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Pablo Neruda and Juan Marín's Diplomatic Trip: Some Prose **Works on India**

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Abstract

This paper analyses the representations of Indian culture in Pablo Neruda's Confieso que he vivido (1974), and Juan Marín's La India eterna (1956), both based on the Chilean intellectuals' diplomatic trips to this country; the first one as Chilean consul in Burma (he travelled to India in 1928 and 1950), and the other as a consul in India (from 1949 to 1952). The aim is to study their prose to track the impressions, the imaginary, and the vision of the Oriental world that both writers display in the context of their own Western, particularly Latin-American, idiosyncrasy. Given the theoretical perspectives of Said, Gruzinski, Klengel, Ortiz, Kushigian, Nagy-Zekmi and Pinedo, this article compares the approach of Neuruda and Juan Marín towards the cultural elements of the country, as well as their brands of exploration of the history of India and its religious principles, exoticism, British colonialism, among others. Neruda and Marín tried to demonstrate the high complexity of this culture, as similar or more complex than Western culture.

Keywords: India, chronicles, Juan Marín, orientalism, Pablo Neruda, South-South.

Introduction

Influenced by Marco Polo, Benjamín de Tudela, and Ibn Battuta's travels, conquistador Christopher Colombus gives a first glance of the New World based on an imaginary of East India inherited from these explorers. In his diaries, he describes the American Indian with the drawings that these travellers drew in their logbooks as references. This Columbian perspective was passed on to the settlers that arrived in America afterwards. In Books of the Brave (1949), Irving Leonard "executes detailed statistics of the literature read by the generation of discoverers and conquistadors as well as the books that travelled to the Indies" (Uranga, s.a., s.p.) and specifically points out chivalric novels i, since

[they] were the first popular literature to demonstrate the commercial possibilities of the recently invented printing press. [...] these romantic novels exerted a profound influence on contemporary conduct, morality, and thought patterns, and they furthered the acceptance of artificial standards of value and false attitudes toward reality (Leonard, 1992, p. 13-14).

In other words, until the first half of the 16th century, these readings generated the fusion of truth with fiction and inspired febrile ideas of conquest and attacks in the New World and the Orient. A certain image of the Orient was created from these chronicles and travel accounts, which influenced the work of Shakespeare, Mandeville, Dante, Dryden, Pope, Byron, and others (Said, 1979). This imaginary fuelled a stereotype of the Oriental and the Oriental savage that, from the American perspective, emerged as an equivalent of the Latin-American savage, given the exotic and different component seen as the Other. This type of representation of otherness would be characteristic of the Middle East, a victim of cultural and social romanticisation corresponding with a sort of fetishization that is still widespread today.

Said's work which mainly focuses on travel literature and the ways the Orient is represented in those books is currently associated with criticism against the "Western colonisation towards the East and, by extension, towards the so-called Third World, for having exposed the colonial/ist discourse that it has created in the first place, and that reinforced in a self-generating way the idea of an exotic East" (Nagy-Zekmi, 2008, p. 14-15). As stated by Said (1979), during the 19th and 20th centuries the West assumed the inferiority of the East as an inherent attribute and placed it under a magnifying glass to scrutinise it, justify it, and censor it. This is why orientalism acts as a fundamental way of thinking in capturing and correcting a continent seen in its instability and incorrectness.

This eagerness to analyse and disseminate their cultures spread out to Latin America and it can be observed in some literary works, like that of modernist Darío, but also in Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and some explorers like Humboldt. This romanticisation did not only fall on the indigenous since it also condemned women and "simply lo latino" (Nagy-Zekmi, 2008, p. 14). A stereotype that settled down against the European and, later, the North American:

From this perspective (and reflecting notions of Modernity), the West is seen as a historic and specific place that grows and progresses, while the East is suspended in a timeless plan. [...] Direct experience of the geographic space is not necessary to carry out the literary representation of the East, since it is subject to an ideological purpose (Nagy-Zekmi, 2008, p. 15).

The author refers to the fact that the constructed images about the East are based on cultural ignorance and, from Said's perspective, a dichotomy stands as "the (Western) perspective oscillates between desire (the sensual, lustful, enigmatic, mysterious, exotic Oriental) and disdain (the primitive, lazy, fanatic, untrustworthy, dirty Oriental)" (Nagy-Zekmi, 2008, p. 16-17). In this regard, Kushigian's proposal of Hispanic-Orientalism (2016) shows that the vision of the other that involves Said's traditional definition of orientalism is limited and, therefore, has led to losing sight of:

1) the discourse power of openendedness, wherein East and West are in a constant state of contact, flux and renovation; 2) its polyglot nature, that breaks down linguistic barriers through cultural consciousness; and 3) its persistent dialogue with the Other and interanimation of images that celebrate difference (p. 97).

