

The cacica, the mestiza and the renegade: a female genealogy of early colonial Santiago.

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Abstract

Although the pre-hispanic and colonial periods have been approached as discontinuous, the proposal of an Inka origin prior to the Spanish foundation of Santiago de Chile (Stehberg & Sotomayor, 2012) requires reconciling a fragmented historical temporality in order to understand the spatial genesis of the city (Bustamante, 2023). Contributing to this task emerges an uncanny genealogy of women: Elvira de Talagante, a local Inka woman; Águeda Flores, Elvira's daughter with one of the European founders of Santiago; and Catalina de los Ríos, Águeda's orphaned granddaughter, a rich, independent and powerful woman popularly known as 'la Quintrala'. Mostly overlooked by colonial chroniclers, these women became historical subjects either by their material possessions or alleged vices. Gaining significance in 19th-century historiography, Elvira was celebrated as an indigenous chieftain, Águeda recognised as a rich mestiza, and Catalina condemned as a murderous renegade (Vicuña Mackenna, 1877). Contemporary voices, however, raise questions regarding the cultural significance of reconciling the polysemic icons with the historical guises and times (Marsilli, 2019), as well as their role as female land owners (Gil-Marín et al., 2023). Thus, drawing from historical sources, this research traces these women's lives and situates them across space and time, gender and race, culture and class, mapping the evolution of their identities, relationships, and possessions. Through the lens of genealogy (Foucault, 1971) and the social memory embodied in cultural performances (Taylor, 2003, 2020), this study confronts the issues of invisibility and subjectivity surrounding female and indigenous lives, experiences and materialities during the early colonial period. The evolution of the space-times owned, inhabited, and inherited by these women provides a unique lens to explore Santiago's formative period. Consequently, by unravelling the nuanced dynamics concerning power, gender, and ethnicity, this genealogy maps the intricate cultural and material conditions underpinning Santiago's transition from Inka settlement to Spanish colonial city.

Keywords

Genealogy, gender, ethnicity, colonial Santiago, andean territory.

Introduction

Culturally and geographically diverse, the Andean region of South America bears the enduring legacy of its colonial past. Historically dominated by narratives of Spanish male conquistadors founding cities, recent interdisciplinary studies and decolonial thought have opened new avenues of scholarship into Andean coloniality. In Chile, this reassessment challenges long-standing narratives,

such as the ex-novo founding of Santiago by Pedro de Valdivia in 1541. Here, the proposal of an Inka origin prior to the Spanish foundation of Santiago (Stehberg & Sotomayor, 2012), as well as updating its past, introduced the need to the reconcile fragmented historical timelines in order to better understand its urban genesis (Bustamante, 2023). Amidst these discussions however, masculine imaginaries persist. Further developed by

19th-century historiography, androcentric narratives have systematically de ned and marginalised the roles of women in early colonial history (Zamorano, 2011, p. 48). Consequently, descriptors such as 'powerful' and 'female' rarely coexist in tales of this era. However, a remarkable female lineage from early Santiago de es this trend, offering a unique perspective on the city's genesis: Elvira de Talagante, Águeda Flores, and Catalina de los Ríos, three women who de ed both norms and expectations. This work aims to situate their lives within temporal and spatial dimensions, highlighting their power and agency in shaping the city's historical, cultural, and material landscapes.

As rendered by Spanish chronicler Alonso González de Nájera in his description of early colonial Chile ([1614] 1889), the conquest of America was a pursuit of the possibilities offered by its fertile and abundant land, akin to a woman's womb, open to new life and numerous possibilities (Zamorano, 2011, p. 62). This view of America as female, both object and subject of conquest, reveals intriguing complexities in power dynamics, gender roles, and identity during this era. Although often portrayed as a male-driven endeavour, the colonial period also involved significant yet overlooked roles for women. Revisiting the formative narratives of early colonial America, female lives and experiences provide new insights into the power dynamics that shaped the continent's diverse landscapes. According to geographer Prerna Siwach (2020), gendered spaces are environments shaped by and shaping gender roles, identities, and power dynamics within a society. Reading between the lines of the epic narratives of male conquest, historian Paulina Zamorano explored the circumstances of women during conquest campaigns, revealing how women often managed domestic affairs and business matters (2011, p. 69). Consequently, colonial women frequently shouldered significant responsibilities, including overseeing the family's estate and finances, often occupying instrumental yet seemingly invisible positions of power.

