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Title: LABOUR IN THE POETRY OF PABLO NERUDA.

By RUBEN ROMERO MARTINEZ.

**Thesis submitted to the Department of Hispanic Studies of
the Faculty of Arts of Glasgow University for the Degree of
Master of Literature.**

Glasgow.

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THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO ALL OF THEM.

INTRODUCTION.

MAN IS A CREATIVE BEING.

In December of 1971 Pablo Neruda received the Nobel Prize for Literature, and on that occasion delivered a speech in which he expressed some of his basic conceptions about creative writing and the social function of the poet. He remembered the way he became a creator, and summarised in a few words the experiences of a long life dedicated to creative writing.

"A menudo expresé que el mejor poeta es el hombre que nos entrega el pan de cada día: el panadero más próximo, que no se cree dios. El cumple su majestuosa y humilde faena de amasar, meter al horno, dorar y entregar el pan de cada día, con una obligación comunitaria." (1).

The poet- wrote Neruda - should be integrated into the collective effort of the community, as actively involved as any other member. The poet's production goes into the community to satisfy a need. His job is incorporated and assimilated to the labour of others in the common goal of transforming, improving and enriching the conditions of life. The poet is in that sense a worker like any other.

On the other hand, it is a well known Marxist notion that labour and art stem from a common fundamental concept (2): they are fruits of the creative nature of man. In labour can be seen all the efforts of man to transform and improve nature and the world to get better conditions of existence. And as man works to improve the conditions of his existence he is also improving himself at the same time. The transforming action of man over nature does not result only from the necessity for survival. Man transforms nature also because of a inner need to express himself and to excel himself. Man executes his creative capacity in the practical and utilitarian spheres, creating things and objects to satisfy practical needs as well as to satisfy his

need to rise to higher levels of humanity. In creative labour man humanises nature and also transforms his own nature. In alienated or estranged labour, on the other hand, man does not recognise himself in the product of his labour, nor in the activity of labour itself. The product of estranged labour on the contrary becomes hostile to him. Creative labour then is not only the creation of objects to satisfy pure necessities, but rather to do that and to satisfy the need to express feelings and ideas.

Labour is highly regarded by Marx. For him it is "the source of all wealth" and man himself has been improving his nature by labour to such a degree that he could write

"It is the prime basic condition for all human existence, and this to such an extent that, in a sense, we have to say that labour created man himself."(3)

Then following that line of thinking, it is clear that both labour and art have this common foundation, and that in art and artistic work the creative capacity of man is lifted to a superior level of expression.

The products of labour satisfy mainly practical needs but also in them man projects his ideas and feelings. But obviously the expression of his inner life is limited by the practicality of the results. Objects have value as usable things. In art these limitations can be overcome and man can express more fully his need to express and project his inner life into objectivity and can recognise himself in the artistic objects created.

In art, however, this creative nature of man has the opportunity of overcoming the limitations and utilitarian shortcomings which the creative capacity confronts in labour. In art and in any artistic creation man explores spiritual and moral issues and satisfies his need to project himself, to communicate, to express feelings and sentiments and human values, and to recognise himself in the objectivity of the work of art.

Now, having in mind that common fundamental aspect of labour and art as expressions of the creative nature of man, and Neruda's idea that poets are workers like any other, I propose to determine to what extent workers and their labour are present in his poetry. Further, I shall examine how far the collective body of workers and tradesmen are represented in the different works and at the different creative stages of Neruda's production. I shall pay particular attention to the way in which these workers and their behaviour are represented, how the poet sees tradesmen and their contribution to society and the way in which these themes develop from the earlier poems written by Neruda around 1918-1920, then in Crepusculario (1923), Veinte Poemas... (1924), and other books of the twenties, and then in the three Residencias and Canto General (1950). Finally, I shall argue that in Odas Elementales a complete concept of labour can be found which includes art and labour in general.

NOTES.

1. Pablo Neruda: "Discurso de Neruda al recibir el Premio Nóbel". In Atenea. (Universidad de Concepción. Chile. No 425. enero-junio 1972). p 15. Also in Obras Completas. (Losada. Buenos Aires. 1973 edition. Vol. I).

2. Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez in his book Las ideas estéticas de Marx, (Ediciones Era, México, 1965) exposes mainly in the first part of the book Marx's ideas on aesthetics and the general problems of the Marxist theory on art.

3. In the chapter "The part played by labour in the transition from ape to man", in Collected Works, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1987). p 452.

CHAPTER ONE.

EARLY WRITING.

1. PARRAL AND THE FRONTIER.

THE PIONEERS BUILD THE WORLD. THE POET NEITHER PARTICIPATES NOR RECOGNIZES OTHER PEOPLE'S EFFORTS.

It is known that Ricardo Neftalí Reyes Basualto was born in Parral, central zone of Chile, in 1904. His family dedicated themselves to cultivating vineyards. The town's name Parral refers to these activities of the people.

Family life, the towns and provinces where relatives lived, their activities and how poetry came to life against that social, geographic and historical background, were remembered by Neruda on many occasions.

On one of them, writing in January 1954 when he was celebrating his 50th birthday, the poet reflected on the theme of his origins (1).

It seems convenient to point to a few ideas from that work which, in spite of being written as an old man remembering family life and the world surrounding his infancy, gives some hints of life at that time.

"Mis tatarabuelos llegaron a los campos de Parral y plantaron viñas. Tuvieron unas tierras escasas y cantidades de hijos. En el transcurso del tiempo esta familia se acrecentó con hijos que nacían dentro y fuera del hogar. Siempre produjeron vino, un vino intenso y ácido, vino pipeño, sin refinar. Se empobrecieron poco a poco, salieron de la tierra, emigraron, volviendo para morir a las tierras polvorientas del centro de Chile."
(2).

Wine production was the main activity in the town. Each season of each year was determined and defined by the stages of the wine growing process. After pruning and earthing up the plants came the process of maturing of stock, harvesting and pressing of the grapes; this was followed by fermentation, distribution and consumption. It was a long and slow process which indicated and ordered the seasons and stages of peasant life.

"Y de allí soy, de aquel
Parral de tierra temblorosa,
tierra cargada de uvas
que nacieron
desde mi madre muerta.

...

tierra central de Chile, donde
las viñas encrespan sus cabelleras verdes,
la uva se alimenta de la luz,
el vino nace de los pies del pueblo." (3).

Wine is born from the people's feet. That seems a literary and figurative image. But it has to be taken into account that even today among the smallholders of wine producing plots of the central region of Chile, very old and rudimentary methods of wine pressing are still seen. It is still possible to see among the Ñuble peasants, for example, workers treading on grapes to produce the juice which runs into special casks.

Development in Chilean agriculture towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth had economic and sociological repercussions which affected the lives of many Chileans. The Reyes family were among those who felt those repercussions.

Farmers of small plots of land suffered a slow process of impoverishment due in part to the subdivision of land and the increasing numbers of the population who lived on and off the same land. Apart from that there was no credit available and no access to technical innovation. As a result there was an impoverishment and erosion of soils because of the repetitive growth of the same products. Finally there came the large scale

emigration of these small planters and peasants with their families to the towns and cities - most of which in themselves still consisted of no more than a few houses put together - which were ill prepared to receive them. At the same time, most of the cultivable land became big estates under the ownership of a few.

The Reyes family could not escape this process. Their impoverishment was just one of many. These peasants became workers in the recently inaugurated industries, or building workers. Neruda's father, for example, became a worker in the shipyards of Talcahuano first and later a train driver at the frontier, in the new land of the Araucanía, where the railways were under construction.

The experience of the Reyes' shows a more far reaching process in Chilean society towards the end of the nineteenth century. There was this relentless progression of energy and audacity of the newly created capitalist state towards the unexploited zones of the south of Chile. The process was accompanied by mass emigration of people, of poor sectors of the population, the desperate and the persecuted.

At the same time there was the policy of the Pacification of Araucanía, a shameful chapter of Chilean history which in effect meant the advancement of the new order of white settlers onto the aboriginals land, backed by the force of the army. The result was the forcible appropriation of land, extermination of the aboriginals, and the imposition of the new laws.

