones, and charcoal found within two stratigraphic layers. Ten (10) features were identified, 9 of which appear to be possible post holes for some form of structure. These features were not as large or as deep as those seen in T3, which, along with the limited cultural deposits, may indicate a short occupation episode. A C^{14} date from charcoal recovered provided a date of about AD 1850, indicating a short occupation just prior to the arrival of the Chilean army in AD 1883 (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008).

Artifact Analysis

Below, I briefly describe some of the artifacts recovered at Santa Sylvia and their relationship to the Che cultural system vis a vis Resilience Theory (RT) and the Che Adaptive Cycle (CAC). For further analysis of these materials, see Sauer (2012).

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[10] Noted in Chap. 3, these areas (i.e., on hills above waterways) were favored by the Che for habitation sites.

T3 Plan View
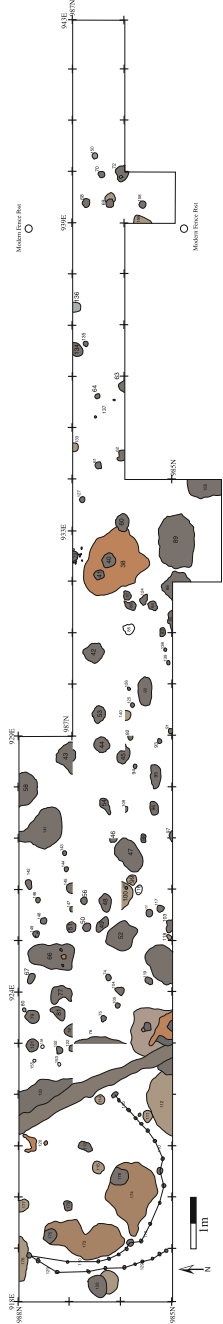
Fig. 5.9 Plan view of Trench #3 with location of features

Fig. 5.10   Stratigraphic profile of Santa Sylvia, noting three occupation layers with correspondent dates

Ceramics

The dates recovered from Santa Sylvia correspond in large part to the established ceramic sequences seen in south-central Chile. Ceramic analysis has been used in the past as a primary form of social or cultural identification; indeed, most cultural sequences in the past have been created based on particular ceramic styles associated with a specific group or culture (Krieger 1944; Steward 1942). Styles are generally transmitted from generation to generation in particular patterns, or employing particular techniques in the fabrication and presentation of myriad vessels (Rice 1987; Sinopoli 1991). Though the identity of a particular individual or group can be debated based solely on a particular ceramic type (Schiffer 1999), ceramics still offer some of the best material record of cultural continuity and change (Janusek 2005; Skibo and Feinman 1999).

For this study, ceramic artifacts were studied and classified based on the type patterns established by Dillehay (2010) for the Purén-Lumaco Valley, namely "common attributes of surface treatment and paste" (ibid: 19; Rice 1987) and stylistic linkages between the two areas (e.g., Pucón-Villarrica and Puren-Lumaco) which were connected via kin and trade networks, particularly during the Spanish incursion, and who share many attributes such as *kuel* mound clusters and

settlement patterns. Surface treatment included slip, color, and decoration (incision, painting, corrugation, etc.), and paste includes clay color and temper (Rice 1987; Sinopoli 1991). Only three nonroof tile ceramic remains, of the more than 8,000 recovered, were securely identified as Spanish in style.

A total of 8,090 ceramic sherds were recovered in during the course of excavation. All of the ceramics recovered from T1 (n = 184), T2 (n = 546), and T4 (n = 110), were analyzed, and an arbitrary sample of ceramics from T3 (n = 2,117) were studied (VanPool and Leonard 2011) for a total of 2,957 or 36 % of the total assemblage. Most of the recovered sherds appear to be a style known as El Vergel (ca. AD 1100–1600; Aldunate 2005; Bahamondes 2010; Quiroz 2010), as they were recovered between 0 and 60 cm and date to the 1,100 and 1,580 layers.

Another ceramic style, known as Valdivia (ca. AD 1200–1700; Adán et al. 2005; Berdichewsky 1971), was recovered only in the 1,580 layer. This particular style is distinguished by a slip, usually white, with painted lines of red or black (Fig. 5.11). A total of 43 fragments were discovered, most coming from the excavation of T3, and were classified as Valdivia Red-on-White, Valdivia Black-on-White, and Valdivia Red-on-Gray (Sauer 2012). The Valdivia style has been found south to Reloncaví Bay (Castro and Adán 2001; Adán et al. 2005), across the Andes in Argentina (Berón 2006), and in decreasing frequency north toward Purén-Lumaco (Dillehay 2007, 2010). Valdiva style ceramics appear to found primarily south of the Malleco River, infrequently appearing to the north, though this is an area for further study. It is possible that these Red-on-Gray examples were imported from Argentina, though more investigation needs to be done on this style (Dillehay, personal communication, 2012).

Fig. 5.11 Valdivia-style ceramics recovered from Santa Sylvia

A third indigenous style, Pitrén, was also recovered at Santa Sylvia. These represent the oldest ceramic tradition in the Araucanía, having started at around AD 300 and influencing later styles (Adán et al. 2005; Aldunate 1989; Dillehay 1990). A total of 72 Pitrén fragments were found recovered, introduced to Santa Sylvia during the earliest occupation ca. AD 900, and appears to have lasted as a tradition into late pre-Hispanic times. The continued use of Pitrén be indicative of the permanence of an older tradition. This is seen in the relative consistency in the recovery of Pitrén style through the various layers, showing that Pitrén style remained in use throughout the occupations of Santa Sylvia with limited change. This sort of consistency through time seems to show an active perpetuation of a cultural style, even through the introduction of new styles, such as El Vergel and Valdivia. For whatever reason, Pitrén style may have been seen as an important cultural marker that craftspeople maintained through the centuries (Dillehay 2010; Quiroz and Sánchez 2005). Within the framework of RT, the continued use of Pitrén styles through time indicates an important continuity, one that suggests control over how and when new types of materials will be incorporated. Though El Vergel and Valdivia styles came to dominate throughout the Araucanía (Dillehay 2010), the specific use of Pitrén may indicate the importance of the past to the Che, as well as shared cultural memory.

Only three ceramics were securely identified as Spanish in style (see Fig. 5.8), a surprisingly small number[11] considering the quantity of Spanish style and manufacture ceramics recovered from excavations at the Villarrica fort on the other side of Lake Villarrica (Harcha and Vásquez 2000; Saavedra and Sanzana 1991). Gordon did find more Spanish-specific types during his excavations, though the exact number is unclear. All three appear to be different types. Type A is a thick-walled vessel, likely a storage container, and very similar to styles seen in Peru (Dillehay, personal communication, 2011). This may be a *tinaja*, or large jar about 40–50 cm in height, similar to fragments discovered by Gordon (2011, p. 37). Type B is a brown-slipped ware with a flat rim edge, with a dark gray, almost black paste with very fine-grained sand temper. The temper, in fact, may be mostly volcanic ash, or temper taken from the shore of Lake Villarrica, which has the same appearance of black sand. Type C is a fragment of a vessel with a gray/white (10YR 4/2), almost chalky exterior treatment, smoothed but not slipped. It is similar to styles seen in Neuquén, Argentina (Berón, personal communication, 2011). Overall, there may be a greater amount of Spanish influence on the ceramics at Santa Sylvia elsewhere in the Araucania, but are likely very subtle and difficult to identify (Dillehay, personal communication, 2012).

Again, the lack of Spanish-style ceramics may be indicative of the Santa Sylvia *encomendero* endeavoring to ingratiate himself with the local Araucanian population by "eating like an indian" (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005) and using local ceramics

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[11] Gordon did find more Spanish-style ceramics during his excavations, though the exact number is unknown. He refers to the number as "very few" and notes a "very limited" Spanish influence on indigenous ceramic styles (Gordon 2011, p. 36).

rather than imported European styles which may also been difficult to obtain. The indigenous females at the site, based on the burials in the chapel/mausoleum (Complex A; Gordon 2011) may have also been the driving force behind the perpetuation of Che styles. However, I argue that the limited amount of Spanish-style ceramics is more indicative of a Che avoidance or rejection of these materials, rather than the inability of the *encomendero* to import such materials.

Since Gordon found some Spanish-style ceramics in the main Spanish occupied zone, the *encomendero* may have used at least some number of Spanish-style vessels. Excavations at the Villarrica fort have found numerous Spanish ceramics, including several examples of a green glazed ware that was also recovered at the site of San Jose de Mariquina near Valdivia (Saavedra and Sanzana 1991). Though distant, Santa Sylvia was still close enough to Villarrica to allow for the import of at least some European ceramics for consumption. Roof tiles, for example, were likely imported to the site. Yet in the Che occupation zones, only three fragments were recovered and no glazes, wheel-thrown, or other European stylistic markers were recovered. Thus, the Che appear to have actively chosen not to use Spanish-style ceramics, instead perpetuating their own styles and manufacturing methods, reinforcing Che resilience.

Obsidian

Obsidian is a volcanic glass that can be used in a variety of functions, primarily as tools such as projectile points, knives, lancets, and others requiring a sharp edge (Green 1998). Importantly, obsidian can also be sourced to specific volcanos as each volcano has a specific chemical signature based on its location, mineral content, and other typological factors (Glascock et al. 1998; Seelenfreund and Contreras 2001; Stern et al. 2008, 2009, 2012). Analyzing the trace elements in obsidian samples can allow researchers to identify sources and track the distribution and exchange, and has recently been used in south-central Chile to locate several sources in both Chile and Argentina (López et al. 2009; Méndez et al. 2012; Stern et al. 2012). Notably, these sources have led to the identification of samples used from the Argentinian Patagonia to the Chilean coast by as early as 5,000 years BP (Navarro and Pino 1999; Stern et al. 2008).

Over 350 fragments of obsidian were recovered during the course of excavation, in each trench, and with the majority of samples and types coming from T3. Of these, 92 % were black, 3 % gray, 2 % red, and 2 % black/red. Charles Stern of the Department of Geology at the University of Colorado-Boulder performed a chemical analysis of a sample of each color type (see Sauer 2012). From this analysis, it was revealed that the black-and-gray obsidian is sourced to the Nevados de Sollipulli, a dormant volcano approximately 45 km north-northeast of Santa Sylvia. The red and black/red samples are sourced to an area known as Portada

Covunco in the Neuquén province in Argentina, approximately 150 km[12] northeast of Santa Sylvia.

I suggest that Santa Sylvia may have acted as a node along long-standing trade networks between Argentina and Chile. These obsidian samples serve as the most obvious materials traded, and perhaps for the longest period of time, but other information indicates that ceramics, salt, and other objects were used along these networks (Berón 2006; Harcha and Vásquez 2000). Thus, these long-distance trade networks indicate that Che communities and their ancestors were in contact long before the arrival of the Spanish. These networks may have been simple barter, or part of a broader kin-based exchange network that eventually created, or built up to, Che individual and ethnic identity. Maintenance of these networks from the earliest archaic period likely required considerable negotiation and skill, predecessor to the negotiation required by *lonko*, *toqui*, and other leaders in their various *lof* and *rehue*. Eventually, these long-standing networks would be made a part of *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu* spatial organization, or to facilitate their creation. In essence, the development of the Araucanian culture system has its base in these networks of trade and communication, of which Santa Sylvia may have acted as an important nexus. As Smilde (2007, p. 94), "Networks are simply concrete social relationships that provide the base units of social structure." Thus these networks that were created several millennia ago provide the "base units" of Che social structures that in turn developed the social relationships that would come to be known as "being Che" (see Chap. 2).

Pollen Analysis

Numerous fragments (n = 47) of ground stone *manos* were recovered (none complete, and no grinding slabs were identified), the majority (n = 37) recovered in T3, six (n = 6) in T2, and four (n = 4) in T1. These materials were recovered at all depths, centered, like the ceramics, in the 0–30 cm levels, corresponding to the intensive Spanish era occupation. Two samples, one from 10 to 20 cm (AD 1580 occupation) and 40 to 50 cm (AD 1100 occupation) were sent to PaleoResearch Institute for phytolith, starch, and pollen analysis (Yost and Cummings 2011). Results indicate that during the pre-Hispanic occupation, the inhabitants of Santa Sylvia were exploiting maize, peppers, wild strawberries, and other wild plants, including some medicinal plants.

Pollen signatures also show that the area was heavily forested in pre-Hispanic times, which forests appear to have been cut down or burned at the time of Spanish occupation. During the Spanish occupation, the site inhabitants were consuming maize, wheat and/or barley, peppers, and medicinal plants in order to assist at least

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[12] Note that the distance is measured directly on a map, not accounting for elevation and passes across the Andes which increases the distance and travel time.

one individual with a tapeworm (*Diphylobotrium*). This tapeworm likely came from freshwater fish, either from the river, Lake Villarrica, or Lake Caburgua. The people at Santa Sylvia ate fish, which bones did not survive, in addition to unknown herbivores whose intestines had been processed on the same ground stone.

The recovery of these materials shows a mixed economy of domesticated animals and plants as well as wild, staples in the diet of the Che from early pre-Hispanic times. Gordon's excavations recovered horse, cow, and pig bones, were consumed during the Spanish era occupation and thereafter entered into Che material culture in the region, also indicated in the samples recovered in my excavations. Within RT, the Che incorporated the "disturbance" of these European domesticates (horse, cows, sheep, wheat, barley) quite quickly, likely because of their utility and later markers of prestige (Dillehay 2007).

Phytolith Analysis

During excavations, 25 four-liter flotation samples were taken from various features to look for microbotanical remains such as seeds, phytoliths, and other materials. Claudia Silva of the Museo de Historia Natural de Concepción in Concepción, Chile performed the analysis of the float samples (Silva 2010). Perhaps most notably for this study, no domesticated plants were found in the analysis. Though maize was recovered in Gordon's excavations, no evidence for European domesticates were found in the present analysis (though maize, oats, wheat, and barley were identified in the groundstone analysis). This may be due to the sample size or the portions of the site from which the samples were taken, yet may also indicate that, at least at Santa Sylvia during the time of occupation or shortly thereafter, the use of European foodstuffs was limited, as well as the use of previously domesticated maize used elsewhere by the Che prior to the arrival of the Spanish. However, several plants were identified as introduced types, including wild blackberry (*Rubus ulmifolius*), goosefoot (*Chenopodium album*), and pigweed (*Portulaca oleracea*). Wild blackberry in particular may have been cultivated in the past at Santa Sylvia, as the site today is encumbered by the descendants of those introduced plants. Also notable is the lack of pine nuts from the Araucaria tree, a staple food for Che living elsewhere along the Andes (Aldunate 1989).

The apparent paucity of domesticated plants may indicate that the Che living in and around Santa Sylvia, before and during the Spanish occupation, may have relied heavily on gathering wild comestible plants rather than focusing on intensive agriculture. It may also be that the European domesticates (maize, wheat, barley) were stored and consumed primarily during the Spanish occupation, as indicated by the materials recovered in Complex B by Gordon (2011) and Rossen (2011). The quantity of maize and wheat/barley recovered in the barrels beneath the complex suggests major exploitation, at least on the part of the Spanish. The Araucanians may have been consuming these products in large quantities as well, which evidence may be seen in other portions of the site yet unexcavated.

A reliance on wild plants over domesticates may suggest greater Che mobility, which has been seen elsewhere among Che and other Native American populations (Dillehay 1992, 1999; see also Parmenter 2010). Prior to the Spanish, the Cheat Santa Sylvia harvested maize and peppers, but may not have used them as absolute staples of their diet while living in the area. Only after the Spanish left did intensive agriculture take hold with the cultivation of maize, wheat, barley, and other European domesticates which are still harvested today (Pucón 2007).

What Happened at Santa Sylvia

In brief summary, the material culture recovered at Santa Sylvia indicates: (1) a long sequence of occupations by the Che at the site; (2) consistency in Che artifacts with very limited incorporation of Spanish materials or styles; and (3) evidence of long-standing networks (trade or social) between Argentina, Santa Sylvia, and the coast. The first occupation began around AD 900, corresponding to a growth phase in the Che Adaptive Cycle (CAC; see Chap. 2 and 6) wherein Pitrén-style ceramics arrived at the same time as a possible increase in sedentism and use of domesticated plants and animals (seen elsewhere in the area; Dillehay 2010; Navarro et al. 2012). A second occupation, around AD 1100, incorporated El Vergel style ceramics as well as Pitrén, with maize and pepper horticulture and consumption as part of an increase in sedentism, construction of ritual space, and likely population increase. This occupation, suggested here, straddled between growth and conservation phases. It may be that at the beginning of this occupation, some structures of the Araucanian culture system, such as ideological (beginning of *kuel* construction) had not yet been fully established. Toward the end of said occupation, these structures may have been fully in place, and the area was a part of a conservation phase within the CAC.

A third occupation, and the most intrusive, began around AD 1580 with the construction of the Spanish architecture at Santa Sylvia. The Spanish had considerable portions of the forest cleared, seen in the changing pollen counts in the ground stone, and introduced horses, cows, wheat, and barley. The Che at the site, apparently adapting to this disturbance, incorporated these materials into their toolkit. They may have intentionally avoided other aspects of Spanish material culture such as ceramics and metalwork while perpetuating their own traditional material culture. The Spanish occupation of Santa Sylvia was short, likely less than 10 years based on the quantity of materials recovered. Had the occupation been longer, such as the 40 years suggested by Gordon, it is argued here that the number and diversity of artifacts would have been greater and likely included more European materials. The incorporation of some and avoidance of other Spanish materials corresponds to what this research indicates as a conservation phase, which shifted to

a release phase sometime between 1588 and 1598[13] with the abandonment and destruction of the site.

The Spanish era occupation area appears to have remained uninhabited, and a fourth, small occupation occurred to the south of the Spanish complexes sometime in the mid-nineteenth century based on the C^{14} dates and materials recovered. These Che/Mapuche in this late occupation appear to have utilized the same sort of toolkit as their ancestors, creating the same ceramic types as before with little change or influence from outside. This occupation is likely part of the last conservation phase of the CAC, or may be part of the last release phase before the Chilean occupation of the area described in Chap. 7. In total, the artifact and feature assemblage supports Che incorporation of some aspects of Spanish disturbance, while apparently avoiding others, for 350 years as part of a longer cultural sequence of development and resilience that lasted for nearly 1,000 years at Santa Sylvia (AD 900–1883) and in the surrounding area.

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[13] If Santa Sylvia is Antelepe (see Chap. 6), then the abandonment and destruction occurred around AD 1588. If not, then (as Gordon suggested) the site was abandoned and destroyed sometime 1598.