In operational terms, the act of re-gendering colonial spaces and times offers new insights into how physical environments and social structures were de ned, subsequently shaping cultures, attitudes, and experiences. By tracing the aforementioned genealogy of women, this study aims to examine the intersections of gender, race, and class while mapping the evolution of cultural and material landscapes. As introduced earlier, Siwach's concept of gendering space is key. When applied to genealogical trajectories, this notion underscores how space, time, and matter influence and react to gendered experiences. Thus, through the lens of genealogy as an alternative historiographic methodologies (Foucault, 1971) and the performative transmission of embodied memories (Taylor, 2003, 2020), this research addresses Santiago's historical and material trajectory as a place of collective human living, as well as the apparent invisibility and subjectivity of female and indigenous lives during the two-fold conquest of the Andean territories. It is proposed that the study of the evolution of the spaces and periods experienced, inhabited, and inherited by these women may offer new insights into Santiago's formative years. By answering questions regarding how, when, and where these women lived, this genealogical approach to the early colonial period maps the complex cultural and material conditions that shaped Santiago's transition from an Inka settlement to a Spanish colonial city.

The real females of early colonial Santiago

In terms of identity, colonial Santiago was a complicated affair. As introduced by Stehberg and Sotomayor in their seminal work *Mapocho Incaico* (2012), the city was not an ex-novo founding, but rather the appropriation and re-founding of an early Inka settlement, fully active at the time of the arrival of European conquistadors. As such, Santiago must be understood as the result of not one, but two imperial conquests of both land and people: first by the Inka from the mid-15th through the mid-16th centuries, followed in rapid succession by the Spanish colonial campaign, giving rise to a particular breed of Andean cities (Bustamante, 2023). Despite

views on the importance of diplomacy during the Inka conquest of the Andean territory (Rostworowski, 1999; Stehberg & Sotomayor, 2012), the imposition of both Inka and Spanish rule led to asymmetries of power and inherent levels of male-led violence. While instrumental to the literal reproduction of their own societies, women introduced, performed, and reproduced their cultures across the region, steadily contributing to the conquest efforts. This, according to Zamorano, was a key element for understanding colonial gender relations (2011, p. 43), highlighting the active role of women in responding to and navigating violent situations, shaping them into active agents of adaptation and resilience.

The androcentric nature of colonial sources and historical readings has perpetuated passive female subjects, resulting in the oversight of women's experiences and contributions. The portrayal of indigenous and European women as domestic subjects reflects overarching patriarchal structures, aiming to constrain historical females' autonomy and agency throughout colonial and post-colonial spaces and times. Regarding criollas, colonial women of European descent, González de Nájera's account provides a clear example of an idealised subject, highlighting their beauty, domestic skills, and similarities with Spanish women, as well as their ability to excel in adverse conditions. The author, however, acknowledges his limited perception due to his experience centred on the calamities of war, resulting in an idealised subjectivity ([1614] 1889, p. 38). Such simplified and stereotypical views on female identities were perpetuated locally during the 19th century, particularly by history writers like Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, who sought to root a national identity after the country gained its independence from Spain. In recent years, the emergence of decolonial and gender-critical perspectives has pushed contemporary scholarship to challenge these deeply entrenched narratives, including a reassessment of the roles of European and indigenous women in shaping the colonial world, highlighting how culturally and gender-informed perspectives are crucial for understanding the post-colonial present.

However, if finding reliable primary sources to trace European women is difficult, sourcing information on

women under Inka rule poses an even greater challenge, as few indigenous chroniclers' works are known today, while interpreting this information within 16th-century European frameworks further complicates the process. Facing this challenge, ethnohistorian Maria Rostworowski turned to collective memory, specially indigenous Andean mythology and folklore. Here, a diverse range of female roles emerged, from wives and homemakers to tradeswomen, agricultural labourers, chieftains, and even warriors ([1994] 2015, p. 39), implying that women had indeed the ability to exercise power and influence, contrary to traditional gender norms depicting leadership and power as a male prerogative ([1994] 2015, p. 45). While also describing features of a highly patriarchal society, Rostworowski highlighted a key role played by women: that of memory keepers. By tracing the significance of matrilineality in Inka society, which determined group membership through the mother's lineage, as observed by Zuidema (1964) in his study on the spatio-temporal organisation of Cusco, Rostworowski emphasised women's crucial role in preserving memory and transmitting both family and community history ([1994] 2015, p. 46). In essence, her work portrays women as key agents of cultural preservation and societal evolution within the Inka Empire.