The new economic forces applied all their strength in the conquest of the unexploited land of the south in the hope of a rapid and decisive development of the new political project.

George McCutchen of the University of California, Los Angeles, wrote on the emigration of Chileans towards the south on that period:

"A large part of this population represents actual migration from the north-central provinces. The

movement of Chilean people southward has been slow and largely unauthorized, hence it has not attracted much attention; but it has been substantial. In fact it represents a migration not unlike in its proportions to that which carried the inhabitants of the Atlantic seaboard in the United States across the Appalachians into the Mississippi Basin. In Chile the movement involved not far from a fifth of the entire population. During some years it brought about an actual decline in the population of several of the older provinces." (4).

This was an historical process with economic and social repercussions, which involved all the energies and creative capacity of a new state. In the view of Profesor Jaime Concha, indeed, it evokes the memory of another decisive historical moment in the history of Latin América: the Conquest.

This movement on the other hand, of the new Chilean state towards the south, became in Concha's view one of the main poetical themes underlying Neruda's poetry:

"Digámoslo simplemente, porque es algo capital para la comprensión de la poesía de Neruda: el carácter de Temuco, y de toda la zona de Araucanía reactualiza, a comienzos de este siglo el fenómeno inaugural de la Conquista." (5).

In fact, the history of southern Chile, its economic and sociological impact, are very important in Neruda's development. Because of this, this chapter stresses the meaning of the process of 'Pacificación de la Araucanía'.

It is well known that the first literary attempts of the poet were made in this ebullient context, where men projected their creative energy onto the jungle - the unexplored world - in an effort to impose the new rules of economic development which were brought by the settlers. The Conquest and Pacification of the indigenous territory was carried out very late in the nineteenth century. The Chilean state used every means at its disposal to take possession of the natives' land, from the use of

the army, new laws created for the purpose, any legal trick or political twist, to the most spurious manoeuvres. The Pacification then, was an important chapter in the development of the Chilean history of the period, as summarized by G. McCutchen:

"Penetration from the north, mostly Chilean came more slowly. In fact, it was not until after the Nitrate War (1879-1883) that the movement southward along the central valley became of great importance. The armies that returned from Perú were thrown into the conflict on the frontera, finally breaking the line, that the Araucanians had held for centuries." (6).

The natives were at last defeated. Step by step they withdrew to the inaccessible corners of the Andes. Their disappearance was planned to give way to the new projects of the nation and the state. Again McCutchen says:

"The Araucanian lands at last yielded to Chilean occupation. Lines of communication in the form of roads or trails crossed and recrossed this long-defiant region. Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. By 1887 the resistance of the Araucanians had finally ceased." (7).

This campaign terminated the natives' system of tenancy, their way of life and religion. The aim was to prepare the geographical zone for the imposition of the new order at all costs. The new settlers and the new authorities applied all their energy and the means at their disposal with incredible speed.

"In 1903, when the railway was built through this territory from the north to the south, the writer travelled on the first through train and found the country, except for a few localities such as Temuco, Valdivia, Osorno, and Puerto Montt, an almost

uninterrupted forest in which few inhabitants other than Indians were seen. Recent tours made through the same country have shown large parts of it cleared, fenced, and cultivated; and in one railway journey through the whole of the old Araucanian territory, not a single Indian at least in native costume, was seen." (8).

But this Pacification process had still another side. Apart from the policy of settling Chileans, with the help of the state and the authorities to consolidate their tenure of the land, there was a wave of foreign immigrants. That is to say, the policy of extermination of the natives was supplemented by the immigration of foreign settlers, especially Europeans:

"German, Swiss, English, French, Spanish colonists penetrated the Araucanian country and established farms. Some of the new arrivals were officially located by the government." (9).

The situation was at last consolidated. On top of the extermination of natives and the acquisition of their land by force or any other means, racist policies of immigration were imposed, protected and administered by the state and the authorities.

In the words of Profesor Concha the meaning of the Conquest and Pacification of Araucanía was historically far-reaching and had that real and tragic effect for the aboriginal race and their language and culture.

