

THE DYNAMIC OF CAPTIVITY AND THE AMERICAN IMAGINATION.

1.

My interest to study captivity has to do with the fact that captivity is an experience of an encounter with the unknown, an experience which seen as a very foundational mark, trade and brand of American writing.

One of my first concerns when I started to study captivity was to try to understand the nature of American writing from the point of view of an experience that comes from the testimonies written *about* or *by* the hands of captives. I took theses as sources that were not only spatial and territorially supported all around the definition of America as a global space but, also, temporarily; captivity is a heterogenous movement of positions of people and subjects defined by gender, class and race; it is an action, an event that repeats itself over and over again in many different moments, directions, languages, locations, and epochs.

In fact, captivity narratives run from the foundational moments of the first encounters in between the westernized world and the aboriginal populations when America was named, to the postcolonial era in the nineteenth century in which Latin America was born, until today.

Real and fictional forms of captivity are present in the mapping of the globe. For instance, at the very concrete level of the guerrilla warfare and narco-economies that we see in Colombia and Mexico today, there are radio programs dedicated to give news to the families about life of the captives. The publication of best-sellers like Ingrid Betancourt's *No hay silencio que no termine* (2010) in which she gives an account of her six and a half years of captivity among the Revolutionary forces of Colombia (FARC) until she was rescued by the army in 2008.

There, she describes the conditions of captivity as a new barbarian economy emerging on the frontiers of the Colombian National State. Living in the jungle she depicts how the captives conform their own hierarchies, division of labor and cosmopolitan communities of prisoners moving at the borders of the civil society.

Fictional and real modes of captivity are also present in the relationships that National States sustain with their subaltern others as one of the faces of the trafficking and smuggling of people, the conditions of indigenous incarcerations, and the living conditions of many immigrants. Captivity put a remark on a whole set of questions about what a person represents, for whom? What is the notion of the political value of captives and what are the de/humanizing current processes of abducted populations?

On a symbolic level, captivity is represented by hegemonic narratives of the global populace through poems, cinema, novels, series, documentaries, and in other words it is a popular discourse of the global¹.

In both dimensions, the concrete and the symbolic are intertwined, based on the production and reproduction of how the experience of captives were shaped and took place, modeling in a transnational context, the novelty of American imaginaries and the modernity of its literary traditions by what I call the dynamic of captivity.²

2.

The stories of the captives, real and fictional, were used in different modalities to depict the colonial world. These narratives illustrated the life of the pilgrims, and the settlers contributing with the formation of the colonial communities, cultural identities, and societies spreading all around the borders, frontiers, and the extensive territories of the Americas.

As a distinctive modality than the colonial reason took, the dynamic of captivity provides valuable sources to justify ideological projects for colonizing and defining the relationships in between enemies and allies, and between classifying and declassifying people.

For some statistical perspective, however incomplete, consider this figures: between 1675 and 1763, approximately 1641 New Englanders were taken hostages (Voughan and Richter, p.53); and during the decades-long struggle between whites and Plains Indians in the mid-nineteenth century, hundreds of women and children were captured³.

In the library of Newberry, in Chicago, there are around two thousand captives narratives published before 1880. The data refers only to narratives. Fictions are another and extremely fertile source. (p.23) The publication of these narratives it was such, that some publishers did not doubt in editing invented stories making them look like real experiences (...) some narratives of captives include a sworn declaration to give faith of their authenticity (p. 25)⁴.

It has been well documented how the exchange of captives by kidnappings, robberies, assaults and abductions went together with the colonial project formations, defining the heterogeneous maps of American literatures and traditions as an original and authentic

¹ An account of contemporary approaches to captivity can be found in the volume edited by Benjamin Mark Allen and Dahia Messara, 2012. *The Captivity Narrative. Enduring Shackles and Emancipating Language of Subjectivity*.

² Rodrigo Naranjo, 2016. *Descabellado ¿Qué es eso? La dinámica del cautiverio*.

³ Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, 1998. *Women`s Indian Captive Narratives*.

⁴ Fernando Operé, 2001. *Historias de la frontera: El cautiverio en la América hispánica*.

testimony and record of the very first encounters in between the western expansion and the native American populations, than went intertwined with different moments and changes of the slave narratives.

According to Derounian-Stodola, an English professor and a scholar on early American women's writing, the target language in which these narratives was English, and featured Europeans. Her main concern is to follow the problem of how captive narratives became a genre cultivated by many authors and publications that change with time by overlapping with different discourses. They would portray the very sexual economy of domination and victimization that anchored the colonial reason, female and male relationships, and also crossing different modes of speech and discourses from religious to military purposes, as well as autobiographical text, short stories, and romantic novels.

Most of the time, for her, these narratives of captivity refer to how men took women, or alternatively, how men hunted man and children, giving shape to the North American narrative space where these experiences were exhibited and circulated in order to give exemplary remarks on the modes of life and the risks at the frontier.

Captives serve to depict the mythical and exceptional foundations of the law by representing the signs of calamity, persecution, demonization of others, exotism, monstrosity, animalization, and many images of violence.

Susana Rotker in her essay *Cautivas Argentinas: A la conquista de una nación blanca* (1997) confirms this mode of approaching captivity. She is located in the Argentinean pampas, depicting the struggles with and for the captives as a disciplinary model to delineate patriarchal forms of dominion.

There, she encounters many stories of lost captives living at the frontiers. The captive narratives, written mainly by the Hispanic oligarchies after the Independence in the XIXth century, as in *La Cautiva* (1837) by Esteban Echeverría have the purpose of serving as a metaphor for whitening the imaginaries of the Argentinians, justifying the military actions against the Indians or for victimizing women, making this poem a foundational narrative of the modern nation.

According to Rotker, many captives were accepted by their captors and decided to stay and live in the other side of the frontiers as an alternative life to that of the colonial cities. The mothers of *mestizaje* were captives, but also, many of those who return to their original communities were seen as damned and cursed people who by being in contact with the forbidden, remain inside of their communities as cursed beings or living corpses.

3.

Captivity narratives intertwined with slavery; sometimes both terms are equated as being the same one, in which the very condition of what is a person and a subject is turned into a thing, a human-thing or a property. But also, both categories are differentiated when they refer to territories at dispute, and black, white and/or indigenous populations. I was

interested by these relationships and semantics of power relationships because the dynamics of captivity are produced by the differentiation of cultural areas, territories, and populations defined by race, gender and class.

Sometimes the captives taken by the Indians lived like slaves and became equivalent to cattle just like in the depiction of the nomadic wars of Comanches⁵. Here, the deleuzian nomadic war-machines versus the scientific, centralized, territorial and bureaucratic ones, can be applied.

What is relevant is to see how the dynamic of captivity took part in the construction of the primitive and modern concepts of war and society and the limits of the political.

If the captive is not killed, they circulate along like horses, goods, and children. Sometimes captives transform themselves and become others, integrating themselves into the communities of their captors, becoming servants, substitute wives, warriors, secretaries and members of the community.

Rotker supports the hypothesis that many of the captives, whose stories were lost on the other side of the frontiers, were in many cases illiterate, and they decided to stay on the other side of the colonial borders because they found more open spaces and less authoritative modes of living and of expression. Rotker especially considers sexual democracy, empowering the captive women with an alternative way of living. On this aspect she proposed to follow the example of Miranda's character in *The tempest* as an alternative to Caliban and Ariel perspectives.

The coexistence of female white captives and the *indio* put in danger the traditions and the identity in the sense than the *indio* as any other enemy during the XIX century did represent the undomesticated. The captive women, then -- and her body as a metaphor of the social space -- was the expression of a meaningful and foundational system, a space of tensions so deep, than she became one of the tabues of the national narrative⁶.

