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SUMMARY

In the middle of the last century many philosophers were interested in the novels of Marquis de Sade. These thinkers held that Sade made us aware of the latent and cruel nature of human sexuality. This means that they rely on Sade to formulate a timeless, ahistorical truth. In my essay, based on Roland Barthes' Sade study, I argue that Sades eroticism should be understood as an exponent of modernity.

Lode Lauwaert (1981) is promovendus in de filosofie aan de KU Leuven te België. Hij bereidt een dissertatie voor over de receptie van de romans van Marquis de Sade in de Franse filosofie. Zijn meest recente publicaties zijn: "Batailles lezing van Sade. Genot en literatuur als expressies van kracht," "De Beauvoir over het leven en werk van Sade" en "Van klassieke naar moderne literatuur. Roland Barthes over het grensgeval Sade."

Re-Mapping the "Shitopolis of Santiagony".
David Aniñir's Proposal for a Borderized Mapuche Identity

SARA LUCO

1. All translations in the present article are mine.

Introduction

David Aniñir's collection of poems *Mapurbe: Venganza a raíz (Urban Mapuche: Rooted vengeance* [1], Pehuén, 2009) is an attempt to re-articulate Mapuche identity within the Chilean borders by steering free from the fixed image imposed on it by dominant Chilean discourse. The Mapuche, which constitute the largest indigenous group residing in Chile, have been discriminated against ever since the Chilean nation gained its independence from the Spanish colonial order. Until this day they have to deal with racism and the racial stereotyping this entails, as either fierce Indian warriors, drunk low-lifes or "authentic," spiritual ancestors (Larraín 231-33, 264-65). The literary voice of the Mapuche, which emerged in Chile in the late 1980s, has reacted to this Chilean discourse by stressing the cultural and physical differences between the Mapuche and the mixed-blooded Chileans, emphasizing a clearly marked indigenous

identity based on their rural lifestyle, the use of their mother tongue, the Mapudungun language, and the continuing use of their "ancient traditions" (Geeregat and Fierro).

However, the work of David Aniñir, who is a writer and performance artist of Mapuche descent residing in the Chilean capital of Santiago, shows both the Chilean and the Mapuche vision described above to be absolutist. In *Mapurbe*, which is a contraction of the words Mapuche and *urbe* (Spanish for city) and has "Rooted vengeance" for a subtitle, Aniñir presents a rather radical view on contemporary Mapuche identity through the creation of an agonizing metropolis, or the "stinking demon Santiagony" (76), as the author puts it. In "Santiagony," a wide variety of hybrid Mapuche characters, such as concrete Indians (75), the cyber-warrior Lautaro whose horse "gallops on the web" (80) and the "Mapunk" (Mapuche punk) girl María Juana from the poor neighborhood of La Pintana (32), try to find their way, even though they know that misery is the only certainty urban life has to offer them.

Aniñir thus provides an alternative view on urban life and the place of indigenous population in it. By doing so he disrupts the dominant Chilean discourse (and the traditional Mapuche discourse) on Mapuche identity, creating a narrative that proposes an emphasis on hybridity instead of the clearly marked identitary boundaries expressed by the two discourses mentioned. According to the author, the contemporary urban Mapuche has been marked not only by the history and traditions of his people, but also by the social phenomena he encounters in the modern, globalized metropolis, such as the punk scene and internet communities, but also police violence, exclusion and the misery of urban poverty. As such, today's urban Mapuche move in various borderspaces; they inhabit the borders between tradition and modernity, between Mapuche society and Chilean society and many more. Therefore, in Aniñir's vision, dominant Chilean discourse has proven itself unproductive. It has attempted to fix the Mapuche by stereotyping them and including them in the country's geographical, social and political maps without taking into account the Mapuche's agency and lived presence in today's Chile.

In the present article I will provide a view on how the identitary discourse presented in *Mapurbe* relates to the hegemonic Chilean discourse[2]. Using theories of space, identity and power as construed by Ángel Rama, Michel de Certeau and Edward Soja I will show that Chilean hegemonic power has intended to control the Mapuche and I will argue that David Aniñir in *Mapurbe: Venganza a raíz* "re-maps"

2. For motives of space, I have chosen not to include the traditional Mapuche discourse in my analysis. For those interested in reading more on the tensions between traditional and modern Mapuche discourse, I would like to suggest the works of Mapuche sociologist José Ancán.

the city of Santiago and its inhabitants from his own peripheral perspective, which has resulted in a new proposal for a hybrid Mapuche identity. Through this proposal, the author attempts to escape the fixing gaze of the hegemonic Chilean discourse and, in a certain form, disrupts this discourse, including its ways of mapping the Mapuche community.