While different interpretations arise regarding the role of women in society, one aspect remains consistent across both Inka and Spanish cultures: masculine worldings. According to Zamorano, during the colonial period, both indigenous and European women were influenced by gender driven norms and expectations, affecting numerous aspects of their lives, including their adoption of Christianity, access to education, marital relationships, experiences of violence, and positions of power (2011, p. 82). Unsurprisingly, these norms also conditioned their engagement and influence on society and the built environment. Embodying these colonial encounters, the notable genealogy of Elvira de Talagante, a local Inka landowner; Águeda Flores, Elvira's daughter with one of the European founders of Santiago; and Catalina de los Ríos, Águeda's orphaned granddaughter, challenges both norms and expectations.

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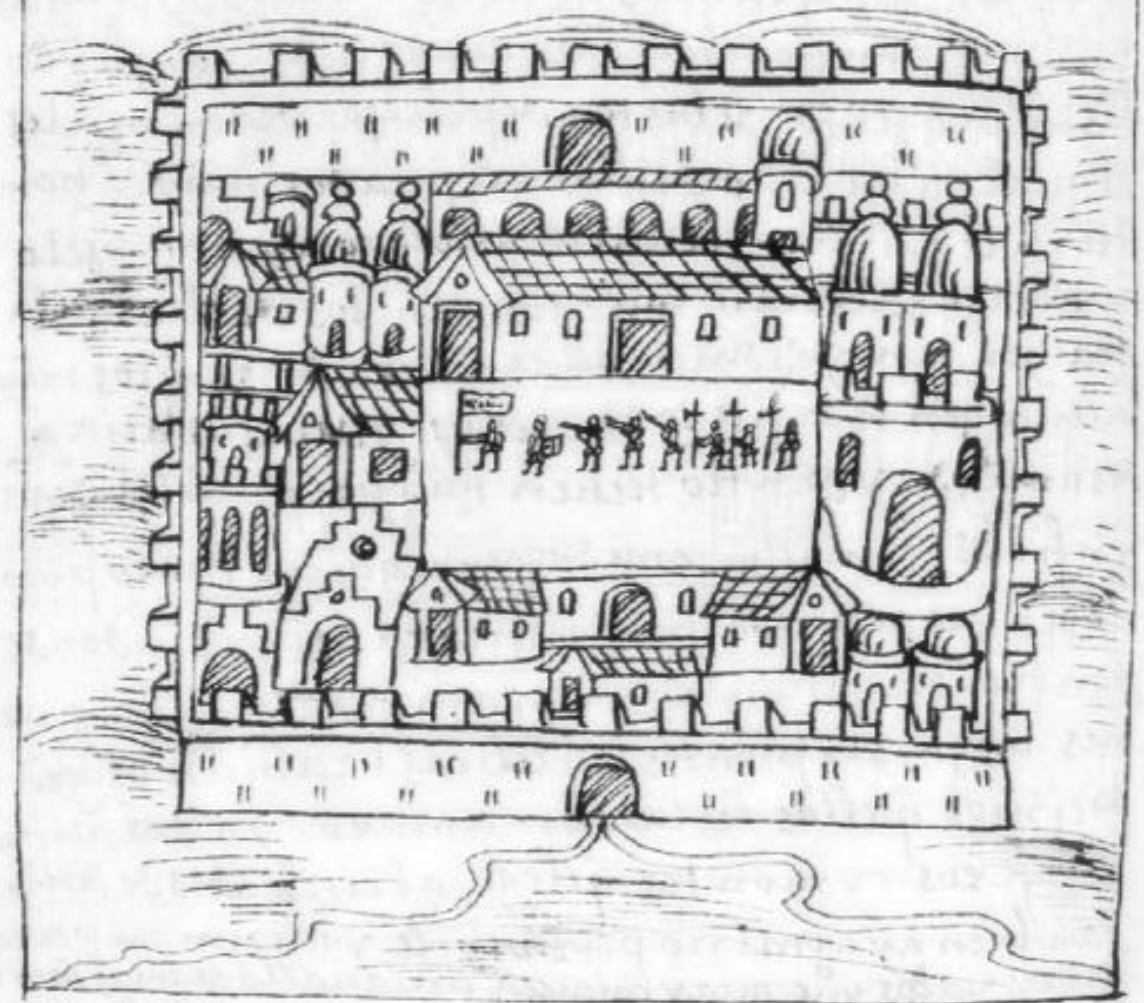