What it is important to remark here is to see how the dynamic of captivity was based on a bodily-knowledge. Rotker links the disappearing of captives, and the function of Argentinian literature to the whitening of the nation. She connects this to the Latin American dictatorships in which children were taken from their parents, and their national records, disappeared. Inscribing and erasing here are both based in the dynamic of captivity.

⁵ S.C. Gwynne, 2010. *Empire of the Summer Moon. Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the most Powerful indian Tribe in American History.*

⁶ Op cit. Rotker, p. 21.

4.

Alonso Gonzáles de Nájera, Maestre de campo in the Spanish army, wrote a treatise in favor of slavery that he named *Desengaño y reparo de la Guerra del Reino de Chile* (1606). A work where we can see how the semantics of slavery and captivity work differently depending on race, gender and class categorizations of Spanish domains.

In the south of Chile, captivity among the Indians meant something different than slavery. For Gonzáles de Nájera it meant an unruled business where people, goods, and stocks were exchange, and taken into wild areas and territories of the Chilean kingdom. Captivity meant bad business where corrupted soldiers, Indians, fugitives, and all sort of renegades meet. For him, and following the points of view of the humanists of his times, slavery was seen as something more territorialized, civilized and evolved than captivity.

In order to put an end to the war against the Indians, he promotes the institution of slavery. He recommends the annihilation of mapuche, and the blackening of the kingdom by using the routes from Brazil to Chile to bring slaves as a remedy against the unruled business of captivity, that gave too much power to the Indians and corrupted Spaniards⁷. He portrays slavery as licentious and unregulated commerce that sees captivity as the economy of libertinage in which his view was to put a mark on the health of the kingdom (*reino*) as a corporeal imaginary in which captivity, as a bodily-knowledge, perverts laws and men.

In this case, the semantics in between captives and slaves went along with the ways by which indigenous and black populations were defined, and treated under categorization of casts, races, gender and classes.

For Gonzáles de Nájera, blacks were better workers, easier to sustain, and domesticate. Indians were seen, as incapable of living under any rule except by the dismembering of their communities, exile, and eradication. His goal was not to assimilate them, but to dismantle their conspicuous appetite for captives, being the *malocas* (the wild strikes and raids against settlers and the cities to rob and take) a pernicious business.

In his argument, which is theoretical and looks for practical measures, the process of differentiating blacks and indigenous populations is a dispute for territory and land, but it also goes along with putting blacks and indians in different moments of evolution and follows the political economy of the *bárbaros* used on his times⁸.

His recommendations against the economy of captivity portrays primitive and modern imaginaries of the people living under this Hispanic view of captives as part of a global economy of bodies and people, where transatlantic interest and the competing forces of different imperial projects and views collide and match⁹.

⁷ An interesting reading on Gonzáles de Nájera and a historical study on slavery and the whitening of the nation is Rolando Mellafe, 1984. *La introducción de la esclavitud negra en Chile. Tráfico y rutas*.

⁸ David J. Weber, 2005. *Bárbaros, Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*.

⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, 1992. *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*.

As Lisa Voigt has suggested, captives were in many cases transcultural subjects serving the interest of power, by giving a true account of their experiences as producers of knowledge and authority¹⁰.

The differentiation to separate territories dominated and under the control of the metropolitan forces and the local populations, went along with the process of locating temporal displacement of the modern and the primitive societies, in which both terms slavery and captivity as bodily-knowledges were being evaluated and tested along.

5.

Depending on the Hispanic world view of captivity, or the English one, they produce very different understandings about how captivity works; the purpose of its' literary machines. On this, I thought of captivity in a very foucaultian sense as a recurring figure to think about power relationships, domination and technologies of goods, gifts, sacrifices, and wars. These wars were built from within the living experience of a system of exchanging and reproducing bodies, in where an entire system of heterogeneous valuations was put into action. Captives circulate as currency and living coins in which pre and post capitalist modes of production were born. Then, instead of looking only from a foucaultian perspective, I thought the position of captives accomplished a very bataillian point of view put into practice, as seeing the dynamic of captivity as another expression of the accursed share. Having both theoretical perspectives in mind, I thought the dynamic of captivity is a chance to take a pick into the nature of American writing in its widest sense.

