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ARAUCANIAN CULTURE STRATIFICATION

A i m

This dissertation aims to determine the distribution and stratification of certain salient Araucanian culture traits. To begin with, the archaic culture drift, east and west of the Cordillera, and north and south of the Magellanic Strait, will be described. Subsequently, we shall discuss the pre-hispanic drift, west of the Cordillera, characterized generally by certain Peruvian influences. And finally, the post-hispanic or historical drift will be studied. The investigation will be made principally in the light of the more important sources for the Araucanian area.

CHAPTER I

The Name

There are various opinions as to the origin of the word "Araucanian", (Spanish, "Araucano"). Ercilla, the warrior poet, who wielded the pen as mightily as the sword, was the first to employ the term (1).

One view considers the term "Araucanian" to have been taken from the name of the district watered by the Carampangue, called by the natives Rauco, which means muddy water. It was here that Pedro de Valdivia met with greatest resistance from the aborigines, and finally lost his life (2).

Medina and Rosales offer another explanation. In the Araucanian tongue, "rag" signifies chalk or marl, and "co" means water. The Araucanians ate potatoes with a sauce made of water and yellow chalk (marl) (3). This view and the preceding appear to have a common denominator—the notion of turbid water.

* Este trabajo, inédito hasta la fecha, fue confeccionado en el Departamento de Antropología de la Universidad Católica de América, Washington D. C. que dirige el profesor J. M. Cooper. A pesar del tiempo transcurrido desde su terminación en 1932, el presente estudio mantiene su valor científico. Por este motivo el Directorio de la Sociedad de Biología de Concepción cree conveniente publicarlo. (N. de la R.)

(1) Ercilla, Canto 1 et passim. Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, 266; (k), 151. Oyarzún, (c), RU, XII, 1105, Verill, 460-461.

(2) Latcham, (b), JAI, XXXIV, 170. Edwards, (a), 184.

(3) Rosales, 1, 152-153. Medina, 195.

A third view traces in the term "Araucanian" a connotation of untamed, warlike implacability. The Spaniards experienced the martial ferocity of the "Moluches", as the natives chafed themselves. This self-appellation was derived from two Indian words, "molun" ("molun"), to wage war, and "che", people (4). Molina states that the term "Araucanian" is derived from the province of Arauco, which latter is descended linguistically from the native word, "...Auca, che vuol dire nomo di guerra" (5).

All views substantially agree in this, that the word Araucanian takes its origin from the geographical district of Arauco. But whence is the term Arauco derived? To my mind, the opinion of Molina is the least probable. His view fails to take into account the "r" in the root of Arauco. Secondly, as far as we can gather from the sources, it was the invasion of the Spaniards that primarily resulted in the quickening of the battle pulse of the Araucanian. And the province of Arauco (Rauco) bore its name long before Valdivia left Peru for the conquest of lands to the south.

What of the other views? Latcham's opinion seems to be more consonant with the workings of the Indian mind, for it is more natural to name a territory from a physical phenomenon found therein, than from native habits there current.

The problem, as far as the evidence goes, admits of no certain solution. Probability is all that can be obtained. We do know however, that the term subsequently received a wide extension. Molina's usage, in applying it to the tribes generally south of the Bio Bio river, is indicative of the gradual generalization (6).

CHAPTER II

Geography and Contiguous Tribes

The exact boundaries of Araucanian territory have shifted with the years, due to certain tribal nomadic cross-currents and eddyings of peoples and culture traits, and to the varying vicissitudes of war after the Conquistadores has entered upon the scene. However, we are able to determine quite accurately, by means of historical and ethnological evidence, the extent of the Araucanian culture area.

In general, we may state that the Araucanian area extended from the River Maule on the north to the southern tip of the island of Chiloé (7). This area was primarily west of the Cordillera. Some would extend the northern boundary of Araucania as far as Atacama prior to the Spanish Conquest (8). This would give the area an extension from 24° S. Lat. to 44° S. Lat. According to d'Orbigny, subsequent to the coming of the white man to Chile, the Araucanians retreated south of the Rio Maule (9). The generality of authorities, however, would make the Rio Itata (10) or even the Rio Bio Bio (11)

(4) Church, 273-274, ERE, IX, 597.

(5) Molina, (a), 118; cf. (c), CHC, XXVI, 145.

(6) Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, 266. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 145.

(7) Cooper, (c), XII, ICA, 407.

(8) Latcham, (b) JA' XXXIV, 170. EI, III, 967.

(9) d'Orbigny, IV, 178.

(10) Latcham, (k), 151; (i), A. IV, Núm. 6, 8. CE, I, 679.

(11) Molina, (a), 117-118; (c), CHC, XXVI, 145, 199. Olivares, (b), CHC, VII, 6. Domeyko, 42. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 29.

the northern boundary of "estado indomito". Molina states that the southern limit does not extend beyond 39° 50' (12) or 40° (13) of S. Lat.

Despite this restricting evidence we are justified in placing the Rio Maule and Chiloé as termini, for culture patterns do not necessarily follow population lines, and moreover many Araucanian culture traits are found in Chiloé. Evidence from other parts of the world usually shows a comparatively extensive thinning outspreading of traits from a central focal area. The inhabitants of Chiloé bear many resemblances to their northern continentals, somatologically (14), culturally (15) and linguistically (16). Molina has left us a graphic picture of the whole Araucanian area. "Tutti questi abitanti non formavano, che una sola Nazione, benchè divisa in molte Tribù poichè tutti parlavano lo stesso linguaggio, avevano lo stesso colore, e gli stessi costumi e si conducevano presso a poco per la medesima forma di governo" (17).

In the sources there is considerable confusion as to the tribal nomenclature of the bordering tribes. The confusion has been such, and the reported data on the tribes east of the Araucanians proper and contiguous to the Tehuelche area have been so sparse and conflicting at times, that, out of a tangle of divergent and often contradictory accounts, ethnology has found it difficult to bring order (18). As years went on, the term "Araucanian" became more and more generically applied (19), with the practical result that the "serranos o cordilleranos" east of the Araucanian area proper were embraced under the term Araucanian (20). This group of upland dwellers included the Pehuen-ches (people of the pines), who dwelt on the eastern Andean slopes, approximately between the 35th and 38th meridians of south latitude (21), the Puel-ches (people of the east), who dwelt generally, as far as we know, to the east of the Pehuenches (22), and the Poyas, whose dwelling place in the present state of our knowledge was situated roughly in the vicinity of Lake Nahuelhuapi (23).

The whole broad Araucanian culture area is bounded on the north by the Aymara, Quechua and other tribes under incaic influence (24), on the east by the Pampean sub-areas of the Campesirian area, and on the south by the Magellanic area, embracing the Chonos, Alacaluf and Yahgans (25).

Authors give various locations for tribes in the center and in the outlying sections of the Araucanian region. It will then be in order to give an enumeration of these peoples together with the

(12) Molina, (a), 145.

(13) Molina, (c), XXVI, 117-118.

(14) Molina, (c), 256-257. Oyarzún, (c), RU, XII, Núm. 8, 1109. Thayer, RCHG, XXVI, Núm. 30, 76.

(15) Molina, *ibid.* Fitzroy, II, 388.

(16) Molina, *ibid.* Olivares, (b), CHC, VII, 370. Cooper, (b), XIX, ICA, 445-453. Church, 273-274.

(17) Molina, (a), 113.

(18) Latham, (l), RCHG, LXIII, 164.

(19) Latham, (h), PMEAC, III, 266.

(20) Latham, (k), 148-149.

(21) Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 20, ERE, IX, 597. Latham, *ibid.* (Note — Latham, (l), RCHG, LXIII, 167, states that d'Orbigny does not explicitly mention the Pehuenches. Let Latham consult d'Orbigny, II, 226).

(22) Carvallo y Goyeneche, *ibidem.* ERE, *ibidem.* cf. III, 546. Latham, *ibidem.*

(23) Latham, *ibidem.*

(24) ERE, III, 546.

(25) Cooper, (c), XII, ICA, 417-418.

locations assigned by different observers. Some tribes, especially toward the east of the area, had strong tendencies toward nomadism, and this proclivity was probably heightened by the introduction and adoption of the horse at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries (26).

The Picunche (people of the north): Copiapo to Bio Bio (27); Coquimbo to Santiago (28); Rio Maule to Santiago (29).

The Pehuenche (people of the pines): Volcano of Laja to Nahuelhuapi between the two cordilleras (30); 34° to 37° S. Lat. in the east valleys of the Andes (31); 35° 30' to 38° S. Lat. (32); Antuco to Mendoza (33); east of cordillera (34); south of Picunches from Santiago to Valdivia (35); 35° S. Lat. to Valdivia (36).

The Huilli-che (people of the south): Río Bueno to Archipelago of Chiloé in the east valleys of the Andes (37); 38° to 43° S. Lat. (40); Rio Tolten to Gulf of Reloncavi (41); Chiloé and Lake Nahuelhuapi (42).

The Puel-che (people of the east): the eastern valleys of the southern Andes to 43° S. Lat. (43); 34° to 35° 51' S. Lat. (44); south of the Bio Bio in the region of the great Lakes (45); northern boundary a line drawn from Coquimbo to Cordoba to Buenos Aires (in the middle of the eighteenth century) (46); east of the cordillera and reaching south beyond Mendoza (47).

The Chiquillanians: 34° to 34° 30' S. Lat.; north-east of the Pehuenches (48).

The Promaucas: Rio Rapel to the Rio Maule (49); Río Maule to the Rio Itata (50); Rio Maipo to the south (51).

The Poyas: vicinity of Lake Nahuelhuapi (52); southern Chiloé (53).

From this table are evident the various reports as to the locations of the tribes within or influenced in varying degree by the

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- (26) Vargas Machuca, (1799), fol. 140. Gonzales de Nájera (1601-1614), CHC, XVI, 30, 333, 46, 114-116. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán (1629-1640). CHC, III, 41, 200. Brouwer, (1643), AHMC, XVI, 65, 82.
 (27) Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 134. Medina, 113.
 (28) Church, 273-274. ERE, IX, 597.
 (29) ERE, III, 546.
 (30) Pietas, 499-500.
 (31) Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 262-265.
 (32) Carvallo y Goyeneche, op. cit., 20.
 (33) d'Orbigny, II, 226.
 (34) Smith, 64.
 (35) Church, *ibidem*.
 (36) ERE, IX, 597.
 (37) Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 265; (a), 117-118.
 (38) Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 20.
 (39) Carvallo y Goyeneche, op. cit., 134.
 (40) Medina, 113.
 (41) Latcham, (i), A. IV, Núm. 6 11.
 (42) Church, 273-274.
 (43) Molina, (a), 115-117.
 (44) Carvallo y Goyeneche, op. cit., 20.
 (45) Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, Núms. 2, 3 y 4, 266.
 (46) Church, 274.
 (47) ERE, IX, 597.
 (48) Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 265.
 (49) Smith, 130. Edwards, (b), 9.
 (50) Latcham, (i), 6.
 (51) Oyarzún, (c), RU, XII, Núm. 8, 1105.
 (52) Pietas, 501-502. Latcham, (k), 149. Cooper (s) BAE Bull. 63, 33.
 (53) Cooper, Op. cit., 33-34. Medina, 110.

pale of Araucanian culture. Approximation of the specific sites is all that can be hoped for in the light of present-hand evidence. Molina has given us a valuable map of the numerous tribal locations. The locations on the map agree generally with the bulk of evidence stated above (54). Moreover, Molina was an excellent observer, and exercised critical acumen in using the works of his historical predecessors (55). In another place the learned Jesuit gives us a list of Chilean tribes beginning at the north, and proceeding generally to the south: Copiapins, Coquimbones, Quillotanes, Mapochinians, Pro-maucians, Cures, Canques, Pencones, Araucanians, Cunches, Chilotes, Chiquilianians, Pehuenches, Puelches and Huilliches (56). The first eight tribes were the only ones conquered by the Spaniards.

CHAPTER III

Physical Anthropology and Characteristics

Many chroniclers have waxed eloquent over the stature, physique, and developed musculature of the Araucanians. We shall permit the chroniclers and the subsequent observers to describe what they saw:

Zarate: "... los indios de muy crescidos cuerpos..."

Erzilla speaks of the Puelche as the mountain Indians, lithe and brave, although of less intelligence than the rest (58). And here is his description of the Araucanians:

"Son de gestos robustos desbarbados
Bien formados los cuerpos y crescidos
Espaldas grandes, pechos levantados
Rezios miembros de niervos muy fornidos
Agiles desembueltos, alentados,
Animosos, valientes, atrevidos
Duros en el trabajo, y sufridores
De frios mortales hambres y calores" (59).

Merino de Lovera: "Son los indios mui bien ajustado i de linda disposición de cuerpos mui fornidos, i bien hechos i las mujeres blancas y hermosas, no hai entre ellos hombre flaco, i los rostros son de extraordinario mui llenos i redondos; de suerte que en cualquier parte de las Indias se conoce luego el indio que es chilense solo por el rostro, i talle aunque esté entre otros muchos, i sobre todo su hermosura excede la de los ojos que son grandes, de mucha gracia" (60). In another place he states that they were rather tall and solid-boned (61).

Gonzales de Najera is more sober in his remarks and is less given to adulation. This cautious reserve is characteristic of Najera,

(54) cf. copy of Molina's map. (Frontispiece).

(55) Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 125 (An evidence of Molina's critique).

(56) Molina, (a), 113-118. (c), 113.

(57) Zarate, CHC, XXVII, 257.

(58) Erzilla, declaración.

(59) Erzilla, Canto I.

(60) Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 124.

