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# The "barbarian" on both sides of the globe: reading the Araucanians in terms of the Turks in Ercilla's Araucana

Stacey Triplette

In the second book of the *Araucana,* Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga interrupts his account of the Spanish campaign against the Araucanians in Chile in order to depict the 1571 Holy League victory at Lepanto. This European battle, which the poet-figure glimpses in Fitón's magic globe, seems a digression from the major themes of the poem. However, the image of the «barbarian» Turk in this underappreciated episode sheds light on Ercilla's much-discussed sympathy for the Amerindian. While most critics read the sea battle as a requisite imperialist showpiece, the peculiar mix of classical models and the often-favorable characterization of the Turks mark it as a criticism of the Spanish imperial project.

Ercilla informs his battle sequence not only with contemporary history but also with imitations from Virgil and Lucan, two authors who might be positioned at opposite ends of the ideological spectrum with regard to empire. David Quint characterizes Virgil's *Aeneid* as the model *par excellence* for imperialist epic and Lucan's *Pharsalia* as the prototype "epic of the defeated" (8). The intersection of these two ancient works in Ercilla helps elucidate the Spanish author's complex stance on the imperial project. The *Araucana* makes direct reference to the battle of Actium, and its details resonate with the *Aeneid*'s language; however, some of the very same examples can be used to trace Ercilla's inheritance from Lucan.

Just as the *Araucana* as a whole does not lend itself to easy interpretation—the Araucanians are both barbarians and chivalric heroes—the Battle of Lepanto blends and confuses discourses applied to the winners and the losers (de Armas Wilson 165). Ercilla's account establishes parity between Turks and Christians, emphasizing similarity as well as difference. The depiction of the Turkish barbarians, moreover, follows the basic lines of Ercilla's treatment of the Araucanians,

and one should read each set of cultural outsiders in terms of the other. Fitón's globe raises issues applicable both to Europe and to colonial Chile: it questions what virtues constitute an effective leader, how Fate or Providence factors into conquest, and, most particularly, whether an imperial project justifies slaughter.

## Lepanto's double valence and Ercilla's "imperial exhaustion"[1]

The insular nature of Ercilla's Lepanto encourages readers to view the battle either as a welcome diversion from a "camino . . . desierto y estéril" (Prologue to Part II, 463). However, Lepanto carries more than just aesthetic weight in the poem. David Quint views Lepanto as a positive reworking of Pharsalia in which Ercilla depicts the triumph of "the 'Pompeian' side, whose Christian cause is just" (158). Efraín Kristal, following similar logic, describes Lepanto as an exemplum of proper conquest, "a model the Spanish conquistadors in Chile should follow in their behavior toward each other and in their battles against the Araucanians" (120).

However, both critics ignore the complexity of the text. By simultaneously lauding and criticizing Felipe II's imperial efforts, Ercilla makes ambiguous what could have been an unequivocally pro-Spanish episode. Though Ercilla remains, as Nicolopulos, Lerner and others assert, a king's man and a supporter of Spanish expansion in general, three textual features hint at disenchantment with empire. First, the sequence employs a complex interplay of the terms for Fate and Fortune, ascribing them to both Holy League and Turkish characters. Second, the battle goes against the pattern established both by the *Aeneid* and by the *Pharsalia* in its treatment of order and chaos, ascribing dissonance and diffusion to both sides. Finally, the question of leadership complicates the battle of Lepanto; the episode suffers from the epic hero vacancy which troubles readers of the poem in general. This battle sequence could easily have employed a Holy League hero on the pattern of Aeneas; Don Juan of Austria, in fact, merits such treatment in Juan Rufo's *La Austriada*. However, Ercilla characterizes Don Juan as disorganized and blood-hungry while emphasizing Turkish general Alí Bajá's courage and orderliness. Though in epic in general "on occasion [the enemy] earns the reader's best sympathy," Ercilla's treatment of Bajá exceeds the equality required in order for the victor to enjoy honorable conquest (Davis 12). Ercilla's Lepanto reveals that discourse of divine conquest is not only fragile but also interchangeable. The reader has the sense that two imperial projects have come to a clash and that perspective constitutes the only moral difference between them.