6.

In linguistic terms I understand and think of captivity as a baroque concept defined by the colonial view of the world that keeps within itself a Janus face; a double and mirroring figure displacing and relocating itself by the constitutive division of coloniality in a permanent cleavage without a final synthesis or resolution¹¹.

Here, the Spanish word *cautiverio* keeps the dual character of the baroque concept, which is basically a concept without a final synthesis because there is not, in the baroque reasoning, a possibility to reconcile the particular with the universal.

Captivity attaches to its meaning the dual senses of catching/glimpsing, hunting/wandering, wondering/showing, seclusion/domestication, reclusion/surprise.

Meanwhile in English, the word *captivity* keeps a very simple meaning. Captivity is mainly understood in the imprisonment-sense, while the word *cautiverio* keeps within the dual nature of the reclusion and the fleeing figure.

¹⁰ Lisa Voigt, 2009. *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic. Circulation of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds*.

¹¹ Rodrigo Naranjo, 2003. *Recaída al barroco*. (Ph.D. Dissertation).

Captivity is a two dimensional concept. That's why in sociological terms we can see captivity as a sociocultural practice that produces children, exchange of knowledges and goods; and in it's symbolic dimension the dynamic of captivity serves as the surface in which the colonial reason was exercised to reflect itself in the economies an reproductions and production of extraordinary events, experiences, miracles, magic as well as genocide and extinction.

7.

The dynamic of captivity is an economy of excess and exceptions that was suffered by the body and the mind, provoking affects and affective communities. Here, Christians of the world, protestants and Catholics, found a way to illustrate their views, and also their religious controversies and wars against each other, as well as heretics, witchcraft, an subaltern forms of knowledge, depicting disciplinary measures to expose the signs of redemption, the lost, and the survival of the captives as a process in which a person or a subject was rescued, eliminated, made up as an American topic and *subjected*.

That's the case of Hanah Dunstan written by Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1697) who was taken by the Abenakis in Massachusset, and who also became a protestant heroin because she was able to escape from her captors and kill them using a tomahawk. Along with her companions and as a proof of her perils she took the scalps of her captors, who were mainly children.

This infamous case has been read in different directions, but Dunstan was a women of low class. Her testimony was written by Cotton Mather, an author and a protestant authority. He portrays her story as an exceptional example of a redemption that made her an accepted member of the church.

Her story was used as a model to justify slaughter, and was told as part of the preaches of that Sunday's mass and then repeated at school on Monday in order to show the meaning of redemption, as a recognition of her actions as signs of the providence, the accomplishment of the law and her exceptional powers to overcome perils by revenge.

Cotton Mather was a well-known writer of his times, and his works on the trails against witchcraft in Salem gave him notoriety.

Feminist theorist have also read this case like an example of the return of violence to patriarchal figures of domination symbolizing the empowering of the oppressed.

When I studied the case I wonder about what happened with the scalps, why did the captives exchanged scalps? specially in North America, they produced this market for scalps as a sign of authenticity or, an inscription of the dynamic of captivity¹².

The fact is that scalps and the scalping, produced a profitable market, and a demand that was exhibited as being part of the American novelty, as an authentic "thing" in which the

¹² Axtell, James & Sturtevant, William C. 1980. "The unkindest cut, or who invented scalping?" at *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Vol. 37, No 3.

position of the hunter, was taken by all parties involved in colonial times, and after, as proof of the emergence of an exceptional trophy of singular value.

It can be said that the captivity narratives are sustained by this kind of exhibition of bodily-knowledge, violence and desires. They can communicate violence, because captivity works as a very raw material which consumes by capturing, torturing, fucking, ingesting, among many other forms of consumption. These were all inscribed into the mode of reasoning of the colonial as the way to justify the rational necessity to establish dominion.