(61) Mariño de Lovera, *op. cit.*, 52.

who at all times remains the shrewd observer, distinguishing what he has heard from hearsay. Najera merely reports that the Indians, on the average, were no more robust, nor of greater stature than the Spaniards (62).

Brouwer makes the observation that the Indians of Valdivia, Osorno and Concepción were fatter and more corpulent than the Indians of Chilova (Chiloé). And he gives as the reason the fact they spend most of the time in eating, drinking and dancing (63).

Gomara simply states that the Araucanians were "... grandes hombres de cuerpo ... altos y hermosos..." (64).

Ovalle describes them as strong, robust, well-proportioned, broad-shouldered and high-chested (65).

Rosales: "Son por lo general de cuerpos robustos, bien formados, fornidos, de grande espalda y pecho levantados; de recios miembros..." (66).

Pietas gives us a description of some of the outlying tribes. He paints the Puyas around Lake Nahuelhuapi as different in physiognomy, and smaller than the Huilliches, Pehuenches and Puelches. Furthermore, he states that the Puelches were distinct from, and more portly than the Pehuenches and the Huilliches (67).

Cordoba y Figueroa (anent the Araucanos): "Son de promediada estatura y robustos, menos los cordilleranos, que en lo uno y otro los exceden. Toleran sin fatiga las inclemencias mayores..." (68)"

Olivares speaks of them as somewhat smaller in stature than the average Spaniard, but robust in chest, and strong in arms and legs (69). "... En fin toda su constitución del cuerpo y rostro, es lo más a propósito para indicio de la fortaleza y bravura" (70).

Molina groups the tribes of Chile under one general type. "Gli indigeni Chilesi formano una sola nazione divisa in vane tribù, e tutti hanno la medesima fisionomia..." (71)" However, he accords to the Puelches and to the "serranos" generally a loftier stature (72). He reckons the Araucanian height as approximately equivalent to that of average Europeans (73). The other physical qualities mentioned are ruggedness, round head and face, small forehead, nose somewhat flat, small eyes, large chest and shoulders, short fat hands, and small feet (74).

On the other hand, Perez Garcia states that the native Araucanian height was below that of the Spaniards, and above that of the Pehuenches. Yet in the main, Perez Garcia enumerates the same physical traits that had been noted by his predecessor, Molina (75).

(62) Gonzales de Najera, CHC, XVI, 39.

(63) Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 81.

(64) Gomara, CHC, XXVII, 291.

(65) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 156.

(66) Rosales, I, 117.

(67) Pietas, 500-502.

(68) Cordoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 29.

(69) Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 39.

(70) Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 40.

(71) Molina, (b), 334; cf. (c), CHC, XXVI, 106-109. (a), 113.

(72) Molina, (c), *ibid.* et 196-197; (b), 337.

(73) Molina, (b), *ibid.*

(74) Molina, (a), 118-119.

(75) Pérez Garcia, CHC, XXII, 39-40.

Stevenson testifies as follows: "They were finely shaped and very muscular, having a round face, well-formed forehead, small black eyes, flattish nose, moderately thick lips and good teeth, but no beard (76)". Few of the Araucanians reached to the height of six feet (77).

D'Orbigny emphasizes a shorter stature. "...Leur taille moyenne atteint à peine 1 metre 620 centimetres (5 pieds) (78)". Thickest, large, square shoulders, and general robustness also appear in his description (79).

A modern investigator, Domeyko, gives us the following account: "...De cara algo oblonga, ojos grandes o medianos, vivaces, que no carecen de expresión, con las cejas angostas y bien arqueadas, tienen estos indicios un aspecto particular del rostro que se asemeja más a la raza Caucasiana que a la Mongola. Tienen por lo común la nariz menos ancha y más sobresaliente que la de los indios del norte, en algunos aquileña; los labios bien formados, aunque el inferior algo sobresaliente; el pelo muy negro, áspero y grueso, nunca crespo" (80).

Ruiz Aldea has left quite a detailed account. "Son robustos, bien hechos i de temple aguerrido... Cara algo oblonga u ovalada; ojos negros ... frente desarrollada, más protuberante que plana, cabeza redonda adornada de una tupida cabellera que aprecian tanto como su libertad...

"La forma craneológica de los araucanos es la ovalada, aunque también se distingue en algunos la piramidal: nariz sobresaliente i en algunos aquileña; boca bien hecha, labios regulares, dientes blancos e iguales, mejillas desbarbadas a causa de que no consienten vello en ninguna parte del rostro; pecho ancho, brazos nervudos, piernas musculosas, pies pequeños i planos. Su estatura... de cinco a seis pies..." (81).

In reference to the "serranos", Church is of the opinion that, "the constant union of the Moluche ("men of war", as the Araucanians called themselves) tribes of southern Chile with the Puelches of the Atlantic slopes of the Andes, for the purpose of hunting, or for warlike expeditions, seems to indicate a very close racial kinship between them" (82). He also observes that the Picunches were the biggest bodied men of all the Moluches (83).

Latcham took stature measurements during a three year stay in the provinces of Malleco and Cautin. In general the results pointed to a medium height. The mean height of men was 1630-1635 mm.; the mean height of women was 1420-1440 mm. In the course of this investigation, he also found that the Mapuches and Huilliches were shorter than the Pehuenches. The average height of the Mapuches and Huilliches was 1.620 mm. whereas the average height of the Pehuenches was 1.660 mm. (84).

(76) Stevenson, I, 3.

(77) Stevenson, *ibid.*

(78) d'Orbigny, IV, 179.

(79) d'Orbigny, IV, 180.

(80) Domeyko, 43.

(81) Ruiz Aldea, 11.

(82) Church, 296-297.

(83) Church, 273-274.

(84) Latcham, (b), JAI, XXXIV, 171.

What are we justified in concluding from the above accounts? First of all, we may deduce the well-developed, strong, muscular build of the Araucanians. In reference to height, the reports in the main point to an average stature approximately equal to that of the Southern European or Mediterranean type. One detail definitely stands out in the evidence: namely, that the upland dwellers or "serranos" were generally taller. There are discrepancies, however, in some of the accounts, especially in regard to facial features. In this regard, we should note that the observations were made at different times, and different places, and that contact direct or indirect with the white man, and miscegenation, comparatively slight though it was, of various tribes and tribal divisions, may well have been factors inducing certain physiognomic changes after a considerable period of time.

In reference to skin color, the testimony of authorities seems to point to the fact that the Araucanians on the whole were comparatively lighter in complexion than surrounding peoples. Ovalle: "Son estos indios de Chile los más blancos de la América..." (85).

Molina states that they were a reddish or coppery brown, lighter and clearer in complexion than the other Americans (86), and makes the astonishing statement that the Boruanes, who lived in the midst of the Araucanian territory in the 39° of S. Lat., were fair and ruddy, and had blue eyes and fair hair. "...Some bianchi e rossi, hanno gli occhi azzurri, e i capelli biondi..." (87).

Orbigny is in general confirmation of Ovalle's statement. "Les Aucas (Indians east of the Araucanians proper and bearing some physical resemblances to the latter) et les Araucanos ont la couleur moins foncée que les Peruvians..." (88).

Stevenson merely states that the skin was "of a reddish brown or copper colour" (89). Latham observes that the color is reddish brown and is lighter in the mountain tribes than in those that inhabit the regions of the coast (90).

We have the testimony of Domeyko to this effect. "De carnadura morena, pero menos roja y más clara que la de los otros indijenas Americanos..." (91). In the light of this, and the above evidences, we are on safe ground in concluding that the Araucanians were and are comparatively lighter in skin color than the surrounding non-Araucanian peoples of the continent.

What is our evidence on the craniology of the Araucanians? As far back as there are references to head form, there are instances cited of a general round type (92). Latham has made quite a thorough study of Araucanian skeletal remains. He reports his findings as follows: "As a rule they are subbrachycephalic or brachycephalic, hypsi- and akrocephalic in a high degree, phaenozygous, chamaeprosopic, platyopic, mesomeme, mesorhine, prognathous and allipsoid"

(85) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 166. Cf. Mariño de Lobera, CHC, VI, 52.

(86) Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 146.

(87) Molina, (b), 334-336.

(88) Orbigny, IV, 179.

(89) Stevenson, I, 3.

(90) Latham, (b), JAI, XXXIV, 172.

(91) Domeyko, 43.

(92) Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 39. Molina (a), 118-119. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 39. Ruiz, II.

(93) Latham, (b), JAI, XXXIV, 173.

(93). The average cranial capacity as taken from 23 skulls (males) was 1.411 cc.; the average capacity of 6 skulls (females) was 1.361 cc. This gives an average of 1.401 cc. (94).

Hrdlicka has made studies of skeletal and cranial remains in the Peruvian region to the north. He states that the "... whole coast of Peru at least from Pisco, well south of Pachacamac, to Pacasmayo, north of the valley of Chicama, was peopled by one and the same type of natives, the brachycephalic (short headed) indian of moderate stature" (95). However, he noted an increasingly large proportion of dolicocephalic (long headed) natives as he went south, even as far as central Chile. This long head type is definitely met with in the Fuegian area (96). The nomadic Botocudos are of this type, and the remains of the so-called Paleo-American race evince definite dolicocephalic characteristics. These facts are interesting, and may suggest that the broad heads pushed the long heads to continental tip ends and isolated inland regions and fastnesses.

Confinement of any kind whatsoever was an abhorrence to the freedom-loving Araucanians. This attitude even found sartorial expression, for no confining clothes of any kind were worn (97). As a consequence the body developed normally, and an elegant physique was attained. All deformations are strikingly absent (98). Yet to the north, the Aymaras practised a kind of head deformation (99), and the imperial caste of Peruvian tribes generally practised an enlarging of the ears (100). This latter custom resulted in the Spanish appellation "Orejones" (Big-Ears), applied to the Peruvian nobles (101).

There are varying estimates of the population of Araucania at the time of the coming of the "Conquistadores". We have a very early statement by Velasco, but without definite numbers. "Al tiempo que se descubrió esta provincia había gran cantidad de indios en ella...

"... con las guerras, hambres y mortandades de ellas, han venido en mucha disminución..." (102).

Ovalle, a chronicler of the middle seventeenth century, places the number at the round figures of 200,000 (103). Latcham, a modern investigator, gives the seemingly too generous approximation of 1,500 millions (104). The much more conservative figures of Medina, 500,000, are, in our opinion, closer to the reality, especially in view of the fact that agriculture was never practised in Chile on scale large enough to sustain Latcham's 1,500,000 (105). There even seems to be an uncertainty in regard to the present day Araucanian population of Chile. Bullock, after a residence of ten years amongst this people, states that the Araucanians numbered 50,000 in 1920 (106). Edwards gives an estimate double that of Bullock (107).

(94) Latcham, (b), JAI, XXXIV, 176.

(95) Hrdlicka, SMC, LVI, No 16, 10.

(96) Cooper, (a) BAE Bull. 63, 43 et passim.

(97) Stevenson, I, 10.

(98) Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 46. Medina, 163. Latcham, (i), 13.

(99) Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 146. Latcham, (b), 172; (i), 13.

(100) Medina, *ibid.*

(101) Means, (d), 232, 263, 303-305.

(102) Velasco, CHC, XXVII, 229.

(103) Ovalle, CHC, XII, 156.

(104) Latcham, (i), 7.

(105) Medina, 156.

(106) Bullock, AA, XXIII, 496.

(107) Edwards, (c), 165.

CHAPTER IV

Language and Moral and Social Traits

One language was spoken generally over the Araucanian territory, from Copiapo (108, or at least Choapa (109), to the Gulf of Reloncavi and beyond (110). Latham would place the southern linguistic terminus at the Gulf of Reloncavi. However, we have evidence of a very early date to prove that the terminus should be extended farther south to the Corcovado Gulf (111). Giccueta states that Cortes Hojea spoke with Araucanian-speaking natives of the Coronados Gulf, and that the peoples south of Corcovado Gulf spoke another language. South of this latter point, Chonoan, a language distinct from Araucanian, was spoken (112).

There are many authorities who testify to the harmonious and sonorous qualities of the Araucanian tongue (113). Molina, who always exhibits a penchant for the admiration of things Araucanian, gives his appreciation of Araucanian linguistic harmony in these words: "... E (the Araucanian tongue) forse une delle più ammirabili che si trovano al mondo" (114). This testimony is indeed valuable and worthy of all credence, in view of the fact that we know from his own words that Molina had a thorough knowledge of the language. "La difficoltà della lingua era per me un ostacolo fortissimo, ma finalmente portato dall' amore di service in qualche cosa alla società, mi sforzai a vincolo..." (115).

Regularity and comparative abundance of expression also characterize the tongue (116). There are expressions even for moral and metaphysical ideas (117). However, abundance of vocabulary stands out as a lesser quality in comparison with sonority. Each thing ordinarily has only one name, and each action one verb (118). But, we observe, this does not argue for paucity and poverty of expression, for, although primitive peoples generally are not as generic and abstract in speech as we, they are often highly specific in word usage. Each object may have only one verbal tag, but another object, almost akin to the former, which we would classify under the name of the former, has its own distinctive name. The same applies to verbs. It is stated that the Araucanians could even distinguish different degrees of hunger (119). In phonetics there is an absence of the "s" sound (120).

Writing of course was absent, for no writing is found south of the Mayan area (121). Even the highly advanced Incas lacked a system of bridging time in writing. The "quipu" (a mnemonic), a knotted cord or series of cords, often of different colors, was at best

(108) Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 134.

(109) Latham (i), 5.

(110) Latham, *ibidem*. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 49. Molina (c), 118; (a), 120-121.

(111) Giccueta, AHMC, V, 514, 518.