Close to what Nagy-Zekmi (2008) gathers, Kushigian's Hispanic-Orientalism (2016) is an alternative that takes interest in the *Other* by observing its physical and geopolitical complexities and considers that:

Through a teasing out and reconfiguring of Orientalist periods of invasion and empirebuilding, ethnic or racial cleansing, gender battles between social and biological rival contexts, religious wars and philosophical ruptures, alternative narrative voices that disassociate patriarchal discourse from productive cultural clashes could emerge (p. 98).

The same discursive reconstruction can be employed with the orientalist narrative applied to Latin America, which is understood by revisiting the history of its conquest, the collapse of colonisation and its demographic and cultural impact, especially on indigenous people, apart from the ascension of North-American imperialism and its politico-economic repercussions. In this regard, these events strengthen the South-South intersection that Serge Gruzinski (2010) suggests. The vision of Latin America that, as the South meets the other oriental South, brings to light a discourse of cultural, socio-political, and ideological exchanges that tell us about geopolitical bonds that have always existed. It is also a call to pay attention to the artistic and intellectual aspect, that is to say, to observe the South-South relationship from a "cultural level" (Klengel & Ortiz, 2016, p. 8).

Gruzinski (2010) speaks about these encounters of cultures when he refers to the connected histories, that is, Asia and America have crossed paths since the time of the Conquest and the imperial expansion, which has had an impact on the aforementioned oriental stereotype. The South-South relationships that stem from the "histories croisées or 'entangled histories'" (Klengel & Ortiz, 2016, p. 7) do not only point to certain key countries or a subcontinent in the traditional exchanges with the East, like Brasil, Russia, or South Africa but rather refers to the transnational movement of "goods, capital, people and imageries in diverse directions throughout the Global South" (Klengel & Ortiz, p. 7). This would not only be a phenomenon of the past, but rather a characteristic of the sustained relationships between the Orient and Latin America as far as it informs the exploration of "tensions between universality and particularity, difference and similarity in the context of plural modernities" (Klengel & Ortiz, 2016, p. 8).

From these encounters and because of the new perspectives that reflect on the relationship between the East and Latin America, this article seeks to investigate Pablo Neruda and Juan Marín's prose at a time when authors like Sarduy, Paz, and D'Halmar had already shared their own view of the East. Our objective is to reflect on their approach to cultural elements of the country, for instance, the exploration of the history of India and its religious principles, exoticism, and British colonialism, among others, which position their chronicles as a contribution to the cultural crossroads of both continents.

Pablo Neruda (1904-1973): "the reverse contemplation"

Neruda, a poet, a politician, and a diplomat, accomplished an outstanding intellectual work in several missions around the world in addition to being recognised as one of the most important poets of Chilean and Latin American literature with the Nobel Prize of Literature in 1971. His principal texts include Crepusculario (1923), Veinte poemas de amor y una canción desesperada

(1924), Residencia en la Tierra (1935), España en el corazón (1937), Canto general (1950), Los versos del capitán (1952), Odas elementales (1954); Cien sonetos de amor (1959) and Memorial de Isla Negra (1964).

Confieso que he vivido (1974), his posthumous work, narrates various episodes of his life, among which appear his two visits to India, first in 1929 and then in 1950. At first, he recounts a mainly solitary and introspective state, since he was 25 during his first stay; he remembers going to the Kali Temple and he compares those docile pilgrims that he sees in the sacred space with the poets that send out protest slogans in his cantos. The writer says that many of them have been released from jail or will go back there for rising up against misery: "There is no housing, no bread, no medicines. Civilized, proud England left her colonial empire like this" (Neruda, 2008, p. 111). In turn, he narrates that during his trips from Indochina to Saigon, nobody understood his Spanish, which made him feel insecure and uneasy; the distrust and the introspective perspective in the "other world" might reveal that:

at times, it seemed that India bring outs the most Western aspects of the poet, which invites us to reconsider the nature of this South-South contact that is not exempt from the "Europeanised" mediation: as if the fact that Neruda arrived in Rangun from Santiago via Europe (the same that would later happen to Paz and Sarduy) were simply an anecdote from the trip (Quesada, 2008, p. 52).iv

In that respect, Neruda's vision does not match the spiritual and oneiric descriptions that other Latin American writers give of India, like Paz and Sarduy, which exhibit a strong influence of the cultural, religious, and philosophic elements of the Asian country. At the same time, the poet reveals his hope in Nehru, who advocates for independence and describes Mahatma Gandhi as a "sagacious fox", a practical man who clearly sees the reality that shakes the country.