Hegemonic and Counterhegemonic Mapping

When discussing mapping in relation to the (re)creation of identitary discourse, it is important to stress its connection to power. Space, due to its political implications, has historically been the medium *par excellence* through which the world's hegemonic powers controlled and excluded their "others" and made claims for more power. A much used instrument in this process is that of the map. Mapping, according to theorists like Ángel Rama and Michel de Certeau, usually expresses a desire to fix an "other" within a certain order of things and thus control the "other". Within the Latin American context, for example, the Spanish colonial authorities translated the existing sociopolitical hierarchy to the urban planning of the New World space— they situated the political, clerical and administrative elites in the city centers, while the working classes and the indigenous and black populations were forced to live in the urban peripheries (Rama 19-28). In Chile, space has been used against the Mapuche on various occasions. When the Chilean nation was founded in 1810, the Mapuche were placed in reservations—literally called "reductions"—by the Chilean authorities, in order to isolate and control them (Bengoa 74-99). In more recent years, the Chilean government has taken to selling these lands,

which are in fact officially Mapuche property, to foreign multinationals, forcing various Mapuche communities to relocate (Aylwin 2-9).

However, it has not only been space that defined the power relations between the Chileans and the Mapuche. According to the postcolonial critic Homi Bhabha, a nation attempting to place its "others" will try to do so by creating stereotyped knowledge on them. Stereotypes serve the hegemonic power by reducing the subaltern subject to a set of terms that ties in nicely with its own discourse, thus fixing the subject's identity and making him "understandable" (McLeod 52-55). When the Chilean Republic was founded, the Mapuche certainly formed an inexplicable presence within the dominant nation's borders, and as such they needed to be "defined." This resulted in the creation of a set of stereotypes of the Mapuche population, of which the images of the fierce Indian warrior who bravely defends his land and the stupid, drunk, good-for-nothing Indian became the most popular (Pinto 64-67; Larraín 231-33, 264-65). In recent decades, Chilean state discourse has added two new stereotypes to the list: that of the exotic, spiritual Mapuche who serves mainly as a justification for the government's discourse on cultural diversity, and that of the Mapuche "terrorist" who through the occupation of private properties and the organization of manifestations in the cities attempts to paralyze state policy (Saavedra 147-56).

These examples from the Chilean context imply that there exists a tendency of the Chilean dominant discourse to include the Mapuche, but not as a people with its own, fluctuating identity and its own agency: what has been included are the static myths of the noble warrior and the "authentic," spiritual Indian and the biased images of the drunk low-life and the terrorist, while the "real" Mapuche through the reservation system have been fitted into the country's geographical plan. In order to be able to control the Mapuche, dominant Chilean discourse needed to introduce them into their own order—hence the fixing of an entire people in a certain space and discourse.

In *Mapurbe: Venganza a raíz*, David Aniñir resists this fixing through the act of mapping. The use of the term mapping may seem contradictory here, seeing that the author does not use this concept departing from a position of power, as has been discussed above, but from his peripheral position he presents a counterhegemonic, rather radical vision of Santiago, in which hybridity, uncertainty and misery are the norm. However, the act of mapping and the creation of counterhegemonic discourse, even though they are in constant tension, are not mutually exclusive. Edward Soja has argued that the "mainstream spatial or geographical imagination has [...] revolved

primarily around a dual mode of thinking about space" (10), which, to use Soja's terms, can be divided in a Firstspace and a Secondspace perspective: the first being the material conception of space, or the concrete locations of buildings, streets, squares, et cetera, and the second being the mental conception of space, or the imagined representation of certain spaces through signs and symbols. Hegemonic mapping, such as the planning of the Latin American cities described by Rama, is to a large extent preoccupied with these two perceptions of space—it focuses mainly on the material objects being mapped and the ideology behind the act of mapping.

However, there is also a Thirdspace, in which Firstspace and Secondspace are combined and expanded into a new perspective. According to Soja, Thirdspace is "a knowable and unknowable, real and imagined lifeworld of experiences, emotions, events and political choices that is existentially shaped by the generative and problematic interplay between centers and peripheries, the abstract and the concrete [...]" (31). Thirdspace thus refers to the lived practice of mapped space. It combines the material and the imagined elements already enclosed in the Firstspace and Secondspace perspectives and adds to that a radical fluidity which is able to capture that which the first two perspectives cannot and do not include: cultural dynamics. The fact that in the concept of Thirdspace the real and the imagined come together in a context of flexibility, fluidity and change, means that the binary between the "real" and the "imagined" as expressed in Firstspace and Secondspace is surpassed and has made way for a perspective that is able to capture fluctuating identities, ideas and opinions. This flexible disposition makes Thirdspace the space *par excellence* for the enunciation of counterhegemonic discourses; it provides the "other" with a space in which to negotiate identities and ideologies—hence Soja's term "an-Other space" (11).