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Chapter 6
They Have Risen Up and Rebelled: Che Resilience AD 1475–1700

In the following chapter I put Resilience Theory (RT) with its attendant Adaptive Cycles (AC) and Panarchies among the Che into practice, combining the available archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric records from throughout the Araucanía. At times I focus on the results of my excavations at Santa Sylvia outlined in the previous chapter, but much of what is here is applicable to Che culture throughout the Araucanía seen from research at other sites. I briefly review the initial developments of human culture in southern Chile beginning around 13,000 BC that gave rise to later Che culture. This then follows through the first ceramic culture and shifts from hunting and gathering toward sedentism, and the development of ritual practices seen in cemetery contexts and on the landscape. The Che cultural system is "in place" by AD 1300 throughout most of the Araucanía, prior to the arrival of the Inka in the late fifteenth century and the Spanish in the mid-sixteenth century. Throughout these periods, the Che cultural system passed through different phases of the Che Adaptive Cycle (CAC; see Fig. 6.1) as agents acted and reacted to various events, including population migrations and attempts at colonization. Though the decades and centuries, however, the Che system remained stable and able to incorporate the "disturbances" (see Chap. 2) brought about by myriad internal and external events.

Initial Cultural Developments: 13,000 BC–AD 1474

The first humans arrived in southern Chile by about 13,000 BC, likely through migrations south from Beringia, and along the coast from North to South America (Dillehay 1989, 2000, 2008). General consensus places the arrival of the First Americans around 20,000–15,000 years ago, based on linguistic, genetic, and archaeological evidence (Adovasio and Page 2002; Bonatto and Salzano 1997a, b; Dillehay 2008; Hurtado de Mendoza and Braginski 1999; Lavallée 2000; Meltzer 2009; Nichols 2008; Silva Jr. et al. 2002). These early migrants were broad-spectrum hunters and gatherers, exploiting late Pleistocene megafauna such as mastodons and other now-extinct animals (Dillehay 1997; Madsen 2004; Meltzer 2004, 2009).
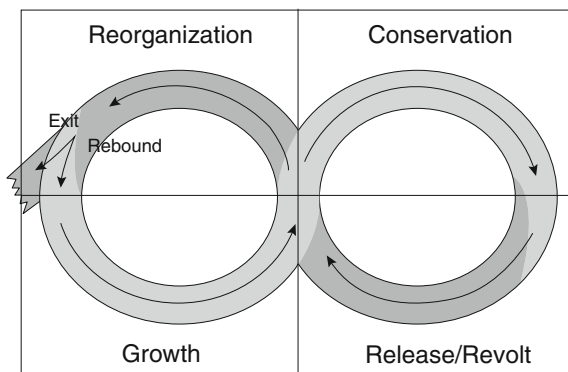
Fig. 6.1 The Adaptive Cycle

They likely lived in small, nuclear family groups with limited aggregation into larger mobile populations (Dillehay 2008). By about 12,500 BC, hunter-gatherers populated south-central Chile, notably at the site of Monte Verde located near present-day Puerto Montt (Fig. 6.2). Extensive excavations over the course of 10 years revealed the remains of a campsite containing numerous artifacts, such as bola stones, spear points, mastodon meat, tent stakes tied with fiber, as well as seeds and plant material (Dillehay 1989, 1997, 2002). Among the finds were plant remains from "distant beaches" along the Pacific coast, brought to and utilized by the inhabitants of Monte Verde, indicating either long-distance trade networks or migrations from other areas through south-central Chile and into Argentina (Dillehay et al. 2007, p. 784).

Little else is known about this time period. It is assumed that these early inhabitants continued to hunt, fish, and gather throughout southern Chile and Patagonia, gradually increasing social complexity and material culture (Dillehay 2000). Retreating glaciers and increasing temperatures changed the environment, including the extinction of animal and plant species, as well as increased rainfall which created the montane lakes and rivers in southern Chile (Adán et al. 2004; Aldunate 1989; Navarro and Pino 1999). In other parts of South America, human groups became increasingly sedentary, practicing incipient agriculture by about 6,000 BC in northern Perú, leading to greater population densities, city development, monumental architecture, and differentiated governmental organizations (Dillehay et al. 2012; Jones 1999; Lavallée 2000).

These changes did not transpire at the same time in southern Chile. These Archaic Period peoples (roughly 9,000 BC–AD 150) continued hunter-gatherer practices for several centuries more. This is not to say that changes did not transpire among these ancestors of the Che, but the Archaic period is poorly understood due to site preservation and limited archaeological research on this era (Dillehay 1990a; Navarro and Pino 1999). The few sites that have been excavated, such as Chan-Chan 18 (Dillehay 1981; Navarro and Pino 1995, 1999), El Marifilo 1 (Adán et al. 2004; Lehnebach et al. 2008; Velásquez and Adán 2002, 2004), Pucón VI (Navarro et al. 2012), and Quillén 1 (Valdes et al. 1982; Sánchez et al. 1984) point to a

Fig. 6.2 Map of early American and archaic sites in southern Chile, and obsidian sources

continued exploitation of marine and terrestrial resources throughout southern Chile, and limited population aggregation (see Fig. 6.1).

Notably for my research, however, are indications of expansive trade networks that ran from the Argentinian Patagonia to the Pacific coast of Chile in the Archaic period. Dillehay et al. (2008) point to evidence of long-distance acquisition or trade in plant materials at Monte Verde. Excavations at Chan–Chan 18, which dated to about 4000 BC, recovered red obsidian from the Portada Covunco source in Argentina as well as black obsidian from the Nevados de Sollipulli, the same as that found at Santa Sylvia (see Chap. 5; López et al. 2009; Navarro and Pino 1999; Stern et al. 2008; Stern et al. 2009; Stern et al. 2012). The presence of these

particular types of obsidian indicate long-term trade and/or travel between the coast and the Andes by 4000 BC, if not earlier. The red obsidian, in particular, strengthens the argument for long-distance trade and trans-Andean trade networks in the Che cultural system from an early date, established at least in the Archaic period and continued to the present day.

Overall, the Archaic period does not fit neatly into an AC, let alone the CAC, as the lack of evidence for activities outside of hunting and gathering limits our ability to clarify the nature of the structures these peoples had in their culture system. However, the actions of individuals and communities during this period laid the foundation for later Che culture through general cultural development. Further research may illuminate finer aspects of Archaic culture, showing different phases in the AC. In general, it was likely a period of growth, both in population and cultural practices, gradually developing into the sedentary society that can define Che culture beginning around AD 150.

Che Adaptive Cycle: Growth Phase—Pitrén Complex, AD 150–1100

For reasons that are not yet clear, the first ceramic complex known as Pitrén was introduced into southern Chile around AD 150 (Adán and Mera 2011; Menghin 1962; Ocampo et al. 2003; Quiroz and Sánchez 2005), corresponding with what I consider the first clear growth phase in the CAC, or a phase of cultural development and population increase leading directly to the creation of the Che cultural system. The introduction of ceramic technology appears to have coincided with the domestication of plants, particularly maize, and a shift toward sedentism (Aldunate 1989). In other parts of the world, ceramics generally coincide with sedentary habitations and occupations, incipient agriculture, and increased population (Bellwood 2005; Keeley 1995). The same likely transpired in the Araucanía, as agricultural activities led to food surpluses and larger families. The same surpluses permitted ceremonial feasting, positions of prestige, and new political relationships (Dietler and Hayden 2001). Dillehay (2007) suggests that this may be the case for the Che, particularly seen in the later *nguillatun* festival that may have had prototypic beginnings in the Pitrén period.

Pitrén is likely rooted in or influenced by "pre-Inka Andean" cultures such as Molle, Lolleo, and possibly Diaguita, which were in turn influenced by central Andean groups like Tiwanaku (Dillehay 2007, p. 98; see also Ampuero 2007; Berdichewsky 1971; Dillehay 1990b; Dillehay et al. 2007; Quiroz and Sánchez 2005). It is unlikely, though not impossible, that ceramic technologies were the result of independent invention, but were rather came into use in the Araucanía through long-distance trade, migration, or both (Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Rothammer 2013; Key 1978). The Pitrén complex has been recognized at sites near the Bio Bio river delta, along the Pacific coast to near Puerto Montt, and across the

Andes into Neuquen in Argentina (Adán and Alvarado 1999; Gordon 1985; Hajduk and Cúneo 1998; Quiroz 2001; Quiroz and Sánchez 2005). Initially seen in cemetery contexts, later investigations identified Pitrén in domestic sites, including at Santa Sylvia with the AD 900 occupation zone (Chap. 5; Adán et al. 2007; Ocampo et al. 2003). The use of ceramic technology, mortuary practices, and the incorporation of domesticated plants corresponds with a shift towards sedentism and a likely concurrent beginning of Che domestic settlement patterns and population increase during this CAC growth phase. No evidence exists yet for ritual or ideological practices before 1,000, though the prototypes for these practices may have their beginnings in the Pitrén complex.

Overall during this phase, archaeological evidence around Santa Sylvia and elsewhere in the Araucania suggests increased sedentism, agricultural activity, ceramic production, and population growth. Social organization likely focused on the *ruka* level. As populations increased so did kin relations and networks, precursors to the later Che social organization. Politically, the Che were likely more egalitarian, as cemetery excavations thus far do not indicate status symbols or particular grave goods, although the disbursed, heterarchical political structures may have their roots in an egalitarian past (Berdichewsky and Calvo 1973; Gordon 1975, 1978). As noted above, agricultural surplus may have led to commensal feasting and related activities, coinciding with increased prestige for certain individuals or kin groups (Dillehay 2007). Religious specialists such as *boquibuye* priests or *machi* shamans may have existed, though it is difficult to discern if *lonko*, *ülmen*, or other leaders were named as such in this phase.

Che Adaptive Cycle: Growth and Conservation Phases—El Vergel and Valdivia, AD 1100–1474

At some point, perhaps around 1100, new ceramic styles were introduced into the Araucanía, known as El Vergel and Valdivia (Bullock 1955; Menghin 1962). The introduction of El Vergel in particular appears to occur with a concurrent increase in religious activity, agriculture, and settlements in various river valleys throughout the Araucanía (Bahamondes 2010; Dillehay 1990a, b, 2007; Silva 2010; Quiroz 2001). El Vergel has been identified as far north as Cauquenes, 108 km north of Concepción (Gaete and Sánchez 1995) and throughout the Araucanía (Reyes and Adán 2003; Aldunate 2005; Sánchez 2005). The Valdivia complex, beginning around 1200, is closely related to El Vergel, and some have argued for calling each style Vergel I and Vergel II, respectively (Dillehay 1990a, b; Sauer and Dillehay 2012). Diagnostically separated through geography, Valdivia is further separated from El Vergel through stylistic variations and the possibility of influences from northern Chile (Dillehay 2007). Discoveries of Valdivia-style ceramics in Neuquen, Argentina dating to around 1200 indicate that the style was well established among the Che before Inka or Spanish arrival (Berón 2006; Hajduk and Cúneo 1998).

The creation or introduction of El Vergel and Valdivia styles indicates some changes in Che society, perhaps from an influx of migrants bringing the new styles into the Araucanía (Dillehay and Rothammer 2013). These changes included further increased sedentism and the introduction of *kuel*, *nguillatun*, and other ritual spaces (see Chap. 3). In both the Pucón-Villarrica and Purén-Lumaco areas, *kuel* ritual mounds appear around 1200, indicating that by that time the ideological structures of Che culture were in place (Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010). At the same time, I argue that the political and economic structures must have been in place, at the very least to organize the level of corporate labor required to construct the mounds and other ritual spaces. This would also mean that the social structures, probably centered in the *lof* and *rehue*, were also well established, and some sense of shared Che identity was recognized throughout the Araucanía. Leaders, such as *lonko* and *ülmen*, likely directed (to some degree) political and economic activities, while *boquibouye* and *machi* directed ideological practices, with shared responsibilities over the social sphere between the different positions. This is what Dillehay refers to as "proto-Araucanian" culture (Dillehay 2007), or the incipient forms of what can be defined as Che culture at the time of Spanish arrival in the sixteenth century.

Che culture continued to develop and adapt to new circumstances, but the foundational political, economic, social, and ideological structures were in place by 1300, and influenced the nature of future interactions with foreign groups by Che agents. No evidence has yet been found to indicate a new population migration or the introduction of revolutionary structures or changes to the fundamentals of the traditional Araucanian cultural system at Santa Sylvia or elsewhere. Individuals and communities may have viewed themselves as "being Che" but within the context of their own local *lof* or *regua* (Boccara 2007). Trade networks from the Andes to the coast appear to have continued as in previous centuries, wives and goods were exchanged, and the disbursed heterarchical authority of *lonko* and *ülmen* continued to develop (Dillehay 2007). The "potentiality" (Padden 1993) of Che culture to absorb, adapt, and be strategically restructured was embedded in the cultural system and may have been employed in communities or kin networks rather than the broader Araucania, until the mid-fifteenth century.

The Inka in Southern Chile: ca. AD 1475–1535

Che Adaptive Cycle: Conservation and Release Phases—AD 1475

The first documented test of the Che resilience did not begin with the arrival of the Spanish, but at least 75 years before with the imperial expansion of the Inka Empire. Archaeologically, very little is known about Inka and Che interactions south of the Cachapoal River (Stehberg et al. 1985), and the written history is

largely derived from Spanish *cronistas* working with Inka *khipucamayoc* (knotted-cord record keepers) and other Inka officials in the mid-sixteenth century (Betanzos 1557/1996; Cieza de Leon 1553/1984; de la Vega 1609/2003; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1615; Sarmiento de Gabmoa 1572/1999). Some of the second-hand accounts of Spaniards in Chile also reference Inka expansion into Chile (Valdivia 1550/1929; Vivar 1558/1979). The following section is an attempt to synthesize the varied accounts into what may have happened and the effect it had on the Che, north and south of the Bio Bio River within the context of RT (Dillehay and Gordon 1998; Sauer and Dillehay 2012).

Prior to the Inka arrival north of the Bio Bio River, the Che at Santa Sylvia were in a conservation phase of the CAC. Evidence suggests that settlements grew, *kuel* were constructed, trade networks were established and/or maintained, relationships with individuals and communities were made and lost, and population grew much as it had in the previous centuries (Aldunate 1989). In other words, the Che in general and their leaders, particularly *lonko* and *ülmen* at this time, maintained the system in a general sense, i.e., the traditional base structures were "conserved" without much apparent change, though more research is needed on the late prehistoric period (Dillehay 1976, 1990a, 1992). Archaeological and ethnographic information north of the Bio Bio is also limited, as very little systematic investigation has been performed to date between the Bio Bio and Maipo Rivers. From the little data at hand it can be inferred that the Che communities in this region, called *Promocaes* or *Picunche* by the Spanish and later historians (Vivar 1558/1979; see also Bengoa 2003; Berger 2006; Faron 1962; León 1985; Silva 1990; Villalobos 1989) was less dense and apparently did not have the *kuel* constructions or settlement patterns like that of some areas south of the Bio Bio (Gaete and Sánchez 1995). It is likely that long-distance relationships existed, but to what degree needs to be investigated.

Most credit for Inka expansion into Chile is given to the 10th *Sapa Inka* (or Inka ruler), Thupa Inka Yupanki, who ruled from ca. AD 1471 to 1492 (D'Altroy 2002; Kolata 2013). Most chronicles claim that Yupanki himself[1] led the invasion of Chile, though this is highly unlikely. Instead, it was probably a captain such as Apo Capac Inga (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1615/1980). Regardless, after quelling rebellions in various parts of the empire, Yupanki sent troops from Bolivia into northwestern Argentina and then across the Andes into Chile, crossing near Copiapó (Betanzos 1557/1996; Cobo 1653/1956). The Inka forces went into battle with indigenous groups, allegedly "defeating all" and bringing them under Inka rule (Betanzos 1557/1996; Sarmiento de Gabmoa 1572/1999). This indicates that, within RT, Che populations between the Maipo and Maule Rivers entered a reorganization/exit phase[2] in their AC as they became subject to the Inkas. They reorganized their

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[1] Rosales (1674/1989, p. 304) claims that Waskhar Inka, not Yupanki, was the intended conqueror of Chile.

[2] These Che in the extreme north may have entered a brief release phase as they confronted the Inka, though all the accounts present the Inka as quickly subduing these northern groups without much resistance. It would seem, then, that they went from conservation directly to reorganize/exit phases.

political and economic structures into a new AC wherein these structures passed from local autonomy to Inka authority.

Marching to the Maule River south of present-day Talca[3] (Fig. 6.4), the Inka met a large indigenous army, including "the valiant Araucanos" (Cobo 1653/1956, p. 85), who engaged the Inka in six-day battle in which the Che were victorious (de la Vega 1609/2003, p. 524). The Che army was likely composed of northern Che residing between the Maule and Bio Bio Rivers, assisted by refugees from the extreme north and with the assistance of kin living south of the Bio Bio (Sauer and Dillehay 2012). Recognizing the bellicosity of the Che, the Inka fortified lands north of the Maule River (Stehberg 1976; Stehberg et al. 1985) and began extracting gold, silver, and tribute from the northern indigenous groups, primarily Diaguitas and Che groups living in and around present-day Santiago (Ampuero 2007). No evidence has been found to indicate that the Inka conquered explicitly south of the Maule (Betanzos 1557/1996; Cieza de Leon 1553/1984; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1572/1999). Inkan control north of the Maule has been seen archaeologically in fortresses, ceramics, and other cultural influences (Dillehay 2007; Stehberg 1976).

With the confrontation with the Inka the northern Che, and perhaps to a lesser degree the southern Che, entered what I define as a brief release cycle in the CAC. In this phase, decisions were made and tensions released to confront the Inka. In Chap. 2 I argued that a release phase is a "crossroads moment" where a cultural system and its attendant structures, under the direction of actors, comes to a moment of decision: will the system be maintained, often through direct confrontation, or will it be modified into something new? In this instance, evidence indicates that the northern Che (and the southern as well) between the Maule and Bio Bio Rivers successfully resisted Inka authority, as no archaeological evidence exists to suggest the Inka exerted any form of direct control south of the Maule or into the traditional Araucania. Through trade, the Inka basin continued to exert influence on the Che cultural system (Dillehay and Gordon 1998), but not to cause a change in structure or autonomy.