On the one hand, there arises the contrast that the poet's eyes position in the spaces of the South-South in that the religious elements of India are cast on a mirror that reflects the colonising vision of Judeo-Christianism inherited by Latin America; the space of the churches is similar to the oriental temples. In "Dioses recostados" ("The Reclining Gods")

[...] Statues of Buddha everywhere, of Lord Buddha... The severe, upright, worm-eaten statues, with a golden patina like an animal's sheen, deteriorating as if the air were wearing them away... [...] We are reminded of the terrible Spanish Christs we inherited wounds and all, pustules and all, scars and all, with that odour given off by churches, of wax candles, of mustiness, of a closed room... (Neruda, 2008, p. 116).

On the other hand, in his story he denies that Residencia en la tierra (Residence on earth) was influenced by the Far East and, in turn, affirms that any philosophical component was impossible in India at the time because life itself was focussed on scarcities, starting with the innumerous deaths, diseases, and hunger. There was no room for "deep contemplation of one's navel. [...] The theosophical centers were generally run by adventurers from the West, including North and South Americans" (Neruda, 2008, p. 117); he sees in these the fetishist interest and the invention of metaphysics. Thus, he concludes that his poetry at the time could only have concentrated on solitude in front of a "violent, alien world" (Neruda, 2008, p. 117) and not on the spiritual touches that his writings gave.

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In one of the episodes of the book, he mentions that he met a North American named Powers. The poet witnessed the mortuary ritual of one of Powers' wives, who had committed suicide because of the polygamy of the "apparent master". The man performed a ritual in Sanskrit in which the woman was consumed by fire and at the same time, paradoxically, the "spiritual hypocrite" was revealed. Through this event, the poet intends to demystify the space of India, rooted in the Western imaginary, since he sees it as an invention, an intellectual and spiritual pose that provokes rejection; therefore, he wishes to give his stay in the country a mainly socio-political meaning.

In the account of his second visit, he explains that the physicist and chemist Jean Joliot Curie asks him to go to New Delhi for a peacekeeping mission. At that moment, India was already a republic, however, upon arrival, they seize the letter he had to hand over as well as his identification; they also search his belongings. Despite this, he takes advantage of the stay to meet a few personalities that sympathise with the peace movement and who explain to him that this is the spirit of the ancient country: "They wisely added that they thought any sectarian or hegemonic leanings should be corrected: neither the Communists nor the Buddhists nor the middle class should arrogate the movement" (Neruda, 2008, p. 277).

Neruda occupied a political position in Chile until 1948 when he was impeached because of the *Ley Maldita* (Damned Law), which prohibited any affiliation to Communism, a policy implemented during the government of President Gabriel González Videla. As a consequence, he clandestinely flees to Communist Europe and decides to defend the Soviet Union. In this context, he meets Juan Marín in India, and their relationship is shattered because the poet's objective is to establish links with Nehru and the Indian government to create a political peace movement. This alarms the Prime Minister as well as the Chilean consul, who cannot support Neruda's political intentions, since he has to comply with his diplomatic duties.

Additionally, the poet narrates in his memoirs that Nehru received him very coldly; the politician only agrees to answer Joliot Curie's letter, although Neruda mentions the importance of the non-violent struggle in the context of the progress of the Cold War and the threat of nuclear weapons. Therefore, he urges Nehru to gather those who wish to avoid a military confrontation in the world.

Regarding his poetry, it was received twice in India; first, when he was a young poet who was completing a diplomatic mission in Burma, "maybe not only because the poet belonged to the Global South, but also because he spoke from inside and part of the South" (Maurya, 2016, p. 39); moreover, because Indian poets saw in Neruda the image of a writer committed to social causes. Even though at some point his "bourgeoisification" was criticised —especially by poet Vishnu Chandra Sharma—, the translation of Neruda's poetry shows his importance in India. In this regard, Maurya (2016) concludes that

Neruda's poetry provided the opportunity for intercultural dialogue between two peripheral and decolonised countries. The relationship between two people whose culture existed out of the paradigms of European modernity was established and they found a point of contact to converse within and from their realities of colonisation and decolonisation (p. 55).