Fig. 1 - Colonial Santiago. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, [1613] 2001. Legend: LA CIVDAD DE S.TIAGO DE CHILE obispado no tiene jurisdicción. Source: Danish Royal Library. <https://poma.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1075/en/text/>

Despite being overlooked by colonial chroniclers, these women became significant historical figures, a fact further nuanced by how their ethnicities may have influenced perceived roles in colonial society, with Elvira being lauded as an indigenous chieftain, Águeda as a prosperous mestiza, while Catalina, the criolla, was condemned as a devious renegade (Vicuña Mackenna, 1877). Contemporary perspectives seek to reconcile these multifaceted figures with historical narratives (Marsilli, 2019), particularly regarding their roles as female landowners (Gil-Marín et al., 2023). Ultimately, such inquiries highlight the nuanced complexity of female colonial agency and identity.

Regarded as the first known image of the city, Guamán Poma de Ayala's depiction of Santiago portrays a city centred around men, disconnected from nature and geography. Contemporary to Águeda's lifetime, this colonial visual testimony reflects the male-dominated worldviews prevalent in both Inka and Spanish cultures. By visualising Santiago in this manner, Poma underscores the patriarchal ideologies that shaped colonial narratives, aligning with the systematic marginalisation of women's roles in the urban imaginaries of the period.

The cacica

The first woman in this genealogy is, unsurprisingly, the least documented. Largely absent from contemporary accounts, her existence is primarily known through 19th-century secondary sources. According to Vicuña Mackenna, 'Doña Elvira' hailed from a prestigious indigenous lineage, as her father, the cacique 'Don' Bartolomé de Talagante, held the title of 'don' even before Pedro de Valdivia adopted it (1877, p. 22). In his account, the writer cites a legal document, signed by Governor Martín Ruiz de Gamboa, wherein Elvira is identified as the daughter and heir of Talagante. Dated May 1580, she reported to the colonial official that she possessed eight indigenous individuals as part of her father's inheritance (1877, pp. 23–24). Unlike Elvira,

Talagante repeatedly appears in 16th-century accounts, such as the 'Actas del Cabildo de Santiago' ([1541-1557] 1861), consistently linked with Bartolomé Flores, a member of Valdivia's expedition present at the city's founding. Under Spanish colonial rule, the cacique, now baptised Bartolomé, along with his land and people, were bequeathed to Flores as an 'encomienda' ([1550] 1896, pp. 5–6), a colonial labour regime which subjected indigenous people and land to European management, forced to work in exchange for protection and Christianisation by the settler. As Talagante's daughter, Elvira was undoubtedly part of Flores' encomienda, not as a person but as a possession.

Although undocumented, Elvira's marital union with Flores became widely acknowledged. According to Vicuña Mackenna, it was a consequence of Flores' social aspirations, leveraging Elvira's considerable position and wealth to solidify his own influence as an encomendero (1877, pp. 21–22). Historian Domingo Amunátegui further elaborated, citing Elvira's wealth as a compelling reason to establish her ancestral land, by then known as Talagante, as their primary place of residence (1909, pp. 86–87). Despite some discrepancies, both authors agreed on the relevance of the area under Inka rule. While Vicuña Mackenna mentioned the existence of a textile workshop as key to the cacique's social and economic standing (1877, p. 23), Amunátegui commented on its role as a mitimae, a colony aimed at consolidating Inka influence and control (1909, p. 86). Situated at the confluence of the rivers Mapocho and Maipo, Talagante was only a few kilometres south of the Inka administrative centre that preceded Santiago, characterised by Stehberg and Sotomayor as a hub for military, civil, ceremonial, and economic activities (2012), with indigenous primary sources highlighting its material and cultural significance within the Tahuantinsuyu, the Inka's empire, due to the settlement of several mitimaes from Cusco (Collapiña et al., [1542]2017, p. 56). But then, what does it all mean in terms of unravelling Elvira's agency and identity?