## The problem with Fate

Throughout Cantos XXIII and XXIV, Ercilla circulates the vocabulary of Fate (*hado*) and Fortune (*fortuna*, *ventura*, *caso*, or *suerte*). David Quint finds these terms to be semantically charged, arguing that the choice of Fate or Fortune depends on where the speaker's allegiance lies. The winner credits victory to Fate: divine

Providence or historical necessity ensures the longevity of conquest. The epic loser, on the other hand, "ascribes the victor's success to Fortune—to chance rather than to the victor's superiority or to some kind of historical necessity—thus leaving open the possibility that Fortune may change in the future» (Quint 103).

At first glance, the battle of Lepanto appears to be an entirely Fate-determined event; Fitón says that "lo que vieres / lo disponen los hados" (XXIII:75:6). However, the magician himself introduces the double nature of the vision: "la tendremos por dudosa" (XXIII:74:2). The text attributes the outcome of Lepanto just as often to Fortune as it does to Fate. The instability of these terms, coupled with references to doubt and suspense, undermines a reading of the Spanish empire as a Providence-driven enterprise.

Don Juan of Austria, the Christian leader, conflates Fate and Fortune. The "hijo de la Fortuna y del dios Marte," Don Juan vacillates between security and doubt; in his harangue, he guarantees "por cierta la vitoria y fin dudoso" (7:8, 10:4). His speech contains two instances of "fortuna," one of "suerte," and only one mention of "hado." (12:7; 13:5, 14:2, 3). In stanza fourteen, Don Juan juxtaposes the terms and uses them almost interchangeably: "no detengamos / nuestra buena fortuna que nos llama; / del hado el curso próspero sigamos" (1-3). At this moment, it would be possible to *detener* Fortune's course. However, later, Don Juan seems to change his opinion: "la justísima causa que seguimos / nos tiene la vitoria asegurada / así que ya del cielo prometido / os puedo yo afirmar que habéis vencido" (18: 5-8). The proper interpretation of these words remains unclear: Does Fate in fact dictates the outcome, or are Don Juan's words simply a matter of proper encouragement?

Despite Don Juan's hopeful rhetoric, Fortune, not Fate decides the battle's opening movement: Ercilla describes the meeting of the armadas as an instance of "remitiendo fortuna la sentencia" (25:7). The word *hado*, on the other hand, disappears until Alí Bajá's harangue. If Don Juan can be said to be associated with Fortune, the text curiously links the Turkish general with fate. Ercilla describes him as "reconociendo el duro hado" (27:1). However, like Don Juan, Ali Bajá asserts that both Fate and Fortune will favor his side. In his harangue, Bajá declares: "jamás la fortuna a nuestros ojos / se mostró tan alegre y descubierta" and then "No penséis que nos venden muy costosa / los hados la vitoria deste día" (29:1-2, 33:1-2). Both the winners and losers of the battle mix Fate and Fortune in their discourse, confusing the two and keeping the reader in suspense.

Ercilla manipulates this ambiguity, lingering in the moments before the battle's outcome becomes certain. Don Juan attempts to hurry Fortune along and eliminate this suspense: "airado e impaciente / la espaciosa fortuna apresuraba" (68:1-2). Lerner's notes supply "lento" as a synonym for "espaciosa." Next, we see Don Juan "quejoso del suspenso hado" (87:6). Only at the bitter end of conflict does the Holy League captain resolve the doubt: "comenzó a mejorar sin duda alguna / declarada del todo su fortuna" (87:7-8). At the vision's close, the poet rein-

forces the idea that for a time, the possibility of a Spanish loss existed: Lepanto "nos tuvo suspensos y dudosos" (99:4). It seems that chance acted more strongly than destiny on the battle's finish.

