

Miguel de Olivares and the *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile* (1776). Interpreting the *Compendio* through the image of Chile*.

Miguel de Olivares y el Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile (1776). Interpretación del *Compendio* a través de la imagen de Chile.

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ABSTRACT

This article sheds light on the first image of the *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile* (Bologna, 1776), a representation of Chilean socio-natural landscape. To date, the work has been entirely attributed to Juan Ignacio Molina or Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre. However, there are some contradictions between the image, the text, and the works of the two Jesuits. Comparing it with all the Chilean Jesuits works on Chile, before and after their expulsion (1767), the aim is to understand which Jesuit may have participated in the creation of the first figure and what cultural meanings underlie it. The research found a possible involvement of Jesuit Miguel de Olivares in the process of engraving the first image and a marked indigenous cultural exclusion and oppression.

Keywords: Juan Ignacio Molina, Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, Miguel de Olivares, Medicinal Plant, *Otholobium glandulosum*, *Jubaea chilensis*, *Araucaria Araucana*, Quechucague.

RESUMEN

Este artículo arroja luz sobre la primera imagen del *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile* (Bologna, 1776), una representación del paisaje socio-natural chileno. Hasta la fecha, la obra se ha atribuido íntegramente a Juan Ignacio Molina o Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre. Sin embargo, existen algunas contradicciones entre la imagen, el texto y las obras de los dos jesuitas. Comparándola con todas las obras sobre Chile escritas por los jesuitas chilenos, antes y después de su expulsión (1767), se pretende

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entender qué jesuita pudo participar en la creación de la primera figura y qué significados culturales subyacen en ella. La investigación encontró una posible participación del jesuita Miguel de Olivares en el proceso de grabado de la primera imagen y una marcada exclusión y opresión cultural indígena.

Palabras clave: Juan Ignacio Molina, Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, Miguel de Olivares, planta medicinal, *Otholobium glandulosum*, *Jubaea chilensis*, *Araucaria araucana*, Quechucague.

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Introduction

In the last two decades, there has been a renewed interest in Iberian science¹. Especially, there is a growing body of literature that recognizes the importance of that Jesuit order, due to an intercultural approach, a focus on natural history, a global and transnational perspective².

The Chilean Jesuit managed two important apothecaries in Chile during the Colonial era, in Santiago and in Concepción, a city half a thousand kilometers south of Santiago. The Santiago apothecary had especially represented the best pharmaceutical institution in colonial Chile and one of the most important in South America³. It was probably active as early as 1613, but certainly from the mid-seventeenth century and especially in the century of the expulsion of the Jesuits it had woven a dense network of connections⁴. Moreover, the relations of the botica also reached the neighboring South American countries, and even to Germany, the motherland of Joseph Zeitler, the last Jesuit apothecary⁵.

¹ Juan Pimentel, «The Iberian Vision: Science and Empire in the Framework of a Universal Monarchy, 1500-1800», *Osiris* 15 (2000): 17-30; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, «Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?», *Perspectives on Science*, 12 (2004): 86-124; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, empire, and nation: explorations of the history of science in the Iberian world* (Stanford: California, Stanford University Press, 2006).

² John W. O'Malley ed., *The Jesuits: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Mordechai Feingold ed., *Jesuit science and the republic of letters. Transformations* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003); Luis Domingo and Ledezma Millones Figueroa eds., *El saber de los jesuitas, historias naturales y el Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005); James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, *Science and empire in the Atlantic world* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Andrés Prieto, *Missionary scientists. Jesuit science in Spanish South America. 1570-1810* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011); Miguel de Asúa, *Science in the Vanished Arcadia* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Mark Waddell, *Jesuit science and the end of nature's secrets* (London-New York: Routledge, 2015); Linda A. Newson ed., *Cultural Worlds of the Jesuits in Colonial Latin America* (London: University of London Press, 2020).

³ Enrique Laval M., *Bótica de los jesuitas de Santiago* (Santiago: Asociación chilena de asistencia social, 1953).

⁴ Eduardo Gutiérrez Ramírez, «Conflictos por la botica de los jesuitas de Santiago: la expulsión de la orden y el caso de José Zeitler», *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos, Coloquios* (2017), <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.70244>.

⁵ Sabine Anagnostou and Michael Müller, «Joseph Zeitler. Auf den Spuren eines bayerischen Apothekers in Chile», *Geschichte der Pharmazie* 56 (2004): 16-23.

Moreover, new research has been carried out on South American Jesuits who were expelled in 1767⁶. One of the main reasons for these studies is the flourishing cultural and intellectual activity of Jesuit priests in the country of destination. It was precisely during their exile in Europe that the intellectual activity of Jesuits in general, and particularly those originally from Chile, became particularly intense⁷. Many of them, in fact, wrote and published their works after the expulsion, like the *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile*⁸, written in Italian and later translated in German⁹. This was the first study on Chile to be published since the Jesuit Alonso de Ovalle wrote his *Histórica relación/Historica relatione* (Rome, 1646), in Italian and Spanish¹⁰. Both works have numerous, partly similar images. Additionally, the 1776 work was also only that described the Chilean land until the *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili* (Bologna, 1782), written by Ignacio Molina, the famous Chilean Jesuit scientist (Talca, 1740 - Bologna, 1829)¹¹. The latter work became very famous, it was written in Italian and later translated in many languages, but there are no pictures.

⁶ Two works, among others, that first had renewed the studies are Miquel Batllori, *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos: españoles, hispano-americanos, filipinos: 1767-1814* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1966); and Guido Mazzeo, «Los jesuitas españoles del siglo XVIII en el destierro», *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 34 (1968): 344-355. Other studies about the Chilean Jesuits are: Francisco Enrich, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Francisco Rosal, 1891); Walter Hanisch, «El padre Manuel Lacunza (1731-1801). Su hogar, su vida y la censura española», *Historia* 8 (1969): 157-234; Walter Hanisch, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Chile* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1974); Eduardo Cavieres Figueroa, «Los jesuitas expulsos: la comunidad y los individuos. La provincia de Chile», *Cuadernos de Historia* 38 (2013): 7-38; Rafael Gaune Corradi and Claudio Rolle, «Huérfanos de los jesuitas. La despedida de la Compañía de Jesús al Reyno y Ciudad de Santiago de Chile en tiempos de la expulsión (1767)», *Revista de Historia Social y de las Mentalidades* 24, nº 2 (2020): 69-96. Some more recent studies on Chilean Jesuit and Italy are Osvaldo Rodríguez, «El Hispanoamericanismo de los jesuitas expulsos en Italia», *Studi di Letteratura Ispano-Americana*, 27 (1996): 7-16; Niccolò Guasti, *Lotta politica e riforme all'inizio del regno di Carlo III: Campomanes e l'espulsione dei gesuiti dalla monarchia spagnola (1759-1768)* (Firenze: Alinea, 2006); Ugo Baldini and Gian Paolo Brizzi eds., *La presenza in Italia dei gesuiti iberici espulsi: aspetti religiosi, politici, culturali* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010); and Niccolò Guasti, «Los jesuitas expulsos literatos en la Italia del Setecientos: éxitos y fracasos», *Pasados y presente: estudios para el profesor Ricardo García Cárcel*, ed. by Rosa María Alabrús Iglesias et al. (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2020), 681-695.

⁷ Morgana Lisi, «'The Garden of America' Nature, Wonder, and Nationalism in the Creole-Jesuit Narrations of Chile», *Humanities Bulletin* 4, nº 2 (2021): 59-76.

⁸ Juan Ignazio Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile* (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1776).

⁹ Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, *Des Herrn Abts Vidaurre Kurzgefasste geographische, natürliche und bürgerliche Geschichte des Königreichs Chile* (Hamburg: Bohn, 1782).

¹⁰ For an overview of the life and work of the Chilean Jesuit, see Josefina Domeyko Aránguiz, «Lecturas y ediciones de la 'Histórica relación del Reino de Chile' del jesuita Alonso de Ovalle (siglos XVII-XXI)», in *Seminario Simon Collier 2019*, ed. by Ana Santiago Cruz (Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2019), 77-106.

¹¹ The bibliography on Molina is extensive. The studies taken as the main reference Walter Hanisch, *Juan Ignacio Molina, sabio de su tiempo* (Santiago: Nihil Mihi, 1976); Walter Hanisch, *Juan Ignacio Molina y sus obras* (Talca: Editorial Universidad de Talca, 1979); Charles E. Ronan, *Juan Ignacio Molina: the world's window on Chile* (New York: Lang, 2002).

This book of 1776 has sometimes been called the “Compendio anonimo”, as Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States did¹². Its author has never been disclosed and there is still an ongoing debate about its authorship. The discussion began with the German translation that attributed it to the Jesuit Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre¹³, teacher of grammar, and historian Jesuit (Concepción, 1740 - Cauquenes, 1818)¹⁴. Notwithstanding, the only Chilean translation and the Chilean historian and politician Diego Barros Arana later claimed that Abbot Molina was the only author¹⁵. Charles Ronan and Walter Hanisch, two of the most important scholars of Molina's work, said that it would be difficult to prove who the authors were. But despite Molina's admission, they still considered him the only author¹⁶. So far, the attribution of the entire 1776 work to Molina remains, in general, the most common one¹⁷.

However, Juan Ignacio Molina never claimed to be the author of the work. In contrast, he himself stated in a letter that the Compendio was written by a group of Jesuits. In a letter dated July, 5 of 1805 to Giambattista, a friend who lived in Modena, Molina said that “the Compendio of the History of Chile was composed by some of those missionaries”¹⁸. Molina's admission was

¹² Hanisch, *Juan Ignacio Molina, sabio de su tiempo...*, 93.

¹³ Vidaurre, *Des Herrn Abts Vidaure Kurzgefasste geographische, natürliche und bürgerliche Geschichte des Königreichs Chile...*

¹⁴ Fernando Casanueva, «Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre. Un jesuita expulso, chileno y patriota», in *Los Jesuitas españoles expulsos: su imagen y su contribución al saber sobre el mundo hispánico en la Europa del siglo XVIII: actas del coloquio internacional de Berlín (7-10 de abril de 1999)*, ed. by Manfred Tietz and Dietrich Briesemeister (Madrid-Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2001), 207-236; Luis Hachim Lara, «Narrativa de indios en las historias naturales de Juan Ignacio Molina y Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre», *América sin nombre* 18 (2013): 95-103.