(112) Giccueta, *ibidem*. Cooper, (b), 19th ICA, 450; (a), 34.

(113) Olivares (a), CHC, IV, 40. Molina, (c), 109; (b), 334. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 163; Orbigny, IV, 181. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 33. EUL, V, 1232.

(114) Molina, (a), 120-121.

(115) Molina, (a), *prefazione*, 5.

(116) Molina (b), 334.

(117) Molina, *ibidem*.

(118) Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 40. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 33.

(119) Jespersen, 52.

only a frail swaying rope bridge, as compared with the great cantilever of writing, which so ably bridges time.

Peruvian influence has made itself felt in the vocabulary of the Araucanians. The Chileans had commercial and war-like relations with their northern neighbors. Many factors, however, tended to mitigate the strength of the Peruvian influence. The time during which there was Incan military occupation of northern Chile was comparatively short. Moreover, the invaders were ordinarily and primarily concerned with the pursuit of arms. And finally, the Chilean population of the subjected provinces was sparse (122). As a consequence, the native idiom suffered little change. About eighteen or twenty quichua words were introduced into the Araucanian (123). The most important introduction was that of quichua numerals for 100 and 1000 — "pataca" (100), "huaranca" ("guaranca"), 1000 (124). "Le système de numération est décimal; mais les nombres cent et mille sont empruntés à la langue des Incas" (125).

The most outstanding trait of the Araucanian character was a passionate love of freedom.

"Cosas diré también harto notables
De gentes que a ningún Rey obedecen" (126).
"La gente que produce es tan granada
Tan soberbia gallarda y belicosa,
Que no ha sido por Rey jamás regida
Ni a extranjero dominio sometida" (127).

When their autonomy was threatened, there flamed within the breasts of the liberty-loving Araucanians a war-like and pugnacious spirit (128). The result was that their valor, stoicism, martial prowess, and intrepidity attained far-flung and world-wide recognition. "Los Indios más famosos de todas las Indias son los de Chile, llamados Araucos" (129). "The Natives of this Country were found to be the most stout and warlike of all the **Americans** that the Spaniards had hitherto met withal, fighting with them, and oftentime defeatin them in the open Field..." (130). Valdivia makes a telling statement in this regard. On February 22, 1550, he had with very great difficulty defeated 20,000 Indians near Concepción. He reports as follows: "... y comenzaron a pelear de tal manera que prometo mi fe que há 30 años que sirvo a V. M. y he peleado contra muchas naciones, y nunca tal tesón de jente he visto jamás en el pelear, como estos indios tuvieron contra nosotros..." (131).

Molina has given to posterity an excellent characterization of this people. Many admirable traits, to wit, generosity, hospitality, fidelity, stoicism, honor, patriotism, patience, bravery, courtesy and

(120) Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 49. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 53.

(121) Gonzales de Nájera, *ibid.*, Medina, 405.

(122) Medina, 405, EUL, V, 1232.

(123) Medina, *ibidem.* Molina, (c), 109.

(124) Molina, (c), 125. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 163. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61.

Medina, 409-410. Mossi, *Diccionario Castellano-Quichua.*

(125) Orbigny, IV, 181.

(126) Erzilla, Canto I.

(127) Erzilla, *ibidem.* Cf. Molina, (c), 146-147; (a), 119-120.

(128) Erzilla, Canto I. Mariña de Lovera, CHC, VI, 33, 110. Ovalle, CHC, XII, 147, 156.

Rosales, 109, 117. Valdivia, CHC, I, 0.

(129) Vargas Machuca, fol. 140.

(130) Ogilby, 471.

(131) Valdivia, CHC, I, 43.

gratitude were patent (132). Very marked was tenacity to tradition and custom (133). But there were serious moral defects and vices — drunkenness, dobauchery, presumption, haughty contempt for all other nations (134), loose pre-marital standards of chastity (135), and in general a rather low estimation of the position of woman (136). Yet women were fairly well treated. There is one dissenting voice in regard to the question of Araucanian standards of purity. This is the voice of Molina. "L'incontinenza presso loro non è un vizio comune..." (137). We must bear in mind, however, that Molina is often apt to paint too roseate a picture, and the weight of evidence, especially that in support of wizard pederasty, is overwhelmingly against his tinting of reality with the hue of the ideal.

Polygyny was very commonly practised. As far back as we go in the sources, we meet with mention of this trait. A native usually had as many wives as he could support. Tribal custom placed no limit to the number of consorts. Many factors undoubtedly have led to this condition. The practise of agriculture furnished increased facilities for the sustenance of a large household. Woman, who was considered of low estate, was needed to work in the fields. A large following and generation was desirable. Constant struggles with the tribes of the north, and the Incas, and later with the white woman, disturbed the ratio of the sexes (138).

CHAPTER V

The Archaic Culture Drift

Our main problem now confronts us. We perceive a distribution of culture traits in space. From this spatial distribution we shall endeavor to attain the distribution in time. Geographical relations will lead us to time relations.

The criterion, which, in the main, will be used is that the more widespread a trait is, the older it is. This interpretative principle must be used with caution in ethnology, for we do not know the exact rate of culture diffusion. And, moreover, certain phenomenal diffusions must always check a hasty judgement and cool too ardent an opinion. A century and a half witnessed the spread of maize, even to China. The pipe, horse, banana and white potato have not slowly trodden the trails and footpaths, but have taken to the airways in course of culture history.

Yet, in spite of the above, we think that the aforesaid criterion is applicable to the problem before us, for, as far as we are able

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- (132) Molina, (c), 146-147; (a) 119-120. Cf. Domeyko, 55.
 (133) Molina, (c), 126. Orbigny, II, 226; IV, 182. Tounens, 13. Domeyko, 2. Latham, (e), 261.
 (134) Molina, (c), 146-147.
 (135) Rosales, 160. Olivares, CHC, IV, 61. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 60. Tounens, 11. Latham, (c), 354, 356.
 (136) Medina, 278.
 (137) Molina, (a), 120.
 (138) Valdivia, CHC, I, 55. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 147. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 124. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 46. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, CHC, III, 217. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 81. Ovalle, CHC, XII, 169. Rosales, 141-142. Rocha, fol. 25. Piets, in Gay Documents I, 488. Cordoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 27. Olivares, CHC, VII, 492-493. Molina (a), 120, 135. (c), 148, 189. Carvallo y Goyensche, CHC, X, 141. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 59. Stevenson, I, 8-9. Orbigny, IV, 183. Domeyko, 61. Smith, 188-189. Tounens, 11. Ruiz Aldea, 32-33. Edwards, (b), 15. Moesbach, RCGH, LXVIII, 239. EA, II, 134. ERE, III, 810. Latham, (c), 337, 356, 358-359; (b), 171. Gardiner, 100.

to make out, there is nothing at hand to warrant an abandonment of the principle.

Let us look at the culture pattern of southern South America. We find there a group of traits practically continuously distributed over the whole Araucanean, Tehuelchean and Fuegian areas. These traits, as it were, have with seven league boots leaped over the heights of mountain tops and across the watery spaces of archipelagos. They are found east and west of the Cordillera, and north and south of the Chonos Islands and the Strait of Magellan.

These traits are the following: material culture: scrapers, and knives of bone, shell and stone (139); clubs (140); twisting and plaiting of fiber or sinew (141); skin clothing (142); fire signalling (143); and the dog (144).

Recreative culture: dancing (145) and the ball game (146).

Esthetic culture: body or face painting (147); depilation (148); the brush comb (149); necklaces and other bone and shell personal ornaments (10); the fillet (151) and feather adornments (152).

Economic culture: a well defined law of private property (153); ordinary barter and barter by exchange of presents (154).

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- (139) Cooper, (a), 207, 216-217; (c), 411. Rosales, I, 119. Medina, 138.
- (140) Cooper, (a), 213-214; (c), 411. Valdivia, CHC, I, 44. Erzilla, Cantos I, III. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 21. Pedro de Oña, Cantos V, IX. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 112. Vargas Machuca, fol. 3, 98. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 96. Rosales, I, 113, 118-120. Medina, 131, 133.
- (141) Cooper, (a), 183-184, 204; (c), 411. González de Najera, CHC, XVI, 95. Edwards, (b), 90 (sinew twisting in bow making).
- (142) Cooper, (a), 55, 193-195; (c), 411. Vargas Machuca, fol. 97. Goicueta, AHMC, V, 505. Zárate, CHC, XXVII, 257. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 52. Gomara, CHC, XXVII, 291. Rosales, I, 157. Pietas, 501, 503. Medina, 164.
- (143) Cooper, (a), 192; (c), 411. Domeyko, 70. Nordenskiöld, IX, 9, 89. Medina, 128.
- (144) Cooper, (a), 44, 185-187; (c), 411. Goicueta, AHMC, V, 518. Medina, 180. Latcham, (h), PMEAC, IV, 850; (g), PMEAC, 24, 58, 63, 198.
- (145) Cooper, (a), 181; Cooper, (c), 411. Pedro de Oña, Canto II. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 54 et seq. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, CHC, III, 102. Rosales, I, 144-145, 150. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 158.
- (146) Cooper, (a), 184; Cooper, (c), 411. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, CHC, III, 223. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 183. Rosales, I, 169. Cordoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 30. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 43. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 157-158. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 195-196. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 41. Stevenson, I, 17. d'Orbigny, IV, 183. Smith, 319-320. Medina, 305-307. Edwards, (b), 67. Moesbach, RCHG, LXII, No 66, 356. LXIII, No 67, 238-239. Nordenskiöld, I, 159.
- (147) Cooper, (a), 158, 160-161, 180, 182; (c), 411. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 46. Vargas Machuca, fol. 97. Rocha, fol. 22. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 136. Smith, 207, 211, 246. Medina, 169. Latcham, (b), JAI, XXXIV, 172; (c), JAI, XXXIX, 337. Oyarzún, (c), RU, XII, Núm. 8, 1108. EB, II, 216.
- (148) Cooper, (a), 182; (c), 411. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 40. Eraser, AHMC, XVI, 60, 81. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 159. Rosales, I, 167. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 39. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 146; (b), 336; (a), 119. d'Orbigny, IV, 181. Smith, 207, 265. Medina, 168-169. Ruiz Aldea, 22.
- (149) Cooper, (a), 182; (b), 411. Smith, 267. Medina, 288. Nordenskiöld, IX, 8, 87.
- (150) Cooper, (a), 183-184; (b), 411. Pedro de Oña, Canto II, p. 73 note. Vargas Machuca, fol. 97. Ovalle, (a), CLERC, XIII, 259; (b), CHC, XII, 160. Rosales, I, 159. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 148; (a), 152. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. Stevenson, I, 5. Fitzroy, I, 309. Smith, 297. Ruiz Aldea, 21. Domeyko, 61. Gardiner, 181. Latcham, (c), JAI, XXXIX, 336-337. Nordenskiöld, I, 125.
- (151) Cooper, (a), 184; (b), 411. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 60. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 148. Smith, 184, 208.
- (152) Cooper, (a), 157, 183-184. (b), 411. Goicueta, AHMC, V, 505. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 46, 119. Pedro de Oña, p. 73 note. Vargas Machuca, fol. 97. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 155. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 124. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 148. Medina, 168.
- (153) Cooper, (a), 178-179; (c), 411. Medina, 311. Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, Núms. 2, 3 y 4, 396-397.
- (154) Cooper, (a), 179; (c), 411. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 160-161. Rosales, I, 173. Medina, 213. Oyarzún, (b), PMEAC, II, Núm. 2, 176-177. Smith, 258, 292.

Political culture: marked individualism and democracy; absence of aristocratics and secret societies, rudimentary development of the chieftaincy (155).

Domestic culture: prevalent monogamy with some polygamy and divorce (156). Polygyny amongst the Araucanians seems to have flourished in pre-Hispanic times, as our earliest sources place great emphasis on polygyny (157). However, certain of the reports should be accepted with reserve for polygamy was unusual; unusual things are often stressed beyond due measure, and the ordinary pass with scant mention. Agriculture, to all appearances, was a powerful factor-making for increased polygyny (158). Along with polygyny there was some divorce in the Araucanian, Tehuelchean and Fuegian areas (159). Polyandry was absent in these areas (160). No important Araucanian source, to my knowledge, mentions this trait. The treatment of woman was quite good (161). Paternal family organization prevailed. Among the Araucanians certain maternal influences were also at work (162). Sibs were absent (163). Children and the aged were treated well (164).

Religious culture: a comparatively well-defined belief in a superior beneficent Being together with a penchant for dualism and belief in lesser good and evil spirits. On the whole the Araucanian theology in reference to the superior Being was not as well defined as that of the Fuegians (165). There was a belief in survival after death (166). We also meet with a tradition of the deluge (167). There were female as well as male wizards (168), who practised medical treatment by suction and massage (169). In the light of the evidence, however, magic and superstition is more rife through the Araucanian area than elsewhere (170).