This South-South encounter translated into the possibility of cultural contact through writing; although Neruda is a Latin American who looks at the reality of India with Western eyes, a parallel

can be established to recognise and separate the common and different interests of the two poles that are colonised and in decolonisation. In this regard, Pinedo (2006) explains a contrast between the statements issued by postcolonial scholars:

he who portrays the multi-religious, indigenous and the Christian Latin American, the racial and cultural mestizo, the dominated by the modern British empire and by the traditional Spanish empire; although both subordinates are equal in the Western eyes per se, both, representatives of "otherness", at the same distance, but differently from the Cartesian project. One of the most evident differences is the dissimilar final intention of each other's intellectual proposals (p. 231).vi

Finally, Neruda underlines the necessity to position India as a space of socio-political struggle for peace after the military movements that occurred in the first half of the 20th century. Similarly, the lyric exchange with Indian poets turns into a bridge that connects him with the independence of the Asian country, since the reception of his poetic work creates a contact that transcends the essence of two subordinate poles, which converge in poetic language to meet in their similarity and diversity.

Juan Marín (1900-1963): "the restless traveller"

Doctor and writer, he works and dedicates himself to literature with the collections of poems *Un* país profanado (1916), Looping (1929) and Aquarium (1934) and the novels Paralelo 53 Sur (1936); Margarita, el aviador y el médico (1932); Alas sobre el mar (1934); Un avión volaba (1935) y Naufragio (1939). In 1939, he is appointed as chargé d'affaires and consul in China; he then continues his diplomatic work in El Salvador in 1944 and in Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon in 1947 and finishes in India from 1949 to 1952. During this period, he publishes chronicles in which he examines the cultures of the countries he visits, for example, China: Lao Teszé, Confucio, Buda (1944); El Alma de China: su Arte, su literatura, sus ideas (1945); Mesa de Mash-Jong; una crónica de China (1948); Lao Teszé, el universismo mágico (1952); Confucio o el humanismo didactizante (1953) and El Egipto de los faraones (1955).

His last work, La India eterna (1956), beautifully illustrated with photographs taken by his wife Milena Luksic, is a meticulous and exhaustive review of India based on the historic events that occur during its emancipation. Marín describes the impressions formed during his travels in the young nation and the exploration of its origins, the civilisations that moulded it, and its mythical religiosity. Marín narrates his visit to the architectural beauty of the Taj Mahal; the "Sacred city" of Puri; Bridhadisvara Temple in Tagore; the territory of Kashmir; his arrival in Ceylan; the prayers to Krishna; Rabindranath Tagore's poetry and the figure of Mahatma Gandhi, transcendental character in the independence process because of his doctrine of non-violence.

Therefore, the South-South connection is established from his introduction when he narrates his arrival in the oriental territory and particularly in India which he calls "eternal" because "it is a respectable and ancient country, with a spiritual legacy and a cultural treasure that the world neither knows nor appreciates well yet, with a message that we should all listen to for our own benefit" (Marín, 1956, p. 16-17). VII After this warning, which sounds like a plea, Marín recounts his entry into the country from which he approximates to the study of its history:

We have arrived in India on two occasions: first from the East and via Calcutta, the "East Gate"; then coming from the West and via Bombay, the "West Gate". In four years in the country of the Ganges, we have travelled all over its vast territory from the foothills of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from Assam to Kashmir, from Darjeeling to Trivandrum, from Madras to Udaipur. We have visited and taken pictures of most of its monuments and we have devoutly entered its most famous sanctuaries. We were lucky enough to get to know some of its most important figures in the field of philosophy, politics, and religion (Marín, 1956, p. 15).

Even though his account takes place four years after his residence in India, Marín highlights the celebration of its autonomy and the formation of the first Indian government on 26 January 1950. With this political act that signs the definite withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth of Nations promised on 15 August 1947, the "liberation of the oldest uninterrupted culture in the history of the world" (Marín, 1956, p. 27) is sealed.