¹⁵ Diego Barros Arana, *Historia General de Chile* (Santiago: Rafael Jover, 1886); Charles E. Ronan and Walter Hanisch, *Epistolario de Juan Ignacio Molina S. J.* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1979); Ronan, *Juan Ignacio Molina: the world's window on Chile...* For a summary of the historiographical issue, among others, see Marcos A. Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia geográfica, natural y civil del Reino de Chile (1782) del jesuita expulso Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre: una obra injustamente desvalorizada por la historiografía chilena», *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 74, nº 1 (2017): 155-183.

¹⁶ Ronan and Hanisch, *Epistolario de Juan Ignacio Molina S. J.*, 13-16.

¹⁷ Some references, among others, are Luis Hachim Lara, «Sujeto y proyecto ilustrado en el Compendio de la historia geográfica, natural y civil del reyno de Chile (1776) del abate Juan Ignacio Molina», *Kipus. Revista andina de letras* 17 (2004): 69-81; Adolfo de Nordenflycht B., «Tensiones entre literatura, ciencia, experiencia e historia en un intelectual del Sattelzeit hispanoamericana: los prefacios en la prosa científica de Juan Ignacio Molina», *Alpha* 29 (2009): 23-40; Gabriella Chiamonti, «Le ‘Storie’ americane dei gesuiti espulsi: Juan Ignacio Molina tra amore per la verità e passione per la patria cilena», in *La presenza in Italia dei gesuiti iberici espulsi: aspetti religiosi, politici, culturali...* ed. by Baldini and Brizzi, 466-493; Reynaldo Charrier and Francisco Hervé, «El Abate molina y la historia natural del reino de Chile. Una vida dedicada a la Historia natural y civil del Reino de Chile», *Revista de la Asociación Geológica Argentina* 68, nº 3 (2011): 445-463; Carolina Valenzuela Matus, «Plinio en el fin del mundo. La influencia del naturalista romano en el ‘Compendio de la Historia Geográfica, Natural y Civil del Reyno de Chile’, (1788), de Juan Ignacio Molina», in *España y el continente americano en el siglo XVIII: actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Estudios del Siglo XVIII*, ed. by Gloria Ángeles Franco Rubio et al. (Guijón: Ediciones Trea, 2017), 755-768; Walter Ledermann Dehnhardt, «El abate Molina, la viruela...y también Darwin», *Revista Chilena de Infectología* 38, nº 2 (2021): 254-259.

¹⁸ Ronan and Hanisch, *Epistolario de Juan Ignacio Molina S. J.*, 13.

never at the center of the debate, but recently some scholars have raised some doubts about Molina's authorship of the *Compendio*. For instance, the Chilean marine biologist José Stuardo compared the zoological knowledge of Molina, Vidaurre and the 1776 work. In its conclusion, he stated that the 1776 publication was the work of the well-known Abbot Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre¹⁹. A recent study by Chilean historian Marcos Figueroa Zúñiga on Vidaurre also suggested that he was involved in the drafting of the work²⁰.

The artistic production of the Jesuits has also recently attracted scholarly interest²¹. On the impulse of some new archival findings, the Chilean historian Rodrigo Moreno Jeria made a new analysis of the illustration of the 1776 work depicting the plan of Santiago²². His study established that this image is the result of a collective effort between Juan Ignacio Molina and the engravers, but without submitting decisive evidence to confirm the attribution to the famous Jesuit. The only proof that supports Moreno Jeria's thesis is that the abbot knew Santiago well enough to be able to give directions to the engraver. However, the same reasoning can equally be repeated for almost all Chilean Jesuits exiled to Italy.

Nonetheless, Moreno Jeria's study has unquestionable merits: first, he has paid attention to the iconography of the anonymous work. For a long time, the images of the *Compendio* were not studied because they were believed to be the same as those created by Alonso de Ovalle. Only Hanisch pointed out that the illustrations of the eighteenth-century work differ in part from those of the seventeenth-century Jesuit historian²³. Second, he tried reconstructing its conceptual elaboration. And third, he questioned who could be the author who collaborated with the engraver.

As we shall see, there are some contradictions between the first image, the text of the *Compendio* and the works of Vidaurre and Molina. Hence, following Moreno Jeria's research perspective, I decided to study the first image of the *Compendio*, proposing for the first time an analysis to figure out who might have offered such an engraving, if it was neither Vidaurre nor Molina. The identification of the author of the first figure may perhaps serve not only to fill another box in the Jesuit bibliography, but also to shed light on the genesis, character, and

¹⁹ José Stuardo, «Trascendencia del primer Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili de J. I. Molina, su traducción, el *Compendio* anónimo y el bicentenario», *Atenea. Revista de Arte y Literatura* 495 (2007): 83-107; Hanisch, *Juan Ignacio Molina y sus obras...*, 86.

²⁰ Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia geográfica, natural y civil del Reino de Chile (1782) del jesuita expulsado Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre: una obra injustamente desvalorizada por la historiografía chilena», 158. See also Enrique Fernández Domingo, «Cuando los criollos escriben su historia», *L'Âge d'or* 12 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.4000/agedor.4917>.

²¹ O'Malley, *The Jesuits: cultures, sciences and the arts...*, 1540-1773.

²² Rodrigo Moreno Jeria, «El mapa de Chile y el plano de Santiago en la obra atribuida a Juan Ignacio Molina de 1776: los manuscritos perdidos», *Revista de Geografía Norte Grande* 69 (2018): 33-47.

²³ Charles Leclerc, *Bibliotheca americana: histoire, géographie, voyages, archéologie et linguistique des deux Amériques et des îles Philippines* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1878) cited in Hanisch, *El historiador Alonso de Ovalle...*, 268.

function of the picture itself, and may even lead to a relevant change in the critical evaluation of the meanings of the 1776 work.

To date, there have been no attempts to examine the meanings of the first picture, and especially the presence or absence of references to indigenous culture. For instance, there is a study of the indigenous presence in the works of Ovalle and Molina, but without talking about *Compendio*²⁴, and there is also a similar analysis in the prose of the Jesuit Diego de Rosales²⁵. Nevertheless, the first figure in the *Compendio* constitutes a representation where Chilean nature and culture are depicted together and with remarkable details. Understanding who the author of the work is can help understand what meanings underlie the representation of Chile's natural-cultural landscape.

Ovalle undoubtedly constituted the model of reference, but the first picture (figure 1) has significant features compared to Ovalle's work (figure 2). The new figure is enriched with numerous details concerning the Chilean flora, the indigenous children and the representation of the pawn of the game are different²⁶.

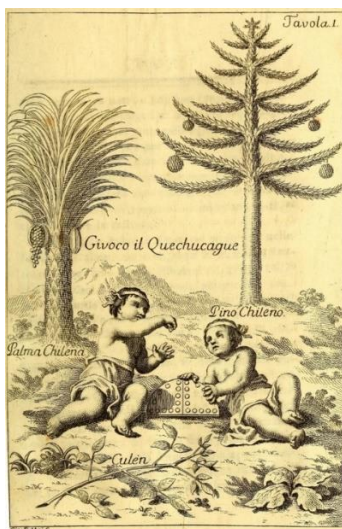


Figure 1. Giuoco il Quechucague in *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile*, Tavola 1, John Carter Library (Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library).

²⁴ Carolina Valenzuela Matus, «The Secret Knowledge of the “Others”: the Mapuche Healers in the Works of Alonso de Ovalle and Juan Ignacio Molina», in *Il mito del nemico: identità, alterità e loro rappresentazioni = The myth of the enemy: alterity, identity, and their representations*, ed. by Irene Graziani and Maria Vittoria Spissu (Bologna: Minerva, 2019), 344-349.

²⁵ Rafael Gaune Corradi, «Making the Indigenous Speak: The Jesuit Missionary Diego de Rosales in Colonial Chile, 17th Century», in *Manufacturing Otherness: Missions and Indigenous Cultures in Latin America*, ed. by Sergio Botta (Newcastle upon Tyne-Bristol: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2014), 95-120.

²⁶ Amarí Peliowski and Catalina Valdés ed., *Una geografía imaginada. Diez ensayos sobre arte y naturaleza* (Santiago: Ediciones Metales Pesados-Ediciones de la Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2014).



Figure 2. Ludus Quechucague in *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile* (Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library).

What I have tried to do therefore is three-fold. First, to understand the contextual iconographic value of the single elements of the first image of *Compendio*. Second, to explore the knowledge of each element of that picture. Third, to find which author was the most likely creator of the first image of the 1776 work.

More specifically, the methodological approach taken in this study is a mixed methodology based on the contextual iconology, the History of Knowledge, and the History of Humanities. Contextual iconology is a complex multidisciplinary methodology, it proposes a collation and analysis of historical sources and a comparison with the history of ideas. At the basis of this methodological perspective is precisely a mixture of artistic and historical approaches²⁷ considered to study the first figure of 1776 work.

I then decided to conduct as profitably as possible the more recent developments in the History of Knowledge²⁸. Who and what was known in 1776? More specifically, the question is

²⁷ Some of the reference studies are, for instance Augusto Gentili, *Le storie di Carpaccio: Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2006); Costanza Barbieri, *Dall'iconologia al gender: giornata di studi in onore di Rona Goffen* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2018).

²⁸ Shadi Bartsch et al., «Editor's Introduction», *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1, n° 1 (2017): 1-8; Christian Jacob, «Lieux de savoir: Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge», *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1, n° 1 (2017): 85-102; Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, «Cirkulation—ett kunskaphistoriskt nyckelbegrepp», *Historisk Tidskrift* 137, n° 2 (2017): 269-284; Johan Östling et al., ed., *Circulation of Knowledge*.

which knowledge emerges in the image? Does the knowledge that was enjoying the greatest social relevance, the public circulation, prevail? Or does the first image represent more the expression of individual knowledge, of a single person? These are the main questions addressed for each element of the image.