## A triumph of order over chaos?

Ercilla's deliberate mixture of terms one would expect to divide into winning and losing camps continues with the lexicon of order and disorder. Both Actium and Pharsalia characterize the losing side as hindered by disorganization. Quint reads the losers at Actium as the emblem of chaos: subject to movement (the winds) and composed of "ope barbarica variisque . . . armis," Antony and Cleopatra's army might serve as a logical model for the Turks (Quint 25, Virgil VII: 685). Nicolopulos in fact characterizes Ercilla's Lepanto as another Actium, a "triumph of order over chaos" (216).

However, as with Fate and Fortune, at Lepanto, each side uses both terms. One might even argue that the Spaniards display more disorder than their opponents, particularly because of Don Juan's erratic movement. At the end of the battle, chaos triumphs over both: Christian and Turkish bodies become an indeterminate mass, "de contrarios vientos arrojado / todo revuelto en una espuma espesa" (60:6-7).

The composition of the armies destabilizes the categories present at Pharsalia and Actium. It would be easy to read the Christians as homogenous and the Turks as heterogeneous. The first description Ercilla gives of the Turkish fleet fills an entire stanza just with ethnicities and supports those attractively simple categories: "Vi corvatos, dalmacios, esclavones . . . . " (XXIV:4:1). However, the text indicates that the "multitud y mezcla de naciones" that the poet distinguishes from afar includes Christians as well as infidels (XXIV:3:3).

More tellingly, the Turkish general Alí Bajá twice accuses the Christian army of lack of conformity. First, he describes their army as "gente de mil reinos allegada" (31:2). Then, Bajá extends the criticism in a stanza which links the Holy League's miscellaneous construction with an inability to fight:

Y esotra turbamulta congregada
es pueblo soez y bárbara canalla
de diversas naciones amasada,
en quién conformidad jamás se halla.
Gente que nunca supo qué es espada,
que antes que se comience la batalla
y el espantoso són de artillería
la romperá su misma vocífería. (34)

A reader might expect Bajá's lines to come from a Christian speaker, but in a curious way, they hint at Christian admiration of the Turk. Fernand Braudel ex-

plains that Christians grudgingly admire the Ottoman Empire precisely for its organization: "the Turkish empire remained to Christian eyes an extraordinary, incomprehensible and disconcerting example of orderliness" (665). This virtue extends to the Turkish armies: "its army astonished westerners by its discipline and silence as much as by its courage" (665). Braudel's reference to silence explains why Bajá would ascribe "vocifería" to the Spaniards. Although composed of various ethnicities, those sailing under the Turkish banner at Ercilla's Lepanto are in fact unified under the Sultan, while the Christian force comes from three independent nations, Spain, Italy and Germany (Braudel 666).

The battle of Lepanto subjects the two armies to roughly equal treatment; both begin with order, each accuses the other of disorder, and both organizations break down as battle forges chaos instead of resolving it. Before the engagement begins, Ercilla pictures both armadas "en . . . orden navegando" (6:2). Their weapons are also orderly; to describe them, Ercilla uses the *cultismo* "ciclado" to mean "pulido," an image of neatness which contrasts sharply with the blood that covers everything once the battle begins (Lerner ed., *Araucana*, n.17, 660). Ercilla also uses symmetry and order to characterize the physical status of the armadas. Don Juan, "habiendo puesto / en orden las galeras y la gente" guides the "cuernos iguales y ordenados" of the Holy League Fleet (21:1-2; 23:1). These branches row toward battle with "igual compás," a metrical image that contrasts sharply with the "estrépito" that later ensues (23:7, 40:7). The Turkish fleet also arranges itself in "cuernos," one for each of the branches of the Spanish army (26). Moreover, Alí Bajá sails his central force "según orden de la guerra le tocaba" (39).