8.

In the other direction, the contact in between captives and natives gave birth to an entire landscape of idyllic places releasing alternative forms of social, economic, sexual and cultural societies; the intercourse, produced by these encounters went to support the imaginaries of resistance and rebellion against the colonial powers, establishing at the other side of the border, the cosmopolitan spaces of alternative modernity and counter-enlightened views of the American novelty.

This is the direction Fernando Opere's follow, seeing captivity as a matrix of miscegenation and transculturation as a very distinctive feature of hispanic colonial modernity.

In Mexico, Aguilar never returned from his captivity and decided to live among the Indians. He even tattoos his entire body as a symbol of his change and becoming other. A symbol of a neo-indigenous becoming that was taken as a symbol of the goodness of *mestizaje*.

Meanwhile, during the same time, other conquerors like Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his narrative of the *Castaways* (1542), which was published in his lifetime after eight years of being lost at the coast of Mexico while travelling through Florida and Mississippi¹³. He was with Dorantes, Maldonado, and his faithful slave Estebanico, one of the first Africans in America.

They learned Indian languages, meet the Seminolas, Sioux, and Buffalos. After being taken as slaves by the indians they escape from captivity and Cabeza de Vaca became a healer, a shamanic symbol and a trader among the indians people. On his narrative he has to sort the gaze of the Inquisition avoiding the passages when he declares he was able to make miracles curing and reviving people.

They did return to his conqueror companions where Cabeza de Vaca was recognized and gifted with a position by the Spanish crown at Río de la Plata. This finally turned into a new captivity but instead, at the hands of the Spaniards.

¹³ The spanish edition of the *Naufragios* was then edited a second time in 1555.

His story was popular and read like an illustration of the life of Lazarus returning from his death and his captivity, told by himself. It was put to work as an experience of truth and how the unknown becomes known.

Writing his narrative transforms the “sad and miserable captivity” into a productive service that embraces the dual purpose of providing useful and accurate information as well as edifying entertainment¹⁴.

9.

Through the dynamic of captivity we can see how the fictional machines, in which the heterogeneous writing of American global space, was put to work the inventions and definition of others as people, friends, enemies, persons, and things.

These literary machines of captivity, shape and feed the ways in which the primitive and the modern were being constituted, recreating cannibalistic, nomadic, orgiastic and even as Linebaugh & Rediker explain with another baroque-figure, the hydra¹⁵.

What was at stake was configuration through communal experiences of confederations and federations. The duel in between the powers of the hydra of the many heads, and the herculean unifying and territorial forces of the State in which the American continent it was being inscribed.

I thought then, that more than a universal phenomenon, the dynamic of captivity and the knowledge that emerges from its narratives and testimonies, then and now, have to deal with the problem of the singular and how the singular experience of captives was and is produced and reproduced by literary means, creating and fueling the American real and fictional archives. As well as alternative modes of inscribing the limits of the western experiences.

Archives of captives in which the memory devices of what is new about the New World have been carefully managed and guarded in order to understand the heterogeneous forms of American modernity, and the foundations of its literary traditions, canon formations and subjects.

The captives experiences does not gives an answer about what a singular experience is. It does show how the singularity of what is exceptional, extraordinary and it has been experienced is made from making the unknown became knowable, and quotable, told and retold as a story that was meant to produce habits for the mind and the body, in order to classify and distribute the populations of the New World as a fulfillment for and against the west and European dreams and powers to established a domain and justify it.

¹⁴ Op cit. Lisa Voigt, p.58

¹⁵ Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000. *The Many Headed Hydra. Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic.*

10.

This is the line of approach Lisa Voigt takes in her work *Writing captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic* (2009), where in a close reading of the American canon, she remarks on the comparative analysis of captive narratives focusing on epistemological notions developed by American canonical literatures.