Another theoretical and methodological approach of undoubted influence was the recent History of Humanities. Beyond the general claim of this perspective to want to debunk many of the existing historiographical myths, it was essential to ask first who influenced whom and to subject the outcome to a three-fold possible classification²⁹.

First, it has a definite influence when the reference is explicit. Second, there is a possible influence if it is not sure. Third, there is an impossible influence if chronological reasons prevent it. In the case of Olivares, and of the work of 1776, the result undoubtedly falls into the second type of influence. There is no explicit reference to the Jesuit in attributing himself the authorship of either the illustration or the work itself. Therefore, I tried to reflect on how old knowledge inspires new knowledge. In the specific case of the first image in the *Compendio*, I compared the previous illustration published in Ovalle's work.

I emphasized the historical and symbolic value of the image, highlighting the historical and contextual characteristics of the elements in the engraving. The analysis began with an understanding of the symbolic value of the figure: the comparison with the model offered by Ovalle showed some significant differences. The specific knowledge of each author was then compared with the elements shown in the image, to understand what knowledge has been visualized in the first picture, and which author could express his own knowledge. I checked whether the name in the caption of each figure was the same as in the text of the anonymous work of 1776 and in which other publications it was otherwise present. It thus emerged that there are quite a few points of disagreement between the iconographic apparatus and the prose of the 1776 work. It is not the only case, for instance, the number of players between the description of the game "cututumpeucu" in the text and the picture is different³⁰.

The analysis was conducted on the original language works written by the Jesuits who wrote about Chile, with a special focus on Miguel de Olivares, Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, and Juan

Explorations in the History of Knowledge (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018); Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, «Fulfilling the Promise of the History of Knowledge: Key Approaches for the 2020s», *Journal for the History of Knowledge* 1, n° 1, 3 (2020): 1-6, <https://doi.org/10.5334/jhk.24>; Lukas M. Verburgt, «The History of Knowledge and the Future History of Ignorance», *KNOW: A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 4, n° 1 (2020): 1-23; Johan Ostling, David Larsson Heidenblad and Anna Nilsson Hammar, *Forms of Knowledge. Developing the history of knowledge* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2020); Lukas M. Verburgt and Peter Burke, «Introduction: Histories of Ignorance», *Journal for the History of Knowledge* 2, n° 1, 5 (2021): 1-9, <https://doi.org/10.5334/jhk.45>.

²⁹ Rens Bod, «How to Open Pandora's Box: A Tractable Notion of the History of Knowledge», *Journal for the History of Knowledge* 1, n° 1, 5 (2020): 1-7, <https://doi.org/10.5334/jhk.28>.

³⁰ Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, Tavola 6, 155.

Ignacio Molina. Other authors could write histories of Chile³¹, but for chronological and geographical reasons, their influence must be considered minimal or impossible.

Olivares, Molina, and Vidaurre talked about native plants and indigenous games and all three were born and lived in Chile and ended up in the same Italian city, Imola (in Emilia-Romagna region). Vidaurre and Molina remained there until at least 1774, before they moved to Bologna, a city only a short distance away. Little or nothing is known about Olivares' personal vicissitudes after 1771. This year, he moved to Imola, where he probably remained until his death, but the exact location and year are unknown³².

Of the three Jesuits, Juan Ignacio Molina was the only who managed to publish his work, in Italian and translated into French, Spanish and German, with an Italian second edition too (Bologna, 1810). His bio-bibliographical history is already well-known, and his first official work was the *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili* (Bologna, 1782). Molina and Vidaurre thus lived with certainty in the same city, but the latter Jesuit did not have the same editorial success as his compatriot. Vidaurre never managed to publish his manuscript, which had already finished in 1782. The final version was sent to Spain in 1789³³. He probably made some changes based on Molina's first Italian work, as more in-depth studies will be able to verify with greater certainty.

As early as 1758, the Jesuit Miguel de Olivares began writing his book, that was first presented in 1762, but it was not published until the 19th century³⁴. Therefore, Olivares was writing in Chile before his expulsion, even before, due to age considerations, Molina's first notes.

The research has shown that Miguel de Olivares (Chillán, 1713 - Italy, maybe 1793 or 1796)³⁵ could indicate to the engraver how he could enrich the previous image of Alonso de Ovalle. So far, the inclusion of Olivares within the range of possible authors of the first illustration of the *Compendio* constitutes an absolute novelty in the historiographical panorama. Consequently, this study can raise at least two new issues.

The first issue concerns the meaning underlying the first image. Specifically, Olivares proposed a representation of Chile through three elements of Chile's natural landscape.

³¹ Fernández Domingo, «Cuando los criollos escriben su historia».

³² Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia geográfica, natural y civil del Reino de Chile (1782) del jesuita expulso Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre: una obra injustamente desvalorizada por la historiografía chilena», 156, and Marcos A. Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia militar, civil y sagrada del Reino de Chile del misionero jesuita Miguel de Olivares. El mapuche según el criollo chileno de mediados del siglo XVIII», *Temas Americanistas*, 43 (2019): 194.

³³ Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia geográfica, natural y civil del Reino de Chile (1782) del jesuita expulso Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre: una obra injustamente desvalorizada por la historiografía chilena», 160.

³⁴ Miguel de Olivares, *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta del Ferrocarril, 1864).

³⁵ The most recent study is Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia militar, civil y sagrada del Reino de Chile del misionero jesuita Miguel de Olivares. El mapuche según el criollo chileno de mediados del siglo XVIII», 189-216. Olivares' life and works are also studied in Jun Bernardo Aniceto Almeyda, «El Padre Olivares», *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* 90 (1937): 156-188; Cristián Garay Vera, «Un autor jesuita y la historia de Chile. El padre Miguel de Olivares, S.J.», *Anales de la Fundación Francisco Elías de Tejada* 10 (2004): 47-58.

However, considering Olivares the originator of the composition, the interpretation of Chilean nature appears to be influenced by Western culture and strongly modeled on European flora. The visualization of Chile offered by Olivares interpret the Chilean nature where the indigenous form of knowledge is epistemically excluded and oppressed³⁶. Briefly, it can indeed be observed that trees are identified by their similarity to those already known to Europeans, and not by their local indigenous name. Moreover, children no longer have indigenous features, but have become, in fact, the same as Western ones. According to the knowledge available to Olivares, culén was not a plant known and used by the indigenous population, despite its etymology, but rather a resource of Western physicians, useful for almost any infirmity. By recognizing Olivares as the author of the first image, it is possible to bring out that coloniality of knowledge that would otherwise be invisible at a first glance, and which is mainly concentrated at an epistemic level³⁷.

Second, the analysis of the first image shown many differences with the text³⁸. Hence, the writing process of the 1776 work seems to be very complex. The narrative style is similar to that of Molina's works³⁹; the zoological knowledge (and probably not only that⁴⁰) seems more consistent with Vidaurre's work⁴¹; the original attribution to the latter⁴²; and finally, Olivares edited the first image. They would seem contradictory results, but only if we think of the work as the fruit of a single author. On the contrary, Jesuit order has a long tradition of cooperative writing⁴³ and we must remember that Molina himself admitted that the *Compendio* was written by a group of Jesuits⁴⁴. Hence, if we think of the *Compendio* as the fruit of collaboration, everything becomes clearer and more coherent. Moreover, we could understand different aspects, so far unexplained.

³⁶ Kristie Dotson, «Conceptualizing Epistemic Oppression», *Social Epistemology. A Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Policy* 28, nº 2 (2014): 115–138.

³⁷ Lerato Posholi, «Epistemic Decolonization as Overcoming the Hermeneutical Injustice of Eurocentrism», *Philosophical Papers* 49, nº 2 (2020): 279-304.

³⁸ Between the figures there are differences as well: for instance, in the *Compendio*, the first figure is described in Italian, while the picture of the penguin is in Spanish (Tavola 2).

³⁹ Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia geográfica, natural y civil del Reino de Chile (1782) del jesuita expulso Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre: una obra injustamente desvalorizada por la historiografía chilena», 158, n. 9.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 158.

⁴¹ Stuardo, «Trascendencia del primer Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili de J. I. Molina, su traducción, el *Compendio* anónimo y el bicentenario», 83-107.

⁴² Vidaurre, *Des Herrn Abts Vidaure Kurzgefasste geographische, natürliche und bürgerliche Geschichte des Königreichs Chile...*

⁴³ Guasti, «Los jesuitas expulsos literatos en la Italia del Setecientos: éxitos y fracasos», 685. More specifically, Diego de Rosales work was also a collaborative effort, carried out by him personally and with the help of numerous collaborators: Miguel Donoso Rodríguez, «Estudio preliminar», *introduction to Sumario de la Historia General del Reino de Chile, of Diego de Rosales* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2019): 13-42.

⁴⁴ Ronan and Hanisch, *Epistolario de Juan Ignacio Molina S. J...*

First, why the *Compendio* is not particularly polemical, like later Jesuit works, toward the “dispute of the New World”⁴⁵, as Hanisch also highlighted⁴⁶. Second, we can also comprehend the contradictions between the anonymous text and Molina's works highlighted by Charles Ronan⁴⁷. Third, why the prose of the work written by Vidaurre and Molina gives another picture of the indigenous culture⁴⁸. Indeed, Vidaurre and Molina got specifically involved in the New World debate, in relation with the so called “anthropology of the American man”⁴⁹. Generally, in the Western culture of the early modern period, the indigenous people of America were imagined to be living in symbiosis with nature⁵⁰. During the age of Enlightenment, American Indigenous also became the one who used to hide from Western people⁵¹. In the *Compendio*, the stereotype of the Ecological Indian is still present, whereas, in Vidaurre and Molina, indigenous knowledge is no longer an exclusive (and secret) heritage, as clearly stated in both of their descriptions of the medicinal plants. The anonymous work of 1776 gives the impression of generally answering the questions that Europeans were asking of Chile, as Walter Hanisch argued⁵². Moreover, it constitutes an expression of a (collective) manifestation of the emerging Chilean Creole identity. Instead, the other works written by Vidaurre and Molina could constitute a more assertive and clearer attempt of the “defense of the Americas,” as Charles Ronan said of Molina's first edition of the *Molina's Saggio*⁵³.