"La guerra contra el indígena fue una guerra de exterminación total. La maquinaria agrícola introducida en la zona convertía al indio en una raza sobrante." (10).

1. a The men of the frontier.

The human picture of the colonization shows the enormity of the task which required men with special human

characteristics. The energy displayed, the barbarism of the customs, the primitive ways in which men established relationships, the conditions of new conquerors given to men at the beginning of this century, give an idea of the sort of people with whom Neftalí Reyes had to share his infancy and adolescence.

"Scattered throughout the region also, were whites who had forced their way into the Indian territory and had settled there in violation of treaty and law. Some of these refugees from justice or from social ostracism in the provinces farther north were true frontier desperadoes with reputations that reached as far as Santiago, lived by plundering the Indians or the white settlements nearest the Araucanian border. They constituted one of the dangers against which travellers were warned as late as the beginning of the twentieth century. Others were merely adventurers, seeking a liberty unknown in the established society of central Chile or an opportunity for acquiring land by the simple process of occupying it." (11).

Neruda himself remembered on many occasions relatives or friends, or his father's co-workers whose historical and social background were very similar to that presented by McCutchen. Neruda remembered the men who formed part of the group who worked with his father on the train. Among the individuals, most of them people with no identity papers, who were given the job with no questions asked, labourers recently arrived at the frontier, in whom Neruda saw both kindness and brutality, skill and cleverness, there were some who helped the boy to collect small insects from the forest when the train stopped. Neruda wrote:

"Había uno que se llamaba Monge. Según mi padre era el más peligroso cuchillero... Tenía (Monge) dos grandes líneas en su cara morena. Una era la cicatriz vertical de un cuchillazo y la otra su sonrisa blanca, horizontal, llena de simpatía y de picardía. Este Monge me traía copihues blancos, arañas peludas, crías de

torcazas, y una vez descubrió para mí lo más deslumbrante, el coleóptero del coigüe y de la luma". (12).

Some time later, when Nefalí was already a secondary student, he met Gabriela Mistral. On that occasion, the young poet perceived how the elements of every day life were interrelated, how the existence of different human beings became a part of his juvenile sensitivity.

"Gabriela tenía una sonrisa ancha y blanca en su rostro moreno por la sangre y la intemperie. Reconocí su cara. Era la misma del palanquero Monge..."(13).

But that railwayman was to suffer the fate of so many in those conditions at the frontier. He fell from the moving train into a ravine. All that survived were a pile of bones. In the boy fantasy acquired poetic proportions, which later in his life became an integral part of his poetry.

In the meantime the Reyes family assimilated themselves to the frontier life. The hard conditions had to be faced. The new social relationships required individuals capable of accepting harsh conditions, violent surroundings, rude characters, men prepared to make a living where nothing was established. The acceptable new social values were those which did not require to be questioned:

"A veces me llamaban mis tíos para el gran rito del cordero asado. Para mí lo más pavoroso era la preparación del ñachi. Cortaban el cuello del cordero y la sangre caía en una palangana que contenía los fuertes aliños. Mis tíos me pedían que bebiera la sangre. Yo iba vestido de poeta, de riguroso luto, luto por nadie por la lluvia, por el dolor universal. Y allí los bárbaros levantaban la copa de sangre. Pero me sobrepuse y bebí con ellos había que aprender a ser hombres." (14).

This is a text in which Neruda remembers those pioneers, in an effort to assimilate their character and the weight and

influence they had in his formative years at the frontier. But it cannot be forgotten that he wrote it once famous and mature, creating in it an atmosphere of enchantment surrounding his remote childhood. In spite of that the poet managed to provide some observations about the actual social background.

"Estas gentes de las casas de tablas tienen otra manera de pensar y sentir que las del centro de Chile...Pero no es lo mismo haber nacido en una casa de adobes que en una casa de madera recién salida del bosque. En estas casas no había nacido nadie antes. Los cementerios eran frescos. Por eso aquí no había poesía escrita ni religión... La iglesia estaba siempre vacía de hombres." (15).