Such in brief are some of the striking cultural traits that were or have been of a practically continuous distribution over the Araucanian, Tehuelchean and Fuegian Areas. This distribution cut

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- (155) Cooper, (a), 76, 177-178; (c), 411. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 150. Rosales, I, 112, 177. Herrera, CHC, XXVII, 509. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 141. Medina, 119. Latcham, (c), JAI, XXXIX, 354. Wissler, 176. EA, II, 134. EB, II, 216. EUI, V, 1233. CE, I, 679. Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, Núms. 2, 3, 4, 369-392. (The Araucanian hereditary chieftaincy and system of peace and war chiefs are in the main post-Hispanic developments)
- (156) Cooper, (a), 166-167; (c), 411. d'Orbigny, IV, 183. Prince, 69.
- (157) Valdivia, CHC, I, 55. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 124. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 147. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 46. Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, CHC, III, 217. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 61. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 163. Rosales, I, 141-142. Rocha, Iof. 25. Pietas, 488. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 27. Olivares, (b), CHC, VII, 492-493. Molina (a), 120, 135; (c), CHC, XXVI, 148, 189.
- (158) Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 147. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 46.
- (159) Cooper, (a), 157; (c), 411. Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, Núms. 2, 3, y 4. 412.
- (160) Cooper, (a), 166; (c), 411.
- (161) Cooper, (a), 168-169; (c), 411. Valdivia, CHC, I, 55. Latcham, *ibidem*.
- (162) Cooper, (c), 411. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 2. Latcham, *op. cit.*, 392-393.
- (163) Cooper, *ibid.* Lowie, 151. (To my knowledge there is no definite mention of sibs in the earlier Araucanian sources).
- (164) Cooper, (a), 170-171; (c), 411. Valdivia, *ibid.* Gongora Marmolejo, *ibid.*
- (165) Cooper, (a), 146-149; (c), 411. Schmidt, 320-311, 333, 335. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 48. Rosales, I, 162. ERE, III, 547-548; IV, 173, 731; VII, 405; XI, 410. EUI, XVII, 318. EA, II, 134. Edwards, (b), 32.
- (166) Cooper, (a), 150-151; (c), 411. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 49. Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, CHC, III, 109. Rosales, I, 163. Medina, 238-240. Edwards, (b), 30. ERE, I, 380-381, 426; III, 548; VII, 405; XI, 825, 827. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 26.
- (167) Cooper, (a), 163; (c), 411. ERE, II, 547. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 26.
- (168) Cooper, (a), 149, 151, 153, 159-160, 184; (c), 411. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 52.
- (169) Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 28. Smith, 234-239. Bullock, AA, XXIII, 496. El, X, 61.
- (169) Cooper, (a), 150; (c), 411. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 2 y 3, 108 et *passim*. Edwards, (b), 60.
- (170) Pedro de Oña, Canto II. Rosales, I, 162, 164. Smith, 271-272. Medina, 235, 244. Edwards, (b), 16, 28, 32, 57. ERE, III, 548. IX, 375; XI, 575.

across the cultural barriers of the Cordillera, the Chonos Islands, and the Strait of Magellan, as well as across somatological and linguistic lines. With this in mind, then, we are quite safe in concluding that the aforesaid traits belong to the distant past, and probably were part of the archaic culture content of very early peoples who migrated into the southern part of South America (171).

CHAPTER VI

Pre-Hispanic Culture Drift

We shall now pass to the culture drift which took place west to the Cordillera. This culture extension is generally wanting to the east of the mountain barrier, and is in sharp contrast to the Tehuelchean area. Where traits are common to both sides of the Cordillera, they are quite patently the result of later borrowing.

In the area now under discussion—west of the Cordillera—we note a gradation of cultural extension. There are traits which have a very extension—from the Araucanian to the Alacaluf and the Yahgans. However, there appears to be a doubt as to whether the Chonos are links in this quite continuous chain of culture. There is a lesser cultural deployment of other traits, embracing the Araucanians, Chonos and Alacaluf. Finally, there is the diffusion of still other culture characteristics, which comprehends the Araucanians and the Chonos (172). Obviously, here are dimensions in space, which quite clearly give us temporal relations, that being the oldest in all probability, which has the widest extension.

The traits common in the Araucanians, (Chonos(?), Alacaluf and Yahgans were: coiled or looped technique (173); the sling (174); weirs (175); bathing of mother and child after child-birth (176); infanticide and abortion quite common (177), and a considerable amount of low pre-marital morality (178). We are however constrained to make certain reservations. "Information . . . for all these items among the Chonos and for the baths, abortion, infanticide, and unchastity among the Alacaluf are wanting in our meager knowledge of these two tribes" (179).

We now come to traits which had a lesser extension. The following were the traits possessed by the Araucanians, Chonos and the Alacaluf and absent among the Yahgans: the fishing net (180);

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- (171) Cooper, (b), 411-412.
 (172) Cooper, (c), 412.
 (173) Cooper, (a), 204-205; (c), 412. Nordenskiöld, IX, 92; I, 202.
 (174) Cooper, (s), 214; (c), 412. Goicueta, AHMC, V, 505. Erzilla, Canto I. Mariño y Lovera, CHC, VI, 129, 208. Vargas Machuca, fol. 3, 98. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 154. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 124. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 143. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 49. Stevenson, I, 52. d'Orbigny, IV, 182. Medina, 139, 176. Oyarzún, (c), RU, XII, Núm. 8, 1107. Latcham, (l), 14, 25-27. Edwards, (b), 16. Means, (c), 319, 324. Nordenskiöld, I, 43.
 (175) Cooper, (a), 190; (c), 412. Medina, 188.
 (176) Cooper, (a), 155; (c), 412. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 48. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 153. Rosales, I, 165. Molina, (a), 153; (c), CHC, XXVI, 191. Stevenson, I, 9. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 4 y 5, 205-206. Latcham, (c), JAI, XXXIX, 359. Medina, 286.
 (177) Cooper, (a), 171; (c), 412-413. Medina, 235, 298-299. Latcham, (c), JAI, XXXIX, 354, 356.
 (178) Cooper, (a), *ibid.*, 169; (c), 412. Rosales, I, 160. Olivares (a), CHC, IV, 61. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 60. Toumense, 11. Medina, *ibid.* Latcham, *ibid.*
 (179) Cooper, (c), 413, note 1.
 (180) Cooper, (a), 189-190; (c), 412. Medina, 187. Prince, 53. Edwards, (a), 171. Nordenskiöld, III, 94, Map. 9.

the stone axe (181); incidental occurrence of sitting burial (182), and perchase the fishhook (183). In this regard, Dr. Cooper states that the "Fuegian data are not very clear" (184).

There were still other traits even less diffused. These were common to the Araucanians and the Chonos, but wanting among the Alacaluf and Yahgans: to wit, the plank boat (185) at the time of the Spanish invasion; agriculture in the form of potato-growing and maize cultivation (186); maize chicha (187); bark and fiber clothing (188); the poncho (189); herding (sporadic among the Chonos) (190), and rudimentary slavery (at least among the Chonos and Chilotans) (191).

Such then are the traits which the Araucanians have shared with their neighbors to the south. As we have seen, some cultural characteristics have been diffused even into Yahgan territory. Other traits have reached as far south as the Alacaluf, while the remainder have had as their southern outpost the archipelagic territory of the Chonos. Here is a gradational spatial diffusion, indicative of temporal relations and priorities.

CHAPTER VII

Pre-Hispanic Culture Drift (concluded)

We shall now pass to a group of traits which definitely mark off the Araucanians from their southerly neighbors. Several of these traits however were sporadically found among the Indians south

- (181) Cooper, (a), 44-45, 217. (c), 412. Rosales, I, 119, 174. Medina, 74-77, 138.
 (182) Cooper, (a), 161; (c), 412. d'Orbigny, IV, 184. Medina, 265. Smith, 173.
 (183) Cooper, (a), 188-189; (c), 412. Medina, 186-187. Nordenskiöld, III, 93, Map. 10.
 (184) Cooper, (c), 412, note 2.
 (185) Cooper, (a), 198-200, 201-204; (c), 412; (b), 452. Erzilla, Canto XXXVI. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 153. Gaicueta, AHMC, V, 484, 514. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 372. Rosales, I, 175-176, 256. Pietas, 503. Molina, (a), 209; (c), CHC, XXVI, 124, 240-241, 257. Olivares, (b), CHC, VII, 374, 376. Fitzroy, I, 262, 267; II, 375, 380. Medina, 192. [Valdivia here in reference to the Araucanians of the mainland speaks of "casas... Latcham, (i), A. IV, Núm. 6, 14. Nordenskiöld, IX, 87-88. Cf. Valdivia, CHC, I, 55 *mui bien hechas y fuertes con grandes tablozones...*" Obviously the Araucanians possessed the technique of plank making. It would have been an easy step in cultural progress to apply this art to navigation].
 (186) Cooper, (a), 44; (c), 412. Valdivia, CHC, I, 55. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 2. Gaicueta, AHMC, V, 516. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 53, 124. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 19, 23. Herrera, CHC, XXVII, 497, 516. Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, CHC, III, 50. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 40. Herize y Salinas, CLERC, XIII, 302. Velasco, CHC, XXVII, 298, 308. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 20. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 62. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 117. Carvalla y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 137, 160. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 17. Medina, 203, 206, 266. Gay, I, 3. Spinden, 269-270, 275. Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, Núms. 2, 3, y 4, 270, 292; (i), A. IV, Núms. 6, 5.
 (187) Cooper, (a), 44; (c), 412. Valdivia, CHC, I, 55. Erzilla, Canto II. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 124. Pedro de Oña, Canto II, Tabla 685-687. Vargas Machuca, fol. 99. Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, 41, 50, 53, 58, 71 et passim. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 69. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 150, 158. Rosales, I, 155. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 26-28. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 37-38. (b), CHC, VII, 286. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 120. Medina, 210, 309.
 (188) Cooper, (a), 44, 194; (c), 412. Rosales, I, 157. Medina, 164. Gusinde, 217-218. Latcham, (c), JAI, XXXIX, 335-336. Edwards, (a), 169.
 (188) Cooper, (a), 44, 194; (c), 412. Rosales, I, 157. Medina, 164. Gusinde, 217-218. Latcham, (c), JAI, XXXIX, 335-336. Edwards, (a), 169.
 (189) Cooper, (a), 45; (c), 412. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 2 [doubtful — may refer to the chiripa. "Andan vestidos con unas camisetas sin mangas y algunas traen zaragüeles..."]. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 60. Rosales, I, 160. Olivares, (b), CHC, VII, 492. Molina, (b), 338; (a), 150; (c), CHC, XXVI, 147. Zarate, CHC, XXVII, 259. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 60. Stevenson, I, 4, 30. Fitzroy, II, 463-464. Dameyca, 63. Ruiz, 20. Medina, 411-412. Oyarzún, (a), XVII, ICA, 357, 391. Latcham, (h), PMEAC, III, Núms. 2, 3 y 4, 289.
 (190) Cooper, (a), 44. Valdivia, CHC, I, 43, 55. Mariño de Lovera, CHC, VI, 124, 270. Gongora Marmolejo, CHC, II, 2. Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, CHC, III, 50, 125. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 30. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 50, 78. Ovalle, (a), CLERC, XIII, 266. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 61-62. d'Orbigny, IV, 182. Medina, 180-183.
 (191) Cooper, (s), 37, 45, 178; (c), 412. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 54. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 50. Medina, 206-207.

of Chiloé island. But the majority were consistently and entire absent in the sub-Araucanian territory. These traits point to the pre-Hispanic culture of Araucania as manifestly more advanced than that of the southern canoe using peoples.

The following are the typical traits: the killing of captives (192); a form of ceremonial cannibalism (193); animal sacrifices (194); medicinal blood-letting (195); female dress and pederasty among male witch-doctors (196); the child's cradle (197); hereditary chieftaincy (198); peace and war chiefs (199); earrings (200); topos (201); two-

- (192) Erzilla, *Canto III Vargas Machuca*, fol. 99. Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 53-56. Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, CHC, III, 43, 131. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 77. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 156. Rosales, I, 123-127. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 29, 76-77, 180, 207, 303. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 47; (b), CHC, VII, 284. Molina, (a), 141; (c), CHC, XXVI, 165 (Molina here seems to hold a brief for the compassion of the Araucanians. He states that the killing of captives was a rare occurrence, only one or two instances having occurred in the space of nearly two hundred years. But Molina's stand in favor of infrequency is very weak in the light of the cited anterior evidence). Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, VIII, 67; X, 144. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 48, 53-55. Medina, 148. Smith, 274. Latham, (c), JAL, XXXIX 361-363. (j) XII, RU, Núm. 8, 1121.
- (193) Erzilla, *ibid.* Vargas Machuca, *ibid.* Gonzales de Nájera, *ibid.* Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, CHC, III, 43-44. Ovalle, *ibid.* Rosales, I, 117, 125, 256. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 77, 303. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 48; (b), CHC, VII, 285-286. Molina, (a), 142; (c), CHC, XXVI, 166. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 144. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 55. Medina, 148, 216-217. Smith, *ibid.* Latham, (c), *ibid.*; (e), 74. Edwards, (b), 15. ERE, III, 202, 205.
- (194) Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 83. Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, CHC, III, 159 et seq. Ovalle, (a), CLERC, XIII, 266. Córdoba y Figueroa, CHC, II, 28. Olivares, CHC, IV, 55 (quoting Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán). Molina, (a), 125, 147; (c), CHC, XXVI, 167, 170, 182. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 138. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 23, 55, 58. Medina, 182, 248. Smith, 273-274. Ruiz Aldea, 27, 65. Edwards, (a), 169; (b), 31.
- (195) Gonzales de Nájera, CHC, XVI, 49. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 159. Rosales, I, 168. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 183-184. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 164. Medina, 253-254. Smith, 234, 270. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 2 y 3, 106, 110 Note 1; Núms. 4 y 5, 225. Edwards, (b), 60.
- (196) Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, 107, 159. Olivares, CHC, IV, 54 [quoting Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán]. Pietas, 488. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 57, 62. Medina, 248. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 2 y 3, 96. Latham, (c), 351-253. ERE, III, 548; IV, 731.
- (197) Rosales, I, 167. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 191. Stevenson, I, 9. Gardiner, 181. Smith, 206. Medina, 287. Prince, 61. Ruiz Aldea, 40. Latham, (c), 338. Nordenskiöld, IX, 79.
- (198) Gonzales de Nájera, 46. [He speaks here of lineages amongst the Indians: v. g., the sun, etc. Hence this is not an explicit reference to the hereditary chieftaincy]. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 150. Rosales, I, 112, 139. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 121, 152; (a), 131-132. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 141. Stevenson, I, 48. Fitzroy, II, 478. Gardiner, 186. Smith, 240-241. Ruiz Aldea, 67. Domeyko, 43-44, 69. Latham, (c), 354-355.
- (199) Mariño de Lovera, III. Gonzales de Nájera, 97-98. Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, 40, 67, 121. Ovalle, (a), CLERC, XIII, 249, 251, 266; (b), CHC, XII, 150. Rosales, I, 112, 138. Córdoba y Figueroa, 27. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 47, 57-59. Molina, (a), 137; (c), CHC, XXVI, 157. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, VIII, 66-68. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, Tounens, 3. Smith, 141, 143, 162, 243-244. Ruiz Aldea, 67, 70. Medina, 119, 229. Latham, 355. Edwards, (b), 16, 90.
- (200) Mariño de Lovera, 45, 125. Vargas Machuca, fol. 97. Gonzales de Nájera, 46, 54, 47. [In this last reference in Nájera, we note a Spanish influence — use of captured Spanish silver]. Rosales, I, 159. Molina, (c), 148. (a) Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. Fitzroy, 309. Smith, 180-181, 183, 203, 205, 211, 297. Tounens, 6. Gardiner, 181. Ruiz Aldea, 21. Latham, (c), 337.
- (201) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 161. Molina, (a), 152. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 136. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. d'Orbigny, IV, 183. Fitzroy, I, 309; II, 464. Smith, 211, 297. Medina, 366, 411. Ruiz Aldea, 21. Latham, (c), 337. Oyarzún, (a), XVII, ICA, 357, 331. Verrill, 464-465. Edwards, (b), 54.