Notably, according to the same source, each settlement included a house for mamaconas, or women dedicated to the Sun (Collapiña et al., [1542]2017, pp. 51–52). Their presence within the Mapocho valley is hinted at by the Jesuit chronicler Diego de Rosales, who wrote how Spaniards plundered the Inka settlement and took captive the mamaconas (1674, p. 369), hinting at their role within Inka society. Known as acllahuasi, according to Rostworowski these institutions served multiple functions across the Tahuantinsuyu's administrative networks, while also operating as educational centres and repositories of women for purposes like maintaining kinship ties or honouring ethnic leaders (2015, p. 44). This role could have been reinterpreted during the early onset of Spanish colonial rule when, due to the scarcity of Spanish women, Rostworowski elaborated on the regularity of unions between Andean women and European men, significantly impacting both colonial demographics and societies (2015, p. 50). Speculatively placing Elvira in this context bears logic. As a high-ranking individual the cacica would have been considered a key political agent, rendering her an exception to the rule: a woman with power. Despite her historical persona, Elvira's own sense of agency and identity are notably highlighted in her will ([1580] 2000, pp. 91–92). Introducing herself as neither daughter or wife, but as an 'yndia with licence', a 'person', owner of material goods and land, who chooses to bequeath everything to her daughter and sole heiress: Águeda.

The mestiza

Born around 1548, Águeda Flores' indigenous heritage was just one aspect of her unique cultural background. Significantly, Flores was only the Hispanic version of her surname, as according to his will, her father Bartolomé was native to Nuremberg, the son of Juan Flores and Águeda Juborí, his legitimate wife ([1585] 1877, p. 224). Named after her paternal grandmother, nothing in Águeda's existence conformed to Spanish colonial standards. Informing to this argument, as well as departing from 19th-century conjectures, historian Eugene Korth (1968) presented a more nuanced view on Flores the conquistador, arguing that not all encomenderos conceived indigenous people as possessions, but rather as fellow human beings.

Accordingly, such an attitude would have had a significant impact in the mestiza's upbringing. Furthermore, Korth points as evidence of Bartolomé's character his decision to bequeath all his property to his mestiza daughter (1968, pp. 30–31), making her the sole heiress of the massive wealth he had amassed in Chile ([1585] 1877, p. 225). It is worth noting here that Águeda was not Flores' only child, as he had previously fathered another daughter, Bárbola, who died as an adult before 1559 (Protocolo de Escribanos T. 1: Legajo 1 [1559] 1996, p. 30) as well as a son, Bartolomé Flores 'el mozo', mentioned as signatory of his father's will.

However both mestizos, none of Águeda's siblings were born to Elvira. Half Inka, half German, female and wealthy, Águeda was both remarkable and uncanny. Although biased, Vicuña Mackenna's account offers key cultural insights into the peculiarity of Águeda's life, as "the first criolla bride in our land" and "the only daughter and heiress of a chieftaincy that resembled a kingdom" (1877, p. 22). Criolla but unarguably mestiza, genealogy plays a crucial role in understanding Águeda's agency and identity, as well as her wealth and involvement in Santiago's formative stages. Informing this line of thought, anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena emphasised the ontological implications of the term mestizo, linking it to the evolution of Andean identities beyond racial or cultural mixing, as it embodies a complex classificatory order influenced by colonial power imbalances (2005, p. 5). As a criolla bride, overall asymmetries and ontological determinations further underscore Águeda's unique position of power, as heiress to unparalleled wealth that allowed her to maintain her influence and independence. As Zamorano highlights how, due to intricate gender relations and cultural assimilation in colonial Latin America, women faced specific expectations and roles constructed through the fusion of Hispanic and indigenous norms, resulting in a hierarchy privileging the Spanish ideal of femininity while marginalising or exoticising indigenous women (2011, p. 82). While most women faced marginalisation, Águeda, a mestiza without Spanish blood, managed to assert her identity and leverage her wealth in order to shape her own life and surroundings.