Therefore, if the *Compendio* was not the expression of Molina's knowledge alone, then it could more clearly represent the public circulation of knowledge., at least within the Jesuit intellectual world. The works of Molina and Vidaurre could also be the cultural translation of this corpus of knowledge⁵⁴.

Finally, this study could be an initial start of a new discussion on these topics and about the positive side of exile. The exile is not only as a negative event, but as an instrument that offers

⁴⁵ Antonello Gerbi, *La disputa del nuevo mundo: historia de una polémica 1750-1900* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993). See also Andrés Prieto, «La obra naturalista de Diego de Rosales: Un anticipo Barroco a la disputa sobre el Nuevo Mundo», *Anales de literatura chilena* 17, nº 26 (2016): 85-98.

⁴⁶ Walter Hanisch, *Un ataque dieciochesco a Juan Ignacio Molina* (Santiago: Nihil Mihi, 1976), 40-41.

⁴⁷ Ronan, *Juan Ignacio Molina: the world's window on Chile...*, 39; *Ibidem*, 161.

⁴⁸ Lisi, «“The Garden of America”: Nature, Wonder, and Nationalism in the Creole-Jesuit Narrations of Chile», 63-65.

⁴⁹ Gerbi, *La disputa del nuevo mundo: historia de una polémica 1750-1900...*; Miguel Rojas Mix, *El fin del milenio y el sentido de la historia: Lacunza y Molina*, Santiago (LOM Ediciones, 2001).

⁵⁰ Gregory D. Smithers, «Beyond the ‘Ecological Indian’: Environmental Politics and Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Modern North America», *Environmental History* 20, nº 1 (2015): 83-111.

⁵¹ Shepard Krech, *The ecological Indian: myth and history* (New York: Norton, 1999); Stefanie Gänger, «The Secrets of Indians: Native Knowers in Enlightenment Natural Histories of the Southern Americas», in *Connecting Territories*, ed. by Simona Boscani Leoni et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 101-123.

⁵² Hanisch, *Un ataque dieciochesco a Juan Ignacio Molina...*, 462

⁵³ Ronan, *Juan Ignacio Molina: the world's window on Chile...*, 40; *Ibidem*, 257.

⁵⁴ On the translational turn, see among others Doris Bachmann-Medick, «Introduction: The translational turn», *Translation Studies* 2, nº 1 (2009): 2-16.

new possibilities⁵⁵ and would highlight the need for further studies highlighting the public circulation of knowledge⁵⁶, in relation to decolonial⁵⁷ and environmental⁵⁸ issues in the Atlantic world⁵⁹.

The first image: chilean representation, medicinal plant, and ludic knowledge

A symbolic representation of Chile

In the foreground of the first picture of Compendio, there are two indigenous babies playing a game called “Quechucague”⁶⁰ and, in front of them, the Chilean native plant named “culèn”

⁵⁵ Johannes Meier, «Los jesuitas expulsados de Chile (1767-1839), sus itinerarios y sus pensamientos», in *Los Jesuitas españoles expulsos: su imagen y su contribución...*, 423-442; Guasti, «Los jesuitas expulsos literatos en la Italia del Setecientos: éxitos y fracasos», 691.

⁵⁶ For the concept of public circulation of knowledge, see Johan Östling, «En kunskapsarena och dess aktörer: Under strecket och kunskapsarkulation i 1960-talets offentlighet», *Historisk Tidskrift*, nº 140 (2020): 95-124. An in-depth study of the study of the public circulation of knowledge about Chilean medicinal plant is still missing, despite the good efforts of Juan Francisco Jiménez, et al., «Herbolarias originarias y farmacologías modernas: presencias, apropiaciones y devoluciones en el caso de Chile», in *Historia de los medicamentos: apropiaciones e invenciones en Chile, Argentina y Perú*, ed. by Yuri Carvajal and María José Correa Gómez (Santiago: Editorial Ocho Libros, 2016), 15-52; Luca Citarella, ed., *Medicinas y culturas en La Araucanía* (Santiago: Pehuén, 2018).

⁵⁷ Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Walter D. Mignolo and Arturo Escobar, *Globalization and the Decolonial option* (London: Routledge, 2014); Walter D. Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On decoloniality: concepts, analytics, praxis. On decoloniality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018); Claire Gallien, «A Decolonial Turn in the Humanities», *A Decolonial Turn in the Humanities* 40 (2020): 28-58. Some recent studies on the nexus between populations and the environment and particularly indigenous culture are Mariagloria Tumminelli, «Gli zingari nel sistema imperiale spagnolo. Vagabondi, soldati e banditi tra Milano, Napoli e la Castiglia (secc. XVI-XVII)», *Riforma e movimenti religiosi* 3 (2018): 363-372; María Eugenia Petit-Breuilh Sepúlveda, «La idea de la naturaleza en los araucanos durante la época colonial», in *Redescubriendo el Nuevo Mundo: Estudios americanistas en homenaje a Carmen Gómez*, ed. by María Salud Elvás Iniesta and Sandra Olivero (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2012), 289-305.

⁵⁸ It might be of interest, in fact, to analyze the production of the anonymous work as the expression of a specific relationship with the environment, according to the recent historiographical proposals of the Environmental Humanities and Geohumanities. Among others, there are the following works Andrew Hubbell and John Ryan, *Introduction to the environmental humanities* (London-New York: Routledge, 2022); Andrés Moreira-Muñoz et al., *Geohumanidades* (forthcoming).

⁵⁹ Bernard Bailyn, «The Idea of Atlantic History», *Itinerario* 20, nº 1 (1996): 19-44; Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic history: concept and contours* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, «Some caveats about the ‘Atlantic’ paradigm», *History Compass* 1 (2003), <https://doi.org/10.1111/1478-0542.004>; Alison Games, «From the Editor: Introduction, Definitions, and Historiography: What Is Atlantic History?», *OAH Magazine of History* 18, Nº 3 (2004): 3–7; Peter A. Coclanis, «Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?», *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, Nº 4 (2006): 725-742; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman, ed., *The Atlantic in global history: 1500-2000* (London: Routledge, 2017). In relation with botanical issue, see also Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and empire: colonial bioprospecting in the Atlantic world* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁶⁰ For a more complete analysis of this game, which is also common to the Peruvian Quechua context, see Leotardo Matus, «Juegos i ejercicios de los antiguos Araucanos», *Boletín del Museo Nacional* 11 (1920): 162-197; Margarita Gentile, «La pichca: oráculo y juego de fortuna (su persistencia en el espacio y tiempo andinos)», *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’études andines* 27 (1998): 82-83; Victoria Castro and Mauricio Uribe, «Dos "pirámides" de Caspana, el Juego de la pichica y el dominio Inka en el Loa superior», *Chungara* 36, Nº 2 (2004): 879-891; Santiago Ordóñez C., «Huayru.

(*Otholobium glandulosum*). Behind the kids, there are two trees. On the left side, the “palma chilena” (*Jubaea chilensis*) and on the right side the “pino Chileno” (*Araucaria araucana*) (figure 2). This picture was doubtless inspired from almost the same image of Alonso de Ovalle’s *Histórica relación/Historica Relatione* (figure 1).

All these elements are not singular timeless pictures but specific and coherent. Every figure is a part of a complex knowledge system that so requires a contextual iconology investigation, starting from the comparison with Ovalle’s image. On the one hand, the resemblance, and the differences between the two pictures clarify the cultural role of the second version. On the other hand, the old and new iconographic elements represent a key to better understanding the formation and circulation of knowledge about Chilean nature and society.

In the Ovalle’s picture of 1646, there is the Indigenous “ludus”. In the version of 1776 work, there is the same game, yet registered with the Indigenous name “Giuoco il Quechucague” (figure 2).

This game represents an element of continuity between the two images and works. However, the same image can acquire different meanings, depending on the cultural context of the work of which they are part. In the version of 1776, there is not only this game, but also new elements: two trees and a plant: “palma chilena”, “pino chileno”, and “culèn”. The “palma” and the “pino” are well identified with the adjective “chileno”. It literally means “Chilean”. The plant in the foreground is called by its indigenous name "culèn". They are all marked by an explicit reference to Chilean culture and territory.

Alonso de Ovalle provided the detailed description of how the Indigenous people of Chile used to play the game, the etymology of the name, and the explication of the table and its boxes, therefore, the game is logically constituent with its description.

Instead, in the 1776 text there is no reference to the game, nor is it explained. The game in the 1776 figure does not have any sociocultural importance nor ludic value, or scientific reason for its presence. In fact, everything could represent the newness, and richness of Chile is depicted here. Whereas the engraving in Ovalle's work simply depicted an indigenous game, the 18th century version presents some of the most representative elements of Chile. According to the description, the “palma chilena” and “pino chileno” are typical Chilean tree. They are depicted together with a new game and a new plant (for a European reader), all with an indigenous name.

Probably, Ovalle’s aim was just to show an Indigenous game that he known. Instead, the overall purpose of the picture of 1776 is not to represent a mapuche pastime, but to give through it an image that can represent Chile, according to the general aim of the work itself too⁶¹. It was

Continuidades, transformaciones y adaptaciones de una práctica ritual panandina de origen prehispánico», *Arqueoantropológicas*, 3 (2013): 121-22.

⁶¹ Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, 3.

the time when botany was attracting new interests and opening new perspectives, including botanical gardens, Linnaeus' renewed classification, and new scientific expeditions⁶². However, these instances remain in the background of the work in general, and of the first image specifically. The main purpose of the engraving was to give an idea of Chile to those who showed curiosity, as Charles Ronan also had suggested⁶³.

The quechucague game

One of the most significant differences between the picture of Ovalle and of the Compendio is the pawn or dice that they are holding. In the more recent image, it takes a decidedly triangular shape.

In the description that anticipates the Ovalle's figure, the Jesuit said that to play this game the Indigenous people use a small pyramid-shaped piece of wood⁶⁴. The pyramidal shape may have inspired the designer of 1776 work to depict the pawn or dice with a triangular form and, consequently, the most detailed representation of the game could depend on the Ovalle description.