However, how does Thirdspace relate to the concept of mapping? As has been argued by Inge Boer, mapping from a hegemonic position usually does not take Thirdspace into account (121-23). I believe this is also the case in Chile—dominant Chilean discourse over the years has mapped the Mapuche from a Firstspace and a Secondspace perspective by introducing them into the Chilean nation through their spatial and discursive fixing. In the process, the Mapuche have been denied their own agency as such. In *Mapurbe*, David Aniñir attempts to escape this fixing by creating his own map of "Santiagony," or more specifically, of the experience of the Mapuche within the urban, globalized context. This may seem contradictory, seeing that he would

be using the instruments of the hegemonic Chilean discourse. However, the difference between Aniñir's form of mapping and hegemonic mapping is that the poet parts from a Thirdspace perspective, using his own peripheral position and the various social, cultural and linguistic resources available to him, in order to create an alternative, counterhegemonic map which shows no official streets or buildings, but focuses on the fluidity of the lived experience. In doing so, he breaks with the dominant Chilean discourse and its hegemonic mapping practices. The poem "Mapurbe" is emblematic within this framework. Its first lines present a harsh view on the Mapuche reality within the Chilean metropolis:

Somos mapuche de hormigón
debajo del asfalto duerme nuestra madre
explotada por un cabrón

We are concrete Mapuche
below the asphalt sleeps our mother
exploited by a bastard

Nacimos en la mierdópolis
    por culpa del buitre cantor
nacimos en panaderías
    para que nos coma la maldición

We are born in the shitopolis
    by the fault of the parasite cantor
we are born in bakeries
    so that the damnation will eat us

Somos hijos de lavanderas, panaderos,
    feriantes y ambulantes
somos de los que quedamos
    en pocas partes

We are the children of cleaners, bakers,
    market vendors and ambulant vendors
we are of those who remain in few places[3] *(75)*

It is difficult not to notice the hopelessness and bitterness present in these lines—according to Aniñir, the urban Mapuche subject is a poor, excluded nobody who has no other option but to struggle to survive in the metropolis which, disturbingly, has been built on the remains of his ancestors and on Mother Earth herself. This is what the dead mother who has been exploited by "a bastard" refers to: the suffering of the Mapuche ancestors and the ancestral land, which have been overpowered and suffocated by the Chilean order so that the Chilean nation could be constructed. The "we" then refers to the urban Mapuche him-/herself, who through the course of history has been sentenced to working low-wage jobs and suffer, apart from poverty, total invisibility: "we [...] remain in few places." Aniñir thus asserts that the present-day modern Chile has been constructed through the suffering of the

3. Seeing that no English version of David Aniñir's work has yet been published, I have intended to translate this text from Spanish to English. However, Aniñir's poetry is rather dense and he makes use of various colloquial terms and constructions that are difficult to translate accurately. Therefore I would like to emphasize that my translations of his texts are mere interpretations.

Mapuche—for him, there is little difference between the Mapuche ancestor who has been killed in order to secure the Chilean national unity and the contemporary urban Mapuche, who does the "dirty work" for the Chileans, as both have been excluded, exploited and made subordinate to the interests of the Chilean nation. Nevertheless, the denomination "concrete Mapuche" implies that the Mapuche have no other option but to embrace this fate: the city has started to grow on them and has become an intrinsic part of their identity, leaving them without a way back.

The narrative of "Mapurbe" clashes with the dominant Chilean discourse in a variety of ways. First, David Aniñir creates knowledge on the Mapuche parting from an urban Mapuche space and voice—his place of enunciation is thus completely different from the ones usually employed to create knowledge. Second, in creating a contemporary urban Mapuche subject the author takes the conception of the Mapuche out of the mythical sphere and the biased Chilean discourse and introduces it into a spatial context familiar to almost all Chileans: that of the city of Santiago. Therefore, the Mapuche are no longer static figures who pose in government documents and history books, but they become "real" people who move and feel and who form an undeniable part of urban life. This new conception of Mapuche subjectivity poses a threat to the Chilean discourse in the sense that the contemporaneity of the Mapuche can no longer be denied—the Chilean's "awkward neighbors" (Ancán 410) are there, they have taken their place in the city and Chilean society will have to deal with them.