braid female coiffure (202); the skin drum (203); flute (204); rattle (205); pipes and tobacco (206); mortars (stone on stone (207); plank and thatch-roof houses (208); the balsa (209); the dugout (210); wooden bowls and spoons (211); pottery (212); the hide shield, coat and helmet (213); the lance (214); the elbow club (215); weaving (216); gambling

- (202) Gonzales de Nájera, 47 [Nájera here refers to the long hair of the Indian women. He states that it was well braided, "bien trenzado". This is not an explicit reference to the two-braid coiffure]. Brouwer, AHMC, XVI, 60. [A doubtful reference to the two-braid coiffure in Chilovaj]. Rosales, I, 158, 160, (probable references to the two-braid coiffure). Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 161 [a statement of braiding but not explicitly of two-braid technique]. Molina, (c), CHC, XXVI, 148. ("Dividense el cabello en varias trenzas...") Molina (a), 152. [Here a six-braid coiffure is referred to]. Carvallo varias trenzas...") Molina (a), 152. [Here a six-braid coiffure is referred to]. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 136. d'Orbigny, IV, 183. Fitzroy, I, 309. Gardiner, 180. Smith, 208. Medina, 412. Domeyko, 61. Ruiz Aldea, 21. Latcham, (b), 171; (c), 335.
- (203) Erzilla, Canto I, III, IV. Mariño de Lovera, 119, 126 (indirect references). Pedro de Oña, Canto II. Vargas Machuca, fol. 98. Gonzales de Nájera, 55. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 50, 88, 159, et passim. Ovalle, (5), CHC, XII, 151, 155, 160. Rosales, I, 143. Molina, (a), 140, 155; (c), 160. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 158. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 49-49. Stevenson, I, 16-17. Medina, 248-250, 283, 296, 301-302. Smith, 235-236, 296. Ruiz Aldea, 26. Nordenskiöld, I, 165, 167.
- (204) Pedro de Oña, Canto II, Mariño de Lovera, *ibid.* (indirect references). Vargas Machuca, fols. 98-99. Gonzales de Nájera, 53, 55. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 70, 88, 125, 204, 434, 474. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 160-161. Rosales, I, 125, 143. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 47-48; (b), 285. Molina, (a), 140, 155; (c), 166. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 144. [These flutes were apparently played from the end and not the side. Cf. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 144-145, "...los instrumentos i los fideles vueltos hacia el territorio de los españoles"]. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 49, 58. Ruiz Aldea, 26. Medina, 148, 283, 296, 300, 302.
- (206) Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 43, 159-160. Olivares, (b), 493. Molina, (a), 125; (c) 166, 182. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 139. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 54, 58. Rosales, I, 135. Medina, 209-210, 232, 245, 248. Smith, 259. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 2 y 3. 112-113. Edwards, (b), 57. Verrill, 467. Nordenskiöld, IX, 91-92.
- (207) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 158. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. Medina, 208. Nordenskiöld, III, 138, map. 16.
- (208) Valdivia, 55. Goicueta, 484, 516. Brouwer, 25. Ovalle (b), CHC, XII, 156-157. Rosales, I, 149. Molina, (a), 147-148. [Molina also reports walls of wood plastered with clay and even the use of brick. He states that the latter practise is due to Peruvian influence, for the species of brick is called by the Peruvian name, "tica". Cf. Molina, (c), 122]. Tounens, 5. Medina, 161-163. Ruiz Aldea, 16. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 4 y 5. 226. Moeschbach, RCHG, LXVIII, N° 72, 279 et seq. Verrill, 463, CE, I, 679. EUJ, V, 1233. Cooper, (a), 202.
- (209) Valdivia, 43. [On the twenty-fourth of January, 1550, Valdivia and his men used balsas to cross the River Bio Bio, which was very muddy, wide and deep. He does not mention explicitly that the Araucanians used balsas. Presumably, however, he learned of their use from the natives, north of the Bio Bio]. Mariño de Lovera, 111. [Another reference that the Spaniards used balsas in their march]. Goicueta, 404-485. Pedro de Oña, Canto X [A further reference of the use of the balsa by the Spaniards]. Gonzales de Nájera, 111. Rosales, I, 172-173. Cordoba y Figueroa, 18. Molina, (c), 124. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, VIII, 13. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. Fitzroy, II, 466. Gardiner, 95. [Balsa used by the author to cross the Bio Bio]. Medina, 188]. EB, II, 216.
- (210) Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 87, 89, 199. Brouwer, 54, 64-65. Ovalle, (a), CLERC, XIII, 274. Rosales, I, 173-174. [Rosales saw a dugout capable of holding 30 persons at Tolten]. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, IX, 247, 450 note 90. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. Ruiz Aldea, 31. Medina, 191-192.
- (211) Valdivia, 55. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 126, 201. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 156-157. Rosales, I, 118, 153-154. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 53. Molina, (c), 123, 193; (a), 148. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 159. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 60. Stevenson, I, 16. Smith, 187, 205, 253, 298. Tounens, 7. Gardiner, 99. Domeyko, 58, 60. Medina, 184, 211, 360. Ruiz Aldea, 17. Latcham, (c), 338; (i), 14; (j), 1125. Nordenskiöld, I, 83, 85.
- (212) Valdivia, 55. Molina, (c), 123. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 169. Stevenson, I, 16. Domeyko, 60. Smith, 205. Tounens, 7. Rosales, I, 153-154. Medina, 185, 355-356, 360-361. 410. Ruiz Aldea, 17. Latcham, (c), 338-339. Cf. Spingen, 269. [In the New World, pottery and agriculture are usually catenaric, with pottery sometimes extending a little beyond agriculture].
- (213) Valdivia, 45. Erzilla, Canto I, Mariño de Lovera, 41. Pedro de Oña, Canto 5. Gonzales de Nájera, 33, 96, 115. Vargas Machuca, fol. 3. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 154. Rosales, I, 115, 119. Molina, (a), 140; (c), 159. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 59. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 143. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 49. d'Orbigny, IV, 183. Medina, 129-130. Nordenskiöld, 106, map. 12.
- (214) Valdivia, 44, 45. Goicueta, 514. Erzilla, Cantos I, III. Gongora Marmolejo, 21, 105, 180. Mariño de Lovera, 112, 208. Pedro de Oña, Canto V. Vargas Machuca, fols. 3, 98, 140. Gonzales de Nájera, 47-48, 55, 95. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 37, 40. Ponce de León, 6. Brouwer, 60, 65, 81. Ovalle, (a), 261, (b), CHC, XII, 154. Herize y Salinas, CLERC, XIII, 285. Rosales, 113-115, 133. Rocha, fol. 13. Cordoba y Figueroa, 25. Olivares, (a), IV, 47, 122; (b), 285. Velasco, 299. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 143; VII, notes on pages 159, 339. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 49. d'Orbigny, IV, 182. Fitzroy, II, 401. Tounens, 4. Ruiz Aldea, 76. Medina, 229, 289, 309.
- (215) Valdivia, 44. Gongora Marmolejo, 21. Pedro de Oña, Cantos V, XI. Cf. Tabla (appendix) 636. Gonzales de Nájera, 95-96. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 43. Rosales, I, 118. Cordoba y Figueroa, 77. Mariño de Lovera, 46. Medina, 131. Latcham, (c), 363. Edwards, (b), 16. Latcham, (f), 1125.
- (216) Valdivia, 5. Gongora Marmolejo, 2. Gonzales de Nájera, 30, 47. Brouwer, 60. Ovalle, (b), XII, 159. Molina, (c), 122. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 180. Stevenson, I, 6. d'Orbigny, IV, 183. Domeyko, 60. Smith, 299. Medina, 410. Ruiz Aldea, 17, 20. Latcham, (c), 335-336; (i), 5. Wissler, (250). Edwards, (b), 61.

(217); recreative swimming (218); marriage by capture, real or feigned (219); Quichua numerals for 100 and 1000 (220); the quipu (221); irrigation in the central and northern provinces of Chile, i. e., north of 34° S. Lat. (222); use of medicinal herbs (223), and weights and measures (224).

The traits characteristic of the araucanian culture, which had a sporadic occurrence among the Indians south of Chiloe, were: sitting burial (225); rudimentary slavery (226); agriculture (227); herding (228); intoxicants (229); intoxicants (229); the poncho (230); the plank boat (piragua) (231), and fiber and bark clothing (232).

What was the position of the bow and arrow in the Araucanian culture pattern? Undoubtedly, the bow and arrow had quite an important place in the chase, and on the field of battle. Dr. Cooper would give a "decided predominance" (233) to the spear, harpoon, club and sling as fighting and hunting weapons in the Araucanian and Canoe Indian culture. This was apparently true of the latter culture, but not, as far as I can make out, of the former. To my mind, the predominance of the spear and the other aforesaid arms was not such as to merit the qualification "decided". On the whole, the bow and arrow are mentioned in the earliest and the early sources quite as frequently as the spear, etc., or at least concomitantly with the latter weapons (234). In fact, one of the chroniclers in reference to the Battle of Andalien reports, "Los indios iban sobre ellos (los españoles) por todas partes con grande número de flechas que sobre ellos llovía a manera de granizo..." (235). However, we must admit the testimony of Vargas Machuca as bolstering the view of Dr. Cooper. "Las armas más continuas destas belicosas naciones dire. Los de Chile, lanças" (236). Later years saw a decline in the importance

- (217) Rosales, I, 170. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 43. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 157-158. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 41. Smith, 320, 323. Medina, 308. Ruiz Aldea, 25. Latham, (c), 350. Nordenskiöld, 153-154.
- (218) Gonzales de Nájera, 47-48. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 61. Molina, (c), 191. Medina, 287. Ruiz Aldea, 23.
- (219) Molina, (a), 135; (c), 189. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 141. Stevenson, I, 59. Smith, 215-216. Tounens, 9. Prince, 81. Ruiz Aldea, 36. Latham, (c), 359. Edwards, (b), 15, 44.
- (220) Molina, (c), 126. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 163. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. d'Orbigny, IV, 181. Medina, 409-410. Mossi, Diccionario Castellano-Quichua.
- (221) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 162. Rosales, I, 112. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 57. Molina, (a), 136; (c), 125. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 143. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 48. Stevenson, I, 50. Medina, 405, 407-408. Latham, (c), 362.
- (222) Mariño de Lovera, 53. Herrera, 509. Molina, (c), 118. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 160. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. Medina, 203, 207. Latham, (c), 344.
- (223) Mariño de Lovera, 52. Gonzales de Nájera, 24-27, 48. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 182-183. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 164. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 38-39. Molina, (c), 181. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 164. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 18. Medina, 252-253. Latham, (c), 352. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 2 y 3, 107.
- (224) Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 163-164. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 61. Medina, 212.
- (225) Cf. Note 182.
- (226) Cf. Note 191.
- (227) Cf. Note 186.
- (228) Cf. Note 190.
- (229) Cf. Note 157.
- (230) Cf. Note 189.
- (231) Cf. Note 185.
- (232) Cf. Note 188.
- (233) Cooper, (c), 413.
- (234) Valdivia, 44. Actas de Cabildo, 499. Erzilla, Cantos I, XXXVI, Gongora Marmolejo, 2, 105. Mariño de Lovera, 34, 46-47, 136, 208, 273. Pedro de Oña. Cantos V, XVII, Gonzales de Nájera, 30, 25. Herrera, 524, 535. Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 61. Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 154. Rosales, I, 112, 115, 118-119. Rocha, fol. 13. Cordoba y Figueroa, 77. Olivares, (b), 285-286. Molina (a), 139; (c), 124. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 143; VIII, 350, note 74. Gomara, 291. Zorate, 257. Velasco, 299. Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 47, 49. Stevenson, I, 52. Medina, 131, 134-135, 137-138. Ruiz Aldea, 75. Latham, (c), 362-363; (f), 23-24.
- (235) Gongora Marmolejo, 21.
- (236) Vargas Machuca, fol. 140.

of the bow and arrow as a martial weapon. Sad experience had taught the Indian that hand to hand combat, rather than projection of missiles from a distance, proved the better strategy against the Spanish fire-arms. "Antiguamente se servían también de hondas y de flechas, en cuyo manejo eran diestrisimos, pero después del arribo de los españoles las han abandonado cuasi del todo, pues la experiencia les ha hecho conocer que es más acertado venir á las armas cortas y mezclarse con los enemigos para impedirles el uso de las armas de fuego" (237).