According to her, the epistemologies of the frontiers were written by the hands of captives, and the epistemological problem posits very contemporary questions about how the problem of truth and the experience of the captives was meant.

For captives, the story of their conversions, transformations, circulations, and learnings locates the problem of their experience as if it were to produce an account of what there wasn't. To phrase it differently, the experience of the captive constituted the very location of the limits of knowledge, language, body and community.

The ways in which captives' narratives were produced was a negotiation and exchange with knowledge and authority of what was already known. From that point of view, it took the form of confirmation and proof of the changing limits of what was real and what was not as a limit of an extraordinary adventure, an exceptional exercise, or as an entertaining story.

Captives took the positions of informers and witnesses of the processes of the law making. As witnesses their testimonies produce morals and values. But, in the milieu of colonial community, they also produce and reproduce the depictions and making of the foreign body, from the perspectives of a tangible experience that was put into circulation to map and to configure alien alterities.

What is relevant is to take into account that this dynamic of captivity allows different technologies and apparatuses to distribute, divide and order the American grammatological landscapes. This happens through unifications and hierarchization of its languages, in which the captives are put at the very center of how, until today, we relate to the notions of civility and its limits¹⁶. Sometimes captives live like parasites inside another body and some others they share a symbiotic relationship showing its powers of becoming, changing or remaining just the same subject.

11.

American literature exists in English, Hispanic and Latino versions, so we should keep in mind that the Latino version came out just recently at the middle of the nineteenth century. It was a result of the postcolonial moment, claiming to see captivity as one of the original sources that give birth to the singularity of an American experience defined as a

¹⁶ I took the path to study the grammatology of civil society from the analysis of Ronald A.T. Judy, 1993. *(Dis)forming the American Canon*, whose work focus in the deconstruction of the English-American canon formation of Afro American studies, and inquired into the very basic foundations of sovereignty, literature and thought.

global space. This postcolonial moment, as Walter Mignolo put it, it's a controversial one, because the Latin American project was already anchored by the same colonial reason than it was trying to defeat¹⁷.

But meanwhile in the colonization of North America, hundreds of captives narratives were published and distributed generating a profitable business; in the South, the literature of captives went more scattered and took a different turn.

As we said before, there are plenty of captives stories but in the South the literary mode was not the intense reproduction machinery of the living testimonies of the captives, it belongs more to secluded confessions, metaphors, symbols, and figures of speech, in which the truth of the living experience of the captives was put into trial.

The captivity here claims and produces the very early mode in which the *criollos* consciousness comes to life and is pronounced. This, all in order to demand equal rights and reforms to the powers of the metropolis, giving birth to the notion of *patria* (motherland).

That's the case of the *Cautiverio feliz y razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile*, written by Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán (1673) describing his captivity after the battle of Las Cangrejas where he was taken by the mapuches.

He was a very young soldier and also he was never killed at battle because he was recognized as the son and descendant of one of the Spanish heads and mapuche call him after his father the little Alvaro, *alvarito*.

During his captivity he was welcomed by the Indians, and took part on parties that were celebrated at the destroyed fortresses. Here mapuche warriors were dressed like Spaniards, and friars, with thousands of people celebrating the defeat of the conquerors. This is why his work has been read in the line of a counter-conquest narrative that celebrates exchange and mobility at the porous borders of the imperial gaze.

Pineda y Bascuñán give an exceptional account of ethnographical information. It took him almost thirty years of reflection to produce his work, and this work it was not published during his lifetime, but two centuries later, by the hands of republican generations of Chilean intellectuals.

That, alongside the conflicts they were having against the mapuches around 1860, make his work a valuable insight and source of historical and anthropological information about the endless war, looking for the humanization of the indigenous and the regeneration of the old kingdom. The republican humanists decided to edit this work, and it was reprinted in different versions many times.