Nevertheless, the dice has the three marks on the upper part, never mentioned by Ovalle. The chronicler Pedro Pascual de Córdoba y Figueroa (Concepción, Chile 1682 - 1755) also mentioned the Quechucague but did not say much about it⁶⁵. Andrés Febrés (Barcelona, 1734-Cagliari, 1790), Jesuit writer of the first Mapudungun dictionary (Lima, 1765), also described the game when he explained the meaning of the entry "quechu"⁶⁶. Vicente Carvallo Goyeneche, Chilean soldier and chronicler (Valdivia, 1742-Buenos Aires 1816), in the work he wrote at the

⁶² Emma C. Spary, *Utopia's garden. French natural history from Old Regime to Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Rafael Sagredo Baeza and José Ignacio González Leiva, *La Expedición Malaspina en la frontera austral del imperio español* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2004); Daniela Bleichmar, «Books, Bodies, and Fields. Sixteenth-Century Transatlantic Encounters with New World 'Materia Medica'», in *Colonial botany: science, commerce, and politics in the early modern world*, ed. by Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 83–99; Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, empire, and nation: explorations of the history of science in the Iberian world...*; Daniela Bleichmar, «Exploration in Print: Books and Botanical Travel from Spain to the Americas in the Late Eighteenth Century», *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70, n° 1 (2007): 129-151.

⁶³ Ronan, *Juan Ignacio Molina: the world's window on Chile...*, 37.

⁶⁴ In Alonso de Ovalle, *Historica relatione del Regno di Cile* (Rome: Cavallo, 1646), Avvertimenti per non errare nel mettere l'Immagini we can read: "Un legnetto tagliato a forma di piramide". In Alonso de Ovalle, *Historica relación del reyno de Chile* (Rome: Cavallo, 1646), Advertencia para no errar en poner las Imágenes, the author wrote: "Un palillo en forma de pirámide".

⁶⁵ Pedro Pascual de Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile, por el maestro de campo Don Pedro de Cordoba y Figueroa, 1492-1717* (Santiago: Imprenta del ferrocarril, 1862): 30.

⁶⁶ Andrés Febrés, *Arte de la lengua general del Reyno de Chile* (Lima: en la calle de la Encarnación, 1765), 360-361.

end of the 18th century, told of the quechucague too⁶⁷. The knowledge of the game was circulating at the time, but all writers described the game much like Ovalle.

Only Miguel de Olivares, describe in detail the rules, the various parts, and how to play it differently. It seems not a repetition of what Ovalle had said, thus probably he had direct knowledge and experience of the game, maybe because of the long stay in Araucanía. The description made by Olivares is very similar to the representation in the first image of the Compendio. Olivares first called the game with almost the same name as Ovalle: "quechuncague" but he also said that this game "is played with a small stone plate of a triangular shape called isosceles". Moreover, he added the precise score on each side of the triangle, how counting the score on the table, the meaning of the name and its general resemblance to the game of chess⁶⁸.

The description of the shape of the stone is interesting because Olivares said each surface of the stone has a dot on it. He also wrote that "on the two longest sides of the triangle are painted dots that are five on each side, three on one side, two on the other, and that is why this game is called Quechu, which in the Indian language means this number"⁶⁹. It could explain why in the 1776 picture the stone that the child on the left holds in his hands is no longer circular but triangular, and why there is not a single point on the visible surface of the triangular stone as in the Ovalle's picture. This detail can explain the probable origin of those three signs that stand out in the triangle in the first picture of 1776 work (figure 3)⁷⁰. The dice is quite similar to the two of the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural in Santiago (Chile), dated to the end of the 19th century, about a century after the Compendio was published. Hence, the three marks appear to be precisely a characteristic feature of the dice. Compared to the background features, the depth of the engraving is greater (so the marks appear darker), they are parallel (while those in the background are not), and of the same size. Finally, if the engraver had merely marked the dice with the dots indicated by Olivares, they probably would not have been visible to the naked eye because of the size of the engraving.

⁶⁷ Vicente Carvallo Goyeneche, *Descripción Histórico-Geográfica del Reino de Chile*, vol. III (Santiago: Biblioteca Nacional, 1875), 157-158.

⁶⁸ Olivares, *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de Chile...*, 42.

⁶⁹ "En los dos lados más largos del triángulo están pintados unos puntos que son por todo cinco, tres a un lado, dos a otro, y por eso se llama este juego Quechu que en el idioma indio significa dicho número", in Olivares, *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de Chile...*, 42.

⁷⁰ For a reproduction of the two dice, see Matus, «Juegos i ejercicios de los antiguos araucanos», 167, fig. 50.



Figure 3. Detail of the pawn of the first image of 1776 work
(Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library).

The author(s) of the 1776 work could have read the Olivares' manuscript, but that would not explain why he or they did not say a single line about the game. Neither Molina nor Vidaurre then took up Olivares' description of the game. Molina, in his work about the civil history of Chile (Bologna, 1787), described that game in a very different and more general way. He said that a game called "Quechu, or checiu", it is played using "use a triangle of bone marked with dots", thrown "through a hoop supported by two sticks"⁷¹. It would be a little remarkable that he mentioned it so cursory: in the Olivares manuscripts, well-known to Molina, appears the game described so well and so in depth. Moreover, the sticks and the hoop are curious because there are no sticks nor hoops in the 1776 picture. It seems hardly probable that Molina could have supervised this image.

Vidaurre also described the game like Molina. Not even he specified the exact shape of the triangle, nor the correct score on a surface to show. He also called it only "quechu". He gave a much simpler version, even without any reference to the points marked in the triangle⁷². Vidaurre did not pay attention to detail consistent with the 1776 figure, not even the scoring calculation. He could have talked with Olivares and had certainly read his manuscript too. However, the narration of Vidaurre seems, overall, to be a very general description of the game. Vidaurre could probably have described the game from that figure, due to this image in the manuscript he sent to Spain with the aim of printing it. Neither of those authors, therefore, referred to the game by the name given in the picture. Nor did they make explicit allusions to the number of points scored in the triangular stone.

⁷¹ Juan Ignacio Molina, *Saggio sulla storia civile del Chili* (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1787), 115.

⁷² Felipe Gómez de Vidaurre, *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Ercilla, 1889), 351-352.

Therefore, Olivares may have helped, influenced, or even supervised the illustration process and he also could have expressed the importance of the game in relating to Chile and suggesting the illustrator to depict the game as he knew it.

The “palma chilena” and the “pino chileno”

Olivares started to talk about some trees that “because of the peculiarity of their fruit or wood, are noteworthy”. He described the “palm of this country”, that “deserves the first place”. Then talked about the “specific pine of this land”. He immediately stood out the close relationship between the “palma” and the “pino” with Chile. He underlined together with their fundamental relevance among the national floras. According to him, the “palma” is “very tall, straight, and robust, its trunk cleans to a great height and crowned with many branches placed in such a proportion (...) the fruits, which are called coconuts, are given attached to a cluster that usually has more than a thousand of them, and the cluster is well defended inside two large barks”⁷³.

Immediately afterwards and similarly, he also described the pine tree. Olivares said that “the particular pine of this land is the most beautiful tree ever seen” and he added that “its height is such that no tree exceeds it, the trunk is so straight that it seems to be plumb, the thickness is very rounded, the branches are very high, and the aggregate of them ends in a conical crown”⁷⁴. Both trees are described emphasizing beauty, size, quantity of fruit, and general their incredible exceptionality. So, they are clearly identified with the Chilean landscape.

That description is very similar to that published in the Compendio, but there are some differences. The anonymous author of that work said of the nuts that “they are round, bigger than a common nut”, and then continued the description by saying that the nuts “have two shells” and adding, a few lines later, that “each bunch carries more than a thousand cochi”⁷⁵. The comparison between the coconut and the walnut may be a common element among the authors mentioned. It is most likely taken from the description of the palm tree made by Amédée

⁷³ "Para tratar solo de algunos árboles que por la especialidad de su fruto o madera, dignos de mención"; "entre ellos merece el primer lugar la palma de este país. (...) El pino particular de esta tierra es el árbol más bello que se ha visto (...). La palma de este país: es muy alta, derecha y robusta, su tronco limpio hasta mucha altura que se corona de muchas ramas colocadas en tal proporción (...) los frutos, que se llaman cocos, se dan unidos a un racimo que suele tener más de mil de ellos, y el racimo bien defendido dentro de dos grandes cortezas", in Olivares, *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de Chile...*, 36-37.

⁷⁴ "El pino particular de esta tierra, es el árbol más bello que se ha visto: su altura es tanta que no hay árbol que le exceda, el tronco tan derecho que parece hecho a plomo, el grueso muy redondo, las ramas están en mucha elevación, y el agregado de ellas remata en la copa en figura cónica", in *Ibidem*, 37.

⁷⁵ "Essi sono rotondi, più grossi d'una noce comunale (sic), ed hanno due gusci (...) ogni grappolo porta più di mille Cochi", in Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, 39-40.

François Frézier, a French engineer who went to Chile in the beginning of the 18th century. His book became very famous: it was published in two editions and translated into English⁷⁶.

The key element is the different importance assigned to the plant in representing a symbol of the Chilean flora. Olivares stated the specificity and importance of the Chilean palm. Differently, the text of the *Compendio* first specifies the resemblance with the other palm trees. Only later is there a description of its peculiarity, and there is no strong relationship between the tree and Chilean territory.

Molina and Vidaurre talked on this palm too, and their botanical descriptions are very similar. They presented the palm without underlying a special place or giving it a special importance. The palma and the pine are not the first and most important tree, but two among others. For them, these trees had no specific value, especially as they could not represent a potential symbol of Chilean territory.

Molina described "the coconut palm, *Palma Chilensis*" saying that "it differs from other congeners in the respective smallness of its coconuts, or fruits, which are no larger than a common walnut"⁷⁷. In a very close way, Vidaurre said that "is similar in trunk and leaves to other palm species in the world and differs from them only in the smallness of its fruit"⁷⁸. Despite the resemblances with Frézier's description, neither Vidaurre, nor Molina made it stand out among the trees found in Chile. No evidence can help to consider this tree as typically Chilean, if not the only botanical name of Molina.

Both Jesuits used the plant's indigenous name in their respective works. The first Jesuit said "the natives call *llilla* the coconut palm"⁷⁹. Even the second one, with an Italian spelling of the original pronunciation, specified in a note that the plant is properly called "*glilla*"⁸⁰. The knowledge of the indigenous name is an interesting element. Olivares called the palm only by their Spanish name. It is the same name that appeared in the image of the *Compendio*.