Che Adaptive Cycle: Reorganization/Rebound and Conservation Phases—Interstitial Period, AD 1475–1535

Though the Inka did not have direct political or social authority over Che living south of the Bio Bio River, or even south of the Maipo River (according to Silva 1983, 1985), some degree of economic interaction and cultural influence existed. How much is not yet clear, as few archaeological studies have looked at Inka

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[3] Cobo (1956) claims that the Inka went to the Mapocho River, near present-day Santiago, and not the Maule. Historian Osvaldo Silva (1983; see also Goicovich 2001) repeats this claim, though the majority of *cronistas* and other sources indicate the Maule.

influences south of the Bio Bio River (see Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Gordon 1998; Sauer and Dillehay 2012). A "political frontier" between the Che and Inka existed between the Maipo and Maule Rivers,[4] and an extended contact (e.g., economic) frontier existed between the Maule and Bio Bio (Dillehay and Gordon 1998; Zapater 1973). Ceramic designs seen south of the Bio Bio and vessel forms in Tirua and El Vergel styles suggest northern Chilean or Inka influences (Dillehay 2007, p. 102; Quiroz and Sánchez 2005). Possible architecture such as the *kuel* as a type of Andean *huaca* may also be from Inka influence, though *kuel* construction in the Araucanía well before the rise of the Inka state. This suggests connections with Andean groups north of the Araucanía in pre-Inka times (Dillehay 2007; Sauer and Dillehay 2012). Also, Dillehay notes some influences, such as *khipu* knot records, political organization, Quechua-influenced words, and oral histories of Inka interaction (Dillehay 1990a, 2007, p. 15). Some of this may have come about from direct Inka influence before the arrival of the Spanish, or may have been incorporated into Che society via Peruvian *yanacona* servants brought south from Peru by the Spanish. Many of these *yanacona* deserted the Spanish and joined the Che, perhaps influencing the Che cultural system (Dillehay 2007). Investigations at Santa Sylvia indicate that Inka influence was extremely limited there, if at all extant.[5]

   Dillehay and Gordon (1998) argue for a "dual frontier" in central Chile: one military, another economic or cultural (see Fig. 6.3). As noted above, the military/political frontier of the Inka extended to just south of Santiago, evidenced by fortifications near present-day Rancagua, with no presently known fortifications or other military installations positively identified farther south[6] (Stehberg 1976). Some *cronistas*, such as Vivar, claim that the Inka military made it farther south than the Bio Bio and exerted a greater influence on the Che than presently seen (Vivar 1558/1979; see also Medina 1975). The economic or cultural frontier probably extended much farther south, at least to the Bio Bio River and possibly to the Imperial River (Sauer and Dillehay 2012). Through this space, Inka influence was transmitted through artifact styles, Quechua loan words, and oral histories. Again, these may have been brought in by northern Che refugees escaping Inka dominance or Peruvian *yanacona* mentioned above, all of which were incorporated in Che culture (Dillehay 2007). Inka and Che interactions in the years leading up to the Spanish arrival may have precipitated an increase in Che social and political interaction geographically, or amongst different communities and regions. Inka influence may also mark a turning point in Che identity formation, wherein individuals and communities began to see themselves more as "being Che" in the face of outside influences on their traditional way of life (Boccara 2007; Jones 1997).

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[4] The Inka fortification farthest south is located near the Cachapoal River, 100 km south of Santiago (Stehberg 1976).

[5] Some informants in Villarrica indicated the possibility of Inka *pukaras* made of stone near Lake Villarrica. Further investigations revealed this to not be the case, though the idea persists.

[6] Rosales (1674/1989, p. 304) indicates that the Inka constructed forts near the Itata River, though these have not been identified (see also Stehberg 1976).

Fig. 6.3 Map of southern military extent of the Inka empire, and location of the Araucanía

This recognition, in turn, affected agency, or the ability of leaders to modify the system and call upon military action, as well as the overall resilience of the cultural system.

This period before the arrival of the Spanish corresponds to reorganization/rebound and conservation phases within the CAC. The transition from the release to reorganization/rebound came about due to the retreat of the Inka military and the decisions by Che leaders and communities over what to absorb into the system and what to change. The above evidence suggests that Che south of the Bio Bio incorporated limited aspects of Inka or northern Andean culture, such as loan words, decorative motifs, and perhaps social and political organization such

allyarehue. Refugee populations fleeing Inka domination to the north may have influenced the system as part of their adoption into new Che kin groups (Dillehay 2014), but overall no evidence indicates major changes to political authority, religious practice, economic patterns, or social patterns. Some leaders may have gained more prestige from battle or other interactions with the Inka, new kin and trade networks may have been initiated, but all this came to pass within the context of the cultural system and structures already in place. While likely continuing to incorporate influences from the north, the overall CAC rebounded back into a conservation phase. The system continued to be maintained via pre-existing networks and practices, through the actions of the Che themselves.

Inka control in northern Chile was short-lived. The death of the 11th *Sapa Inka* Wayna Qhapaq in 1527 threw the empire into disarray, as two of Qhapaq's sons, Atawallpa and Waskhar Inka, brought about civil war on the eve of Spanish arrival (D'Altroy 2002; Kolata 2013; Sarmiento de Gabmoa 1572/1999). This facilitated Francisco Pizarro and a host of *indios amigos* to quickly take control of the Inka in 1532 with limited resistance (Betanzos 1557/1996; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1615/1980). Soon, squabbles between leaders in Peru and the desire for "gold, glory, and god" set Spanish eyes on the "Kingdom of Chili" based on information from Inka informants (de la Vega 1609/2003, p. 521).

The Che and Spain, AD 1536–1700

Che Adaptive Cycle: Conservation Phase–Diego de Almagro, AD 1536

The first-recorded European entrance into Chile that included interactions with the Che occurred around 1535 with the expedition of Diego de Almagro during a conservation phase of the CAC. Second in command to Pizarro, rivalries between the two *conquistadores* led to a falling out and Almagro's journey south into Chile, ostensibly to conquer his own kingdom of riches (Villalobos et al. 1974). With 500 Spaniards and at least 2,000 Peruvian *yanacona*, Almagro left Peru and followed the same path forged by the Inka decades before (Izquierdo 1989). The expedition continued to the Coquimbo Valley (388 km northwest of Santiago), reaching and setting up an encampment in mid-1536 (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010). To this point, the Spaniards had received help in the form of food, water, and animals from the indigenous groups along the way, but noticed a marked change in the inhabitants of Coquimbo who hid provisions and other materials from the Spanish and often attacked the caravan (Rosales 1674/1989).

Noted in Chap. 1, Gomez de Alvarado, one of Almagro's lieutenants, explored farther south. According to Mariño de Lobera (1595/1960, p. 34) Gomez de Alvarado and 100 mounted troops made it to the Bio Bio River, where they were confronted by an "excessive number" of *Picunche* or northern Che. Other chroniclers place the battle

between Alvarado and the Che at the Itata River near present-day Chillan, at a place named Reinohuelén. In either location, in battle 200 Che were allegedly killed in a one-sided Spanish victory (Izquierdo 1989; Rosales 1674/1989). Not finding any obvious deposits of precious minerals, Alvarado returned to Coquimbo. Almagro, disillusioned with the lack of supposed riches in Chile, abandoned his efforts at colonization and returned to Peru.

The failure of the Almagro expedition placed a stigma on Chile, many Spaniards believing it to be bereft of riches and inhabited by purely bellicose Indians (Villalobos et al. 1974). After the Spanish retreat, it is possible that northern Che informed kin living farther south about the battle with the Spanish, and escaped Peruvian *yanacona* may have warned of impending Spanish encroachment. Dillehay (2007, p. 113) notes that, to this day, Mapuche in Purén-Lumaco speak of Atawallpa who, according to the accounts, warned their ancestors about the Spanish arrival helped in the preparations. These stories may have been passed from *yanacona* escapees to the Che. In any case, information about the Spanish as well as the previous Inka confrontation and subsequent exchange noted above, probably spread across the Araucanía and may have initiated preparations to resist Spanish incursion, though to what degree is not clear. Evidence indicates that the majority of the Che living south of the Bio Bio were unaffected by this early Spanish foray and remained in the same conservation phase of the CAC, as no materials have been found in the Araucania to indicate Spanish influence at this early date. No major changes appear to have transpired within the structures of the cultural system, though preparations for strategic reorganization may have been initiated (Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003).

Che Adaptive Cycle: Conservation Phase—Pedro de Valdivia, AD 1540–1553

This conservation phase may have been a time of consolidation and preparation for the Che. Most of the events described below are Spanish-centric as they are based on historical accounts of Che and Spanish interactions written by Spaniards in the latter half of the sixteenth century, though interspersed with available archaeological and ethnohistoric data. As noted above, oral histories in Purén-Lumaco point to Inka refugees warning the Che of the arrival of more Spaniards, as well as their intent to extract minerals and subject the Che to Spanish authority (Dillehay 2007).

Despite the bad associations many Spaniards had for Chile, in 1539 Pedro de Valdivia, convinced that Chile contained unfound riches, prepared a new expedition. Valdivia petitioned Pizarro and received permission to conquer "Nuevo Toledo" (the name given to the lands south of Perú—see Nauman 2000; Izquierdo 1989, p. 36). After selling his *encomienda* in Perú and finding other investors, Valdivia left Peru with no more than 20 Spaniards and approximately 3,000 Peruvian *yanacona*. In December 1540, the expedition arrived in the valley of the Mapocho River and established the city of Santiago del Nuevo Extremo in early

Fig. 6.4 Early Spanish settlements in Chile

1541 (Fig. 6.4; Santiago 1541 in Barros Arana 1861, p. 67; see also Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Vivar 1558/1979).

Initially, the Spaniards and the northern Che groups (*Promocaes* or *Picunche*) near Santiago interacted peacefully, exchanging food, animals, and other goods, though this peaceful exchange was short-lived. An offensive led by *lonkos* Michimalongo and Tanjalongo in mid-1541 attacked Santiago (Rosales 1674/1989; Vivar 1558/1979). A short battle led to the death of several hundred natives, unprepared for Spanish weapons and armor, and ended with the capture of Michmalongo who promised that the *Promocaes*/Che would show the location of gold mines used previously by the Inka (Rosales 1674/1989, p. 360; see also Dillehay 2007, p. 114).

Peace between the *Promocaes/*Che and the Spaniards lasted until Valdivia left to defend Spanish interests in Aconcagua (about 89 km northeast of Santiago) in September 1541. An alleged force of between 10,000 and 20,000 *Promocaes/*Che attacked Santiago on September 11 (Nauman 2000; Vivar 1558/1979). The attackers set fire to the city and besieged the outer walls, killing several Spaniards along with horses and other animals. The Spanish managed to capture seven leaders of the *Promocaes/*Che, holding them hostage until Inés de Suárez,[7] Valdivia's lover, entered the prison and, according to several accounts, decapitated each one, throwing the heads over the city walls (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960, p. 60; Rosales 1674/1989, p. 365; Vivar 1558/1979, p. 70). The *Promocaes/*Che, allegedly intimidated by the act, retreated from Santiago and left the Spanish to rebuild.

Valdivia returned from Aconcagua to govern Santiago and divide lands between Coquimbo and the Maule River into *encomiendas* (Valdivia 1550/1929). Limited fighting between 1542 and 1544 and a pledge of peace from Michimalongo in 1545 allowed for exploration south of Santiago, Valdivia traveling to the Bio Bio River in 1546 (Vivar 1558/1979). As with Alvarado 10 years before, the Spanish were attacked by an allegedly large force of Che and, though victorious after a two-day battle, Valdivia retreated back to Santiago after receiving word that the *Promocaes/* Che were massing to attack. The soldiers with Valdivia also requested return to the safety of the north.[8] (Nauman 2000; Valdivia 1550/1929).

Importantly for the future of the Che, during this journey south in 1546 or soon thereafter, a Che youth, apparently an orphan, joined the Spanish party though how or why is not precisely known.[9] The Spaniards called him Felipe (León 1971) or Alonso (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Nauman 2000), and brought him to Santiago where he became Valdivia's groom (*criado*), caring for Valdivia's horse and living in his house. Felipe/Alonso learned to ride horses and speak Spanish, he watched military drills, and appeared to acculturate to the Spanish way of life (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Vivar 1558/1979). This was not the case, as later events suggest that Felipe/Alonso came to the Spanish as a spy, learning their ways in order to return south at a later date to inform the Che about Spanish strengths and weaknesses. Felipe/Alonso would play a major role in the destruction of Spanish settlements south of the Bio Bio as the *toqui* Lautaro in 1553 (León 1971). It is

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[7] The story of Doña Ines de Suarez has been popularized in such books as *Ines of My Soul* by Isabel Allende, which treats the conquest of Chile from the perspective of Suarez. She came to the Americas in the 1530s looking for her husband who had left some years before, and eventually made her way to Peru where she and Valdivia became lovers. Later, she went with him to Chile and played a major role in the creation, defense, and governing of the nascent colony, though her role in the founding of Chile is generally ignored by most Chilean historians.

[8] It is most likely that Valdivia returned to Santiago for other reasons, including the need to strengthen his position as "Lieutenant Governor" against Sancho de Hoz, who had been fighting with Valdivia for political control for several years, and due to his recall to Peru to answer for his efforts in Chile and his adulterous affair with Inés Suárez.

[9] Chilean historian Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna argued that Lautaro was the son of a *lonko* and was a prisoner, brought to Santiago as spoils of war (Vicuña Mackenna 1876, p. 7). How Mackenna comes by this information is not apparent in his writings.

possible that Lautaro was intentionally sent to live among the Spanish as a spy, indicating a strategy was in place to resist the Spanish, further point to a broad coordination among Che leaders. This will be explored more below.

Spanish efforts between 1546 and 1550 focused on building up the port at Valparaiso and in maintaining settlements in La Serena, which was sacked and destroyed by the *Promocaes*/Che in 1548 and rebuilt later that year (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960). When Valdivia returned to Chile from Perú in 1549, he immediately traveled south to the Bio Bio River and established Concepción (also known as Penco) and Talcahuano along the coast near the Bio Bio delta in 1550 (Fig. 6.4; Rosales 1674/1989; Valdivia 1550/1929). The Che in the region attacked and were defeated by the Spanish at Andalién in February of the same year (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010). After fortifying Concepción, Valdivia traveled south by boat to the mouth of the Calle-Calle river and established the eponymous settlement of Valdivia in 1551, while at the same time sending Jeronimo de Alderte by land through the interior, who established La Imperial along the Cautín River in 1551 (Rosales 1674/1989; Vivar 1558/1979).

The establishment of Concepcion, Imperial, and Valdivia gave defensive leeway for the construction of more fortifications between 1551 and 1553, including the forts of Arauco (1551) and Tucapel (1552) south of Concepcion, San Juan Bautista (1553) in the valley of Purén-Lumaco, and, importantly for this research, Villarrica (1552) along the western Andean foothills, among others (Guarda 1973; Krumm 1972). Villarrica protected precious mineral shipments from the Andes down the Toltén River to Imperial and the coast, and had strategic importance protecting passes into Argentina, though the initial occupation was short-lived (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960; Rosales 1674/1989; see also Harcha and Vásquez 2000). It is possible that Santa Sylvia was also constructed at this time as an outlying support to Villarrica (Harcha and Vásquez 2000), though due to the initial occupation at Villarrica lasting only about 1½ years, it is unlikely.

Throughout these events, Spanish *cronistas* recorded their impressions of the Che. From these accounts, researchers have gleaned information on demography, settlement structure, political organization, social interaction, and other facets of Araucanian culture. Spanish records indicate that the Araucanians were living in relatively large, nucleated settlements (Valdivia 1550/1929; Quiroga 1690/1979), not as disbursed across the landscape as some have argued (Cooper 1946; Izquierdo 1989; cf Dillehay 2007) . Kin relationships and networks were seen by the Spanish as wide-ranging, from the coast to the Andes and into Argentina, which relationships leaders likely called upon for ritual activities and warriors (Vivar 1558/1979; Rosales 1674/1989).

During this conservation phase of the CAC, which was moving toward a release/ revolt phase, many Che may have been *indios amigos*, actively siding with the Spanish and assisting in the construction of the various forts and settlements (see Chap. 5). However, overall tensions between the Che and Spanish increased (Vivar 1558/1979). The two sides engaged in several battles on a small scale, the Che attacking the areas around the fortifications like Villarrica and disrupting supply trains from the north (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960). Tensions arose between Che

amgios actively cooperating or colluding with the Spanish and their kin who fought against the Spanish (*indios enemigos*) from the outset of contact. But as more Araucanians were enslaved, forced to work on *encomiendas*, and otherwise mistreated at the hands of the Spaniards, tensions increased until reaching a boiling point (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960; Vivar 1558/1979). In late 1553, the Che transitioned from the conservation phase to a release/revolt phase of the CAC that encompassed the whole of the Araucanía and led to the temporary expulsion of the Spanish.

Che Adaptive Cycle: Release Phase—First Major Offensive AD 1553–1557

Che leaders, confronted with the depredations of the Spanish and at the behest of their followers (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Rosales 1674/1989), had to make important decisions that would affect the future of the Che themselves and their cultural system at the beginning of this release/revolt phase. A *cahuin*, or council, was held in 1552 or 1553 by *lonko* Colo–Colo, attended by numerous *lonko*[10] from throughout the Araucanía, perhaps including leaders from as far away the Pucón-Villarrica area. After debate and discussion, a *lonko* named Caupolican was elected *toqui* (or gentoqui, commander-in-chief; Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003; see also Dillehay 2007). According to Ercilla, Felipe/Alonso, again known as Lautaro, left Santiago sometime around 1551 and began to aid in the preparations for confrontation with the Spanish by teaching horsemanship, military tactics, Spanish language, and other aspects of European culture he had learned during his time as Valdivia's groom. Lautaro was also elected to *toqui*, serving under Caupolican, at the same *cahuin* (Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003).

The actions of Lautaro, as well as those of the other *lonko*, suggests that a strategic plan was in place well before the *cahuin* of 1553, which points to an intentionality of action amongst Che leaders throughout most of the Araucania. Ercilla's (1569/2003) account implies that Lautaro *planned* to live amongst the Spanish to act as a spy, returning at a designated time to inform his compatriots of what he had learned. If correct, then Che leaders, particularly highly esteemed *lonko*, were in greater communication than first recognized by ethnographers and historians well before the arrival of the Spanish and made plans that incorporated numerous communities throughout the Araucanía (Boccara 2007; Silva 1994).

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[10] It is important to note that much of what is known about this *cahuin* comes from the epic poem *La Araucana* by Ercilla. Though he did draw upon personal experience, much of the poem takes license with actual historic events, as criticized by the Ercilla's contemporary Mariño de Lovera, but who agrees with the historical basis for the poem (1960, p. 331). Góngora Marmolejo (1577/2010) relies somewhat on Ercilla for his account of the same events, though they both speak from personal experience. How they received the information regarding the *cahuin* is unknown, and it is of note that Vivar, the earliest *cronista*, says nothing about this event.

Upon the conclusion of the *cahuin*, Caupolican and Lautaro prepared what I refer to the First General Offensive against the Spanish, likely calling upon interrelated *lof*, *regua*, and perhaps *ayllarehue* from the Pacific coast to the Andes. Leaders gathered troops and weapons, and warriors prepared for battle against Spanish horses, armor, and guns with information gathered by Lautaro. Lautaro or another *toqui* appears to have initiated training on horsemanship, inventing a lighter saddle than that of the Spanish that allowed two Che warriors to ride the same horse, one guiding the animal and the other shooting arrows (Jara 1971, p. 61). The Che also constructed long pikes, used for both stopping a cavalry charge from the Spanish through impaling horses, and, with a rope attached to the end, bringing down soldiers on horseback (Ibid). By 1570 the Araucanian cavalry was considered by many observers to be the equal of the Spanish, if not better (Wachtel 1977, p. 195).