It is 1949 and upon his arrival, the writer finds two capital cities: "There are two Delhi: an Old and a New Delhi. The first one is Mohammedan and the second is British in all his external forms, but Hindu from the heart" (Marín, 1956, p. 25). The reference to the crossroads of cultures and their coexistence under the English crown points to "the mixture of bodies, skin colours, foods, languages, and beliefs [...] [that] bind together, though fleetingly, beings and worlds" (Gruzinski, 2010, p. 170)viii; a reconfiguration of Indian culture under the control of both the violence and the strategy of occupation.

In the section "Gandhi and Tagore: the doctrine of love", the author refers to the Rowlatt Actix, the law that allowed the British government to incarcerate Mahatma, "which caused a series of outbreaks of violence in Punjab and Gujerat" (Marín, 1956, p. 442) after he started a "passive resistance" strike as part of the emancipatory movement on 6 April 1919. Six days later, Tagore publishes in his honour the letter "This is my prayer to thee, my lord", which "contains the most pristine and transparent profession of mystical love sublimated in human love, transformed into a love of one's neighbour and Humanity" (Marín, 1956, p. 442-443).

After Gandhi's departure, the future of India rests in the hands of his successor, Nehru, and just like Neruda also resents the poet, Marín cannot omit to mention the deep discrepancies that he observes between the two Indian leaders:

Gandhi was a religious genius, a mystic moralist who saw God in each person and each being. Nehru, however, does not see gods anywhere: he only sees what his retinas clearly show him. The Mahatma was an "avatar", an incarnation of the sublime spirit of his race, of those offered by India to the world every ten or twenty centuries, a redeemer of souls, a saviour of the people. Nehru simply possesses a generous heart that makes his people love him because they know his and his people's destiny are intimately united and identified. An aristocrat by birth and education, Nehru has come closer to the masses with a mixture of pride and humility (Marín, 1956, p. 445-446).

Apart from the aforementioned about Nehru, Marín also feels overwhelmed by the extreme poverty of part of the Indian population that raises as the opposite side of the wealth of a few. The writer-consul-traveller has seen "its multiple faces: the white and pale of its mystics and philosophers, the golden face of its princes and rulers, and the dark face of misery that causes pain to vast sectors of its population" (Marín, 1956, p. 16).

The concerns for the political and social future of India cannot stop the Chilean from sharing his reflections about literature, especially the relevance of the poet Rabindranath Tagore, who, as a finish line, occupies the final pages of his chronicle. The intellectual incarnates the unscrupulousness of materiality in underappreciated poetry that is revered by modern as well as a few Latin American poets. For Marín, the Indian poet represents the connection with the spirit and the confirmation of a lost orientalism that Marín sees as a huge cultural difference in Western poetry. In this dimension of the book that opens to literary criticism, the inclusion of Neruda is not gratuitous:

The Europe of Sartre and Kafka, of Ehrenburg and Semenov, does not know anything about the "Gora and Chaturanga" poet; neither does the America of Hemingway, Neruda, and Gallegos. Our generation was able to see Tagore's "majesty and misery" in the plenitude of his parabolic trajectory: there around 1915, "tagorism" -and, with it, "orientalism" in all its forms- was the last word, the last scream when it comes to literary trends (Marín, 1956, p. 429).

The orientalism mentioned in this quote is adjoined to Kushigian's Hispanic-Orientalism (2016) and shows the relationships between both continents from a more authentic dimension that distances itself from a distorted expression of the Other that is full of overloaded and oblique gestures, words, and friezes that the Chilean tries to avoid. The author's experiences as a writerconsul show him moving in this direction to get hold of "the horizontal knowledge of a mutual SUR/SOUTH understanding which explores the spaces between scholarship, aesthetic/poetic discourse and a heterodox agency" (Klengel & Ortiz, 2016, p. 13).

The role that Juan Marín plays, representing Chile as the only Latin American country invited to the pro-independence festivities, offers him a gateway to the knowledge of the exquisite and complex Indian world. In our view, it allows him to explicitly state his perspective as "a restless traveller" (Hunneus, 1956) which supports his diplomatic and literary role since it captures strange objects (Gruzinski, 2010) from the civilisation he meets and makes them familiar for himself and for his readers, not in the form of an act of simplification but rather of a detailed account in which he proves his admiration and deep appreciation.