⁷⁶ Léon Quiblier, «Le chevalier Amédée-François Frézier. Lieutenant-Colonel du Génie sous Louis XIV (1682-1773)», *Memoires et documents de l'Academie Chablaisienne* 44, n° 1 (1938): 19-27; Pierre du Colombier, «A. F. Frézier, ingénieur en chef du Roy à Landauw», in *Festchrift für Karl Lohmeyer: im auftrag des ministeriums für kultus, unterricht und volksbildung herausgegeben*, ed. by Karl Schwingel (Saarbrücken: West-Ost-Verlag, 1954), 155-166; Hélène Rousteau, «A. F. Frézier, ou le regard d'un ingénieur du XVIIIe siècle sur le gothique», *Regards sur le Moyen Âge* 2 (1996): 119-125; Monica Barnes, «Frézier, Amedee François (1682-1773)», in *Fuentes documentales para los estudios andinos 1530-1900*, ed. by Joanne Pillsbury, (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2016), 1131-1136.

⁷⁷ "La Palma da cocco, *Palma Chilensis* (...) differisce dalle altre specie congeneri nella rispettiva piccolezza de' suoi cocchi, o frutti, che non sono più grandi di una noce comunale (sic)", Juan Ignacio Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili* (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1782), 180.

⁷⁸ "Es semejante en el tronco y en las hojas a otras especies de palmas que hay en el mundo, y solo difiere de ellas en la pequeñez de su fruto", in Vidaurre, *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile...*, 155.

⁷⁹ "La palma de cocos, que los indios llaman *Hilla*", Idem.

⁸⁰ Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili...*, 180.

Furthermore, the case of the pine tree is in fact almost analogous. Olivares reiterated the importance and distinctiveness of the tree as a Chilean species. He gives only the Spanish name, consistently with the image in the *Compendio*. The author(s) of 1776 text, Vidaurre and Molina, did not emphasize the tree's Chilean specificity and reported its indigenous name too.

In the text of the 1776 work there is the following description: "the Chilean pine is one of the most unusual and strange trees to grow there. The Spaniards gave it this name improperly because it bears no resemblance to the European pine tree that was transported here"⁸¹. The indigenous name was also absent in the drawing: "the Indians call it Peguen"⁸². This is another significant point of discrepancy between the image and the text of 1776 work, and between the author(s) of the *Compendio* and Molina and Vidaurre.

Once again, Vidaurre said the tree "was improperly called pino by the Spaniards because of its flowers and the shape of its fruit, but it was not so badly called because its flowers are aromatic and similar to those of the other pines"⁸³. In that description, there is no exaltation of greatness, no beauty, no comparison that would reaffirm the exceptional status of this plant. Vidaurre, like Molina, also carried the indigenous name: "its national name is pelmen"⁸⁴, probably the wrong transcription of pehuen, as he called it afterwards.

What Molina wrote in his first work can be considered the description that comes closest to the style of the 1776 work and of his colleague Vidaurre. The Jesuit said that "the Pehuen, *Pinus Araucana*, which the Spanish call the Pino terriere (sic), is more like the Pezzo (sic), or the Fir, than to the Pine, although in some ways it is quite different from all three. This tree is the most beautiful of those that grow in Chili, it grows spontaneously among the Araucanians and is cultivated in other parts of the Kingdom"⁸⁵. Hence, Molina reiterated what Olivares had already written about the morphology of that tree, but with two crucial differences. First, Molina recognized the pine tree's extraordinary beauty: "this tree the most beautiful of those growing in Chili" (1782) but the description he gave of it differs supremely from the figure portrayed in the first illustration: "the ends of all those branches bend upward, so as a perfect quadrangular pyramid". In the picture there is not a quadrangular pyramid. Second, Molina did not give a special importance to the tree. On the contrary, the description made by Olivares is coherent

⁸¹ Il Pino-Chileno è uno de' più singolari, e più vaghi alberi, che vi nascono", in Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, 38-39.

⁸² "Gl'Indiani lo chiamano Peguen", in *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile*, 38.

⁸³ "Fue llamado impropriamente por los españoles pino, por sus flores y la forma de su fruto, él no ha sido tan mal apellidado, porque sus flores son amentáceas y semejantes del todo a las de los otros pinos", Vidaurre, *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile...*, 158.

⁸⁴ "Su nombre patricio es pelmen". It is probably pehuen, *Ibidem*, 157.

⁸⁵ "Il Pehuen, *Pinus Araucana*, che gli Spagnuoli chiamano Pino terriere, è più simigliante al Pezzo (sic), o all'Abete, che al Pino, benché in certo modo sia ben differente da tutti e tre. Questo albero è il più bello di quanti crescano nel Chili, nasce spontaneamente presso gli Araucani, e si coltiva nelle altre parti del Regno", Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili...*, 183.

and justifies this tree depicted together with the “palma chilena”, even more than the anonymous one. He was the only author who did not know or at least did not mention the indigenous name in his manuscript. The other two Jesuits wrote the indigenous name of both palm and pine. Olivares is the only author who underlined the strict relationship between the trees and Chile, consistently with the representation in the first figure of *Compendio*.

The “culèn” and the Indigenous medicinal knowledge

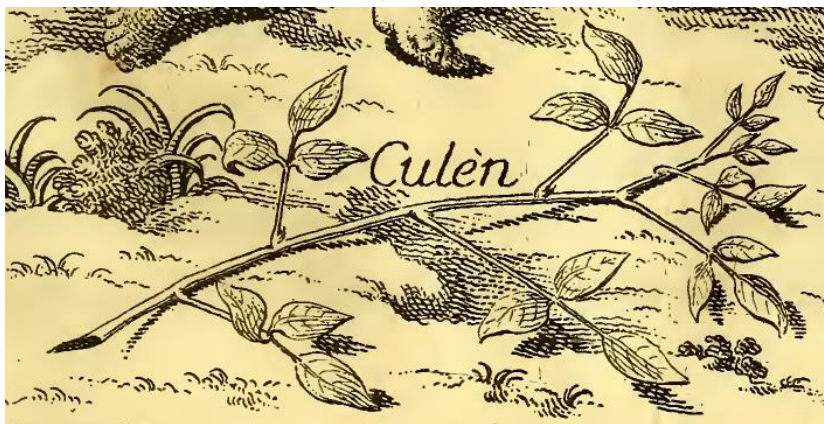


Figure 4. Detail of the plant of culén in the 1776 work
(Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library).

Culén (figure 4) was probably placed together with its indigenous game, the Chilean palm, and the Chilean pine for being a native plant, but it appears withdrawn as if it had just been picked from the ground. The different position is perhaps due to its possible medicinal use because *Othoblobium glandulosum* is mainly a medicinal plant and, therefore, must be cut to use it.

How was the image of the culén designed? In the text of 1776, the author(s) said that “it had already been transported to Italy, where it is flourishing”⁸⁶. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that it could be a real-life drawing: the shape of the sheets of *Othoblobium glandulosum* is very different and moreover, there is no its typical flower.

The image therefore seems close to the description made by the author(s) of *Compendio*. The leaves of culén are “glossy green, odoriferous, attached three by three to a single little stalk, and similar in shape to ordinary basil, which led the Spanish to call it *albaquilla*”⁸⁷. The image of culén could thus come from this description. But the author(s) of the *Compendio* also said that

⁸⁶ “E già stato trasportato in Italia, ove alligna ottimamente”, Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili...*, 183.

⁸⁷ “Le sue foglie, di cui si spoglia nell'Inverno, sono di un verde lucido, odorifere, attaccate a tre a tre a un solo gambetto, e simili per la figura al basilico ordinario, il che fece agli Spagnuoli dargli il nome d'*albaquilla*”, Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, 26.

“from the axils of these leaves (of culén) spring the flowers in the form of a spike, which are quite turquoise”⁸⁸. In the picture is therefore missing a detail that the author of the text knew very well.

Molina and Vidaurre also talked about the morphology of culén and described its flower. Vidaurre associated the leaves with basil, but described the flower, which is missing in the figure. Indeed, he reported the right color of the flower of *Otholobium glandulosum*, almost in the same way as the 1776 work: “from the joints of the leaves grow its flowers, in the shape of a spike, which are somewhat blue and white”⁸⁹. Molina in his first work of 1782 said the flowers had a leguminous shape⁹⁰. In the second, and last, work on Chilean Natural History (1810), told in a very surprising way that “the flowers are light red in color”⁹¹. It is not only different knowledge between the 1776 anonymous text and the 1782 work, but an obvious mistake. This apparent blunder made by Molina is so strange, especially considering the attention he usually took to this plant⁹². Apart from that mistake, or precisely for that reason, there is no doubt that Molina's attention to the characteristic culén flower is shared with the other Jesuit Vidaurre.

In summary, no influence came from the 1776 text, nor the Molina's nor Vidaurre's writings in the figure of culén of the first picture. That image does not even look like a copy of the other two images circulating at the time⁹³. During the time when French scientific and commercial trips to Chile began⁹⁴, Louis Feuillée, a French botanist and astronomer, wrote a travel report that became very famous for his images and descriptions of the Chilean flora⁹⁵. He became even more

⁸⁸ “Dalle ascelle di queste foglie nascono i fiori in forma di spiga, che sono turchinici”, Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile*, 26.

⁸⁹ “De las juntas de estas hojas nacen sus flores, en forma de espiga, las que tiene algo de azul y blanco”. Vidaurre, *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile...*, 142.

⁹⁰ “I suoi fiori sono parimente (sic) leguminosi”, Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili...*, 164.

⁹¹ “Fiori (...) di color rosso chiaro”, *Ibidem*, 144.

⁹² Ronan and Hanisch, *Epistolario de Juan Ignacio Molina S. J...*, 136.