These war preparations may mark a point wherein Che leaders strategically restructured aspects of the cultural system onto a semi-permanent war footing (Dillehay 2007), which became more entrenched as time went on. A war footing does not mean that the system changed into something new. Instead, the pre-existing "potentiality of…[Che] culture" (Padden 1993, p. 72), organized as it was, structured how leaders could modify the existing system in a broader way. War was nothing new to the Che, internecine fighting having transpired for centuries (Gonzalez de Najera 1614/1889; Rosales 1674/1989). Rather, these modifications meant that, rather than fighting amongst themselves (which still transpired; see Chap. 7), Che leaders inspired their kin and networks to fight the Spanish and called upon warriors from greater distances than local *lof* or *regua* (Dillehay 2007). At the same time, *toqui* achieved greater status than before as they came to preside over *ayllarehue* and later *butanmapu* spatial and social organizations to a degree that does not appear necessary before the arrival of the Spanish (Dillehay 2014). These broader organizations became more important as an adaptive mechanism to protect and maintain the cultural system, as well as the lives of the Araucanians themselves (Olaverria 1593 in Medina 1960).

The First General Offensive[11] against the Spanish began in late 1553 with the destruction of the Tucapel fort (present-day Cañete; see Fig. 6.2) by Caupolican and Lautaro. Word reached Valdivia in Concepcion of the attack, perhaps through Che *amigos*, and he left on December 25 with 40 soldiers to quell the "rebellion" (Vivar 1558/1979). A force of several thousand Araucanians[12] ambushed the Spanish north of Tucapel, killing all except Valdivia. He was brought before Caupolican and

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[11] Villalobos (1985) created a diagram of the major phases of "war and peace" in south-central Chile. This diagram was modified in this research (Fig. 78) and indicates major offensives against the Spanish began in 1553, and 1598 respectively, the second offensive in 1598 leading to expulsion of the Spanish and the eventual recognition of the Bio Bio as the southern frontier (Bengoa 2003).

[12] Each *cronista* has a different number of Araucanian warriors for the Battle of Tucapel—Rosales: 67,000; Mariño: 150,000; Olivares: 10,000; Vivar: 50,000. Chilean historian Diego Barros Arana, writing in the 1800s, claims all numbers are inflated and the actual amount was around 6,000, though where he got this number is unknown (see León 1971, p. 40).

Lautaro, the latter revealing himself to Valdivia who was unaware of is true identity (Ercilla y Zuñiga 1569/2003; Vivar 1558/1979). According to some accounts, the Che then cut the muscles from Valdivia's arms and legs, cooked and ate the flesh in front of him, then cut out his heart and removed his head,[13] the skull becoming a drinking vessel for the *toquis* (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Rosales 1674/1989).

Word reached the Spanish in the other forts south of the Bio Bio and north to Santiago of the death of Valdivia (Santiago 1554 in Barros Arana 1861; Vivar 1558/1979) . Francisco de Villagra, acting as interim Governor, attempted to fight with *lonkos* Petreguelen and Colo–Colo at Angol, but the Spanish were overcome and Villagra fled north, reaching Concepción. He called for a general evacuation of the city north to Santiago, essentially leaving the southern settlements to fend for themselves (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960; Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Quiroga 1690/1979; Dillehay 2007). This "general uprising" (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010) led to attacks on Valdivia, Imperial, Villarrica, Arauco, and the remains of Concepcion, which were destroyed and burned to the ground (Rosales 1674/1989). Again, though it was and is referred to as an "uprising" or "rebellion," because the Che were not colonized nor controlled by the Spanish, this event is an offensive and one that encompassed the whole Araucanía.

Thus, the Che entered a release/revolt phase in the CAC, a "crossroads moment." Victory over the Spanish likely meant independence, loss could mean subjugation. Over the next 2 years of this release phase (1554–1556), Che warriors directed by Caupolican attacked every Spanish settlement, including a new effort to rebuild Concepción which had been commanded by the Real Audiencia in Lima (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960) and forced the retreat of all Spanish settlers north to Santiago. At the same time, disagreements arose between Villagra and Francisco de Aguirre over who should be governor, adding more confusion to an already precarious situation for the Spanish (Rosales 1674/1989).

Lautaro took advantage of Spanish discord, marching on Santiago with 1,000 warriors in early 1556 (León1971; Rosales 1674/1989). The Che marched as far north as the Claro River located near the present-day city of Curico, only 176 km south of Santiago (Vivar 1558/1979). According to Ferrando (1986, p. 87) the *Promocaes*/Che in the area did not have the same bellicose spirit of the southern Che and were unwilling to join Lautaro's forces. This led Lautaro to punish and kill numerous *Promocaes*/Che, which caused "resistance and hate" against him and would lead to his later betrayal (León 1971).

A Spanish force confronted Lautaro at Matiquito in early 1557, but was defeated (Rosales 1674/1989; Quiroga 1690/1979). A larger army headed by Pedro de Villagra, cousin of Francisco de Villagra, confronted Lautaro closer to the Andes at

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[13] Some legends told in south-central Chile recount that the Araucanians poured molten gold down Valdivia's throat and cutout his heart, which was then eaten, though no contemporary documents support this conclusion. Because there were no survivors of the battle between Valdivia and Caupolican, there is no reliable information on where exactly the ambush took place, or what exactly happened to Valdivia.

Peteroa, initially gaining the upper hand and forcing Che retreat. At the same time, Lautaro's warriors began to advocate returning south, seemingly disillusioned with his leadership and questioning the need to attack Santiago (León 1971). Retreating south of the Maule River, near Reinohuelén (possible site of the first confrontation between Spaniards and Araucanians in 1536), Lautaro regrouped for another surge north. His army returned to Matiquito in early 1557. There, the Che confronted a Spanish force guided to Lautaro's camp by local *Promocaes*/Che (Rosales 1674/1989). In the ensuing battle Lautaro was killed "by the lances of the Spanish and the auxiliary Indians" (Ferrando 1986, p. 49). The remaining Araucanians fought for five more hours, finally succumbing to the Spanish forces with more than 600 Araucanian deaths (León 1971).

Lautaro's death marked the highwater point of the First General Offensive and release/revolt phase in the CAC, but did not stop the efforts of *gentoqui* Caupolican and others in the south. New Spanish governor Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza arrived in Chile in 1557 with between 300 and 500 soldiers, weapons, and other supplies (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960). He marched south to Concepción to buttress the rebuilding efforts initiated a few months before, then marched across the Bio Bio River to retake lost Spanish forts (ibid). According to Rosales, Caupolican convened another *cahuin*, wherein Tureupichun was elected *toqui* to take the place of Lautaro, directing action against the Spanish (Rosales 1674/1989, p. 479). Che and Spanish forces met at Millapoa in September 1557, the Spanish emerging victorious against a supposed force of 20,000[14] (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960; Quiroga 1690/1979) The battle facilitated Hurtado de Mendoza's access south–forts were rebuilt at Cañete (the former Tucapel), Imperial, Angol, and Villarrica. Hurtado de Mendoza also established Osorno in 1558, and sailed to Chiloe after several battles with Che forces directed by Caupolican (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010; Rosales 1674/1989; Quiroga 1690/1979). It is possible that Santa Sylvia was built at the same time as the rebuilding of Villarrica in 1558, again to manage or defend ore extraction operations along the western Andean foothills, to protect the passes across the mountains into Argentina, and as support to Villarrica (Gordon 2011). However, other accounts indicate that the aforementioned series of support fortifications were constructed beginning in 1583 (see Harcha and Vásquez 2000; Vidal et al. 1986).

Hurtado de Mendoza returned to Imperial from Chiloe in mid-1558, and upon his arrival received word that the Che had built a fort to the north of Cañete called Quiapo with 8,000 warriors under the direction of Caupolican (Mariño de Lobera 1595/1960, p. 397). Hurtado de Mendoza marched on Quiapo in December 1558, defeating the Che[15] and capturing the fort (Valderrama 1927). Shortly thereafter, a Che prisoner told the Spanish where to find Caupolican, who was captured and

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[14] As with most Spanish accounts, the number of Araucanians is likely highly inflated.

[15] According to Rosales (1674/1989) and Valderrama (1927), the Araucanians used captured canons against the Spanish, though to little effect due to their inexperience with firearms. If this is the case, the battle at Quiapo is the first example of the Araucanians using Spanish arms.

executed (Rosales 1674/1989). Though skirmishes and battles continued after the death of Caupolican, as well as a high state of tension, his execution marks the end of the First General Offensive. The end of the offensive marks a transition from the release phase into a reorganization/rebound phase described below. Though incursions south of the Bio Bio were by no means easy or without conflict thereafter, the Spanish did have initial success in building and maintaining fortifications in Imperial, Cañete, Angol, Purén, Valdivia, Osorno, and Villarrica for the next 40 years. However, though the Spanish were "victorious," they remained unable to fully subjugate the Che, and the Che cultural system and structures remained under autonomous control of the Che themselves.

However, the First General Offensive throws into relief some of the changes that transpired in Che society during this release and the subsequent reorganization/rebound phases, as specific restructuring occurred to confront the continued Spanish threat. As noted before, though the structures and institutions of the Che cultural system were already in place and had been for centuries, confrontation with the Spanish required augmentation of pre-existing political and social conditions and a strategic restructuring to a permanent war footing (Dillehay 2007). This included the strengthening or creation of kin ties between *lof*, *regua*, and *ayllarehue* separated across space, evidenced by the ability of *toqui* such as Colo Colo, Caupolican, and Lautaro to call upon large numbers of warriors from across the Araucania. The *cahuines* to elect *toqui* and make plans for war may have come about with a concurrent increase in or appropriation of *nguillatun* festivals, *coyantun* meetings, and *kuel* construction in particular areas, such as those found in Pucón-Villarrica and Purén-Lumaco. These ritual and social activities likely served to strengthen ties and create new alliances. Rosales (1674/1989) in particular mentions an increase in *cahuin* and the election of *toqui* in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The construction of *kuel* may have increased at this time as well, due primarily to the death of numerous important *lonko* and *toqui* (Dillehay 2007).

As Boccara (2007) and Dillehay (2007) point out, the period between 1550 and 1602 saw a rise in the importance of ritual specialists, the shaman *machi* and *boquibuye* oracles, though Dillehay indicates they are probably one and the same. These ritual specialists served as a part of a heterarchical political and social structure (see Chap. 3), and probably directed *kuel* construction and ritual activities such as the *nguillatun* festival. The delineation of these "heterarchical peer groups" (Dillehay 1992, p. 387), important before the Spanish, appear to be further defined and strengthened in the mid- to late-sixteenth century (Bengoa 2003). Leaders continued to rely on rhetoric and skill rather than a priori authority. The case of Lautaro, whose warriors advocated for a return to the south, illustrates the quasi-democratic nature of Che society that looked more to ability rather than pedigree (Wachtel 1977).

In sum, political and social activities provided the opportunity for *lonko* and *toqui* to call upon distant groups to come together to exchange wives and goods, make war preparations, and solidify linkages that would become increasingly important in the coming decades after the end of the First General Offensive. This period is defined by this research as reorganization/rebound and conservation

phases in the CAC described below. Though the Araucanians continued to adapt their cultural system, the base political, economic, social, and ideological structures appear to have remained the same (Goicovich 2006).

Che Adaptive Cycle: Reorganization/Rebound and Conservation—Spanish Resettlement South of the Bio Bio, AD 1558–1587

Though the death of Caupolican in 1558 marked the end of the First General Offensive, the return of the Spanish south of the Bio Bio does not mark a reorganization/exit phase to a new CAC in the Araucania within the suggested framework of RT. No evidence indicates that the Spanish exerted any new forms of authority more than they had before the Offensive. Rather, it is argued here that the Che managed to maintain autonomy and control over their cultural system throughout the Araucania (ibid), partially through the persistent state of conflict with the Spanish. Once again, "accommodation, cooperation, and collusion" (Liebmann and Murphy 2010) likely happened to facilitate Spanish return, but tensions continued and inhibited the Spanish ability to exercise effective and long-lasting colonial control.

The reorganization/rebound phase included the incorporation of refugees from various parts of south-central Chile, particularly to the north of the Bio Bio River, resettlement in some areas previously abandoned to avoid the Spanish, and an increased emphasis on higher levels of social organization (Olaverria 1594 in Medina 1960; see also Dillehay 2014). Many *lof* and *regua* likely replaced *lonko* and *toqui* killed in previous years, creating new kin relationships and networks in the process. Overall, evidence suggests that the Che cultural system rebounded from the release phase structurally intact, continuing to build upon on broader spatial organizations and establishing new networks of alliance and trade. No archaeological or documentary materials yet found suggest a switch to a new political or economic system, nor the introduction of new social and ideological patterns. After a period of reorganization, the Che transitioned back to a conservation phase to the end of the sixteenth century. During this phase, the above-mentioned aspects of reorganization were maintained or "conserved" while experiencing direct interaction with the Spanish. This period included the construction of Santa Sylvia itself.

Hurtado de Mendoza rebuilt forts lost during the Offensive and created new *encomienda* grants beginning in 1558 (Izquierdo 1989). The Che and Spanish fought in smaller battles throughout the Araucanía, but not in the same generalized fashion as under Caupolican and Lautaro (Ferrando 1986; Rosales 1674/1989). As noted above, this facilitated the Spanish construction of fortifications, mining of precious minerals, and agricultural activities (Góngora Marmolejo 1577/2010). Small battles gave way to regional or local offensives (Fig. 6.5). One in 1563 was limited to the coast near Arauco, Cañete, Purén, and Angol and lasted until 1565
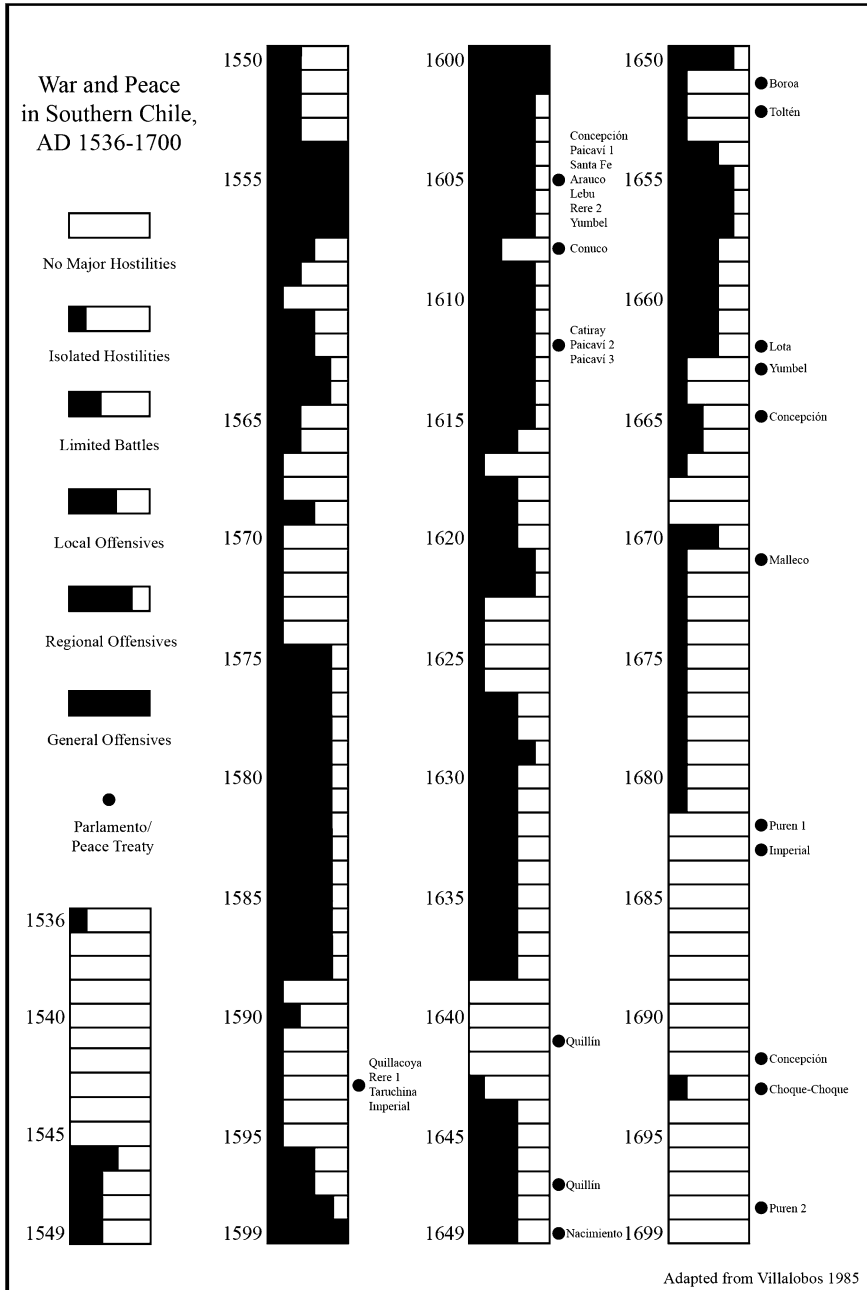
Fig. 6.5 Cycles of war and peace in the Araucanía

(Ferrando 1986; Villalobos 1985). These same areas corresponded to what the Spanish called the *Estado de Arauco* or "Araucanian State" mentioned previously (Fig. 6.2; see Dillehay and Saavedra 2010; Medina 1975).

Villarrica was rebuilt in 1558 as one of the "Seven Cities of the South" by Hurtado de Mendoza near the foundations of the previous fort (González 1986; Saavedra and Sanzana 1991; Rosales 1674/1989), again with the intention of extracting minerals and trade with Argentina (Quiroga 1690/1979; see also Harcha and Vásquez 2000). Beginning in about 1583, several outlying fortifications were constructed around Lake Villarrica to serve as defense and support to the larger settlement, which may have included Santa Sylvia (Guarda 1973; Krumm 1974; Vidal et al. 1986).

Santa Sylvia itself may have been constructed sometime around 1565, if not before. Gordon (2011, p. 8) hypothesized that the site was constructed around 1558 and abandoned near the beginning of the Second General Offensive in 1598. As noted in Chap. 5, Gordon's chronology is based on the radiocarbon dates recovered from his excavations and suggested by the number of burials unearthed in the chapel (Complejo A). The burials, according to Gordon, indicated that perhaps two generations lived at the site (ibid). My research indicates that the occupation of Santa Sylvia was shorter, less than 10 years, as indicated by the limited amount of material recovered in the fort interior. Had the Spanish occupied the site for 40 years, as Gordon suggested, the occupation stratigraphy would have been thicker with an increase in the number of artifacts recovered, particularly of European origin or design. Excavations at Villarrica, 35 km to the west, contained copious amounts of European-style artifacts, particularly ceramics (Saavedra and Sanzana 1991). Had the Spanish occupied Santa Sylvia for more than 5–10 years, then it is reasonable to assume that a considerable amount of artifacts of non-indigenous manufacture would be found, which was not the case.