In the light of all the above, I do not think one would be justified in stating that, in pro-Hispanic days, the spear, etc., were decidedly more prominent in the chase and in battle than the bow and arrow. Yet, the evidence seems to indicate a less frequent use of the bow and arrow subsequent to the arrival of the Conquistadores.

What are we to say of human sacrifices amongst the Araucanians? Medina refers to the "Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos" (Toledo, 1611) of Frai Alonso Fernández, O. P., wherein the friar reports that the Chilean Indians sacrificed men to their gods (238). This work referred to by Medina is rare and is little known. I have been unable to obtain a copy of it. However, there is no reason to doubt the report of Medina, who in practically all cases is trustworthy and reliable. Medina is inclined toward the opinion that, at least in pre-Hispanic and post-Hispanic times, human sacrifice was unknown in Chile. He allows, however, for its possibility in very remote times. His argument is built upon this observation: the colonial chroniclers, who are usually scrupulous and detailed in their accounts, keep a profound and significant silence in this particular. And this lacuna is especially telling in view of the deep spiritual convictions of the age, and of the religious calling of many of the writers. A practice so abhorrent to Christianity, if it existed, would in all probability have been reported (239).

There are two references which Medina to all appearances did not take into consideration.

"Degüellan al hijuelo más amado,
O la especiosa niña en sacrificio
Para tener al ídolo propicio" (240).

"Il Toqui può separarne uno per sacrificarlo alle ombre dei suoi soldati morti nella guerra" (241). These statements apparently allude to the attainment of a certain sophistication in sacrifice. Both of these writers merit a hearing in the matter at hand, despite the fact that many of the utterances of Pedro de Oña at times are not commensurate with objective truth. Whenever reading Oña we must always bear in mind that Oña's prime intention was not to write an epic of the conquest of Araucania, but a rather flattering and dulcet-toned life history of his patron, Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza. But, in regard to the reporting of the customs of the indigenous peoples, Oña is generally reliable.

(237) Molina, (c), 159.

(238) Medina, 217.

(239) Medina, 227.

(240) Pedro de Oña, Canto II.

In accord with the above quoted passages from Oña and Molina, and with the statement of the Dominican Alonso Fernández, as referred to by Medina, we are justified, to my mind, in concluding that human sacrifice was occasional and sporadic among the "Araucanos".

The references, and especially that of Molina, apparently indicate a manistic, as well as a theistic intent in the mentioned human sacrifices. And now a speculation may — not this shade of manism, which seemingly cast itself over an Araucanian field of sacrifice, be the "raison d'être" of the custom of killing captives?

We have seen, then, the Pre-Hispanic culture drift in Araucanía. Most of the traits constituting this drift have their southern terminal, generally speaking, at the archipelago-facing end of the island of Chiloé. Other customs, fewer in number, extended into the territory of the Chonos and there had but a sporadic occurrence. Thus the pre-Hispanic culture of the Araucanians was distinctly more advanced than the culture of their southern neighbors.

Some of these cultural elements, notably the plank house and the plank boat (piragua) were very probably local developments in the southern part of the Araucanian territory (242). Both of these elements were absent in the Peruvian complex (243). Nor, are they of Chonoan, or even more southerly origin, for we have no record, as far as I know, of the plank house south of Chiloé, and we are able to trace historically the southern spread of the plank boat from the Araucanian Chilotan area. In this part of the world the general cultural drift has been southward. Geographical, cultural and arboreal conditions favored advanced boat building among the archipelagic seafaring Araucanians. The possession of the polished stone axe (244), and the presence of the evenly grained alerce tree of the mainland were factors also conducive to the employment of planks in house building (245).

A considerable number of the traits constituting the pre-Hispanic drift, however, are quite probably the result of a southerly and south-westerly cultural deployment from northern and north-eastern areas, judging from their distribution up the coast and the Andine territory to the north and north-east of Araucanía. "This cultural drift had reached by the time of the conquest the Chilotan Archipelago, but, except sporadically, had not passed farther south. The cultural dividing line between the Araucanian and Chonoan-Fuegian culture is very clear sharp, and deep" (246).

Bearing in mind the criteria of form and quantity in the determining of the space relations of culture-Characteristics, I think we are justified in concluding that Peruvian influence, pre-Incaic and Incaic, coastal as well as highland, was considerably in evidence in the pre-Hispanic Araucanian culture drift. Much of the richness of detail had been lost in the journey southward, and this thinning

(241) Molina, (a), 141. [This testimony is enhanced in interpretative value by virtue of Molina's general inclination to pass rather lightly over Araucanian faults].

(242) Cooper, (a), 201-204; (c), 409-410.

(243) Means, (d), 310-311, 532-534; 75-76, 340-342.

(244) Cf. Note 191.

(245) Cooper, (a), 202.

(246) Cooper, (c), 410.

of complexity generally increased in proportion to distance of removal from the Peruvian center. Withal, the Araucanians were by no means culturally parasitic, for indigenous accretions were often added to the Peruvian cultural framework, as Peruvian traits were adopted, interpreted and moulded to suit Araucanian temperament and needs.

The Inca invasions under Tupac Yucanqui (c. 1460) and Huayna Capac (1485-1490) undoubtedly heightened to a notable degree the Peruvian aspect of many Araucanian traits. The first incursion reached as far as Coquimbo, and the second, the Rio Maule (247). Thus Northern Chile was under foreign sway for a considerable period. "Sin embargo, aprendieron de ellos (Incas) alguna cosa, durante el tiempo que fueron dueños de las provincias boreales del reino" (248).

We shall pass now to an enumeration of some of the traits of the Araucanian pre-Hispanic drift, which were also found in the general Peruvian area. They were as follows: coiled or looped technique (249); the sling (250); the bathing of mother and newly born after childbirth (251); the fishing net (252); the stone axe (253); occasional sitting burial (254); agriculture (potato and maize) (255); maize chicha (256); fiber and bark clothing (257); the poncho (258); domestication of animals (259); occasional human sacrifice (260); animal sacrifices (261); medicinal blood letting (262); medicinal herbs (263); the child's cradle (264); earrings (265); topes (266); two-braid coiffure (267); the drum (268); flute (269); rattle (270); tobacco ('taken only in the form of snuff and with medicinal intent, to clear the nasal passages' among the Peruvians) (271); mortars (272); the balsa (273); the dugout (274); wooden bowls and spoons (275); hide shield (276); hide helmet (277); hide coat (278); the lance (279); weaving (280);

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- (247) Erzilla, Declaración. Valdivia, 13. Ovalle, (b); CHC, XII, 148-149. Rosales, 1, 110-112. Molina, (c), 114-115. Córdoba y Figueroa, 18, 29, 30-33. Medina, 323, 327-329. Latham, (c), 334, 336, 347. (i), 4; (k), 234-235. Gusinde, PMEAC, I, Núms. 2 y 3, 87. Means, (a), 249; (d), 266.
- (248) Molina, (c), 125.
- (249) Nordenskiöld, IX, 92-93.
- (249) Nordenskiöld, IX, 92-93.
- (250) Nordenskiöld, I, 43. Means, (d), 104; (c), 319, 324. Bingham, 258.
- (251) Means, (d), 364.
- (252) Nordenskiöld, III, map. 9.
- (253) Means, (d), 198.
- (254) Means, (d), 106-107. Bingham, 260.
- (255) Means, (d), 11, 20-21. Gay, 2, 4. Bingham, 259. Scott-Elliot, 23.
- (256) Means, (d), 61, 374.
- (257) Means, (d), 468.
- (258) Zarate, 259. Fitzroy, II, 463. Medina, 411. Oyarzún, (a), 357, 391.
- (259) Bingham, 258.
- (260) Means, (d), 61, 434.
- (261) Means, (d), 370-385.
- (262) Means, (d), 444-445.
- (263) Means, (d), 63, 444-446.
- (264) Nordenskiöld, IX, Map 6, 79. Means, (d), 364-365.
- (265) Means, (d), 473. Medina, 339.
- (266) Means, (d), 311. Medina, 366, 411.
- (267) Rocha, fol. 55, Medina, 412.
- (268) Nordenskiöld, I, 165. Means, (d), 368, 444. Medina, 301-302.
- (269) Means, (d), 444. Medina, ibid.
- (270) Means, (d), 368.
- (271) Means, (d), 310.
- (272) Nordenskiöld, III, 138, map. 16.
- (273) Rocha, fol. 41. Means, (d), 11, 228, 341-342.
- (274) Rocha, fol. 41. Means, (d), 340.
- (275) Nordenskiöld, I, 83, 85. Means, (d), 199, 312.
- (276) Nordenskiöld, III, 106, map. 12.
- (277) Means, (d), 74.
- (278) Means, (d), 79.
- (279) Means, (d), 74, 198.
- (280) Means, (d), 73-74, 465-466.

gambling (281); marriage by capture (282); quipu (283), and irrigation (284). Peruvian influence was evident in the Araucanian Quichua numerals for 100 and 1000 — "pataca" and "huaranca" (285). "Le système de numération est decimal; mais les nombres cent et mille sont empruntés à la langue des Incas" (286). However, contact with the Peruvians wrought comparatively little change in the Araucanian tongue. At most twenty words can be singled out as Quichua (287). It is indeed worthy of remark that the Chilean people were so adamant to the language of the invaders. And the Incas pursued as one of the means in their policy of subjugation the imposition of the language of the invaders. And the Incas pursued as one of the means in their policy of subjugation the imposition of the language of the court-Quichua (288). Many factors were adverse to the successful culmination of this "modus agendi" in Chile, notably the relatively brief period and shifting character of the Incan military occupation, and the small number of northern Chilean directly under the Incaic culture (289).

The pottery of Araucania exhibits Peruvian characteristics (290). Araucanian fictile art typically exemplifies the gradual simplification of the culture pattern, as one goes south from the focal Peruvian center. Toward the north in Chile, the polish is finer, the form more elegant, human figures begin to appear, and the paintings of the objects assume those beautiful colors which neither time nor long burial beneath the earth have succeeded in effacing (291). How different are the objects taken from graves south of Maipo. Painting no longer exists. The human form disappears, and in place of elegant artifacts we find those of poor symmetry. However, in Valdivia there is a certain superiority over intermediate provinces in pottery making. Thus Valdivia constitutes an independent and minor center (292). Pedro de Valdivia wrote to the king in reference to these utensils. He did not note any distinction of locality but merely stated that the Indians of Chile "tenían muchas i muy pulidas vasijas de barro" (293).

The northeast has also left its impress on Araucanian culture. According to the accounts of the earliest chroniclers, the bow and arrow, as a weapon of the chase and the struggle, played quite an important role in Araucanian life (294). Whereas "in the mountainous regions and on the Peruvian coast, i. e. the greater part of the cultural zone in the West, the bow and arrow was . . . a rare weapon" (295). But it was not unknown there (296).

(281) Nordenskiöld, I, 154

(282) Means, (d), 361.

(283) Means, (d), 327. Nordenskiöld, VI, Rocha, fol. 55.

(284) Means, (d), 11, 20. Mariño de Lobera, 53. Medina, 203, 207. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 160. Latham, (c), 344.

(285) Medina, 409-410.

(286) d'Orbigny, IV, 181. Cf. Note 125.

(287) Medina, 405.

(288) Garcilazo de la Vega, 250. Cieza de León, cap. 41.

(289) Medina, 405.

(290) Medina, 355-356. Domeyko, 60. Oyarzún, (a), 356.

(291) Medina, 355.

(292) Medina, 356.

(293) Valdivia, 55.

(294) Cf. Note 234

(295) Nordenskiöld, I, 34.

(296) Nordenskiöld, *ibid.*, note 2. Means, (d), 244, 260.

(297) Nordenskiöld, I, 36.

"In the mountainous districts and on the Peruvian coast it was in part no doubt the lack of wood suitable for making bows that made this a rare weapon, but also in part the advantage of having the left hand free (to steer the boat) while using the throwing stick (atlatl)" (297).

In certain respects the Araucanian bow and arrow differed from that of some of the tribes to the northeast. "Los arcos que se usan, son mucho más cortos y reforzados que los que traen los indios de las provincias de Cuyo, Tucumán, Paraguay, el Brasil y otras partes; porque no llegan a cinco palmos..." (298). The bow-strings were of animal material, and this characteristic was possessed in common with many of the tribes to the northeast—the Abipone, Lengua, Toba, Mataco, Chané, Tapiete, Ashluslay, Choroti and Guató (299).

Moreover, there is a significant point in reference to artistry in arrow manufacture. "Es curioso, sin embargo, i digno de notarse que así como en el norte de Chile (the region contiguous to Peruvian influence), donde debiéramos suponer mucho más adelanto en el arte de tallar las flechas, se encuentran algunas bastante toscas i casi rudimentaria ... a la inversa en el sur, se encuentran algunas de un pulimento admirable" (300).