At the moment of contact, the sides appear equal: "igualmente / se embisten con furiosos encontrones" (43:7). As the casualties mount, "orden" disappears from the text entirely and Ercilla clusters images of destruction, upheaval, and indeterminacy. Ercilla reinforces "el destrozo de aquél día" (52:8) by refusing to identify the players either by name or by affiliation. To describe the dead falling into the water, he writes, "unos cayendo mueren ahogados, / otros a puro hierro, otros a fuego" (50:3-4). Even the use of arms, so clean and orderly early on, breaks down, and combatants launch any objects at hand as makeshift projectiles: "faltándole tiros . . . / No hay cosa de metal, de leño y tierra / que allí para tirar no fuese buena" (34: 1, 5-6). The chaos grows to such a pitch that the poet cannot even describe it: "No es posible contar la gran revuelta / y el confuso tumulto y son horrendo" (57:1-2). He also rejects the conventional epic recital of individual deeds: "Quién podrá punto a punto ir refiriendo / las gallardas espadas que ese día / en medio del furor se señalaron" (66:5-6).[2] The slaughter blurs differences between armies and even between individuals, and the multitude that emerges is a "multitud de los heridos" (72:1). Ercilla does not sing of Spanish glory but rather "el fin del mundo y la total ruina, / tantas gentes a un tiempo pereciendo" (52:2-3).

## The question of leadership: Don Juan of Austria, "hijo . . . de Marte"

Just as Ercilla presents a Turkish fleet equal to the Christian armada in terms of organization, he also gives the infidels a captain worthy of competition with Carlos V's son Juan. Alí Bajá in fact enjoys a more positive characterization than Don Juan: the Turkish general traces a genealogy to Aeneas and Pompey and does not act rashly or relish bloodshed. Just as Caupolicán, the Araucanian chief, seems more appealing as an epic hero than Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Alí Bajá merits more compassion than his blood-soaked counterpart.

David Quint notes the textual link between Don Juan and Alí Bajá's speeches and those of Caesar and Pompey from the *Pharsalia*, reducing Lepanto to the configuration "Spain (Pompey) resists Turkish imperialism (Julius Caesar)" (158). However, the text tempts a reader to reverse Quint's construction. Don Juan can be read as a Caesarian butcher, with Bajá functioning as a prudent and reasonable Pompeian adversary.

First, both Ercilla as poetic speaker and Alí Bajá characterize Don Juan as young and inexperienced, aligning him with the hotheaded Caesar. The poet first describes Don Juan as "un mancebo levantado / de gallarda apariencia . . . " (7:3-4) and later refers to him as "El valeroso joven" (20:1). Bajá, seasoned like the grey and venerable Pompey, equates Don Juan's youth with incompetence:

Que ese su capitán envanecido
es de muy poca edad y suficiencia
indignamente al cargo promovido
sin curso, disciplina ni esperiencia
. . . presuntuoso y atrevido,
con ardor juvenil y inadvertencia (32:1-6)

The text supports Baja's characterization of Don Juan as a reckless and irresponsible commander: one might blame this upstart captain for the progressive breakdown of order at Lepanto. Ercilla ascribes to Don Juan constant shifts in position that resonate with Caesar's Fortune-propelled boat ride in *Pharsalia* V. As his harangue ends, the poet presents Don Juan "con súbita presteza el mar cortando . . . cual luciente cometa arrebatada" (20:3, 6). The poet depicts Mars, Don Juan's metaphoric father, with chaotic motion: "Acá y allá con pecho y rostro airado / . . . . / discurre el fiero Marte sanguinoso" (53:4). A few stanzas later, the poem uses the same diction for Don Juan: "don Juan resplandecía / más encendido que el airado Marte, / . . . . / acá de priesa, allá socorro envía" (61:2-3, 6).