A Borderized Mapuche Identity

However, David Aniñir does not only create knowledge from an entirely different angle than the dominant Chilean discourse, he also breaks with its absolutist vision on identity, presenting an identitary proposal based on hybridity instead of purity or authenticity. The urban Mapuche subject in *Mapurbe: Venganza a raíz* has been deeply influenced by his residence in the metropolis, where he has come into contact with a wide variety of social phenomena, such as the alternative music scene, internet communities and the process of the Americanization of Latin American culture, to name but a few, and all these phenomena have influenced his identity to a lesser or greater extent. The result of this contact between cultures and the intermingling of different elements is a complex mix of aesthetics and codes that has become the norm in *Mapurbe*.

This mix is represented in the first place by the enigmatic, hybrid characters that inhabit the *Mapurbe* landscape. Besides the "concrete Mapuche" mentioned earlier, there is María Juana, the "Mapunk" girl from La Pintana (32), and Cyber-Lautaro, who gallops over the Internet and listens to Iron Maiden (80-81). Especially Cyber-Lautaro serves to point out the hybrid nature of the urban Mapuche, seeing that this character from the poem "Lautaro" is comprised of elements of Mapuche history, globalizing technology and the heavy metal scene:

Ciberlautaro cabalgas en este tiempo	*Cyberlautaro in this time you ride*
Tecno-Metal	*Techno-Metal*
tu caballo trota en la red	*your horse gallops on the web*
las riendas son un cable a tierra	*the reins are an earthed cable*
que te permiten avanzar	*that allow you to progress*
como un werkén electrónico	*like an electronic werkén*[4]
de corazón e-lek-tri-za-do	*with an e-lec-tri-fied heart*
	[...] (80)

Neo Lautaro	*Neo Lautaro*
peñi pasajero de este viaje	*transient peñi*[5] *on this journey*
cachaste que hay vida después de la muerte	*you understood that there is life after death*
y muerte después de la vida	*and death after life*
como lo decían aquellas mariposas	*like those butterflies told you*
con el zumbido de sus alas aceradases	*with the buzzing of their iron wings*
cuchando IRON MAIDEN.	*listening to IRON MAIDEN. (81)*

4. A werkén is a Mapuche messenger.

5. Peñi means 'brother' in Mapudungun.

In these lines, David Aniñir takes the historical Mapuche figure of Lautaro and transforms him into a sort of contemporary cyber-traveler who enjoys listening to heavy metal music. The actual Lautaro the author refers to was a 17th century Mapuche warrior who, according to his adversaries, was a skilled horseman and a fearless fighter. Lautaro defeated the colonial Spanish armies on more than one occasion and as such he became not only a hero to his fellow Mapuche, but also to the Chileans, who saw in his resistance to the Spaniards an analogy to their own war for independence from Spain. Eventually, the legacy of Lautaro would form the basis for the Chilean's stereotyping of the Mapuche as fierce warriors (Pinto 64-67).

While the hegemonic Chilean discourse renders Lautaro a dead hero, in Aniñir's poem the warrior seems very much alive. The author speaks to him in the present tense, telling him that "in *this time* you ride Techno-Metal" (80, my emphasis), and introduces Lautaro into a contemporary cultural context by placing him in cyberspace and making him listen to modern music. Nevertheless, the fact that Cyber-Lautaro lives in cyberspace and has an electrified heart makes it safe to assume that he is not fully human nor fully alive. On the contrary, I believe that Aniñir is trying to create a highly ambiguous image of the Mapuche warrior as living in a semi-human state—he has been brought back from the dead ("transient *peñi* on this journey / you understood that there is life after death," 81) to live as an electric Mapuche in a cyberized borderspace between life and death. David Aniñir thus makes Lautaro into a hybrid Mapuche subject in two different ways: he combines within this character several elements of different (sub)cultures and makes him live in a borderspace between life and

death and between the different cultural phenomena that influence his identity. By doing so, the author takes the stereotype of the Mapuche warrior, which was inspired by Lautaro; and extends it, transforms it, using various modern elements, making Cyber-Lautaro ungraspable to the dominant Chilean discourse—and the traditional Mapuche discourse.

The metropolis and the many cultural manifestations present within it have thus urged the contemporary Mapuche to rethink their identity. The notion of borderspace plays an essential role in this process, seeing that this is the space where different elements, characteristics and subjectivities come together—in the case of Cyber-Lautaro, this is where life and death meet and where Mapuche history, globalized internet culture and heavy metal intermingle. Therefore, in Aniñir's writings the border between things is not just a line, but it is a space of possibility. As Inge Boer has argued in her work *Uncertain Territories: Boundaries in Cultural Analysis*, borders are in fact not rigid lines of division between two different things, but are potentially open, flexible spaces of negotiation (10-13). The term "border" in this context does not just cover geographical borders, but also the ones between cultures, ethnicities, nations, religions and sexes. It is within the borderspaces between these entities that identities are negotiated.