⁹³ It seems equally reasonable to exclude the other possible image included by Ovalle in the extended version of the Chile map (Tabula Geographica Regni Chile, Rome: Cavallo, 1646), available at: <https://jcb.lunaimaging.com/luna/servlet/detail/JCBMAPS~1~1~1314~115900932:Tabula-Geographica-Regni-Chile?qvq=q:ovalle%20tabula&mi=0&trs=1> (Accessed 27.07.2022). See also: Catherine E. Burdick, «The remedies of the machi: visualizing Chilean medicinal botanicals in Alonso de Ovalle's Tabula geographica (1646)», *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, nº 3 (2017): 313-334. Similarly, the first edition of the classic work on Spanish plants of Joseph Quer is to be excluded for chronological reasons. The plant of culén was not depicted in José Quer y Martínez, *Flora española o historia de las plantas que se crían en España* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1762). The figure of culén was published only in the appendix of José Quer y Martínez, *Continuación de la Flora española o historia de las plantas que se crían en España* (Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1784).

⁹⁴ Fernando Campos Harriet, *Veleros franceses en el Mar del Sur (1700-1800)* (Santiago: Zig-Zag, 1964); Armando Cartes M., *Viajeros en Tierras Mapuches* (Tomé: Al Aire Libro, 2013).

⁹⁵ Rudolfo Amando Philippi, «Botánica. Sobre las plantas chilenas descritas por el padre Feuillée. Por don Rudolfo Amando Philippi. Comunicación del mismo a la Facultad de Ciencias Físicas en marzo de 1867», *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 29 (1867): 760-775; Francisco Riveros Zuñiga, «La exploración científica del mar chileno. El viaje del Padre Luis Feuillée de 1707 a 1711», *Revista de Biología Marina* 3, nº 1-2 (1951): 20-52; Monica Barnes, «Feuillée,

famous for the diatribe with Frézier, the French engineer already mentioned⁹⁶. Both authors, Feuillée and Frézier, depicted the plant in two engravings (figures 5 and 6)⁹⁷.

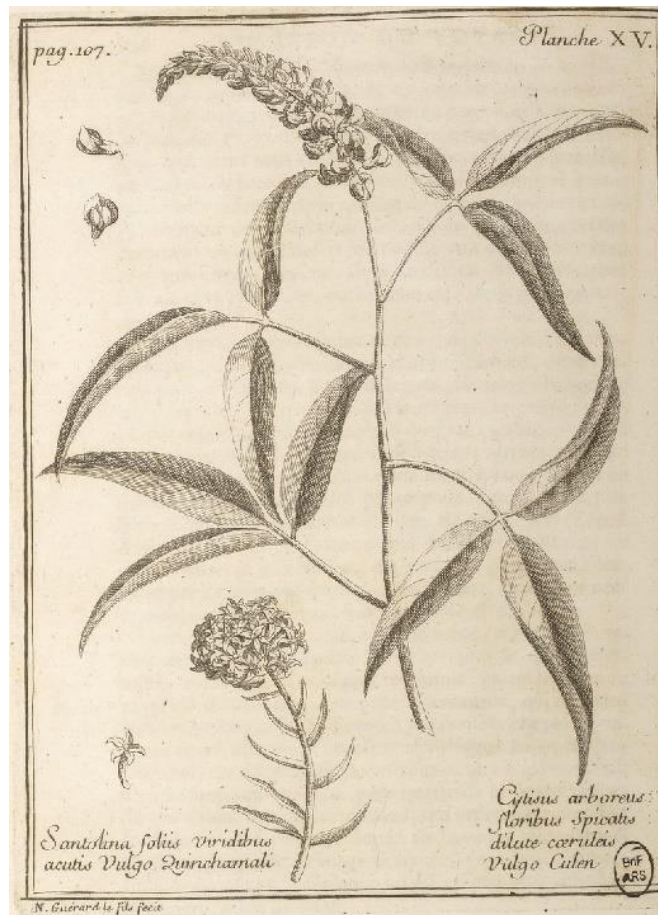


Figure 5. Culén drawn by Frézier. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF / Gallica).

Louis (1660-1732)», in Guide to documentary sources for Andean studies, 1530-1900, ed. by Joanne Pillsbury (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 216-218.

⁹⁶ See, for instance Luigi Pavino, «Response a la Preface Critique du Livre intitulé (...)», *Giornale de' Letterati oltramontani*, 84 (1729): 70-79.

⁹⁷ For a recent study about the role and the circulation of Chilean endemic plants, see Catherine E. Burdick and Elsa Mariana Toledo P., «Entre ciencia y comercio imperial. Ilustraciones botánicas de plantas endémicas de Chile del siglo XVIII», *Historia* 396 11 (2021): 105-142.



Figure 6. Culén drawn by Feuillée. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF / Gallica).

Both French travelers had seen the flower, which they described in detail in their respective works. First, Frézier wrote that “its flower is long, arranged in a spike, of a white color tending to

violet, and of this species which is placed among the leguminous plants”⁹⁸. Then, also Feuillée talked about the flowers of culén, saying that they are “in small bunches and always end each branch, they come out of a calyx”, every flower is “of a beautiful blue in its middle”⁹⁹. Nevertheless, in Feuillée's work, the flower is so small and barely sketched. Perhaps the engraver Fabbri took the image of the French priest as his model.

However, this seems rather unlikely because of the different shape of the leaves between the Feuillée' picture and the image of the *Compendio*. The shape of the leaves of the plant in the 1776 figure is quite different from the figure in both Feuillée's and Frézier's work. Both French scientists represented the leaves of culén with their characteristic elongated shape. The figure drawn by Fabbri has shorter and more rounded leaves.

Maybe the draftsman did not draw the plan from life, nor based on the description by the author(s) of the *Compendio* but based on a sketch or at least by a description made by another person.

Miguel de Olivares described the plant saying that “the culen is a small tree, its leaves are similar to basil”, likewise the 1776 author, and he added that “these leaves, bark, flowers, and seeds are of admirable medicinal virtues: drinking the water of its decoction, opens the desire to eat, lowers the fumes of the head, is against dropsy and obstructions, stops dysentery, and even facilitates the constipated stomach, heals all sores and wounds with great ease; for which the most advanced doctors, speak of its various virtues with rare praise”¹⁰⁰. He did not attach any particular importance to the flower or the real shape of the leaves. The whole importance lies, according to Olivares, in its medicinal use.

It is not only a detailed and thorough description, but the only one among the Chilean medicinal plants Olivares named. He listed many plants as medicinal, but the only healing herb he specifically described was the *Otholobium glandulosum*. However, in the lines written by Olivares about this plant, there is no description of the morphological aspect of the plant. He did

⁹⁸ “Sa fleur est longue, disposée en épiça, de couleur blanche tirant sul le violet, et de cette espèce qu'on met au nombre des légumineuses”, Amedée François Frézier, *Relation du voyage de la Mer du Sud aux côtes du Chily et du Perou, Fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 & 1714* (Paris: Jean-Geoffrey Nyon, 1716), 107.

⁹⁹ “Les fleurs sont en petits bouquets et terminent toujours chaque rameau, elles sortent d'un calice (...) elles est d'un beau bleu dans son milieu”, Louis Feuillée, *Journal des observations physiques, mathématiques et botaniques* (Paris: Jean Mariette, 1725): 7-8. The flower can also be seen in one of Feuillée's preparatory drawings, despite its small representation: Louis Feuillée, *Plantes, oiseaux, quadrupèdes, poissons*. Dessinés et coloriés par le Père Feuillée, minime (manuscript), Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE BOITE FOL-JA-23, f. 82r, available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100202755> (Accessed 27.07.2022).

¹⁰⁰ “El culen es árbol pequeño, sus hojas semejantes a la albahaca; dichas hojas, las cortezas, flores y semillas, son de admirables virtudes medicinales: bebiendo el agua de su cocimiento, abre la gana de comer, baja los humos de la cabeza, es contra la hidropesía y obstrucciones, detiene la disentería, y aún facilita el vientre a los estílicos, cura todas llagas y heridas con gran facilidad; por lo cual los médicos más aventajados, hablan de sus varias virtudes con raro encarecimiento”.

not mention the flowers and leaves, which he considered so useful in the treatment of many diseases, but he considered that plant so important.

Vidaurre also deemed the plant significant. He said that “in the order of the medicinal plants, the first place must go to the culen”¹⁰¹. But it is the only detail that could relate Vidaurre to the image.

While Olivares called the plant using only the same recorded in the figure, the other two Jesuits also reported a Spanish name. Vidaurre said that the leaves are “similar in shape to ordinary basil, which made the Spaniards call it albahaquilla”¹⁰². And so did Molina in his 1782 work, writing in the note the same Spanish name reported by Frézier¹⁰³. As had already mentioned, the anonymous work also mentioned the Spanish name “albahaquilla”, with, of course, the indigenous one of “culen”¹⁰⁴. Thus, the first image possesses consistent key features that differentiate it from the text of the *Compendio* and the works written by Vidaurre and Molina.

Medicinal knowledge and a game: visualizing/invisibilizing indigenous culture

Generally, the anonymous author(s) of 1776 work explained that Chilean medicinal herbs “are successfully used by the Indians, who are excellent empiricists, and know the virtues of an infinity of herbs, with which they sometimes make surprising cures”¹⁰⁵. Talking about *Otholobium glandulosum*, he/they said that “the Indians are so fond of this herb that they apply it to almost every serious inner disease, and often with good results”¹⁰⁶. The relationship between the indigenous culture and the plant is thus highlighted.

Vidaurre also asserted that “in short, the Chileans believe that they have in this thicket an apothecary's shop and a universal antidote”¹⁰⁷. With the term “Chileans”, Vidaurre referred to the Spanish and Indigenous people¹⁰⁸. Molina was more cautious about reporting medicinal uses.

¹⁰¹ “En el órden de las medicinales debe tener el primer lugar el culen”, in Vidaurre, *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile...*, 142.

¹⁰² Las hojas son “semejantes por la figura la albahaca ordinaria, lo que hizo a los españoles llamarlo albahaquilla”, in Idem.

¹⁰³ Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili...*, 163.

¹⁰⁴ Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, 26.

¹⁰⁵ “Le quali si adoperano con successo dagl'Indiani, che sono eccellenti Empirici, e conoscono le virtù di un infinità d'erbe, col mezzo delle quali fanno talvolta delle curazioni sorprendenti”, in Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, 20.