Either by following in her mother’s footsteps or as a result of her father’s influence, Águeda married a German settler, his name Hispanicised as Pedro Lisperguer. Far from confining her to gender or societal expectations, this union further enabled the mestiza to expand her influence.

The new family settled in the city, occupying properties that included a house facing the Plaza de Armas and a prominent estate near the Alameda, literally situating her at the centre of urban life and society (Vicuña Mackenna, 1877, pp. 30–31). Águeda, however, never fell into socially constructed roles. Not long into the marriage, Lisperguer moved to Lima, leaving her to care for the couple’s eight children, as well as all domestic and economic affairs. Successful in raising both family and power, her meticulously distributed will emerges as a testament to her independence in managing her life and possessions, but also to her contribution in shaping the colonial cultural landscape. Crucially, this document safeguarded the future of her descendants and the lands linked to her maternal heritage, such as Talagante, while echoing her father’s character by providing for the welfare of the indigenous people under her own encomienda (Á. Flores, 1877, p. [1630]). Additionally, Águeda’s plans for her burial highlight her concerns for her legacy, as she instructed to be buried in the main church of Santiago, reflecting her desire for prominence in both space and time beyond her lifetime, while simultaneously illustrating the complex roles she had embodied.

The renegade

The third and final woman in this lineage is Águeda’s orphaned granddaughter. Doña Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer represented the third generation born in the colony, featuring a blend of German, indigenous, and Spanish ancestry (Amunategui, 1909, pp. 121–122). Born in Santiago around 1605, she was allegedly nicknamed ‘Quintrala’ due to the red hair inherited from her mother, akin to a local ower known as quintral. Additionally, her mother’s reputed knowledge of medicinal and poisonous plants, typical among indigenous women (Ovalle, 1646, pp. 5–6), added depth to her complex character. This particular aspect of her heritage was sensationalised

in the 19th century, particularly by Vicuña Mackenna, who depicted Catalina’s mother as a witch (1877, pp. 66–67), projecting onto her the prevalent attitudes towards gender, ethnicity, and cultural differences of the colonial period and beyond. While Catalina’s paternal lineage brought both Spanish blood and material wealth through her father, Gonzalo de los Ríos y Encio, his own respectable status was overshadowed by rumours about his mother, Spaniard María de Encio, who was alleged to have been Pedro de Valdivia’s concubine (Salcedo, [1634] 1877, p. 263), as well as killing her legitimate husband, Catalina’s Spanish grandfather. Reflecting on Catalina’s historical representations, her family tree led Vicuña Mackenna to question whether this racial intermingling predisposed her to criminal behaviour or moral corruption (1877, p. 78), alleged traits that ultimately contributed to her semi-mythical status.

Catalina’s existence significantly diverged from that of her peers. During her lifetime, her gender, appearance, and lineage played pivotal roles in shaping her identity and reputation, heavily weighing on her agency, as well as influencing perceptions among contemporaries and future generations alike. An example of this is how Vicuña Mackenna famously accused her of poisoning her father, while Amunategui dismissed the claims as fiction (1909, p. 122). These contrasting views underscore the intricate dynamics of urban colonial society and gender norms. Unlike Elvira or Águeda, Catalina’s exoticisation added to her infamous persona, leading to her objectification and hypersexualisation. Key to this argument is her first alleged crime, committed as a teenager. As retold by Bishop Francisco de Salcedo, young Catalina tried to kill a high-ranking clergyman by “chasing him with a knife because he tried to prevent her frivolous behaviour” ([1643] 1877, p. 264). Critical to the tale is its location: Catalina’s bedroom. From a female perspective, the incident raises serious questions regarding power dynamics and consent, emphasising the importance of a gendered reading of history to uncover hidden or marginalised narratives. Her second alleged crime, the murder of a ‘lover’ in 1624, similarly took place while the victim visited her teenage quarters. This time, despite her family’s influence, the accusations resulted in Águeda, her daughter Magdalena, and Catalina herself

being imprisoned for some time (Amunategui, 1882, p. 53). Overall dubious affairs, they render Catalina as a character shaped by and reacting against the constraints of her time.