Don Juan, moreover, does not limit himself to the supportive function proper to a captain. He joins the fighting directly, unlike prudent Bajá, and his bloodlust associates him with chaos. Ercilla describes him as "envuelta en sangre ajena y propia"; he has lost even the distinction between himself and the other in the grisly tangle. Moreover, Ercilla assimilates him to the worst stereotype of the

American savage: Don Juan "hace en los enemigos sacrificio, / trayendo hasta los puños las espadas / todas en sangre bárbara bañadas" (83:6-8). The word "sacrificio" complicates a reading of Don Juan as a Christian hero because it seems to have more "barbaric" than Christian resonance. Who but another barbarian would perform a human sacrifice, hands soaked in victims' blood?

Don Juan's epic harangue to the assembled troops presents further interpretive difficulties. In agreement with Quint, the exhortations in *Pharsalia* VII function as Ercilla's subtext, but the precise choice of character model remains ambiguous. Caesar and Don Juan share an audacious and confident attitude, and each views the interplay of Fate and Fortune in a similar manner. As we have seen, Don Juan, the son of Fortune, believes his luck to be something that can be either hurried or hindered, not an inevitable conclusion. Caesar also expresses concern at delaying Fate: "Sed mea fata moror, qui vos in tela furentes / Vocibus his teneo," (But I delay the course of my destiny, when these words of mine detain you—you who are frantic for the fray) (295-296).[3]

The visual imagery of Caesar's exhortation also links to Ercilla's Don Juan. Caesar projects the gore of battle with eager anticipation: "Videor fluvios spectare cruoris / Calcatosque simul reges sparsumque senatus / Corpus et inmensa populos in caede natantes" (Methinks I see rivers of blood, kings trodden under foot altogether, mangled bodies of senators, and whole nations weltering in unlimited carnage) (292-294). Though Pompey and Caesar fight Pharsalia on land, Caesar's speech employs two water images, the "fluvios . . . cruoris" and the "populos . . . natantes," which quite possibly aid Ercilla in depicting the human cost of Lepanto.

Even more tellingly, however, both Caesar and Don Juan's speeches contain the image of a cross at a position about three-quarters of the way through the harangue. Don Juan utilizes the cross of Christianity, the battle standard, as a rallying point: "Sólo os ruego que, en Cristo confiando / que a la muerte de cruz por vos se ofrece, / combata cada cual por Él" (17:1-3). Caesar also speaks of a death on the cross, in this case his own punishment as a traitor should his army fail: "Caesareas spectate cruces, spectate catenas" (Picture to yourselves the cross and the chains in store for Caesar) (304). Each orator evokes the visual image of the cross, through differently motivated, to spur the troops to action.

Though the link to Caesar seems most logical, Don Juan's speech does in fact owe a debt to Pompey. Pompey declares that "unaque gentes / Hora trahit" (a single hour is dragging all nations into conflict), while Don Juan proclaims, "someta hoy aquí todo el Oriente / a nuestro yugo la cerviz domada" (15:5-6). Additionally, both Pompey and Don Juan project the success of their cause as a result of its justice. Pompey reassures his soldiers that "Causa iubet melior superos sperare secundos" (Our better cause bids us expect the favour of the gods), while Don Juan concludes his speech with "la justísima causa que seguimos / nos tiene la vitoria asegurada" (349; 18:5-6).

Ercilla contaminates his subtexts deliberately in order to produce the ambiguity and confusion necessary for Lepanto. When Alí Bajá arrives to perform his own epic harangue, he also adopts features of both Caesar and Pompey, but as with Don Juan, his personality links him more closely to one figure than the other. In fact, if one were to look for a model commander in the text, Bajá, the "prudente capitán y osado" of the Turkish fleet, would seem a better example than the delirious Don Juan (27:3).

In contrast to the erratic movement of Don Juan's ship, Alí positions himself "en medio en la batalla bien cerrada," cutting himself off from the hand-to-hand fighting but also from the possibility of ignominious flight. Bajá remains steadfast and encourages his soldiers through rhetoric. "No menos diligente" than his counterpart Don Juan, Bajá "con gran hervor los suyos esforzaba, / trayéndoles contino a la memoria / el gran premio y honor de la vitoria" (68:5-8).