Based on documents from the period, Santa Sylvia may have been constructed around 1585 by Cristobal Aranda Valdivia, unmarried first-born son of the one-time mayor of Villarrica, Pedro de Aranda Valdivia (Espejo 1967, p. 91). The above-mentioned series of Villarrica support construction began in 1583, leading to several *encomiendas* in the area, many of which had initially given out by Hurtado de Mendoza after the end of the 1553–57 Offensive. These encomiendas were granted to Juan de Oviedo, Ramirañez de Saravia (Indias 1582 in Medina 1957, p. 152), and in 1585 to Cristobal Aranda Valdivia, which took part of the lands of Saravia (González 1986, p. 87). This *encomienda* pertained to the "valley of Antelepe," also called "Antetepe" by Valderrama (1927) or "Antepepe"/"Antelupu," by Krumm (1974). A "new fort" was constructed by Cristobal Aranda Valdivia in 1585, with indications that Aranda Valdivia lived there (Rosales 1674/1989, p. 633). Cristobal's father, Pedro, may have given his son the *encomienda* while serving as mayor of Villarrica at the same time (Espejo 1967). Ovalle (1646/2003) recorded that the Antelepe fort was constructed "7 leagues" from Villarrica, or roughly 29.4 km. Though Ovalle does not indicate the cardinal direction of Antelepe in relation to Villarrica, Santa Sylvia does lie roughly 30 km to the east,

which suggests the possibility that Antelepe and Santa Sylvia may be one and the same.

However, it should be noted that research by Vidal et al. (1986) and Harcha et al. (1988) has shown that forts existed along the Toltén River to the west of Villarrica, as well as around Lake Villarrica (see also Krumm 1974). Thus, this Antelepe fort mentioned by Ovalle may be one of the other outlying support fortifications constructed in the 1580s near Villarrica (Harcha and Vásquez 2000). More investigations are needed to confirm that Santa Sylvia is the fort mentioned in the historic documents.

If Santa Sylvia is, in fact, Antelepe, then the initial occupation was during a conservation phase in the CAC argued in this research. Recovered C^{14} dates from the site indicate an occupation around AD 1580, corresponding to the possible construction of the site as part of one of the outlying support forts mentioned above (Vidal et al. 1986). This occupation may have lasted for about 8 years or from AD 1580 to 1588. If it is Antelepe, then the occupation was a shorter 3 years from 1585 to 1588. In either case, the evidence points to Che *indios amigos* assisting with the construction of the various complexes, with at least some Che living in a probable *ruka* to the west of the Spanish residences (see Chap. 5). Some Spanish materials, such as horses, cows, pigs, wheat, and barley were utilized at the site and likely entered into the Che toolkit as they did in the rest of the Araucanía. The lack of European-style artifacts suggests a pointed avoidance of Spanish ceramics, ideology, metal, and other materials in deference to Che-manufactured materials. This may be an instance of what Rodríguez-Alegría (2005) calls "eating like an Indian" in which a colonizer purposefuly adopts some of the culture of the colonized in order to ingratiate themselves. Gordon (2011) argued that the burials indicated mixed marriages and miscegenation, further suggesting that the *encomendero* may have intentionally used a preponderance of Che-style goods in order to accommodate the exigencies of living at the site, and to please his wife. However, as the burials have not had further testing, it is impossible to determine at this point if the indigenous female burials recovered by Gordon are Che or *yanacona*.

Historical records indicate that tensions in the surrounding area remained high, stirred up by Che living in Purén-Lumaco who had maintained direct confrontation with the Spanish since 1558, helping to perpetuate general hostilities throughout the Araucanía (Quiroga 1577 in Medina 1957; Olaverria 1594 in Medina 1960). In 1588, Araucanian warriors under the direction of female *toqui* Janequeo (Antuqueupu in Rosales' chronicle) initiated an offensive against the Spanish, generally localized to the foothills near Santa Sylvia and Villarrica. Advised of the Che march, Aranda Valdivia led his soldiers out of the fort to meet the Araucanians, where, outnumbered, the Spanish were defeated and Aranda Valdivia was killed (Rosales 1674/1989, p. 634). The Antelepe fort is never mentioned again, suggesting that survivors fled to Villarrica shortly after the death of Aranda Valdivia (Tribaldos de Toledo 1630/2009).

It is difficult to say with certainty that Santa Sylvia is in fact Antelepe fort, as no further records have yet been found affirming its existence, nor of corroborating maps or toponyms designating the area around the site as the "valley of Antelepe."

Only DNA testing of the remains unearthed by Gordon (which whereabouts are unknown) and testing them against descendants of Pedro Aranda Valdivia alive today would conclusively show that Santa Sylvia and Antelepe are one and the same. For now, (1) the C^{14} dates recovered from Santa Sylvia that correspond to the Spanish occupation aligns with the historical timeframe offered on Antelepe (see Chap. 8); (2) the short occupation time argued here of less than 10 years at Santa Sylvia appears to coincide with the short occupation of Antelepe during the same time period, and (3) the lack of evidence for a direct conflict (in the form of arrowheads, crossbow bolts, and other military hardware) at Santa Sylvia may indicate that no direct confrontations transpired at Santa Sylvia. This may be similar to Aranda Valdivia leaving Antelepe to fight the Araucanians, thereby avoiding battle at the site proper. It is argued here that the overall inability of the Spanish to establish settlements in the area for extended periods of time indicates that the occupation of Santa Sylvia may be similar to that of Antelepe, if they are not the same site.

Santa Sylvia's occupation, long or short, was during a time of generalized conflict throughout south-central Chile. Numerous letters and correspondence between governors and other functionaries to Peru and Spain between 1565 and 1598 describe continuous battles between Che and Spaniard (Anonymous 1580 in Medina 1959; Gálvez 1579 in Medina 1957; Obregón 1566 in Medina 1956; Ruiz de Gamboa 1579 in Medina 1957; Toledo 1569 in Medina 1956; Torres de Vera 1571 in Medina 1956). Writing of events in 1577, Rodrigo de Quiroga recounts the state of the "war of Arauco", mentioning that the Che in Purén-Lumaco were the "most obstinate rebels of this land" and were "persuading and inducing" the Che living in Villarrica and Valdivia to "rebellion" (Quiroga 1577 in Medina 1960, pp. 312–313). Though briefly mentioned, this letter indicates the large-scale intercommunication transpiring between geographically separated Che groups, from the coast to the mountains. Modern Mapuche informants in Pucón describe trading trips to relatives and trading partners living in Purén (Quiñenao, personal communication 2010). These relationships, as indicated in Quiroga's letter, appear to extend to before the Spanish arrival, as also suggested by the obsidian trade noted in Chap. 5. A similar letter written by Ruiz de Gamboa states that the Che living in Purén were "joining together" with other groups and fighting around "Imperial, [Villa]Rica and Angol" (Ruiz de Gamboa 1593 in Medina 1960, p. 308).

A second letter, written by an unknown author, describes a general "state of rebellion" of Che in Villarrica, and notes that the "war" extended from the Cautín River as far north as the Itata River, which northern extreme threatened Santiago in 1580 (Anonymous 1580 in Medina 1959). Fighting between the Che and Spaniards, then, extended farther north than the Bio Bio at this time, though Rosales indicates

that the northern Che (*Picunche*) may have been pacified and incorporated[16] into *encomiendas* and *repartimientos* around this time with the establishment of Chillan in 1581(Rosales 1674/1989, p. 601). These and other letters serve to illustrate that the Spanish occupation of south-central Chile, or at least south of the Bio Bio River, was tenuous at best despite successes at consolidation to the north. Mining operations began to fail by 1590 (Ferrando 1986), leading to less investment by both the Spanish crown and private entrepreneurs in the southern half of the country and further isolating the existing Spanish population, ill-equipped to continuously fight the Che. To make things more difficult for the Spanish, Englishman Francis Drake and other corsair captains began raiding up and down the Pacific coast (Gálvez 1579 in Medina 1957; Gárnica 1579 in Medina 1957; Quiroga 1578 in Medina 1957). A series of natural disasters including massive earthquakes, one in 1570 that destroyed Concepción with a tsunami (Rosales 1674/1989), and another in 1575 that severely damaged Valdivia and Villarrica, also impacted the Spanish ability to engage the Che and successfully colonize (ibid).

The Che, despite the continuous fighting, appear to have continued to build up their population, weathering outbreaks of smallpox, typhus (known in *mapudungun* as *chivilango*) and other illnesses in the latter half of the sixteenth century like their kin elsewhere in the Araucania (Bengoa 2003). Generally throughout the Araucania, the CAC remained in a conservation phase from AD 1558 to 1598. In more localized contexts, such as Santa Sylvia/Antelepe during the Spanish occupation or the coastal offensive in 1563 (see above), the CAC phases started in conservation (1558–1587) and transitioned to a brief release/revolt in 1588, quickly returning to growth and conservation phases, evidenced by the maintenance of the existing cultural system, incorporation of some Spanish materials such as wheat and barley, and avoidance of others.

More broadly in the Araucania during the conservation phase of 1558–1598, evidence suggests that *kuel* construction and ritual activity continued, particularly in Purén-Lumaco and Pucón-Villarrica, while communication and interaction with kin groups on the east side of the Andes in the Argentinian pampa and Patagonia increased as well (Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010; León 1989; Mandrini and Ortelli 2002; Silva 2005). *Ayllarehue* are first noted explicitly by the Spanish in 1594 (Olaverria 1594 in Medina 1960), and *butanmapu* had possibly become more important as well by the end of the sixteenth century (Silva 1994). It also appears that the Che continued to refine their military tactics, improving on the

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[16] Very little demographic, ethnographic, and archaeological work has been done between the Maule, Itata, and Bio Bio Rivers, making analyses of the status of the northern Che difficult. It may be that the Che population north of the Bio Bio was small enough that those who could not escape to live with kin farther south were brought under Spanish control toward the end of the sixteenth century, leading to direct Spanish control of all lands north of the Bio Bio by 1602 with the establishment of the Bio Bio frontier. However, fighting between the Che and Spanish from 1655–1657, would indicate that the population between Santiago and Concepción was not as "pacified" as previously thought.

cavalry skills and guerilla fighting that had served well over the previous decades (Bengoa 2000).

Che Adaptive Cycle: Release Phase—Second Major Offensive, AD 1598–1602

Though fighting between the Che and Spanish was relatively continuous from 1565 to 1598, in the latter year Governor Oñez de Loyola learned that Che near Angol were "rebelling," leading to a Spanish march from Purén in December[17] (Quiroga 1690/1979). In a valley west of Angol called Curalaba ("broken stone" in *mapu-dungun*, near present-day Los Sauces), 400 mounted Che warriors under the direction of *toqui* Pelantaro[18] attacked on December 23, killing all but two Spaniards (Gonzalez de Najera 1614/1889; Rosales 1674/1989, p. 685). In early 1599, Pelantaro and other *toquis* had *cahuin*, initiating the Second General Offensive against the Spanish. This offensive soon spread throughout south-central Chile (Ibid: 688). This Second General Offensive signifies a transition from conservation to a release/revolt phase of the CAC. Like the previous release phase in 1553, Che leaders actively decided to confront the Spanish on a broad scale. If they won, then the traditional Che cultural system could be maintained. If the Spanish won, the Che system would likely come under Spanish political, economic, social, and religious control. Within RT, Spanish victory would correspond to a reorganization/exit phase into a new AC.

Warriors across the Araucanía quickly marched on all Spanish settlements south of the Bio Bio, forcing thousands of Spaniards and indigenous allies to flee to the coast and north to Santiago (Santiago 1599 in Medina 1961; Tribaldos de Toledo 1630/2009). The Spanish attempted to fight back, requesting and receiving 500 soldiers from Perú (Vizcarra 1599 in Medina 1961), though the Spanish crown was slow to send any official support (Rosales 1674/1989). Spanish leadership in Santiago called for the complete enslavement of the "rebellious Indians" in order to pacify them once and for all, going expressly against the decrees of both the king and the Catholic leaders[19] (Calderón 1599 in Medina 1961; Erazo 1599 in Medina 1961; Lizárraga 1599 in Medina 1961; Vascones 1599 in Medina 1961; see also Boccara 1999a; Korth 1968) . Enslavement was ineffectual, only serving to increase

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[17] Rosales (1989) states that the Governor received a letter from his wife in Villarrica asking him to come visit, and that Oñez de Loyola and his party left Purén on their way to Imperial, not Angol. Curalaba may in fact be near present-day Lumaco.

[18] Also mentioned by Rosales is an older *toqui* Anganamon, who may have had overall command while Pelantaro directed the actual battle, in a relationship similar to Caupolican and Lautaro 40 years before.

[19] It is interesting to note that many of the documents declaring the need for enslavement came from Catholic priests; see Korth (1968) for an interesting, though biased, treatment of the calls for enslavement, as well Jara (1971).

anger, and the Che continued to expel the Spanish from the south, forcing the complete evacuation of at least 12 settlements by early 1600 (Alvarez de Bahamondes 1600 in Medina 1961).

In 1599, Che around Villarrica, possibly including former inhabitants of Santa Sylvia on both sides, laid siege to the fort/city (Tribaldos de Toledo 1630/2009). The siege of Villarrica lasted for 3 years, in which the Spanish attempted several times to send aid and allow for the escape of the inhabitants, each effort repulsed by Che forces (Rosales 1674/1989; Quiroga 1690/1979; see also González 1986). The evacuation of Imperial in 1601 further isolated Villarrica from support. Finally, in February 1602, the *toqui* Cuminaguel called for the surrender of the remaining Spaniards in Villarrica. Rebuffed, the Che attacked and destroyed the fort, killing all survivors (Rosales 1674/1989, p. 758).

Che Adaptive Cycle: Reorganization/Rebound, Growth, and Conservation Phases—Frontier Establishment, AD 1602–1700

The destruction of Villarrica, while not the end of overt hostilities, marks a turning point in the "War of Arauco" and the CAC. Newly appointed governor Alonso de Ribera built a series of forts along the northern bank of the Bio Bio River in 1603, moving toward a "defensive war" against the Araucanians (Valdivia 1615/1897; see also Ferrando 1986). The arrival of Jesuit friar Luis de Valdivia in the same year initiated a few ecclesiastical calls for a different sort of "pacification" through conversion to the church (another form of "defensive war"—see Foerster 1996; Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán 1673/2001; Ovalle 1646/2003; Zapater 1992). These activities were supported by the Spanish king, marking the only time in the Americas that the Spanish recognized a specific frontier, in this case the Bio Bio River, with an indigenous group. This recognition was not formalized, however, until 1641 at the Paces de Quilin (Abreu y Bertodano 1740; see also Bengoa 2003; Ovalle 1646/2003; Rosales 1674/1989). Despite this defensive strategy, battles continued, extending as far north as the Maule River (Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán 1673/2001; Rosales 1674/1989). Most fighting, though, was localized along the Bio Bio frontier (Ovalle 1646/2003). Luis de Valdivia attempted several missionary forays into Che territory with little success, though he did manage to have *cahuin* with Che *toquis* Paicavi and Anganamon in 1610 (Rosales 1674/1989). In 1612, Horacio Vechi, Martin de Aranda and Diego de Montalbán, priests sent by Valdivia into the Araucanía, were preaching in Elicura (northwest of Purén). Captured by warriors under the orders of *toqui* Anganamon, the priests were stripped, killed, mutilated, and their remains sent back to Concepción (Ovalle 1646/2003). The death of the priests led to the disgrace and removal of Luis de Valdivia and the end of major conversion efforts south of the Bio Bio. The "defensive war" was left in the hands of the military (Pinto et al. 1991; Rosales 1674/1989).

As fighting increasingly localized around the Bio Bio frontier and to the north, the southern populations grew and began to increase interactions with Che communities and kin across the Andes into the Argentinian Pampa and Patagonia (Mandrini and Ortelli 1995). This coincides with reorganization/rebound and growth phases of the CAC. Reorganization/rebound included the incorporation of populations of refugees who may have settled in the area of Santa Sylvia or crossed the Andes in Argentina (Harcha and Vásquez 2000), or who were otherwise incorporated by *lonko* and *toqui* into their lineage groups (Dillehay 2007, 2014). Contact with the *Pehuenche* and *Tehuelche* living along the eastern flanks and into the pampas increased (Mandrini and Ortelli 2002). This migration eventually drew the whole of south-central Argentina into the Araucanian sphere of influence through trade, wife, exchange, and cultural commonalities (Dillehay 2007; Escalada 1949; Jones 1999). This included both the expansion of Che culture and a larger population to draw upon for warfare and defensive purposes, allowing for maintenance of the Bio Bio frontier and sporadic forays north of the river (León 1990).

Importantly, leadership decisions placed the "center" of the war in the valley of Purén-Lumaco (Olaverria 1593 in Medina 1960), a strategic location where the war had been centered by default since 1553. The Purén-Lumaco area served to stage Araucanian *maloca* parties that harassed the Spanish along the nearby Bio Bio frontier and perpetuated the conflict. To this end, other areas of the Araucanian pledged material support, particularly in the form of foodstuffs such as maize, wheat, and barley, and warriors (ibid; see also Dillehay 2007; Zavala and Dillehay 2008) .

From about 1620 on, the majority of the Che south of the Bio Bio were left generally alone as the Spanish traded rather than colonized. They interacted with Catholic missionaries who achieved very little success in their evangelization efforts, and few military incursions were attempted in the region, particularly in Pucón-Villarrica (Treutler 1883/1958). As mentioned above, in 1641 the Bio Bio frontier was formally recognized at a *parlamento* between Che and Spanish delegations at Quilín (Bengoa 2003). In this treaty, largely dictated by the Che, the Bio Bio was recognized as a formal frontier and the Che as an independent, autonomous group (Abreu y Bertodano 1740). Peace was by no means certain, as numerous *parlamentos* took place over the next century as both sides jockeyed for position, lands, and power (Villalobos 1985; Dillehay and Zavala 2013; Zavala 2005; Zavala and Dillehay 2010). Sporadic fighting continued, a final large-scale (but not general) offensive[20] by Che north of the Bio Bio led to a siege of Concepción as well as the evacuation and destruction of Chillan in 1655 (Harcha et al. 1988; Ferrando 1986; Villalobos 1985). Toward the end of the seventeenth century, a gradual détente occurred at the frontier as hostility gave way to what some scholars have argued to be mutually beneficial trade relations (Berger 2006; León 1990).

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[20] The fighting between the Che and the Spanish was generalized north of the Bio Bio and led to the evacuation of most Spanish settlements south of Santiago, particularly between the Maule and Bio Bio, as well as some of the efforts at resettlement in the Tolten river valley.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Che south of the Bio Bio had extensively developed and consolidated kin ties as well as political and social relations throughout south-central Chile (largely between the Bio Bio and Toltén Rivers) and into Argentina (Jones 1999; León 1990). This came to pass during a long-lasting conservation phase in the CAC wherein the Che continued to conserve traditional social, political, and economic norms and conditions, fortifying the identity of "being Che."