Despite colonial imaginaries of the city as a bastion of order and morality in an uncivilised land, all of the aforementioned events took place in Catalina’s urban residence. Likely attempting to protect her granddaughter, Águeda arranged Catalina’s marriage in 1626 to Alonso Campofrío i Carvajal, a significantly less wealthy “criollo of illustrious lineage” (Amunategui, 1909, p. 130). Following Catalina’s legal woes, the couple retreated from Santiago to her estate in La Ligua. Inherited via her infamous paternal grandmother, it was situated a few hundred kilometres north of the city, as indicated in the couple’s joint will ([1626] 1877, p. 236). The union bore one child, a boy, who sadly passed away before the age of 10. Of her life in the countryside, Vicuña Mackenna suggested that Catalina was actively involved in managing her estate, citing mentions of her travel and eld gear (1877, p. 109). However, peace eluded her, as both Catalina and her husband faced accusations of attempting to murder a Jesuit priest in 1632. Tellingly, Amunategui dismissed the notion that Catalina’s “erotic aberrations” influenced the crime, attributing it instead to her deviant personality (1909, p. 133). Later on, following her husband’s untimely death, Catalina’s brushes with the law continued due to numerous allegations of crimes against African slaves and indigenous people from her encomiendas (Vicuña Mackenna, 1877, p. 83). Described as lascivious acts of torture and murder (Amunategui, 1909), these accusations reveal a woman of significant agency and influence, who was simultaneously vilified and objectified for it.

A re-gendered legacy

Signalling the end of her life and lineage, Catalina de los Ríos’s testamentary dispositions mark her transition from material wealth to collective memory. Anticipating her demise, her first will directed her burial in the convent of San Agustín in Santiago alongside her parents, across the road from her residence, and allocated her properties and slaves to fund perpetual

masses ([1662] 1877a, pp. 238–239). In her second and final will, la Quintrala emphasised spiritual concerns over material wealth by allocating funds for perpetual masses and religious festivities, expressing her hope for eternal remembrance and salvation. Despite her alleged misdeeds, she made provisions for the wellbeing of the indigenous people from her encomiendas, further highlighting the complexities of colonial power dynamics ([1665] 1877b, pp. 241–242). Overall, this transition from material wealth to immaterial urban collective memory, inscribed forever in the many perpetual rites and processions her possession went on to fund. Despite her transformation from woman to character to myth, the tradition of la Quintrala endures in popular memory, marking Catalina’s lasting legacy (Vicuña Mackenna, 1877, p. 86). Thus, Catalina’s journey from materiality to immaterial perpetuity symbolises the passage of time and the preservation of memory within the city’s historical consciousness, built into its physical environment.

As this exercise draws to a close, the lives and legacies of Elvira, Águeda, and Catalina have offered new insights into the evolving landscape of colonial society and the construction of female identities within it. Through their experiences, we have witnessed the shifting dynamics of gender roles and spaces as the urban environment developed. From Elvira’s reification to Águeda’s strategic management of wealth and influence, and to Catalina’s defiance of societal norms, each woman navigated and shaped her environment in distinct ways. Challenging long-standing narratives of female colonial identities, their stories invite a reexamination of established historical truths, revealing the need to continue exploring the past to legitimise diverse and often invisibilised identities and narratives. Moreover, the representation of these women in historical discourses serves as a mirror for contemporary society. By retracing their steps and experiencing the spaces and times they inhabited, we have gained a more nuanced understanding of history and its ongoing impact on the present, allowing us to contextualise the progressive effects of the past and inform our efforts to shape more inclusive futures. This article has underscored the importance of acknowledging and understanding the lives of historical