¹⁰⁶ “Gl'Indiani in somma sono tanto portati per questo arbuscolo, che lo applicano quasi ad ogni sorta di malattie massime interiori, e molte con buona riuscita”, in Molina, *Compendio della storia geografica, naturale e civile del regno del Chile...*, 27.

¹⁰⁷ “En suma, juzgan los chilenos tener en este matorral una botica entera y un antidoto universal”, in Vidaurre, *Historia geográfica, natural y civil del reino de Chile...*, 142.

¹⁰⁸ Marcos A. Figueroa Zúñiga, «El gentilicio para los habitantes de Chile en Juan Ignacio Molina», *Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana* 67 (2008): 95-110.

In his first work of 1782, he only wrote about the Italian use of culén as a vermifuge and the use of the leaves for wounds (like Frézier). He also said that the plant was used by doctors¹⁰⁹. In his second edition of 1810, Molina told that “it is reputed to be a panacea by the Araucanians and the Chili peasants, who use it in all their diseases, often with good success”¹¹⁰.

Olivares' medicinal knowledge of *Otholobium glandulosum* is very different from the texts of Compendio, Vidaurre and Molina. He only specified that “the most advanced doctors speak of its various virtues with rare exaggeration”¹¹¹. Indeed, doctors considered culén in that period, although it did not appear in the inventory of the Jesuit apothecary of Santiago¹¹². Nevertheless, in the description of Olivares, there is no reference to indigenous culture.

Likewise, the first image of the Compendio does not show a general attention to indigenous culture, apart from a couple of names. The absence of a special reference to indigenous knowledge is also a specific feature of the physiognomy of the children who are playing in the picture. In fact, the first image of the work has significant differences with the other engravings, as Rodrigo Moreno Jeria also said¹¹³. For instance, the difference from the “Indiano Araucano” drawn on the map of Chile of the Compendio is emblematic. The latter shows the features and symbols of indigenous culture, while the first picture does not.

In the Ovalle's original model they had clearly indigenous features. Conversely, the pair of children playing have been portrayed with no clear indigenous features in the 1776 work. One possible explanation is, once again, to assume that Olivares participated in the creation of that picture because his consideration of the indigenous culture was rather low, as Figueroa Zúñiga has clearly shown¹¹⁴. Olivares was also convinced that to know the medicinal virtues, “a keen and intelligent botanist”¹¹⁵ was enough, and therefore Indigenous experience and knowledge were not necessary. The only cultural aspect Olivares considered worthy of attention was the indigenous language¹¹⁶. It could be consistent that the two children had an obvious Italian or

¹⁰⁹ Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili...*, 163-164.

¹¹⁰ “Esso viene riputato come una panacea universale dagli Araucani, e dai Contadini del Chili spagnuolo, i quali se ne servono in tutte le loro malattie, e non di rado con buon successo”, in Molina, *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Chili...*, 144.

¹¹¹ “Los médicos más aventajados hablan de sus varias virtudes con raro encarecimiento”, in Olivares, *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de Chile...*, 38.

¹¹² Laval, *Bótica de los jesuitas de Santiago...*, 76.

¹¹³ Moreno Jeria, «El mapa de Chile y el plano de Santiago en la obra atribuida a Juan Ignacio Molina de 1776: los manuscritos perdidos», 42.

¹¹⁴ Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia militar, civil y sagrada del Reino de Chile del misionero jesuita Miguel de Olivares. El mapuche según el criollo chileno de mediados del siglo XVIII», 201-215. See also Lisi, «“The Garden of America”: Nature, Wonder, and Nationalism in the Creole-Jesuit Narrations of Chile», 66.

¹¹⁵ “Un aplicado e inteligente botánico”, Olivares, *Historia militar, civil y sagrada de Chile...*, 39.

¹¹⁶ Figueroa Zúñiga, «Historia militar, civil y sagrada del Reino de Chile del misionero jesuita Miguel de Olivares. El mapuche según el criollo chileno de mediados del siglo XVIII», 203; 216-217.

western physiognomy. Olivares had no interest in showing the indigenous culture, nor as a representative of Chile.

It would be so clear why there is a strong indigenous presence in the text, which in the image instead is completely (and maybe deliberate) missing or plays an insignificant role. The game, after all, appears a pretext to show Chilean nature, represented by two trees and a plant. All in all, it was about visualizing Chilean nature and invisibilizing the indigenous presence.

Some final remarks

Recently, the increasing attention to the Jesuit science and natural history field also involved the anonymous work of 1776. The studies carried out in the last two centuries have attributed the authorship of the entire work to Molina or, to a lesser extent and more recently, to Vidaurre. Moreover, still today scholars tend to confuse it with Molina's works and translations¹¹⁷. So far, there has been neither an analysis of the first picture. The image was already present in Ovalle's work, and it was re-proposed in the *Compendio*, with many differences. This picture could be a symbolic representation of Chile where the game played by two children, the two trees as well as the medicinal plant in the foreground are all elements able to clearly visualize the Chilean landscape. Understanding who might have come up with the new image may provide a key to interpreting the meaning of this representation of Chile.

First, this study found that the Jesuit Miguel de Olivares could have been one of the most likely originators of the new picture. Second, the first image is only partly consistent with the text of the *Compendio*. This means that between the design of the images and the writing of the text there are two (or many) different authors, as claimed by Figueroa Zúñiga. Hence, collaboration was a key and decisive element for successful publication of the Jesuit works, as in fact the hypothesis developed by Italian historian Niccolò Guasti suggests.

By attributing the image to Olivares, the work acquires a precise and coherent meaning. It becomes an expression of the invisibilization of indigenous culture and presence. It offers a symbolic representation of Chile as a territory marked by characteristic (and exotic) elements where the presence of the indigenous culture is excluded.

The indigenous game with that exotic name is kept as the main element of the picture and at the centre of the scene, but the children are portrayed with a more Italian and European physiognomy. The two trees are associated with the flora partly already known to Europeans, only adding the adjective *chileno*, and there is no reference to the local indigenous name. The

¹¹⁷ Rafael Gaune Corradi, *Los ojos y las manos del jesuita Diego de Rosales. Un retrato editorial entre América y Europa, siglo XVII* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2021): 33; Luis Hachim Lara, «Narrative, Writing about 'Indians' and Creole Epistemes in the *Historias Naturales* by Three Jesuits Banished from America (1767)», in *Asymmetric Ecologies in Europe and South America Around 1800*, ed. by Susanne Schlünder and Rolando Carrasco (Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 65.

culén of the first picture did not represent any reference to indigenous culture. Olivares chose the “culèn” because it is a medicinal plant known and used by Chilean doctors and also by Italians. For him, its knowledge and use were unrelated to the indigenous medical culture. Overall, then, it seems that Chile's visualization of the first image in the Compendio represents the exclusion, the oppression, and the negation¹¹⁸ of indigenous culture. Therefore, there are several questions that remain unanswered at present, and that it is necessary to steer future studies in more precise directions than those pursued so far.

First, in the first figure, it emerges clearly the asymmetrical relationship that characterizes the coloniality of knowledge¹¹⁹ standing in close relation to the coloniality of power and being, also and above all involving the relation with the environment. It might be interesting, in fact, to understand from a decolonial perspective whether and in what way this relationship with the environment manifested by Olivares constitutes a shared vision and a long-lasting phenomenon.

Second, if future studies will confirm that the work was a collaboration among several authors, it makes it possible to understand what knowledge was circulating in Jesuit order and in Western society. At the same time, it will probably rehabilitate the importance of Vidaurre work not only as a historical source, but also for his botanical and medicinal knowledge, according to recent historiographical interests¹²⁰. For instance, Charles Darwin was so surprised that Vidaurre could have described the bird tapaculo (*Scelorchilus albicollis*) precisely, while Molina had not even mentioned it¹²¹. Perhaps, after new studies, it may not be so surprising. Third, it might also be interesting to consider the “ludic universe” of Jesuit¹²², once again in relation to the Jesuits' perception and representation of the natural landscape and indigenous culture.

¹¹⁸ Pablo Mansilla Quiñones, José Quintero Weir and Andrés Moreira-Muñoz, «Geografía de las ausencias, colonialidad del estar y el territorio como sustantivo crítico en las epistemologías del Sur», *Utopía y praxis latinoamericana* 86 (2019): 148-161.

¹¹⁹ Nelson Maldonado-Torres, «On the Coloniality of Being», *Cultural Studies* 21, n° 2-3 (2007): 240-270; Walter D. Mignolo, *The darker side of Western modernity: global futures, decolonial options* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, «Decoloniality as the Future of Africa», *History Compass* 13, n° 10 (2018): 485-496; Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Maria Paula Meneses ed., *Knowledges born in the struggle: constructing the epistemologies of the Global South* (New York-London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020); Sarah Lucia Hoagland, «Aspects of the Coloniality of Knowledge», *Critical Philosophy of Race* 8, n° 1-2 (2020): 48-60; Schlünder and Carrasco, *Asymmetric Ecologies in Europe and South America Around 1800...*

¹²⁰ Sabine Anagnostou, Florike Egmond and Christoph Friedrich ed., *A passion for plants. Materia medica and botany in scientific networks from the 16th to 18th centuries* (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2011) and Samir Boumediene, «Jesuit recipes, Jesuit receipts», in Newson, *Cultural Worlds of the Jesuits in Colonial Latin America...*, 229-254, have shown a recent interest in botanical and medicinal themes.

¹²¹ Hanisch, *Juan Ignacio Molina, sabio de su tiempo...*, 125-178; *Ibidem*, 88.

¹²² Gherardo Ortalli, «Giovani, etica, gioco d'azzardo: l'insegnamento scolastico della Compagnia di Gesù e le Lezioni di Cesare Calini (1713-1720)», in *Giocare tra Medioevo ed età moderna: modelli etici ed estetici per l'Europa*, ed. by Francesca Aceto and Francesco Luciolli (Treviso-Rome: Benetton-Viella, 2020), 183-199.

The participation of Miguel de Olivares to the *Compendio sulla storia naturale del Cile* (1776) thus allows interpreting the *Compendio* through the image of Chile: the *Compendio* and its first picture are a fundamental representation of Chile at a key moment in Chilean and Atlantic history.

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