Conclusion: Neruda and Marín's opposed views

As liminal subjects, Neruda and Marín examine the European vision they receive of the Asian and specifically Indian imaginary. On the one hand, Neruda demystifies the image of the Asian country as an eminently religious space and contextualises it as a place of political struggle and confrontation of ideas. On the other hand, Marín validates the local idiosyncrasy without falling into "fetishisation" and the carnival-like look with which India is usually seen. Thus, while Marín focusses on admiring and understanding the Indian culture, Neruda is interested in the political links he can form. Consequently, the South-South vision in Neruda is expressed through political subversion and in Marín, it is bound to a spiritual rescue that connects with literary-political space. However, none of them forgets the dynamics that are established in the cultural relationships from

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the encounter with the social and political dimensions, especially considering that they are Latin American subjects and intellectuals with special sensitivity to apprehend the knowledge they share and extract during these stays in the Asian country. Reading their travel chronicles allows us to see the deconstruction of an initial imaginary that pour into their literary and political projects, although for Neruda there would be obstacles in his way and disagreement between the two of them.

During his first visit, Neruda seems to align with an Europeanised and romanticised perspective of India (Nagy-Zekmi, 2008), but on the second occasion, he adopts a much more decolonised and political view. The Spanish Civil War and his activism in this event generated a change of mentality about what was lived initially. Similarly, while the colonisation process in India is still very recent, the emancipatory way was experienced at the beginning of the 20th century in Latin America, therefore, from this perspective, Neruda observes the Indian independence movement as a stronger appeal for decolonisation in which he can actively participate. Moreover, he not only witnesses the destabilisation of the British colony but also that of European imperialism. Thus, he sees this historical moment as a transition towards a paradigm of the collapse of colonialism that leads him to evaluate the global war episodes in a similar way and, later, the dictatorships that would emerge in Latin America from the 1950s.

As far as Marín is concerned, his experience is highly scholarly; the doctor and writer had been making long diplomatic trips to Orient for years since he had gone through Egypt, China, Syria, and Lebanon before he arrived in India. Therefore, his vision of the country moves away from preconceptions to pour into prose in which he shows a deeper knowledge of its culture. In his chronicle, he highlights Indian spirituality, going through Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islamism in a rescue of the crossroads of the different religions, which must dampen the weight of the British Empire. This awakens his conscience to inform him of the encounter of cultures that converge in the territory and that are not only the reflection of the constant invasion that forms the country; Marín rather visualises the chaos of cultures that coexist in India and he understands it as the trigger of its sanctity, culturedness, and spiritual diversity inherited from centuries. With this, the writer tries to demonstrate the high complexity of this culture, as complex or even more than Western culture. The reference to Tagore is a clear example of this. The Bengali should be an inspiration for Latin American poets, since, according to the Chilean, he is the head of a school of literary thought that incarnates a leitmotiv tied to the intellectual's philosophical commitment to the art of the word.

Finally, as stated by Gruzinski (2010), the journey involves a transformation for the traveller and for whoever receives them, in so far as the transition does not always come out as expected, but it is reconstructed as one progresses. Thus, one gains experiences and wisdom that were not considered at first, and in the case of our writers, this could have been essential to complete their diplomatic missions in India.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest.

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Notes

¹ For example, we can mention the Patagon, "the main character of the popular chivalric novel *Primaleón*, which belongs to the series of the Palmerines, written by Spanish author Francisco Vásquez and edited between 1511 and 1588" (López, 2017, p. 325; the translation is ours). Ferdinand Magellan and his scribe Antonio Pigafetta must have known or at least read this work, since the explorer, in his diary, refers to his encounter with the Aónikenk people in the port of San Juan; described as giants with big feet, the Florentine gives them the main character's name (López, 2017).

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m ix}$ The Rowlatt Acts was "passed by the Imperial B Legislative Council, the legislature of British India. The acts allowed certain political cases to be tried without juries and permitted the internment of suspects without trial. Their object was to replace the repressive provisions of the wartime Defence of India Act (1915) with a permanent law. They were based on the report of Justice S.A.T. Rowlatt's committee of 1918" (https://www.britannica.com/event/Rowlatt-Acts).

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ii The translation of all quotes from Nagy-Zekmi is ours (Authors' note).

iii The translation of all quotes from Neruda is ours (Authors' note).

iv The translation of all quotes from Quezada is ours (Authors' note).

^v The translation of all quotes from Maurya is ours (Authors' note).

vi The translation of all quotes from Pinedo is ours (Authors' note).

vii The translation of all quotes from Marín is ours (Authors' note).

viii The translation of all quotes from Gruzinski is ours (Authors' note).

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