Sometime in the mid-1700s the name *Mapuche* ("people of the land") became the official name of the the independent Che peoples living in Chile and Argentina, eschewing the former distinctions between *Picunche*, *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, *Tehuelche*, and other—*che* groups, at least in official correspondence and histories[21] (Boccara 1999b, 2007; Sánchez 2007). This phase also saw the maintenance of older and the construction of new *kuel* mounds and *nguillatun* festivals, in the Purén-Lumaco and Pucón-Villarrica areas into the 1800s (Dillehay 2007; Dillehay and Saavedra 2010). The Latin American liberation movements of the early nineteenth century, however, would irrevocably change Araucanian society both politically and economically, and how they would be perceived by the newly autonomous Chileans and Chilean law.

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[21] As noted before, the distinctions of the different—*che* names is likely derived from geographical locations, not from a specific self-identification as being part of a particular or separate group (see Faron 1960).

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Chapter 7
Social Shifts and New Regimes: Che Resilience AD 1700–Present

Though the Spanish crown recognized the Bio Bio river as the frontier and did not provide more material support for colonization to the south, historical records indicate that interaction, conflict, and change continued throughout the Araucania for both the Che/Mapuche and the Spanish. The Che/Mapuche, in general, remained in the conservation phase described in the previous chapter until the early nineteenth century. No documentary, archaeological, or ethnographic evidence suggests that any major changes came to the Che/Mapuche culture system in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Lacking any contradictory information and continuing with patterns of cultural evolution and development discussed in Chap. 1, it is likely that the Che/Mapuche continued to construct and maintain *kuel*, carry out *nguillatun* and other socio-religious activities, trade, intermarry, and interact with Europeans along the frontier. Changes were gradual rather than rapid, which, as will be discussed below, led to a breakdown of networks between Che/Mapuche communities and ultimately a switch to a new Adaptive Cycle (AC) wherein the political and economic structures of the Che/Mapuche system passed from Che autonomous control to the Chilean state. However, very little archaeological investigation (if any) has been carried out on Che/Mapuche sites dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of what is known about this period is derived from firsthand accounts of events and subsequent historical interpretations, generally without corroborating archaeological or ethnographic data.

A possible exception to this conservation may be seen in Che/Mapuche expansion into the Argentinian Patagonia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fig. 7.1; Mandrini and Ortelli 2002; Zavala 2008). Zavala (2008, p. 24) describes the Che/Mapuche of the Pampa as more mobile than their Chilean kin, living in tent-like dwellings made of animal hides without hunting and gathering. These may be seen as "autonomous groups, converted or in the process of conversion to being Mapuche" (Ibid). In time, however, these migratory Che/Mapuche settled into agriculture and animal husbandry in the nineteenth century, taking advantage of the rich pastureland of the Pampa (Mandrini 1986; Mandrini and Ortelli 1995, 2002; Zavala 2008).

Fig. 7.1 Map showing extent of Che influence in pre-Hispanic and Hispanic eras

This chapter provides a summary of some of the major events that transpired in the Araucania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, described by Zavala as a centuries of "transition in the history of the interethnic relationships in Hispano-America" (2008, p. 21). I do not intend this to be an exhaustive treatment of the time period, primarily because of the lack of archaeological research conducted. Within the framework of Resilience Theory (RT), these events provide the context for the changes within the Che cultural system to show what happened to the Che Adaptive Cycle (CAC) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I argue here that many of these changes, such as a breakdown in networks and relationships along the frontier that reverberated out into the Araucanía, and continual interactions with the Spanish and later Chileans, led to shifts in the political, economic, social, and economic structures. Within the CAC presented in this research, the Che/Mapuche lost political, economic, and some social autonomy, and thus entered a new AC with different structures dictated by the Chileans and not the Che/Mapuche themselves. These and other events, directly or indirectly, placed the modern Mapuche on the cultural trajectory they find themselves in today (Hernandez 2003; Luna 2007; Saavedra 2006).

The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Resilience Cycle: Conservation Phase Continued—Tensions and the End of Spain in Chile, AD 1700–1820

The uneasy détente between the Araucanians and the Spanish in the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries resulted in skirmishes and limited battles between the respective military forces, primarily along the Bio Bío frontier (Molina 1788/2000; Olivares 1760 in Barros Arana 1874). Berger (2006) argues that this time was a period of mutually beneficial trade, with goods and services, such as Che/Mapuche ponchos and blankets traded for Spanish metalware, being exchanged and trickling into trade routes to the north, south, and east. Most interactions between Che/Mapuche and Europeans in the eighteenth century were through Catholic missionary efforts (Pinto et al. 1991). Principally carried out by the Jesuit order in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, missionaries sought to establish parishes and convents in areas previously held by the Spanish, such as around Santa Sylvia and Villarrica (Foerster 1996; Olivares 1760 in Barros Arana 1874) . Despite the effort, conversion was limited, due in large part to unsuccessful attempts to place the Che/Mapuche on reservations (*reducciónes*) to better instruct and evangelize. Foerster (1996, p. 370) refers to this incipient *reducción* system as an attempt at "baptismal conquest." Overall, decisions by Che/Mapuche individuals and communities not to convert to or accept Catholic authority curtailed missionary success (Rosales 1674/1989). The Jesuit experience in southern Chile ended in 1767, ceding evangelization efforts to the Capuchin order. The Capuchins did not place as much emphasis on missionization as the Jesuits or prior Franciscans (Arellano et al. 2006; Hanisch 1974)[1].

For the majority of Che/Mauche throughout the Araucanía, the late eighteenth century was a time of continuation and expansion of the Che cultural system within the CAC conservation phase that had begun in the mid-seventeenth century (see Chap. 6). As noted above, no evidence has been found to suggest that outside disturbances disrupted the Che cultural system or introduced new practices. The traditional structures directed by *lonko*, *ülmen*, *machi*, and *toqui* and through the approval of the general Che/Mapuche population appear to have been "conserved" during this phase (Carvallo 1792/1875; Molina 1788/2000). One change that distinguishes this conservation phase from previous phases is in the emphasis on higher-level social organizations like the *ayllarehue* and *butanmapu*. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, *lof* and *regua* remained important but *ayllarehue* and *butanampu* were used to organize military action against the Spanish and to incorporate displaced populations (Dillehay 2007). While still

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[1] Bengoa (2000) argues that the failure on the part of Catholic missionaries was in large part due to the refusal of the Che/Mapuche to give up the practice of polygyny, a prerequisite for baptism. Polygyny was, according to Bengoa, necessary for the establishment of far-reaching kin ties that fortified the whole of Che/Mapuche society.

within the traditional structures of the Che cultural system, the conservation of these forms of organization distinguish this particular conservation phase from that of the early sixteenth century mentioned in the previous chapter.

By the end of the century the name "Mapuche" was used by the Che themselves to refer to those Che living south of the Bío Bío to the Calle Calle River, and from the coast east to the eastern flank of the Andes in Argentina[2] (Boccara 1999; Zavala 2008). Relations with communities in Argentina appear to have increased during this time as well. The Argentinian pampa provided good forage for the raising of horses and cattle, and numerous Spanish officials in Buenos Aires complained of "aucaés Indians" crossing the mountains to "plunder and rob" and generally disrupt colonization operations (Zapater 1982, p. 92). The Chilean Che/Mapuche introduced new weapons and military tactics to their Argentinian Che/Mapuche (Olivares 1760 in Barros Arana 1874) which grew out of a concurrent increase in trade relations and communication as well as human migration through previously established networks that had been in place for centuries (Mandrini and Ortelli 1995, 2002; Zapater 1982; Sauer 2012). This expansion is particularly important as no other indigenous group in North or South America expanded culturally while maintaining independence from Spain[3]. By doing so, the Che increased the number of warriors available, increased kin ties, and drew upon the Pampa for animal forage (Mandrini and Ortelli 2002).

Che Adaptive Cycle: Reorganization/Rebound Phase–Chilean Independence and Early Republic, AD 1820

The Latin American independence movements of the early nineteenth century was a time of convoluted change for the Chileans and a series of shifting alliances[4] that

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[2] Villalobos (1989) and many others contend that the *Pehuenche* (the "People of the Pine" living in and near the Andes) should be considered a separate, though related, ethnic group to the Che/Mapuche. His argument is based on accounts from Spanish *cronistas* who differentiated between the Che living along the mountains and those living along the coast. However, no archaeological or ethnographic evidence shows a major distinction, apart from a linguistic dialect, between Che along the coast and in the mountains (Faron 1962; Zavala 2008). Excavations at Santa Sylvia, which would lie in *Pehuenche* lands, has material culture similar to, if not the same, that found elsewhere in the Araucanía.

[3] The Iroquois nations of northeastern North America expanded culturally while maintaining independence from England and France (Parmenter 2010) as did the Cherokee in the southwest United States (Hämäläinen 2008; see also Witgen 2012).

[4] Depending on the political situation in Spain, at some points the Chilean government sided with the crown, then against the crown (Collier and Sater 2004). Chile declared independence in 1810 as a form of protest against the Spanish puppet king placed by Napoleon, which gradually morphed into total independence during the next decade. Spain managed to re-control Chile from 1814 to 1817, but the Chilean army led by Bernardo O'Higgins finally overthrew the Royalists in 1818. Thereafter, the Chilean *junta* worked to liberate Peru (Barros Arana 1886/1999). At a battle

led to complete independence by 1824 (Barros Arana 1999; Collier 1967; Collier and Sater 2004; Gay 1852; Izquierdo 1989). The Chileans "rediscovered," or quoted heavily from, Ercilla's *La Araucana* and cited the famous *toquis* Caupolican, Colo Colo, Galvarino, and Lautaro to exemplify the spirit of the revolutionaries (Bengoa 2000; Collier 1967; Lewis 1994). The political changes amongst the nascent Latin American nation/states affected the Che/Mapuche somewhat indirectly, but may still hypothetically be a transition to a reorganization/rebound phase in the CAC. The Che/Mapuche, though not initially participating in the revolutionary efforts, had to nonetheless adapt the ending of Spanish interaction to the north of the Bio Bio and the introduction of new, albeit very similar, Chilean influences. Documents indicate that Che/Mapuche leaders and their followers adapted to the new Chilean state in myriad ways. Most continued as they had before, maintaining traditional cultural structures and overall independence, while some along the coast and frontier began to associate more closely with Chileans than with their previous kin networks and were considered *indios amigos* or *indios de paz* (Domeyko 1846; Gay 1852; see also Bengoa 2000; Zavala 2008). These *indios amigos* introduced fractures into the previous networks that would later affect the ability of leaders to gather sufficient warriors to fight the Chileans.

Perhaps ironically, many Che/Mapuche sided with Spain during the Chilean independence movement, a fact ignored by the revolutionary leaders in their hyperbolic uses of the "noble savage" myth transcribed onto the Che/Mapuche (Lewis 1994). Why some Che/Mapuche chose to fight on the side of Spain is not entirely clear, though Bengoa (2000) suggests a "devil you know" pragmatic approach, as well as fulfilling the terms of *parlamento* treaties (Dillehay and Zavala 2013; Méndez 1982). Spanish royal envoys restated the terms of these treaties, in that the Mapuche would retain their lands and independence if they would fight for Spain. Thus many *lonko* and *toqui* may have encouraged their *lof*, *regua*, and *ayllarehue* to side with Spaniards with whom they had long associated, particularly in those communities along the frontier that had already been influenced by Spaniards over the previous centuries (Zavala 2008). The Chileans, on the other hand, saw the whole of Che/Mapuche lands as part of the overall Chilean Republic. By becoming independent from Spain the Che/Mapuche would receive the same rights and privileges as any other Chilean citizen (Ellis 1956; Marimán 2006).

Some communities did side with the revolutionaries, particularly north of the Bio Bío and in the south near Valdivia, and those who had worked with O'Higgins in the past (Bengoa 2000, p. 148). Most of the fighting between Che/Mapuche allied with the royalists took place around the frontier and the overall fighting was marked by "cruelty" on both sides (Vicuña Mackenna 1868b). Vicuña Mackenna called this a "War to the Death," particularly after 1817. This statement was not quite literal but illustrated the viciousness that transpired between the royalists and

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(Footnote 4 continued)
in Ayacucho, Peru, in 1824, the Spanish empire in the Americas was finished (Collier and Sater 2004).

independents (ibid). The Chileans defeated the Spanish and expelled them from the northern portions of the country by 1812, but Spain, perhaps by virtue of alliances with the Che/Mapuche, retained most of the south. Che/Mapuche allies on the coast by the Toltén and Cautín rivers helped the Spanish land more troops in a successful bid to re-take control of Chile in 1814, causing O'Higgins and other revolutionary leaders to flee to Argentina or engage in guerilla warfare (Collier 1967; Collier and Sater 2004; Marimán 2006).

Another *parlamento* was held near Concepción in 1815 between the Che/Mapuche along the frontier and the Spanish, which reiterated the Spanish position on previous treaties and continued Che/Mapuche independence (Bengoa 2000). Despite assistance from the Che/Mapuche, Spanish forces were defeated at the Maipó River in 1818, securing Chilean independence north of the Bio Bio (Collier and Sater 2004). By 1822, Spanish military action in Chile but did little to solve the volatile situation still raging in Che/Mapuche lands between the Mapuche and the now fully-independent Chile[5].

Overall, Chilean independence and the early republic period did little to change the fortunes of the Che/Mapuche in most of the Araucania, outside of the frontier. No evidence has been found to indicate that the traditional culture system was changed dramatically, or that new practices were introduced. Reorganization within the CAC reorganization/rebound phase may have been limited to a breakdown in some networks, particularly along the frontier with those Che/Mapuche who sided with the Chileans and became *indios amigos*. Other networks may have broken down in the Andes due to the new Argentinian nation-state (Mandrini 1984). This possible reorganization/rebound phase was likely short, and the Che culture system rebounded back into the CAC and transitioned to a conservation phase wherein the practices and structures of the previous phase remained, modified with regard to the Chileans rather than the Spanish.

Che Adaptive Cycle: Conservation Phase–Chilean Civil War and "War of Extermination"

This period is a conservation phase, as most of the Che/Mapuche appear to have worked to maintain the cultural structures as they were. Documentary evidence suggests that the Che/Mapuche in the interior of the Araucania continued to live as they had with limited change from the events along the frontier and Chilean independence (Domeyko 1846). Again, no archaeological evidence has been found to indicate that major changes came about in the Che culture system, though historical sources point to a continuation of the breakdown of relationships along

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[5] After the end of Spanish military action in Chile, most of Chile's military forces were dedicated to liberating Peru, which occurred in 1824 and ended the Spanish empire in South America. During this time, the Araucania was left generally alone (Bengoa 2000; Collier 1967).

the frontier between Che/Mapuche communities (Gay 1852; see also Bengoa 2000, 2004). Notably, I have yet to find references to individuals given the title of *toqui* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This may reflect a bias in the record, or may be suggestive of a change in the Che/Mapuche system wherein *toqui* did not have the same responsibilities as before. More investigation on this is needed.

After liberating Perú, Chilean leaders initiated a *parlamento* with Che/Mapuche *lonko* in 1825 at Tapihue, near present-day Los Angeles. In essence, the Treaty of Tapihue formed at this *parlamento* maintained the *status quo* between the Che/Mapuche and the Chileans—lands south of the Bio Bio were to remain in Che/Mapuche hands, the Che/Mapuche would be mostly left to their own devices, and no attempts would be made to colonize between the Bio Bío and Toltén Rivers (Bengoa 2000; Ellis 1956; Jara 1971). The Chileans would have their "Army of the Frontier" stationed between Concepción, Chillan, Los Angeles, and along the Andes in order to sustain the frontier and protect the interests of both the Chilean government and the Che/Mapuche (Barros Arana 1888/1999).

The Treaty of Tapihue marked a turning point in the CAC, leading gradually to Che/Mapuche subjection to the Chilean state in 1883. This treaty, unlike those with the Spanish, was not dictated by the Che/Mapuche (Dillehay and Zavala 2013), which suggests that the Che/Mapuche were losing negotiation power or were insufficiently united to dictate the terms of the treaty. It also curtailed Che/Mapuche territory, which previously ranged from the Bio Bio River to Reloncaví Bay, but was now limited to the area between the Bio Bio and Toltén Rivers. The Che/Mapuche cultural system eventually transitioned to a reorganization/exit phase and into a new AC (see below).

While Chile was experiencing major infighting in the mid-nineteenth century (Vicuña Mackenna 1868b), the Che/Mapuche during the same time experienced considerable change, for both good and bad. The good related to an apparent increase in animals, agricultural yields, and some population increase (Bengoa 2000). The bad, derived from the years of the war for Chilean independence, included population displacement along the coast which may have drawn refugees to the Andean foothills, gradual and subtle Chilean encroachment, population nucleation with attendant increase in disease, and an increase in discord between various *lof*, *rehue*, and *ayllarehue* (Domeyko 1846; Gay 1852). This discord would be exploited by the Chileans to great effect (Bengoa 2000).

Documents indicate that frontier trade increased the wealth of some *lonko* and *ülmen* along the frontier, who also began selling lands to the Chilean government and entrepreneurs starting in the 1840s against the wishes of their communities and networks. As noted above, this change in attitude of these *lonko* and *ülmen* may signify a major shift in the social structures that reverberated in the economic and social networks throughout the Araucania. In some instances, the same parcel of land would be sold more than once (Jara 1956). By about 1860, Bengoa (2000, p. 159) indicates that most of the land between the Bio Bio and Malleco rivers had been "bought, occupied, almost completely usurped, and most of the [Che/Mapuche] population dispossessed and displaced."

Che Adaptive Cycle: Conservation Phase Continued—Increasing Tensions, AD 1850

Between 1827 and 1851, the flexibility of the Che cultural system began to work against them. In essence, the previous century of conservation phase and the actions of leaders may have placed the system into a "rigidity trap" (Holling et al. 2002) that limited the amount of disturbance the system could take going forward, and how what it could incorporate. These disturbances, described more below, included the direct efforts of the Chilean government to "pacify" the Araucanía and the use of new technologies and military practices related to the industrial revolution, such as repeating rifles, trains, and telegraph communication (Barros Arana 1888/1999; Medina 1887).

The inroads made by the Chileans were different than that of the Spanish, due to the differences in who migrated primarily individual Spaniards versus Chilean families, and the support they received from the central government (Casanueva 2002; Treutler 1861). The Spanish colonizers generally procured their own funds from entrepreneurs and business interests with some, though limited, patronization from the Crown itself (Bengoa 2003). Now, however, the Chilean government had a controlling interest in "pacifying" southern Chile and expended considerable effort in both money and manpower to do so (Saavedra 1861/1870). This also allowed capitalist entrepreneurs to take advantage of the frontier situation (Bengoa 2000). The initial "accommodation and cooperation" (Liebmann and Murphy 2010) that had functioned in the past appears to have worked against many Che/Mapuche communities, particularly along the frontier (Zavala 2008). In large part, as will be shown below, this accommodation and cooperation turned into collusion on the part of numerous *lonko* and their communities along the coast and frontier, affecting unity in confrontations with the Chileans (Bengoa 2000).