The way Pineda y Bascuñán made his claims sound as efforts to regenerate and put an end to the war was by means of portraying his captivity as the most joyful experience he'd ever had, while giving numerous insights to capture the attention of monarchical authorities and readers. Instead of slaving the Indians or destroying them, as Gonzáles de

¹⁷ Walter D. Mignolo, 2005. *The Idea of Latin America*.

Nájera did, his purpose was to convert and integrate them as Christians and servants of the laws.

He does follow what I was saying about the baroque concept of *cautiverio*, he conceives his book as a lettered and metaphorical captivity device. The book was meant to be a metaphorical vessel exhibiting the Hispanic modernity of the new colony to rehabilitate the *reino* by incorporating the indians.

The metaphor was meant to be put into practice as a whole set of measures to correct the wrongdoings, and to fill the ship with converted mapuches to be given to the high authorities of the Court.

He was surrendering this vessel, which he calls "a delinquent one" as a proof of his own perils and works as being part of the first generations of *criollos*.

By this way he was trying to get a chance to turn his fate, by telling the truth of the kingdom on his remaining days. The metaphor illustrates how the modernity of his writing was seen by its own inscription of his experience among the ideas of the good savages.

The discourses on captivity support in a mirror-like fashion the arguments in favor and in defense of the cultural inheritance, rights and background of the *criollos*, making intelligible the differences and gradation that *mestizo* ideologies established for American descendants¹⁸.

On Pineda y Bascuñán's view the way to relate to mapuche was to recognize them as a primitive christian community and the problem was to establish a tie with them.

The Conquest on this aspect was seen as a degenerative enterprise that was destroying the kingdom. Following his Jesuit education he portrays his experience using a scholastic knowledge to classify and hierarchized mapuche as a virtual remedy to recover the health of the motherhood.

He propose to make alliances with the indians and incorporated blood communities of servants integrating when it fits, customs and habits in order to correct the conquest policies and deviant practices that were being sustained by the very same spaniards.

Here the five discourses of the captive as a true account of his experience works as a discourse on the matters of Right, Religion and Literature as a sort of theopolitical treaty.

On this aspect, he put into trial his experience of captivity as a space to elaborate a criteria of distinction between local positions of *criollo* descendants and the metropolitan spaniards, understanding the dynamic of captivity as a valuable exchange.

Here, captivity works in the daily experience of the colonial picture, and also in the mind of colonizers and the colonized by which class, gender, caste, and race take place and operate. Opposed to the Gonzáles de Nájera reasoning, if libertinage it is not celebrated, the encounter is. The *Cautiverio feliz* has been read on this aspect, taking into account

¹⁸ A useful view on the development of *criollos* consciousness during the baroque is the essay written by Anthony Pagden, 1987. "Identity Formation in Spanish America" in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800*.

how eroticism was depicted in the context of the global economy of piracy and slave trade characterizing primitive accumulation.

12.

Independently of the linguistics and sociocultural differences, colonial reason locates captives as the witnesses and the living proof of its own makings, connecting the real and the imaginary.

On this aspect, we could say that the dynamic of captivity works as a form of a negative dialectic or a critical magical realism, in which the imaginary, the real and the extraordinary are joint together. This produces, as Lisa Voigt suggest, a space for enjoyment and entertainment illustrating how the power-knowledge relationships are exercised and performed.

In the context of societies at war we could said terror and fascination works together. If magical realism was an aesthetic to put Latin American myths and community imaginaries that were excluded from History into history I thought the dynamic of captivity to depict the very material expression of how bodily-knowledges function, confronting in a heterogeneous context, the terms and definitions of people, persons, property and things among others. Or put it in different words, the dynamic of captivity expose the raw materials in which the violence devices of the colonial reason are circulated and communicated. It is in fact, a nasty, ugly an raw critical magical realism illustrating the economy and the configuration of the American body in which the dynamic of captivity feeds its literary models in order to give accounts of the limits of civility and inscription of the American subject.

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