There are also indications that the north-east has exercised some influence on the Araucanian rattle. Norden-skjöld attributes the rattle-gourd to many tribes of the northeast, but he fails to assign it to the Araucanians (301). There are two references, however, in comparatively early sources, which seemingly refer to the gourd rattle. "Sacuden unos huecos calabazos..." (302). Olivares, in describing the curing ceremonies of the machis, speaks of the noise made by their rattles: "...haciendo cierto ruido con unos calabacillos con piedrecita adentro, a modo de sonajas..." (303).

As we have already noted, tobacco among the Peruvians was used as medicament in the form of snuff. "No pipes have been found in the old graves on the coast of Perú. Smoking was probably unusual in Perú, although tobacco was cultivated there" (304). Pipe smoking of tobacco was found among the Araucanians (305), and also among many of the tribes to the north-ests — Mocovi, Toba, Mataco, Ashluslay, Chiriguano, Choroti, Guarayú, Lengua, Chamacoco and Mbayá (306). Monitor pipes were in use among the "Araucanos". Nordenskiöld has found pipes of this kind in graves at Caipipendi and at Tarupayu — both sites being north-east of Araucania (307). These facts strongly suggest that north-east characteristics have, to a considerable extent, modified, or at least impressed themselves quite deeply upon, the Araucanian tobacco complex.

(296) Gonzales de Nájera, 95. Latcham, (f), 23. Medina, 134. (A meter).

(299) Gonzales de Nájera, *ibid.* Nordenskiöld, I, 35, 38.

(300) Medina, 137.

(302) Pedro de Oña, Canto II.

(303) Olivares, (b), 493.

(304) Nordenskiöld, I, 94.

(305) Cf. Note (206) Nordenskiöld, I, 92, 93; IX, 91-92.

(306) Nordenskiöld, I, 91-93.

(307) Nordenskiöld, IX, 91.

THE POST-HISPANIC (HISTORICAL) CULTURE DRIFT

There now remains for consideration the post-Hispanic or historical diffusion of culture. And, at this juncture, the relative dating of the respective sources is of special importance. If we find certain traits consistently absent in the early sources, and mentioned only in late sources, probability, in varying degrees, dependent on the nature of the reports, aligns itself with the opinion that the traits in question were woven relatively late into the Araucanian culture fabric.

What position did metals hold in the lives of the Araucanians? In an attempt to answer this question we shall discuss the role of metals in Araucanian ornamentation, and subsequently the martial use of metals.

To my mind, we are on safe ground in concluding that metallurgy was not present among the Araucanians of the period immediately prior to the Spanish invasion. There is no mention of metal-working, as far as I have been able to find out, in the early sources. The condition of the Indians in the north of Chile—the "Atacamos", "Diaguitos", and others—was different. They worked copper and alloyed it with tin to obtain the harder material, bronze (308). I have referred to the period directly preceding the Spanish invasion, because there is some evidence to render not improbable the view that metallurgy, or at least mine-working, was once known to the Araucanians. "Tanto los ídolos . . . como las figuras de oro, plata i cobre que se encuentran en las huacas, indican, pues, de una manera evidente que en aquella remota época se conocía ya en Chile el arte de trabajar los metales" (309).

"En las ordenanzas de minas trabajadas para Chile, de orden real, por don Francisco García Huidobro encontramos también un párrafo que demuestra que antes del descubrimiento del país por los españoles los indígenas conocían el arte de trabajar las minas" (310).

Diego de Almagro sent Captain Gómez de Alvarado on a mission south of Aconcagua. The captain found mines already worked. Oviedo (1535-1557), first chronicler of the New World is the authority for the above incident (311).

To be sure, objections may be easily raised against the view that metal-working was once possessed by the Araucanians. We have no evidence that metallurgy was practised in the period immediately before the Spanish incursion, as there is no mention of it, as far as I know, in the early sources, and arts of this kind generally are but rarely lost. Moreover, the worked mines discovered by Gómez de Alvarado were within the sphere occupied by the invading Incaic hosts, and the Inca may well have literally left his

(308) Oyarzún, (b), 176.

(309) Medina, 363.

(310) Medina, *ibid.*

(311) Oviedo, 236.

(312) Latham, (d), 284; (f), 15; (h), 289. Oyarzún, (b), 176-180. Schneider, 306.

impress upon these veins of wealth. In the light of all the above, prudence dictates that we refrain from any general statement, and merely state that in the light of present-hand evidence, the Araucanians were not metal workers when first met by the "Conquistadores" (312). Post-Hispanic times, however, have seen the Araucanian become an adept in the metal-working art (313).

The early sources indicate that metals were used in ornamentation and for utensils in pre-Hispanic times. Mariño de Lovera (c. 1575) states that the Araucanians possessed "collares, sarcillos y otras joyas de oro con piedras preciosas" (314). Vargas (c. 1559) refers to gold ornaments (315) and Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán (1629-1640) mentions a silver jar (316). Rosales (1655-1674) states that they had silver and copper ornaments (317). The importation of these metals was presumably due to barter with the peoples of the north (318). We have already seen that the peoples of the north of Chile were metal workers (319). These peoples were contiguous to the Peruvian area. The Araucanian topo, moreover, in form strongly suggests Peruvian influence.

Post-Hispanic days witnessed an increase in metal ornaments from Spanish sources. This Spanish influence was definitely being felt as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Gonzales de Nájera (1601-1614) states that the natives carefully guarded precious metals taken from the white enemy, because they knew that the Spaniards treasured these (320). "Usan algunas mujeres zarcillos de plata, hechos de calices i patenas que hubieron en el caso de las ciudades que destruyeron..." (321).

Metal weapons were also in use before the coming of the Spaniards. Erzilla (c. 1569), in enumerating the diverse armament of the natives, mentions clubs shod with metal—"mazas barreadas" (322). Mariño de Lovera refers to war instruments with copper points—"Las armas que traían las más eran unas lanzas más largas que picas con unas puntas de cobre..." (323). Inasmuch as metal working was absent, at least in the period directly prior to the arrival of the white man upon the native scene, weapons in the form of copper (bronze) hatchets, copper-pointed lances and metal-studded clubs had been acquired through the channels of trade. And, there is room for the possibility that the defeated Incas left copper (bronze) weapons on the field of battle together with the slain. "De todo esto se deduce que los araucanos usaron al principio de la conquista armas de cobre y bronce" (324).

As we might expect, in the light of the general trend of evidence for both Americas, iron weapons were introduced in Araucania by the Spaniards, and hence were of the post-Hispanic, or

(313) Smith, 181. Verrill, 465. Edwards, (b), 61. Stevenson, I, 18-19.

(314) Mariño de Lovera, 125. Cf. Pedro de Oña, Canto II, Note on page 73.

(315) Vargas de Machuca, fol. 97.

(316) Núñez de Pineda y Bascañán, 201.

(317) Rosales, I, 159.

(318) Medina, 302.

(319) Oyarzún, (b), 176.

(320) Gonzales de Nájera, 47.

(321) Medina, 172. Cf. Stevenson, I, 18-19. Gonzales de Nájera, *ibid.*

(322) Erzilla, Canto I.

(323) Mariño de Lovera, 112.

(324) Oyarzún, (b), 180. Cf. also, 177-178. Ssineider, 306.

historical culture drift. As early as Erzilla we meet with a statement that Araucanian armament had undergone some white influence.

"Algunas destas armas han tomado
De los Christianos..." (325)

Vargas Machuca explicitly states that some natives used iron weapons procured from the Spaniards. "Otras usan de hierros que han ganado y rescatado a nuestros Españoles..." (326). We have the testimony of Gonzáles de Nájera that captured Spanish swords in whole and in part were used to point lances (327). Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, who, as a captive, had great opportunity to make detailed observations, refers to clubs garnished with bits of iron — "...una porra de madera que usaban entonces sembrada de muchos clavos de herrar..." (328). Brouwer (1643) reports that offensive and defensive arms, captured from the white invaders, were used by the Indians of Valdivia, Osorno and Concepción (329). Thus Ponce de León (c. 1644) speaks of the fighting equipment of the natives — "...son lanças tostadas, macanas y flechas, sin más género de hierros, que los que nos han coxido, y quitado..." (330). Clandestine, forbidden, and perfidious trade was also a source of supply (331). There is no need to quote further evidence, and I shall merely refer to it (332).

"If we did not know that ... the Araucanians, for instance, first became acquainted with iron through the whites, we might conclude that iron was the metal they knew first, and with which they afterwards compared gold, silver and cooper" (333). The Araucanians called iron "panilhue" ("panilgue") (334), and copper "cum panilhue" or "colu panilhue". "Colu" means dark red, and "cum" means red. "Gold in their tongue is "milla" and silver "lien" (335). These linguistic facts caused Molina (1776-1782) to suspect that iron may have been indigenous to Araucania. However, he concedes the significance of the silence of the first writes on this point (336). In addition, evidences of true iron working have been found nowhere in the Americas. Basing our judgment on all the above evidence, we are safe in concluding that iron among the Araucanians was of Spanish importation, and consequently belongs to the post-Hispanic, or historical culture drift. This factual inference conforms to the general very probable conclusion that the use of iron (excepting possibly a meteoric form) was unknown in the Pre-Columbian New World.

In accordance with what one might expect from analogous and parallel instances in other parts of the world, the Araucanians adopted the musket from the Spaniards. At the time of Stevenson's visit (1800-1825), the natives had learned to use fire-arms with great dexterity

(325) Erzilla, Canto I.

(326) Vargas Machuca, *loc. cit.* 3.

(327) Gonzales de Nájera, 95, 115.

(328) Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 40.

(329) Brouwer, 81.

(330) Ponce de León, 6. Cf. Cordoba y Figueroa, 153.

(331) Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 89. Cf. Gonzales de Nájera, 117.

(332) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 154, 170; (a), 259. Rosales, I, 110, 115, 119. Rocha, *loc. cit.* 13.

Gay, 4. Smith, 205, 226. Latchom, (I), 27. Edwards, (b), 91.

(333) Nordenskiöld, V, 87.

(334) Molina, (c), 123.

(335) Nordenskiöld, *ibid.*

(336) Molina, *ibid.*

(337). The Araucanian word for fire-arms, reflecting as it does the native psychology, bears some evidence to the foreign origin of the "arcabuz". "Talca" (fire-arms) means thunder (338).

Poisoning arrows probably belongs to the historical culture drift. There is a consistent absence of the mention of this trait among the earliest writers. This is worthy of note, in view of the fact that early chroniclers of other parts of South America have given to posterity many descriptions of men wounded by poisoned arrows, who died "rabiandos", i. e., mad with pain (339). Gonzales de Najera, in fact, expressly denies the use of the poisoned arrow to all the Indians of Chile, except the Puelches. "No usan los indios de Chile en común de yerba en sus flechas, salvo los puelches..." (340). It may be objected that Vargas Machuca, one of the early chroniclers, apparently makes mention of the poisoned arrows "... y otras con puntas de Palma enervadas con yerba de veynte y quatro horas" (341). But Vargas Machuca in this passage is not describing the weapons of the Araucanians, but of the Indians in general. To the best of my knowledge, Rosales is the earliest source to mention the poisoned arrow. And, Rosales made his observations after the middle of the seventeenth century. This great Jesuit chronicler, probably the most erudite of the early authors on Chile, states, in a catalog of native arms, that a very strong poison, called Coliguai, was used. "Las armas que usan son picas, lanzas, saetas, arboladas con un fortissimo veneno que llaman **Coliguai**..." (342). Medina (c. 1882) (343), Latcham (c. 900) (344), and Edwards (c. 1928) (345) also refer to arrows poisoned with the juice of coliguai ("coliguays odorifera"). Bearing this evidence in mind, we feel quite safe in concluding that arrow poisoning among the Araucanians, as a general and prevailing custom, is consistently and significantly absent in the earliest sources, and hence was quite probably of later introduction, i. e., of the post-Hispanic or historical drift. Nordenskiöld apparently would not only express doubt as to the existence of poisoned arrows among the Araucanians in early times, but even in post-columbian times. "But it is doubtful whether these Indians really used poison for their arrows" (346). However, Rosales' testimony should not so readily be brushed aside. In regard to the inception of this trait amongst the "Araucanians", presumably a general northern influence was at work. Medina states that the use appeared to be more common in the north of Chile and suggests Peruvian influence (347). Nordenskiöld gives us a broad sketch of the diffusion of arrow poisoning. "It is evidently in the north-west of the continent that these poisons have been in commonest use. From there the distribution runs like a wedge across Majos down to Chiquitos and N. Argentina, and possibly Chile" (348).

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- (337) Stevenson, I, 52.
(338) Nordenskiöld, V, 100.
(339) Nordenskiöld, III, 55.
(340) Gonzales de Najera, 96.
(341) Vargas Machuca, fol. 3.
(342) Rosales, I, 118.
(343) Medina, 136.
(344) Latcham, (c), 363.
(345) Edwards, (b), 90.
(346) Nordenskiöld, III, 53.
(347) Medina, *ibid.*
(348) Nordenskiöld, III, 52.

The bolas also seems to belong to the post-Hispanic cultural drift. I have not been able to find any definite reference to the bolas in the very early sources. A weapon so unusual in character could hardly escape observation, and once notices could scarcely escape being recorded. Some of the sources quite early in date mention the horse complex, yet are silent about the bolas, which so admirably suits the hunting and fighting needs of a rider. Primarily the bolas is used in the open country. "In the woods the bolas is an unserviceable weapon" (349).

With Rosales and subsequent writers, the bolas is almost invariably included in tabulations of arms (350). This is significant, even though we allow for the authors using the works of their predecessors. For these men were also independent observers, and the statements of others could be put to the acid test of personally observed facts. The records of the bolas are not mere repetitions of the statement of Rosales, who, as far as I have been able to discover, was the first to definitely mention the bolas.