In addition, Alí Bajá's harangue presents him as a commander who combines courage with reason and contains traces of both Caesar and Pompey[4]. The borrowings from Caesar often rewrite Don Juan as well. For example, the image of a multitude reduced to a single "cerviz" also appears in Bajá: "Fortuna a una cerviz la [gente] ha reducido / porque pueda de un golpe ser cortada" (30:5-6).

Though Caesar undoubtedly serves as one model for Bajá's speech, Ercilla credits the Turkish general with a capacity for reflection which links him to Pompey and to an even more admirable leader, Aeneas. As Bajá begins his harangue, Ercilla credits him with the ability to read signs: Bajá, "reconociendo el duro hado . . . . / con un semblante alegre y confiado / que mostraba, fingido por defuera . . . . / hizo esta breve plática" (27:1, 5-6, 8). Bajá continues this stoic pose throughout: "de la heroica empresa y alto hecho / el próspero suceso aseguraba/ pero en lo hondo del secreto pecho / siempre el negocio más dificultaba" (3-6). This ability to dissemble, to put away his own despair in order to encourage his men also appears in Pompey: "stat corde gelato / Attonitus; tantoque duci sic arma temere / Omen erat. Premet inde metus . . ." (He stood appalled with frozen blood; and to so great a general it was an evil omen that he should thus dread a conflict. But soon he suppressed his fears . . ." (339-341). One might say that both Pompey and Bajá are right to fear, as Fate turns against them. However, Aeneas's celebrated "O socii" speech also informs Bajá's discourse. After a shipwreck has devastated his fleet and beached his men on an unknown shore, Aeneas bolsters their courage, hiding his own fears: "curisque ingentibus aeger / spem voltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem" (while sick with weighty cares he feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stifles the anguish) (Virgil 208-209).[5] Thus, Bajá's steadfastness in the face of despair links him to the exemplar of the virtuous commander, not just to the fact that the Fates have turned away from him. More so than Don Juan, Bajá demonstrates the virtues of an epic hero.

## Lepanto as an analogue for Arauco: "Quién resistirá vuestras espadas por la divina mano gobernadas?"[6]

The question of who might resist the hand of Providence, buried in Don Juan's harangue, begs an answer from the rest of Ercilla's poem. As Kristal and Quint agree, the text of Lepanto draws an implicit comparison between the Turks and the Araucanians. Though infidels and barbarians, both epic enemies value honor and demonstrate heroism.

The word *bárbaro* applies to the Araucanians hundreds of times in the text, and when Ercilla originally introduces them in Canto I, he refers to them as "Gente. . . sin Dios ni ley" (I:40). The Turks, though they certainly have a political system of their own, suffer the same categorization. Don Juan refers to the "bárbara arrogancia" of the Turks, and he also projects that after conquest, the Christians will "poner leyes" over the dominated East (XXIV:14:6, 15:8). Also like the Araucanians, the Turks demonstrate as much valor as the Christians: the text refers to the "cristiano y turco bando / cada cual inquiriendo un fin honoroso" (63:5-6) and the "ímpetu enemigo y la braveza" (80:2).

Moreover, the portrayals of specific Turkish characters recall the conflict in Arauco. Alí Bajá and Caupolicán, the Araucanian chief, share several important character traits: both adhere to reason and direct battle rather than participating directly. Ercilla does not specify Bajá's fate, but like the Araucanian leader, he does not flee death. Pierce and Quint entirely distort the character of the Turkish general through a misidentification of Bajá with Ochalí. Regardless, this second figure, the renegade in flight, also suggests a connection between the Turks and the Araucanians. Ochalí's retreat, which effectively salvages the remnants of the Turkish fleet, makes it possible to continue resistance to Christian domination: "El astuto Ochalí . . . . / tomó por el poniente, / siguiéndole con mísera huída / las bárbaras reliquias destrozadas" (91:1,5-7). Isaías Lerner, citing Fernand Braudel, credits the historical Ochalí with the rebuilding of the Turkish armada (*Araucana* ed, n. 53, 667).