During this time the Che/Mapuche culture system, through the actions of military leaders, would be seen to be *not flexible enough* to confront the rapid changes of the industrial revolution. A strength of the Che cultural system was the ability to incorporate and apply useful European goods, such as the horse, while maintaining traditional system structures. Because Che/Mapuche leaders did not adopt other goods, particularly metalwork, guns, and gunpowder, the changes made in military technology in the early- and mid-nineteenth century impacted a Che/Mapuche military unprepared to confront repeating rifles and a modernized military. In particular, a military composed of professional soldiers sent expressly by the Chilean state, and one readily supplied by a growing train network and telegraph system. The Che/Mapuche system, while by no means static or unchanging in the nineteenth century, could *not adapt quickly enough* to Chilean encroachment and the spread of new technologies (Collier and Sater 2004).

Bengoa (2000) argues that "internal divisions" amongst the Che/Mapuche led to the recruitment of "thousands of warriors" or *indios amigos* from the area of Arauco south of Concepción to fight with Chilean rebels in an attempted coup d'état in 1851 (Guevara 1908). This "rebellion" was short-lived and quickly quashed by

northern forces, but did considerable damage to the perception of the Che/Mapuche. In fact, there is a marked increase in the amount of rhetoric against them. Political and civic leaders editorialized about the "drunk," "savage," "dishonest," "thieving," Araucanians and the need for measures to finally bring the whole of the Araucania under Chilean control (Sobre la Ocupacón de la Araucanía 1859; Saavedra 1861/1870). These attitudes gained significant traction in the minds of most Chileans, and which in large part remain to the present day (Guevara 1908; Vicuña Mackenna 1868a; Navarro Rojas 1890/2008; see also Bengoa 2004; Lewis 1994).

Che Resilience Cycle: Release and Reorganization/Exit Phases–"Pacification" of Araucania, AD 1860–1885

In early 1859, the majority of Araucanians between the Bio Bio River and Valdivia (with the exception of those living closest to Valdivia and some living near Purén—see Bengoa 2000, p. 169) engaged an offensive against invasion, which offensive would devolve into a state of general warfare for the next 24 years (Villalobos 1985). The 1859 offensive marks a transition to a release/revolt phase in the CAC, as direct military confrontation against the Chileans engulfed most of the Araucanía. This offensive destroyed many of the Chilean settlements between the Bio Bío and Toltén Rivers, but did little else to halt buildup of the Chilean military and plans to eventually "pacify" the Araucania (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008; Vicuña Mackenna 1868a; see also Bengoa 2000; Marimán 2006).

The plans to invade and conquer the Araucania was, in brief, one of attrition though extremely sanguine (Saavedra 1870). Instead of a direct invasion or assault, the Chilean army planned to take the lands more or less already in Chilean hands between the Bio Bio and Malleco Rivers from the coast to the Andes and build forts all along this new frontier (Fig. 7.2). Then, once controlled, colonize the new area while preparing for the next advance to the Traiguen or Cautín Rivers. The army would eventually arrive at the Toltén River and then march east and take Villarrica, and Pucón (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008; Saavedra 1861/1870; Vera 1905). The Chileans found initial success along the frontier near Concepción and established the cities of Mulchen and Angol, due in large part to numerous *indios amigos* that had converted to Christianity and regularly interacted with the Chileans (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008).

The number of *indios amgios* impacted the ability of Che/Mapuche leaders to effectively mount a resistance to Chilean encroachment, and contributed directly to the breakdown in networks and the overall resilience of the Che cultural system. Internal strife between previously allied Che/Mapuche groups caused severe problems in resisting the Chilean advance. Numerous *lonko* along the frontier had been receiving payments from the Chilean government for land use, peace treaties, and other reasons, which in turn caused a breakdown in communication and cooperation with *regua* and *ayllarehue* elsewhere in the Araucania (Bengoa 2000).

Fig. 7.2 Extensions of Chilean military frontier, AD 1861–1883

Because of these payments, these *lonko* felt allied with the Chileans and declared "neutrality" during the uprising of 1859 and while Saavedra made plans for the invasion (see also Coña 1930/2002; Bengoa 2000).

The 1860s and 1870s saw some of the bloodiest and most vicious campaigns, particularly on the part of the Chileans, compared to the previous 300 years of conflict. Several *parlamentos* were held, both amongst Che/Mapuche and between Che/Mapuche and Chileans. On the Che/Mapuche side, Quilapán was elected *toqui* (the first in over 100 years?) and endeavored to unite various bickering *ayllarehue* from the coast to the Andes, seeking to gather sufficient troops for an offensive against the Chileans in 1865 (Guevara 1913; Vera 1905). A *cahuin* near Budi Lake

held by numerous coastal *lonko* declared neutrality, which would last until 1881. This neutrality allowed Chilean naval forces the unopposed ability to land soldiers for the interior fighting (Bengoa 2000; Navarro Rojas 1890/2008).

For these Che/Mapuche and based on the actions of these *lonko* and other leaders, the Che/Mapcuhe along coast the transitioned to a reorganize/exit phase in the CAC, entering a new AC wherein the political and economic structures appear to have come under the authority of the Chilean state due to their neutrality in the conflict and previous alliances with the Chileans. Though the documentary evidence suggests that these coastal Che/Mapuche did not anticipate losing autonomy, they nonetheless made decisions that permitted the Chileans to establish control (Coña 1930/2002; Guevara 1902; Navarro Rojas 1890/2008). This had a domino effect on the rest of the Araucanía in the subsequent decades.

The so-called "War of Extermination" began in 1868 (Lara 1888a; Vicuña Mackenna 1868a). According to Bengoa, between November 1868 and April 1869 the Che/Mapuche had over 400 casualties, 100 prisoners taken, and lost more than 11,000 heads of cattle, sheep, and other animals (2000, p. 222). Newspapers in Santiago, Valparaiso, and elsewhere decried the "massacre" of the Che/Mapuche but little was done by the government to detain the "Scorched Earth" policy enacted by the Chilean army (Bengoa 2000; Navarro Rojas 1890/2008). Attempts at *parlamento* failed in 1870, though the viciousness and strength of the fighting did diminish, or at least did not achieve the same levels as 1869 (Lara 1888a; Vera 1905).

Most frontier operations were suspended between 1871 and 1877 as full-scale war erupted between Chile and Peru/Bolivia in 1877 (Collier and Sater 2004). Even through limited operations, the Chilean army established a new frontier line through Traiguén (Fig. 7.2), carried out with limited fight from the Che/Mapuche in the area (Lara 1888b, p. 384). The establishment of the Traiguén line resulted in several thousand settlers moving into the area. It seemed that, at least to many Chileans, the occupation of Purén marked the complete pacification of the Araucania (Medina 1887).

Such was not to be, though not directly from the efforts of the Che/Mapuche. Though the efforts to control Araucania continued, a considerable number of the front line troops were moved north to fight Peru/Bolivia, depleting the ability of the Chileans to continue their march south (Izquierdo 1989). The removal of troops precipitated increased hostilities, which included the murder of *lonko* Domingo Melín near Traiguén (Bengoa 2000). Angered over the murder of a *lonko* and the continued depredations by the Chilean forces, numerous communities of Che/Mapuche committed to a final general offensive against the Chileans in 1881, beginning with two attacks on Traiguén in the spring and summer, respectively (ibid).

The Chilean forces now had with repeating rifles, train support (the new line reaching as far south as Angol), and telegraph communication against which the Che/Mapuche, still fighting with lances and arrows, could not adapt quickly enough (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008). In essence, it was a massacre. Though Che/Mapuche from the coast (Cañete, Budi, Toltén) in the interior (Purén-Lumaco, Collipulli) and the mountains (including near Pucón-Villarrica) united in late summer 1881, it was

too late (Coña 1930/2002). The Che/Mapuche attack began with the destruction of Nueva Imperial and a march on Tirua and Traiguén, but major losses at Ñielol near Temuco broke the offensive (Lara 1888b). By the end of November 1881, it was all but over. The Chilean commander demanded the surrender of all Araucanian troops and subjection to the Chilean government at a *parlamento* in 1882 (Coña 1930/2002; Vera 1905). Countless Che/Mapuche warriors fled to the mountains to engage in guerilla warfare, but the majority of Che/Mapuche became subject to the Chileans and were placed on reservations (*reducciónes*) scattered throughout the Araucania[6] (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008; Vera 1905).

Only Pucón-Villarrica remained as the last symbol of Che/Mapuche resistance (Subercaseaux 1888). On 1 January 1883, Urrútia sent the Minister of War in Santiago a telegram, stating that he had "taken peaceful possession of the fort where was founded the city of Villarrica" (Navarro Rojas 1890/2008, p. 356). Later, the army marched east towards Pucón (Pukong, in Subercaseaux's account), founding a fort near the Palguín River about 13 km/8 mi from Santa Sylvia, built to protect a pass into Argentina (Subercaseaux 1888). Most of the warriors from the area around Pucón and Santa Sylvia probably went to battle at Traiguén, which would account for the peaceful occupation of Pucón in 1883, though this is speculative. After a little over 400 years (from the arrival to the Inka in about AD 1475 to 1883), the Che/Mapuche in Chile were finally defeated and subjects to structures in a cultural system over which they had very limited control.

Che Adaptive Cycle: Reorganization/Exit Phase, AD 1883–1900

This is thus a reorganization/exit phase in the CAC. In previous phases, as argued elsewhere, the Che were able to successfully rebound to the same AC, from release/revolt to reorganization/rebound, growth, and conservation, while retaining autonomy over the same political, economic, social, and ideological structures. On their "defeat" by the Chileans, political and economic structures in particular were controlled by the Chilean state. Though *lonko* maintained some authority over their *lof*, *regua*, and *ayllarehue*, the final say in political and economic matters lay not with these leaders but with authorities in Santiago. Socially, some practices such as polygamy were ended and trade networks were curtailed though not completely eradicated, and Catholic and evangelical Christians experienced conversion success (Cooper 1946; Faron 1968/1986; Foerster and Gundermann 1996; Guevara 1908; Titiev 1951). Socially, the Che/Mapuche were placed on nearby *reducciónes*, curtailing the trade previous trade and kin networks and limiting settlement patterns

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[6] Unlike in other areas of the Americas, the reservation system in Chile did not generally include depopulations and movements of people. Instead, certain (considerably smaller) territories were given to *rehue* and *ayllarehue,* under the supervision of the Chilean government.

(Pucón 2007). This new AC included new issues of identity and ethnicity that would affect Mapuche reactions to the new structures of their cultural system in the coming century.

The Mapuche Today

Mapuche Adaptive Cycle: Reorganization/Exit Phase Continued and Growth Phase—The Early Twentieth Century

The period after the "pacification" of the Che/Mapuche a phase of reorganization/ exit that transitioned into a new Mapuche Adaptive Cycle (MAC) and growth phase. Growth appears to have come about in the new ways in which the Mapuche adapted to the Chilean government, including the use of the Chilean peso, capitalist business practices, and political organization (Bengoa 2007). How would the Mapuche adapt to these new systems? What aspects of prior political and economic structures might be maintained? What new methods for resilience might be employed by Mapuche agents and communities? Growth may also be seen in population increase during this time (Marimán 2006) though perhaps most important to this research are the changes that came about in the political, economic, social, and religious structures of the Mapuche cultural system in the twentieth century, described below.

With the Mapuche finally "pacified," movements of Chileans and foreigners into the Araucanía increased. The train and telegraph played important roles in transporting soldiers, families, and material for the establishment of new cities and towns between the Malleco River and Valdivia (Bengoa 2000). Linking Santiago with Valdivia via telegraph allowed for immediate communication and the train network provided speedy movement of people throughout the territories previously held by the Mapuche. This solidified state control throughout the Araucania. Not all colonization came from Chileans—many southern cities such as Valdivia were founded or populated by Germans, Dutch, Swiss, and other European immigrants. These settlers, coupled with their Chilean neighbors, caused a gradual decrease in Mapuche-held lands (Treutler 1883/1958).

Initially, Chilean law indicated that (1) the Mapuche should be granted specific, set parcels of land they should use to "cultivate and civilize" like elsewhere in Chile (Bengoa 2007; Caniuqueo 2006), and (2) those lands could not be sold to by individual Mapuche to outsiders (Bengoa 2000). The law was ostensibly on the side of protecting Mapuche interests while trying to integrate them more fully into Chilean society (Guevara 1908). By limiting the ability to sell lands, the government sought to protect the Mapuche from speculators and business interests that would take advantage of business practice, Chilean law, and ignorance of the Spanish language. Those people dispossessed by the war would receive lands,

colonizers would acquire non-populated areas owned by the state, and both citizens and indigenous would build up Chilean society (Medina 1887).

Reality, however, was a different story. The creation of *reducciónes*, as noted before, did not generally involve the movement of large groups of people. Rather, *regua* and *ayllarehue* identified by the government were given set parcels of land, which were then subdivided amongst the families already living therein (Haughney 2006). Those dispossessed by the war, or who crossed into Chile from Argentina, were placed on small *reducciónes* during a period of *radicación*, or "localizing," scattered throughout the Araucanía which would last from 1883 to 1930 (Bengoa 2007; Haughney 2006). Though the government identified these *reducciónes* as "grant titles" (*titulos de merced*) and were intended to be seen as humanitarian, *radicación* nonetheless constricted Mapuche pastoral lands and migratory ability (Hernandez 2003; Caniuqueo 2006), and many Mapuche received no land at all[7] (Haughney 2006). In addition, Chileans would often illegally squat on *reducción* land, place their fences over the actual borders, or find other inventive ways to gradually decrease Mapuche holdings (Bengoa 2000). Lack of Spanish fluency, the tangled web of bureaucracy, and the overall bigotry against the Mapuche left many families and communities with little or no recourse against the usurpation of their lands that continued well into the twentieth century[8] (Bengoa 2007).

The imposition of the *reduccion* system and incorporation into the Chilean state caused change in Mapuche society. Where some degree of migratory ability existed previously, the Mapuche were forced into strict agro-pastoralism on circumscribed lands, which included the imposition of the capitalist market economy and the Chilean peso (Bengoa 2007). Kin ties remained essential for trade, marriage, and ritual practice, but lessened as the decades progressed and as business-centered relationships increased. Haughney (2006) points out that through the loss of autonomy, many *lonko* also lost prestige, further eroding kin ties and leading to Mapuche complaints to the Chilean government instead of to their traditional leaders. Oral histories indicate that n*guillatun* festivals and *kuel*-related ceremonies also diminished in frequency outside of areas such as Purén-Lumaco and Pucón-Villarrica, and the number of *kuel* constructed and other ceremonies were reduced (Dillehay 2007). The imposition capitalism, coupled with dispossession and alienation, destruction of land, and the loss of countless livestock, increased dramatically the number of impoverished Mapuche. These individuals and families drifted to the larger cities such as Temuco and Los Angeles and eked out a living through begging and charity (Bengoa 2007).

Radicación ended in 1930, replaced by new *reducciónes*, but also saw new attempts to privatize most *reducciónes* into individual, family-owned plots that, if

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[7] According to Bengoa (2007), under the *radicación* system, each Mapuche was granted an average of 6 hectares of land, with about 500,000 total hectares throughout the Araucania. This is in contrast to foreign colonists who were granted "up to 500 hectares per head of family" and Chileans "received 50 hectares per head of family" (Haughney 2006, p. 23).

[8] And, argued here, continues to the present day, despite renewed efforts by the government to curtail encroachment on Mapuche lands.

they were not used productively, could be sold to individuals willing to invest (Bengoa 2007; Haughney 2006; Stuchlik 1976). These attempts mobilized numerous Mapuche into community organizations that objected to attempts to change the law and further usurpation of *reducción* lands and sought protection through direct political means. For the next 30 years, a continuous back-and-forth between numerous Mapuche organizations, private interests, and the Chilean government sought to increase Mapuche land holdings, halt the acquisition (both legal and illegal) of *reducción* lands, and place *reducciónes* within the grasp of privatization advocates[9]. Overall, despite the best efforts of their advocates, Mapuche lands eroded further, leading to greater poverty, displacement, and frustration.

Mapuche Adaptive Cycle: Conservation Phase—Before the Dictatorship, AD 1960–1973

This frustration led to an increase in the number of organizations seeking redress of grievances and protection of Mapuche interests, many of which were left-leaning. Though not specifically communist, these organizations were nonetheless seen as "radicalized" and "unpatriotic" (Haughney 2006; Hernandez 2003; Luna 2007). Organizations in this vein became, to some degree, substitutes for previous social organization such as *regua* and *ayllarehue*. No longer were kin ties and relations of utmost importance. Rather, it appears that political and economic interests came to the fore and defined the associations between individuals and communities (Bengoa 2007). Increased inflation and poverty nationwide brought poor Chileans and Mapuche together in common cause, and attempts at agrarian reforms in the 1960s only exacerbated the tensions between landholders and impoverished workers (Haughney 2006). During this time the MAC entered into a conservation phase. Political and economic structures remained under the purview of the Chilean state though subject to some modification by Mapuche actors. The reorganization of the early twentieth century had given way to an establishment of methods and organizational patterns amongst the Mapuche and in deference to the Chilean state, or a conservation phase that would continue for several decades.

The election of Salvador Allende in 1970 offered hope for changes between the Mapuche and the Chilean government, and the Chilean congress debated new indigenous laws (Collier and Sater 2004). However, most plans were to provide assistance, both technological and educational, in order to make individuals and lands more productive, rather than give back stolen lands or deal with the tension between Chileans and Mapuche, and amongst the Mapuche themselves (Castro 2005; Haughney 2006). But before new laws could be passed, the government of

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[9] For further details see, Foerster and Montecino (1988), Hernandez (2003), and Luna (2007), as the debates during this time period are too extensive to summarize here.

Allende was overthrown in September 1973, replaced by the 17-year dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.

Mapuche Adaptive Cycle: Reorganization/Rebound Phase–Pinochet Era, 1973–1990

Informants living in the area around Santa Sylvia indicated that for the Mapuche in the region, if not all Chileans, the Pinochet dictatorship could be labeled as "repressive" to put it mildly. Thousands of so-labeled communists, rebels, and other dissidents were executed or "disappeared," with thousands more imprisoned and tortured particularly between 1973 and 1978 (Caniuqueo 2006; Collier and Sater 2004). Pinochet and his followers, supported by the United States and other like-minded governments, sought to stamp out socialism/communism (particularly prevalent during the Allende administration) while enacting socially conservative and neo-liberal economic reforms. This included the privatization of previously-nationalized businesses and land sales to multi-national corporations, while at the same time enacting draconian social measures such as curfews, military patrols, and the suppression of even suspected dissidence (Caniuqueo 2006; Haughney 2006; Luna 2007).