Therefore I would like to argue that borderspace is one of the most important spaces on David Aniñir's map of "Santiagony" and its Mapuche inhabitants. First, the hybrid characters that inhabit *Mapurbe* have originated in these spaces and move within them on a daily basis, which has forced them to rethink their identities. Second, the borderspace provides Aniñir with a basis for his counterhegemonic discourse. In fact, the borderspace is a changing, transient space in itself, where subjects and elements from different parts meet. As such it belongs to no-one and thus to everyone. This undefined disposition makes it a perfect breeding ground for counterhegemonic discourse, seeing that it gives the subjects moving in this space a certain ungraspability (see Cyber-Lautaro, for example), which makes fixing by the hegemonic discourse problematic. This is also the case in the work of David Aniñir—the fact that the borderspace forms the basis for his proposal for a hybrid Mapuche identity makes his discourse rather ungraspable to the dominant Chilean discourse, which has propagated an absolutist vision on Mapuche identity. It is thus not surprising that the author creates knowledge from this position, seeing that it provides him with the possibility to escape fixing by the Chilean discourse and through that act reclaims a certain Mapuche agency.

Conclusions

In this article I proposed to look into the re-mapping of Santiago and its Mapuche inhabitants in the book *Mapurbe: Venganza a raíz* by the Mapuche poet David Aniñir, aiming mainly at the implications this re-mapping would have to the dominant Chilean discourse which over the centuries has fixed the Mapuche identity in stereotypical representations and the Mapuche subject in geographical space. Looking back at my analysis of *Mapurbe*, I would like to conclude that Aniñir's work defies dominant Chilean discourse in a variety of ways. First, he goes against the fixing, objectifying approach of the Chilean discourse by mapping the city of Santiago and its Mapuche inhabitants through a Thirdspace perspective. This means that Aniñir is not using the concept of the map to fix the Mapuche. On the contrary, he seeks to disturb the hegemonic mapping practice and to create a renewed urban Mapuche voice and agency in the process. David Aniñir's work thus attempts to steer free from the paralyzing Chilean gaze that rendered the Mapuche either warriors, dumb Indians, "authentic" ancestors or terrorists—instead, he represents the Mapuche as actual people, with their own opinions, agency and a plurality of identities. In that sense, *Mapurbe* is a cry for recognition: "we are here and we are real."

Second, David Aniñir proposes a hybrid, borderized Mapuche identity and thus presents a vision that breaks with the absolutist ideas of identity as expressed by the dominant Chilean discourse. According to the author, the contemporary urban Mapuche have been marked to a large extent by their globalized urban environment. They mix the different codes, cultural elements and aesthetics they encounter in the metropolis and therefore move mainly in a borderspace between things. Borderspace thus constitutes one of the most important spaces on Aniñir's map of "Santiagony" and its Mapuche inhabitants.

David Aniñir's work threatens dominant Chilean discourse in a profound manner as he contributes to the creation of a new vision on Mapuche identity. What he proposes is a hybrid, borderized Mapuche identity in order to attempt to escape fixing in the Chilean's "safe," stereotyped images of the Mapuche through its ungraspable, heterogeneous disposition. The fact that this new urban Mapuche identity is difficult to fix, or may even be unfixable, would signify a loss of power for the Chilean discourse—it had the Mapuche identity locked up in its hegemonic structure, rendering it powerless, but through the counterhegemonic discourse of David Aniñir a new view on Mapuche identity has been created that does no longer allow for this kind of stereotyping and reclaims a Mapuche agency within the Chilean borders.

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SUMMARY

In the collection of poems *Mapurbe: Venganza a raíz (Urban Mapuche: Rooted Vengeance,* Pehuén, 2009) by the indigenous Chilean author David Aniñir, a renewed Mapuche-Indian identitary discourse is being created through re-mapping the Chilean capital of Santiago and its Mapuche inhabitants from a Thirdspace perspective. Aniñir provides an alternative view on Chilean urban life and the place of indigenous population in it. By doing so he disrupts the dominant Chilean discourse on Mapuche-Indian identity, creating a narrative that proposes an emphasis on hybridity instead of the clearly marked identitary boundaries expressed by the hegemonic Chilean discourse.

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