To what influences does the bolas owe its introduction among the Araucanians? As far as I have been able to determine, northern and eastern influences were at work.

"Knowing the bolas to have been a very old weapon in the Andes and in the pampas, we may assume that most of the bolas-like stones which have been found there, were really used in bolas. From this we can judge that the bolas was used in the old territory of the entire Inca Kingdom, in S. Chile, Patagonia, the pampas of the Argentines, Uruguay, S. Brazil, and Mojos, in which last locality it was in use at the time of the mission, but probably not earlier, nor yet now" (351).

Baron Nordenskiöld further adds that the bolas "presumably belongs to the very old cultural elements that have a marked westerly and southerly distribution" (352).

The introduction of the lasso very probably dates from this period. Erzilla refers to "lazos", but from the context it is hard to state with certainty whether lassos are meant or simply snares.

"Lazos de fuertes mimbres i bejucos" (353). Gongora Marmolejo (1549-1575) seemingly describes snares, in view of the fact that he terms that which he relates "una invención de guerra diabólica" (354). Rosales, as far as I have been able to find out, ascribes the lasso to the Puelche. In the same passage he also attributes the bolas to the Puelche (355). Ovalle (1644-1946) mentions "lazos de niervos y fuertes miembros" (356). Later authors, Prince (1836), Smith (1855), and Moesbach (c. 1929) state that the Araucanians possessed

(349) Nordenskiöld, I, 46-48.

(350) Rosales, I, 119. Pietas, 499, [as among the Pehuenches] 500, [among the Puelches]. Molina, (b), 319, 340, d'Orbigny, I, 129; IV, 182. Note 2. Smith, 286, 315. Medina, 139, 176. Ruiz Aldea, 29. Verrill, 463.

(351) Nordenskiöld, I, 46; cf. III, 65. [The bolas was used in S. Chile but probably, in accord with the evidence given above for the Araucanians and with the evidence found in Cooper, (a), 214-216 for the Fuegians, only in post-Columbian and recent times].

(352) Nordenskiöld, I, 46.

(353) Erzilla, Canto I.

(354) Gongora Marmolejo, 47.

(355) Rosales, I, 119.

(356) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 154.

the lasso, and even used it with great dexterity (357). As one looks over the literature on the Araucanians, there is a justified inclination to link up the lasso with the spread of the horse complex in the "Estado indómito".

We come now to a discussion of the horse complex. The horse, and its general accoutrement, are white contributions to American culture. But, as we shall see, the Araucanians very readily, and apparently, with comparative ease, became fine horsemen, and adapted themselves to the Spanish method of cavalry warfare (358). Many factors were contributory to the gradually increasing proficiency of the Araucanians in equestrianism. Horses, naturally, were taken as spoils of war (359). Many horses roamed the plains, wild and untamed. Even as early as 1601, when Gonzales first came to Araucania, he saw many wild horses, descendants of the horses that had been let go free by the Spaniards (360). Moreover, at the time of Gonzales de Nájera more than fifty Spaniards had deserted the Spanish standard, and had taken refuge as fugitives among the Araucanians. These traitors taught the Indians many war tricks and customs of the white man (361).

"In Pedro de Valdivia's letters (1540-1554) to the Emperor Charles V, which come from an eye-witness, and one who conducted matters, nothing is mentioned of there being horses in the land of the Araucanians when the first penetrated it" (362). Not only is there no mention of horses being in Araucania, but Valdivia explicitly states that there were no horses there, "... en ella no hai otra falta si no es de españoles i caballos" (363). And, the Indians had a great fear of horses. "Tienen mui gran temor a los caballos" (364). Where fear was not present, there was at least wonder — "... mirando tan bravo espectáculo; porque como no habian vista cristianos a caballo hasta aquel tiempo" (365). Many aborigines even thought that horse and rider constituted one creature, a sort of centaur... "pues se nos figuraba que el hombre y el caballo eran de una pieza..." (366).

At the time of Gonzales de Nájera, the Indians had not as yet become very expert in horsemanship. In combat many were thrown from their mounts (367). However, nothing daunted these tyros and they formed troops of cavalry (368) and with the horse the natives took over the saddle, bridle, stirrup, spurs, bits, headstalls and reins. Even horse armor was utilized by the Araucanians (369). And if any of the aforesaid equestrian necessities were not to be had from the Spanish sources, substitutes were made from the materials at hand. The native-made saddles were lighter than those of the Spaniards, and were made of very light wood. The saddle cushion

(357) Prince, 66. Smith, 199, 310-311. Moesbach, RCHG, LXIII, No 67, 267.

(358) Nordenskiöld, V, 51.

(359) Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, 41.

(360) Gonzales de Nájera, 107.

(361) Gonzales de Nájera, 117.

(362) Nordenskiöld, V, 50.

(363) Valdivia, 45.

(364) Valdivia, 55.

(365) Gongora Marmolejo, 23.

(366) Mariño de Lobera, 148.

(367) Gonzales de Nájera, 115-116.

(368) Gonzales de Nájera, 115. Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 47. Cordoba y Figueroa, 221.

(369) Molina, (a), 159. CE, I, 679.

(369) Gonzales de Nájera, 115.

was made of wool; the weight of both did not exceed six pounds (370). Wooden stirrups and spurs were used in default of metal. Bits were made either of wood or of "barba de ballena" and reins and checkstalls were made of hide or of hempen material (371).

Núñez de Pineda y Bascunán recounts that horses and saddles were taken from the Spanish (372). Brouwen reports seeing horsemen on August 28, 1643 at the mouth of the Valdivia River. Indian horsemen are reported from the vicinities of Valdivia, Osorno and Concepción. And Brouwer states that they were good horsemen (373).

There are many passages to be found in subsequent writers which refer to the introduction of the horse complex into Chile by the Spaniards (374), or mention the riding ability and technique of the natives (375), or describe the wooden, hide, and hempen substitute equestrian equipment (376). One author of relatively late date (c. 1863) speaks strikingly of the place of the horse in Araucanian life. "L'Araucanien est une sorte de centaure. Il est toujours a cheval" (377). Eventually artistry in the form of decorations in silver was found on the various items of the horse equipage (378), and the aboriginal sporting instinct, and penchant for gambling received a new emphasis in horse racing (379).

The introduction of the horse even affected burials and mortuary customs. Clear influence of this new culture element is definitely mentioned as early as Olivares (1736-1758). "Cuando quien muere es mujer, entierran con ella los instrumentos de las labores femeniles, huso, lana, ollas y cántaros; y si es hombre uno de sus caballos y sus armas" (380). Similar obsequies are described by Molina (381) and Carvallo y Goyeneche (c. 1788) (382). The latter also reports a variant which apparently is a form of stuffed-horse burial. "Si el cadáver es de hombre, degüellan un caballo de los que tuvo el difunto, le quitan la piel i la ponen sobre el eítún en un caballete de madera i arriman a él la lanza de que usaba en la guerra" (383). Smith has left us another description of the same custom. "At both the head and the foot of this grave was an upright, forked stick, supporting a transverse pole, over which was hung the skin of the chieftain's favorite horse, while a long bamboo lance, planted in the ground, with a little white pennant fluttering in the wind, denoted the rank of the deceased" (384). He further states than the steel head of the lance had been replaced by a whittled wooden barb, and that in the case of valuable articles, such as silver bits, spurs, and headstalls,

(370) Gonzales de Nájera, 114.

(371) Gonzales de Nájera, *ibid.*, 33, 115.

(372) Núñez de Pineda y Bascunán, 41, cl. 200 et *passim*.

(373) Brouwer, 65, 82.

(374) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 154. Molina, (b), 322. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 14.

Smith, 140. Latcham, (I), 8. Edwards, (b), 89.

(375) Ovalle, (b), CHC, XII, 156. Rosales, I, 115, 118. Molina, (c), 159. Stevenson, I, 52.

Prince, 65. Gardiner, 97. Verrill, 463.

(376) Ovalle, *ibid.* Rosales, I, 119. Molina, (b), 339. Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 159.

Stevenson, I, 20-21. Gardiner, *ibid.*

(377) Tounens, 7.

(378) Latcham, (c), 337. Verrill, 463.

(379) Ruiz Aldea, 24-25.

(380) Olivares, (a), CHC, IV, 52.

(381) Molina, (c), 129-130; (c), 172-173.

(382) Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 137. Cf. Latcham, (c), 348. Verrill, 457.

(383) Carvallo y Goyeneche, CHC, X, 140.

(384) Smith, 172.

wooden proxies were substituted, only the ordinary arms and horse trappings being buried with the dead (385). Other authors, Stevenson (386), d'Orbigny (1835-1843) (387), and Latcham (388) report that at times the horse was not buried with the deceased, but merely killed over the grave. "On anterre avec eux ce qu'ils ont de plus précieux pour qu'ils puissent se montrer dignement dans le séjour des morts; on tue les chevaux du défunt sur sa tombe..." (389).

Linguistic evidence bears its testimony to the non-indigenous origin of the horse among the Araucanians. The Araucanian word for horse is "cahuello" (390), "cavallo", "cahuallo" or "hueques ingas" (llamas of the Incas) (391). Obviously, the forms "cahuello", "cavallo" and "cahuallo" suggest genetic relationship with the Spanish word for horse: "caballo", and the form "hueques ingas" is practically a lingual admission of the non-Araucanian origin of the horse. Pérez García (c. 1810) in this regard, interpreted in the light of the other chroniclers, gives us a rather telling statement. The natives have a special name for their infantry but none for their cavalry. "**Nammuntun lincó** llaman los indios su ejército de infantería, y como de caballería no le tuvieron, no tiene nombre en su idioma; mas ahora todos van á la facción á caballo y echan pie á tierra para formarse los de infantería" (392). We should note in passing, however, that the whole statement of Pérez García is not quite true, for the aborigines had a special fighting unit of cavalry, definitely and clearly distinguished from the fighters afoot (393).

Spanish influence made itself in many other ways. We have the statement of Molina that the invaders brought with them cattle, sheep, goats, various kinds of dogs, cats, and even mice (394). In the matter of agriculture, they brought new cereals and plants. In material culture, they brought a fuller use of metals. And in the social culture, a considerable centralization of tribal government was the fruit of the spirited resistance offered to the intrepid "Conquistadores" (395).

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

And now we pass to a summary of the foregoing facts and evidence. As we view the Araucanian and surrounding cultures, we note a number of cultural features continuously distributed in varying degrees.

Some of these traits, at least in broad outline, are common to the Araucanian, Fuegian, and Tehuelche areas. They are diffused practically over the whole of the southern part of South America,

(385) Smith, *ibid.*

(386) Stevenson, I, 60.

(387) d'Orbigny, IV, 184.

(388) Latcham, (c), 348.

(389) d'Orbigny, *ibid.*

(390) Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 63.

(391) Nordenskiöld, V, 56.

(392) Pérez García, CHC, XXII, 47.

(393) Cf. Note 368.

(394) Molina, (b), 322.

(395) Latcham, (c), 335; (h), 247.

surmounting natural, archipelagic and mountainous, linguistic and somatological barriers. Independent origin of certain of these traits, in any one or more of the aforesaid regions, is conceivable, by virtue of similar factors in the human or natural environment, the law of limited possibilities, or like psychological attitudes. But, applying the criteria of form and quantity, nothing the general southerly drift of culture, the gradual attenuation in cultural complexity as one goes south, and the general cultural poverty and isolated position of the tip-end peoples, strong probability lies with the opinion which maintains a general diffusion from a more northerly focal center (or centers) of radiation.

There are other traits which have a lesser diffusion. They are hemmed in and denied a general easterly diffusion by the Cordillera. Some have crossed the archipelagic barrier, and have reached the Chonos, others the Alacaluf, and others the Yahgans. Some others have failed to cross the insular regions, and have had as their southernmost boundary the lower portion of the island of Chiloé. It is in this group of lesser diffusion that there are apparent a number of Peruvian influences.

And then there is a third group of traits which has come, tripping on the heels of the white man. This group is the most readily distinguishable.

Such are the space relations of the various Araucanian cultural features. From the gradation in the diffusion of the different traits we believe that we are able to build up certain approximate time relations. The simpler culture is the more widely diffused, embracing the Araucanians, Fuegians, and the Tehuelche. The more complex traits have a lesser extension, confined to the west of the Cordillera, and including in various degrees the Fuegian tribes. Here, to my mind, we have a stratification in time—the Archaic Drift (more widely diffused and characterized by comparatively simple elements), and the Pre-Hispanic Drift. In historic times the white man has added to the picture certain colors from his cultural palette, and many influences from non-Araucanian areas have seeped into the Araucanian culture soil—the Post-Hispanic or Historical Drift.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Atenea (Concepción)
AA	American Anthropologist
AHMC	Anuario hidrográfico de la marina de Chile (Santiago-Valparaíso)
AU	Anales de la Universidad (Santiago de Chile)
BAE Bull.	Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington)
BSGL	Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.
GE	The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1907).
CHC	Colección de historiadores de Chile (Santiago de Chile)
CLERC	Colección de libros españoles raros y curiosos (Madrid)
EA	Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1928)
EB	Encyclopedia Britannica (London, 1929)
EI	Enciclopedia Italiana (Milano, 1929)
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (New York, 1908)
EUI	Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada (Barcelona)
ICA	International Congress of Americanists
JAI	Journal of the (Royal) Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
PMEAC	Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile (Santiago de Chile)
PUSNM	Proceedings of the United States National Museum (Washington)
RCHG	Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía (Santiago de Chile)
RU	Revista Universitaria de la Universidad Católica de Chile (Santiago)
SMC	Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections (Washington)

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