For the Mapuche, the dictatorship imposed conformity to Chilean "norms." These norms included forced education at government schools, often by removing children from their families, the suppression of Mapudungun as a spoken language, and the repression of religious practice not condoned by the state, i.e., Catholicism or Protestantism (Quiñanao, personal communication, 2010; Gundermann et al. 2010). This research suggests that the Pinochet dictatorship, perhaps more than anything, obliged major reorganization in Mapuche social, political, and economic practice, more broadly in the Araucania but also in the area around Santa Sylvia (Quiñanao, personal communication, 2010). In many areas, such as Purén-Lumaco, previous cultural patterns appear to have been retained but diminished significantly (Dillehay 2007).

Neoliberal reforms during the dictatorship also sought to strip collective rights to *reducción* lands and place particular parcels in private hands, which may be the case for Santa Sylvia. Previous Chilean law, which prohibited the individual sale of Mapuche land, was seen as "anti-free market" and that the Mapuche were impoverished because market forces could not work on Mapuche lands (Hernandez 2003). Laws passed in 1978 laid out a framework for subdividing *reducciónes* into individual parcels, and by 1986 nearly 60 percent of all *reducciónes* had been subdivided (Haughney 2006, p. 56; see also Caniuqueo 2006). To ease the transition to private ownership, the law stipulated that each land parcel could be freely sold or bought in 20 years. This law, coupled with a propaganda campaign, limited the amount of protest that erupted when the law was enacted in 1978, as most

Mapuche accepted the idea of individual ownership so as not to lose their lands by direct government acquisition as many feared (Haughney 2006; Luna 2007).

Perhaps most importantly, and somewhat paradoxically, the Pinochet regime denied the actuality of the existence of indigenous groups. All people in Chile, Pinochet argued, were Chileans—there were no Aymara, no Diaguita, and no Mapuche. Ergo, no law could be passed specifically protecting the rights of indigenous groups because there was no such thing (ibid). This legal mentality would have important repercussions for the recognition of Mapuche rights, and has influenced Chilean law to the present day.

The 1980s saw the easing of the repressive measures enacted in the previous decade, permitting some public protests and the airing of general discontent with the government (Collier and Sater 2004). In 1988, Pinochet called for a general plebiscite, allowing the people to decide whether or not he should remain in power. In a close vote (55% against Pinochet, 44% in favor), the dictatorship ended with a general election in 1989 wherein center-left candidate Patricio Alwyn was elected to a six-year term[10] (Haughney 2006). Oddly, and despite the repression under Pinochet, the majority of Mapuche voters (55% to 44%, the inverse of the general population) did so in Pinochet's favor. This may be similar to siding with the Spanish during Chile's independence, going with a devil-you-know pragmatic approach. Many Mapuche may have believed that siding with Pinochet would be the best way to protect their land interests and personal protection (Bengoa 2007).

Mapuche Adaptive Cycle: Conservation Phase–The Mapuche Since 1990

The last two decades, perhaps more than any time before, has brought to the fore the idea of what it means to "be Mapuche," and the role of the Mapuche in the overall Chilean state. During this period, the Mapuche entered into a conservation phase in every sense of the word: a renewed desire to conserve those aspects of the past that had created the Mapuche culture system and provided Mapuche identity and ethnicity. This phase also included the conservation of the new cultural system structures developed in the twentieth century, including the ways in which Mapuche communicated with the government, as well as trade and social interactions amongst themselves and the Chileans.

The election of a new left-leaning government seemed to indicate, in the beginning, a change in the relationship between the government and all indigenous

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[10] Haughney (2006) points out that, despite losing the election, the Pinochet regime ensured continued power by stacking the Supreme Court with allies, making prosecution of the military for human rights violations in the 1970s illegal, ensuring a majority of conservative members of the congress, and placing representatives from each branch of the military in positions to dictate policy and vote on congressional measures. Thus, despite the leftist parties coming into presidential power, considerable power remained in the hands of Pinochet allies and remains so today.

groups in Chile (Hernandez 2003). In 1990, the *Consejo Nacional de Pueblos Indigenas* (National Council of Indigenous Peoples, or CONAPI) was formed to press for "reform of indigenous policies" which organization was closely allied with national and international human rights commissions (Haughney 2006, p. 69). At the same time, Mapuche political groups, such as *Consejo de Todas las Tierras* (All Lands Council), began taking back usurped lands and called for political and social self-direction and autonomy. These efforts were coupled with an increase in the number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that arrived in an effort to improve the Mapuche condition and advocate for increased rights (Ray 2007; Saavedra 2002). Though not widespread, these movements had the side effect of worrying Chilean political leaders who, under normal circumstances, sided with the Mapuche requests for recognition and reform, but balked at the idea of granting autonomy (Nahuelpan et al. 2012). Many movements were seen as being "subversive" and "dangerous". Additionally, numerous Chilean leaders reiterated the belief that the Mapuche were not actually an "indigenous" group because historical sources suggested they came from other areas and were not "native" (Chuecas 1992, cited in Haughney 2006, p. 72; see also Dillehay 2002).

Over the objections by the Araucanians, the new *Ley Indigena* (Indigenous Law) passed in 1993. The law attempted to define what would be considered "indigenous," such as through ancestry percentages, how those indigenous groups so defined would be treated by the Chilean state, the roles and responsibilities of the state-defined indigenous groups and vice versa, and in what direction those roles and relationships would go into the future (Ley N$^{\circ}$ 19.253). The new law created the *Consejo Nacional de Desarollo Indigena* (National Council for Indigenous Development, or CONADI), which would oversee the implementation of the law and act as the intermediary between the central government and indigenous groups[11] (Castro 2005; Haughney 2006). It seemed, to some observers, that the Chilean government was making an honest attempt to deal with a difficult situation and make genuine reparations to the Araucanians through Ley N$^{\circ}$. 19.253, with funds set aside for infrastructure development, education, and resource management (Heise 2001; Ray 2007).

Despite these efforts, many Mapuche remained suspicious of the government motives and dissatisfied with the lack of legal recognition of the Mapuche as a specific "people" (Castro 2005; Ray 2007). Divisions arose between conciliatory communities and individuals, who looked to take what the government was offering without making a fuss in order to make a living, and those who saw the government overtures as disingenuous and advocated for Mapuche autonomy (Castro 2005; Haughney 2006; Hernandez 2003; Quiñanao, personal communication, 2010). To further exacerbate the problem, several hydroelectric projects were initiated in the southern portion of the country that directly affected Mapuche lands (Nesti 2001; Ray 2007). These projects coincided with an increase in logging efforts throughout the country (Haughney 2006). Conflict began to erupt in the mid-1990s between

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[11] The relationship between the Mapuche and CONADI has been, at best, tenuous.

Fig. 7.3 Photo of graffiti in Santiago, calling for "resitance" and Mapuche "autonomy"

logging companies, government officials, engineers, and the Mapuche over the aforementioned projects, most times peaceful, many times violent, which conflict continues to the present day (Hernandez 2003; Ray 2007).

One side effect of these events has been resurgence in "indigeneity" (Fig. 7.3). In other words, the fights over what it means to be Mapuche has led to an increase, in many places, of "being mapuche" or practicing ancient customs in an effort to maintain both Mapuche identity and the cultural past (Bacigalupo 2010) . In some cases this has been seen in renewed practice of *nguillatun* festivals, such as near Santa Sylvia, and reinforcing kin ties (Quiñanao, personal communication, 2010). In other cases, the placement of Mapuche cultural symbols, such as the painting of a giant *kueltrun* drum in the plaza of Purén, or in traditional dance troupes touring the country and the world presenting Mapuche culture through dance have served to highlight the desire on the part of many people to protect the Che/Mapuche cultural past. This has the benefit of placing emphasis on "saving" Che/Mapuche culture for posterity, something highly important to anthropologists, but at the same time this "nativist revival" has the tendency to glorify the past, ignore what may be considered "lesser" details, or outright invention of new practices passed off as "traditional."

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Chapter 8
Conclusions and Broader Possibilities

As I argued in Chap. 1, the Che are unique in many respects. They are not the only indigenous group to resist or fight against European colonization, but they are the only to do so *from the outset of contact*. They are not the only ones to strategically restructure their society in the face of incursion (Parmenter 2010; Witgen 2012), but they are the only ones to do without experiencing the level of hybridization and syncretism that affected many other indigenous groups in the Americas. They are, however, the only indigenous group in North or South America to receive official recognition as an independent, autonomous culture by a European nation-state (Abreu y Bertodano 1740; see also Dillehay and Rothammer 2013; Dillehay 2014). They are the only ones who managed to do all of this *on their own terms* for 400 years.

One fear in emphasizing the unique nature of the Che is that they can be seen as incomparable to other indigenous groups in the Americas. I argue that, however unique the Che may be in many respects, their example can still provide important information for cross-cultural comparisons on topics related to colonialism, culture contact, agency, identity, democracy, power, and cultural evolution and development. Though the timing and context of Che resilience is distinct, they still share many attributes with other Native American groups. Initial Spanish success elsewhere, as well as in the Araucanía, was due in no small part to *indios amigos* (Matthew and Oudjik 2007) who actively collaborated and colluded with the Spanish (see also Liebmann and Murphy 2010a, b). What are the factors that induced some individuals to side with the colonizers, while others actively fought against them? How are *indios amigos* treated in the archaeological, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric records? The Spanish had to adapt many aspects of their colonial efforts throughout the Americas. What are the differences and commonalities between these changes?

Other indigenous groups successfully revolted against the Spanish (Gradie 2000; Liebmann 2012; Serulnikov 2003). What is the nature of these revolts, and how do they compare with the Che? Overall, how does the colonial enterprise in Chile compare to the rest of the Americas, and what information can be gleaned from the

Che example that can illuminate the interactions between disparate societies elsewhere in the world? These and many other topics are needed in cross-cultural and interdisciplinary comparisons, and the Che can provide important data for these investigations.

Additionally, the Che example highlights the necessity of interdisciplinary approaches to cultural investigations. Too often, archaeologists get caught up in a forced dichotomy between "history" and "pre-history," and for many ne'er do the twain meet (Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013). Others treat the documentary record lightly, or without the same critical evaluation they would give to any other artifact assemblage (Lightfoot 1995). Thus, in many cases Che research begins in 150 and ends at 1492, begins in 1536 and ends in the nineteenth century, or focuses on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This is not necessarily a bad thing. It is true that each discipline (archaeology, history, and ethnography) have particular tools that are used to evaluate their respective data sets. Additionally, distinct time periods can have issues that need to be evaluated by themselves, without getting caught up in the events of previous eras. However, it is intellectually fallacious and borderline dishonest to *always* examine an indigenous society, such as the Che, within the narrow framework of a particular discipline. Or, in other words, it is wrong to ignore the simple fact that the Che, like any other culture, is the culmination of decades and centuries of prior development at any given time. Examining the Che in the sixteenth century, even if the documents are the focus, requires that the archaeological record be consulted and analyzed to provide the necessary background to contribute explanations as to *why* the Che are seen in a particular way by the writes of these documents, or *why* events unfolded in the way they did. And, even more fundamentally, the anthropological record can offer critical evaluations of the documents, i.e. just because Vivar (1558/1979) said that an event transpired in a particular way does not mean that the material record or the oral history is going to corroborate the story.

Conversely, the archeological and ethnographic records can be complemented and criticized by the documents. Failing to incorporate one of these research areas leaves major gaps in understanding the development of Che culture through time and space. The vast majority of indigenous groups in the Americas and elsewhere in the world are subject to the same sort of analyses and each has, in one way or another, a culture history that extends from the past into the present. As Marx pointed out,

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living (Marx 1852/1978, p. 595).

Holistic approaches to topics of agency, identity, contact, evolution, and power can assist modern-day indigenous groups and the wider societies and nations in which they live to come to terms with how the past is perceived, interpreted, and incorporated into national and international dialogues. Analyses such as the Che

example can only be studied effectively through the combined lenses of archaeology, ethnography, and history.

I have also shown here that Resilience Theory (RT) has great potential for researchers studying the diachronic and synchronic processes that go into cultural development and evolution. RT can operate at numerous scales and provides an explanatory framework for getting to the heart of cultural systems and structures, their interplay, and the effects of outside "disturbance" on those systems (Gunderson 1999; Walker et al. 2004; Walker and Salt 2012; Westley et al. 2002). Particularly important within these studies are the actions of people at the individual and group level to either adapt to disturbance or to transform the system (Walker et al. 2004). Issues of population growth, climate change, and others directly influence the ability of a system to be resilient, and RT studies can provide important information for researchers and public policy officials as they come to terms with these issues for their communities and nations (Vervoort et al. 2012; Wells 2012).

For archaeologists, more can be done to incorporate RT and understand the long-term developmental processes that contribute to the maintenance of cultural systems seen in the archaeological record, and how societies in the archaeological past dealt with the same or similar issues as we do today (Redman 2005, 2014; Redman and Kinzig 2003). Importantly, these concerns need not be confined to the interplay between humans and their environment, or social-ecological systems (SES; see Hegmon et al. 2008; Leslie and McCabe 2013; Walker and Salt 2006; Walker et al. 2006a). RT can be adapted, as I have shown here, to examine cultural systems by themselves. This approach is applicable to ethnographers, historians, sociologists, geographers, and others interested in issues of cultural development and persistence, resilience, agency, identity, and other avenues of research.

Anthropologists are in a good position to delve into and apply RT, as resilience in general is increasing in importance as a cultural topic, not just with regards to ecological systems or sustainability. Numerous self-help and other popular books in the last few years have used "resilience" in their titles (Aldrich 2012; Southwick and Charney 2012; Reivich and Shatte 2002; Zolli and Healy 2013). By engaging with RT, anthropologists can help define the nature of resilience to make it a meaningful heuristic with cross-cultural applicability.

As I have shown, Che agents effectively used pre-existing cultural structures (political, economic, social, and ideological) and their component institutions (*lof*, *rehue*, *ayllarehue*, *butanmapu*; *lonko*, *machi*, *toqui*) to fashion a culture composed of individuals dedicated to an ideal of independence and one that managed to remain so for over 400 years. RT illustrates how, across scales and through time, the Che both maintained and adapted their cultural system in order to maintain autonomy. Or, as Walker et al. (2006b, p. 7) would state, the Che system "[experienced] shocks while retaining essentially the same function, structure, feedbacks, and therefore identity." Unlike many other theories of culture, RT recognizes and incorporates the non-static and ever-evolving nature of culture, as

well as the importance of agency and identity in the perpetuation of a cultural system. Change is inevitable (Wolf 1997), but need not be a debilitating process that leads to the eventual destruction of a culture.

In fact, some uses of RT in archaeology have emphasized system collapse, or a focus on the "release/revolt" phase in the Adaptive Cycle (AC) as indicative of collapse (Hegmon et al. 2008; Nelson et al. 2006). A focus on collapse presupposes that collapse is inevitable, or fundamental to RT. While collapse is popular in recent archaeological literature as well as in the material record (Allen 2008; Cook 1981; Diamond 2005; Faulseit 2012; Graham et al. 2013; León 1992; McAnany and Yoffee 2010; Railey and Reycraft 2008; Schwartz and Nichols 2006; Tainter 1988), I argue that such should not be the case for effective use of RT in anthropological or other research. First, if we focus on collapse and its aftermath, are we truly talking about resilience, or are we instead looking at trait persistence through time rather than resilience of a system (Panich 2010, 2013)? Further, by narrowing resilience down to collapse and its aftermath, researchers are less inclined to look at instances of resilience when collapse does *not* occur or is avoided. Thus, collapse can be a part of RT, but is not integral to it as most of the research to date has emphasized. We should also look at those instances, which may not be as obvious, of outside disturbance being absorbed into and/or mitigated by the system and its agents. Historical archaeology in particular is suited to this incorporation (sensu Lightfoot 1995), as it includes multiple lines of evidence that can point to resilience through time without the necessity of collapse.

Further, the use of RT has the potential to help researchers rethink some of the conclusions about the nature of culture contact and interaction. For example, the primacy given the documentary record leads many investigators across disciplines to conclude that European colonization was inevitable. Maps and other documents divide up the Americas and Africa, and their native inhabitants, into discrete areas supposedly colonized or "controlled" by a European power. Recent investigations have shown this to not be the case in two ways. First, in numerous instances the material record clearly points to a *gradual* encroachment on native lands by Europeans, despite European maps, proclamations, and treaties about who controlled what (Liebmann and Murphy 2010a, b; Oland et al. 2012; Parmenter 2010; Witgen 2012). A letter written to a far-off European king or queen says that all the land belongs to them does not mean anything on the ground. Second, scholarship in recent years has looked more at the nature of contact, finding it be far more nuanced and controlled by native groups than acknowledged in histories, laws, and archaeological explanations (Hauser and Armstrong 2012; Moraña and Jáuregui 2008; Oland et al. 2012; Paterson 2011; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010; Van Buren 2010). From our vantage point 500 years later it is easy to say that colonization was "inevitable," and such simplistic declarations elide the reality that events could have turned out in very different ways for all people involved. While entertaining, counterfactual exercises serve to point out historical events are not tautological nor inexorable marches toward some form of civilized present. Rather, and this is where RT can play a role, transpired events are the culmination of processes affected by

agents and structures resulting in the collision of systems at certain points in time, which then direct how events unfold thereafter (LaBianca and Scham 2006).

RT allows for the absorption of those events, the external stimuli that can make a system stronger, while at the same time avoiding other stimuli deemed unwanted or debilitating. In this way, agents are able to act strategically to incorporate or reject particular aspects of foreign culture. At different scales, researchers can examine why some cultural aspects, such as ideology, remain within a system when others are changed. These scales can also be applied to regions: how in one area a culture remains vibrant, while in another it undergoes drastic modification. The interplay of agents, identities, ideologies, and environments all affect the creation and maintenance of cultural systems today and in the past. RT provides the framework for analyzing those interactions.

The Che successfully maintained autonomous control of their cultural system for nearly 400 years through a combination of pre-existing cultural norms and practices, strategic action, and an inherent desire to remain autonomous, or an "anti-colonial" identity (Loomba 2005; see also Dillehay 2014) fashioned in the early years of Spanish contact. This resilience is seen in the perpetuation of material culture before, during, and after contact, limited incorporation of outside goods, historical accounts of interactions, and the oral traditions and activities of the modern Mapuche. I have shown here that the Che, particularly at the site of Santa Sylvia, far from being an accident of history actively worked to maintain their cultural system in the face of repeated and intense disturbance. They did so with success, and remain the only indigenous group to do so from the outset of contact and on their terms for several centuries. By incorporating the example of the Che into further studies of colonialism, culture contact, resistance, resilience, agency, identity, and power, researchers will be able to plumb more deeply the myriad effects that these topics and others have had and continue to have on the world today.

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