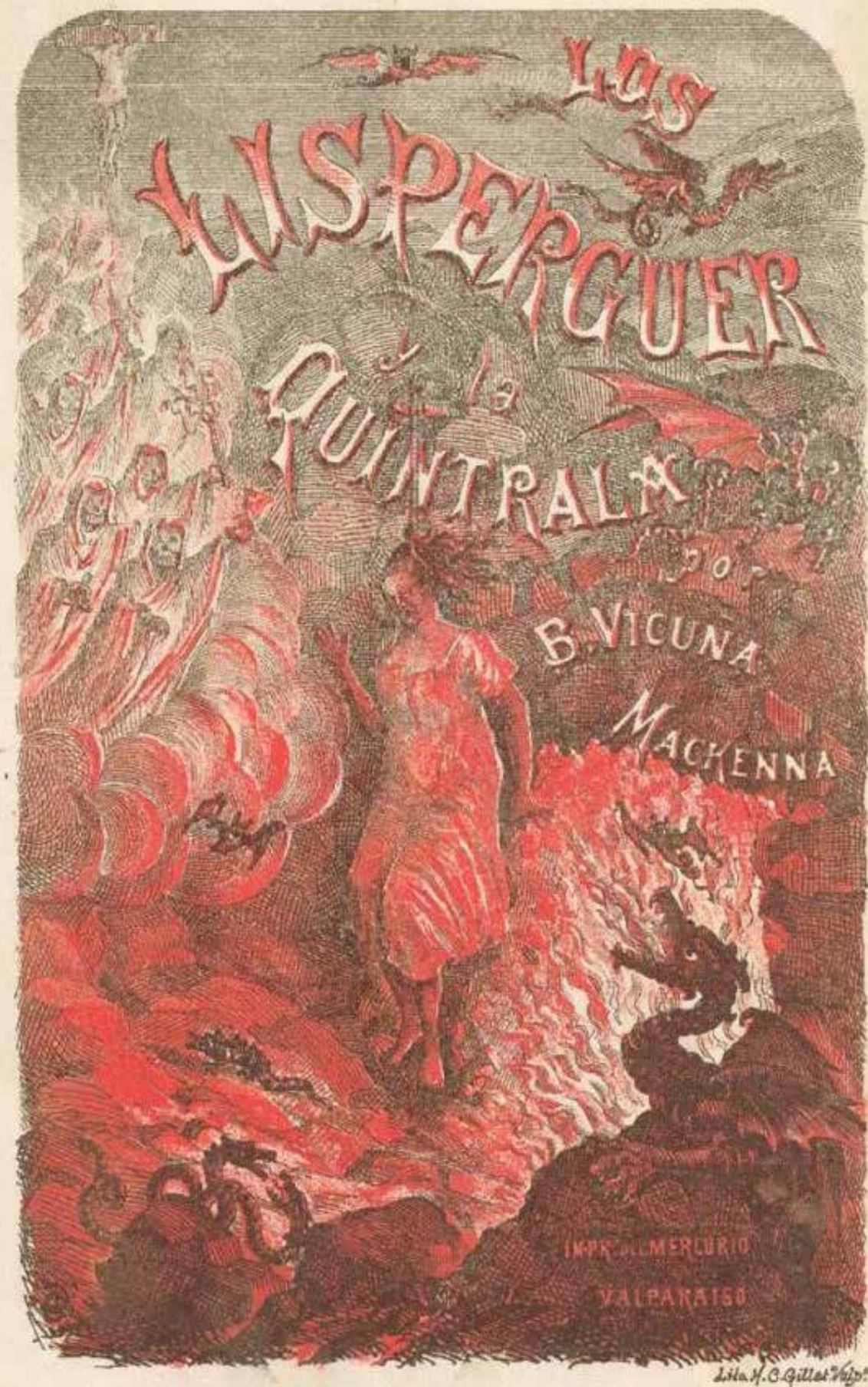


Fig.2 - *Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala*. M. C. Gillet, 1877. Unsettling, the cover illustration of Vicuña Mackenna's book "*Los Lisperguer y la Quintrala*" sensationalises Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer as a chaotic and malevolent gure surrounded by infernal imagery. While this portrayal reflects historical tendencies to demonise powerful women who de ed norms, the drama depicted also underscores societal fears of strong female characters. More than a century later, this illustration invites contemporary readers to question and reexamine the sources and motivations behind such imaginaries, encouraging a more balanced and critical understanding of historical women. Source: Memoria Chilena. <https://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-9494.html>

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