Thus, the fleeing Ochalí, who will survive to continue the struggle against Christian Spain, undermines readings of Lepanto as an exhaustive victory and suggests a parallel to the Araucanians. Ercilla does not attempt to narrate, as Pedro de Oña later does, the tale of Arauco *domado*. Instead, he sings the "proezas / de aquellos españoles esforzados, / que a la cerviz de Arauco *no domada*, / pusieron duro yugo por la espada" (I:1:5-8, my emphasis). Though these lines do mention Spanish glory, they also feature Arauco's defiance of a harsh rule enforced by violence. The Turks also resist Christian dominance; according to Braudel, their devastating loss at Lepanto had "few consequences" (1088).

Caupolicán's extraordinary capture and death have similarly un-spectacular results in the *Araucana*. Three stanzas after Caupolicán's death, rumor of the

"afrentosa muerte impertinente" (XXXIV:35:1) takes the opposite effect from the one the Spaniards anticipate:

ni la falta de un hombre así eminente
(en que nuestra esperanza iba fundada)
amedrentó ni acorbardó la gente;
antes aquella injuria provocada
a la cruel satisfacción aspira
llena de rabia y mayor ira. (35:3-8)

Ercilla's last glimpse at Arauco leaves the reader with a second Araucanian council of war. The poet does not narrate the election of a new general; Ercilla promises to return but never does. The poem's open-endedness implies that resistance continues indefinitely; historically speaking, the Araucanians or Mapuche do not submit to Chilean rule until the nineteenth century.

In both the battle of Lepanto and the poem as a whole, Ercilla blends his criticism of the imperial project with some of the laudatory details one might expect from an epic dedicated to Felipe II. Ercilla maintains some critical distance rather than wholeheartedly supporting the losing side, weaving just enough ambiguity into the presentation of Araucanians and Turks to complicate a pro-imperial reading. What emerges most often is not an endorsement of a particular party but rather a stark pageant of the horrors of war. The image of tangled and struggling bodies drowning together in an "espuma espesa" of human blood leaves an impression far stronger than either Don Juan or Alí Bajá's rhetoric.

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## Notes

[1] de Armas Wilson 163.

[2] In Lucan: "Inpendisse pudet lacrimas in funere mundi / Mortibus innumeris, ac singula fata sequentem " (Where a whole world died, it were shame to spend tears on any of a myriad deaths, or to follow the fate of individuals) (618-619).

[3] All citations from Lucan come from the Loeb Classical Library edition, trans. J.D. Duff.

[4] Pierce, in his summary of the *Araucana*, mistakenly attributes the harangue to the renegade Ochalí, who remains a minor player until he flees with the 30-ship remnant of the Turkish armada (25). However, in the introduction to the commanders of the different "cuernos" of the Turkish fleet, Ercilla last mentions, "Alí, gran general de aquella armada" and then initiates the next stanza and the beginning of the harangue with "El cual," indicating that the speaker is the last person referred. Lerner's note, citing Braudel, identifies this Alí as Turkish general Alí Bajá, distinct from Ochalí, a "corsario argelino" (667 n.53, 55). Additionally, after the harangue, the narration recommences with "Así el Bajá en el limitado trecho / los dispuestos soldados animaba"(26:8, 27:1, 37:1-2). Pierce's mistake, which also tarnishes Quint's reading (158), would lead to a mistaken characterization of the Turkish general as first, originally Christian; second, a pirate; and third, a coward.

[5] Citations from the *Aeneid* come from the Loeb Classical Library edition, trans. H. Rushton Faircloth.

[6] *Araucana* XXIV:16:7-8, from the middle of Don Juan's exhortatory speech.

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