These are absolute and simple characteristics. It must be remembered that in those circumstances men's problems were primordial, basic: to put some physical and materialistic order in the world in front of them where there were no barriers or sophisticated social conventions to respect. So the system of social and economic relationships was also basic. The social patterns to follow grew out of the struggle with the forest and the surroundings, of the efforts to build up some facilities for living, or of the work involved in the first plantations and growing crops in the land already cleared of forest. There was no time for a more contemplative way of life.

"Había muchos martillos, serruchos y gentes trabajando la madera y segando los primeros trigos. Según parece a los pioneros no les hace mucha falta Dios." (16).

But, man being a creative entity par excellence, even in those conditions there will emerge, along with other more physical and objective creative forces trying to organize the hitherto unexploited world, intellectual creativity itself.

In such a way a newspaper was born. La Mañana de Temuco was created by don Orlando Masson, a social reformer and a protester against any sort of injustice, a tireless man who fought social abuses and inequalities. According to Neruda's own

remembrance in that paper appeared his first poems and verses: "Allí tomé el olor a imprenta, conocí a los cajistas, me manché las manos con tinta." (17).

Don Orlando Masson was a man who protested. He denounced the extermination of natives, the expulsion of the first poor settlers by powerful ones. He protested about the exploitation of those who could not complain. Also he was a poet and his book Flores de Arauco was the first book of poems printed and published within the frontier.

But La Mañana did not have the opportunity to survive for too long. Its existence stood in the way of others and obstructed the economic growth of powerful people. It was the dissident voice among the barbarous who fought for the possession of land or for advantage in an economic structure still in its formative stages.

"El último incendio que vi en Temuco fue el del diario de Orlando Masson. Se lo incendiaron de noche. El incendio en la Frontera era un arma nocturna."(18).

1. b. Nature : Geography.

From that historical move of the Reyes family from the centre of the country to the frontier, would emerge the contact of the boy with the unexplored southern forest. That jungle was going to be close to him every day of his life. That contact with nature was going to be represented later on in different forms and meanings throughout Neruda's poetry.

Jaime Concha proposes that in the poet- nature relationship nature is never a refuge for poetical feelings or a representation of emotive problems or sentiments; it is not a source of romantic images. On the contrary, he says, what can be seen is the geographical character, its historical meaning at different moments, the display of inexhaustible energy, its dynamic regeneration, and above all the presence of man's labour upon it.

"De este modo, lejos de ser claustro de paz,

remanso intemporal, la naturaleza poseerá en Neruda un grado notable de eficacia. No es lo idílico lo que predomina en ella: es su energía." (19).

There is no conflict in the man-nature relationship in those conditions. Nature and society participate in the same display of activity. There is a continuous movement from one to the others. The work started by the woodcutter in the forest continues with that of the builder of railways or the man who is building his house in the city. There is a continuous movement between nature and the city.

There is the same display of activity in the forest seen by the boy during his expeditions to the jungle, and in the town where people are building the first few houses.

However, in the poetry of the young Neruda those facts were not represented. The richness of the relationship between the workers and nature was not expressed at the time. Neruda wrote about it only when he was older.

For example, in Memorial de Isla Negra, published in 1964, can be found the expression of that relationship. In the second poem of the book the poet wrote:

"Las tablas de la casa
 olían a bosque,
 a selva pura.
 Desde entonces mi amor
 fue maderero
 y lo que toco se convierte en bosque.
 Se me confunden
 los ojos y las hojas,
 ciertas mujeres con la primavera
 del avellano, el hombre con el árbol,
 amo el mundo del viento y del follaje,
 no distingo entre labios y raíces.

Del hacha y de la lluvia fue creciendo
 la ciudad maderera
 recién cortada como

"La naturaleza me daba allí una especie de embriaguez. Yo tendría unos diez años, pero ya era poeta. No escribía versos, pero me atraían los pájaros, los escarabajos, los huevos de perdiz. Era milagroso encontrarlos en las quebradas, empabonados, oscuros y relucientes, con un color parecido al cañón de una escopeta. Me asombraba la perfección de los insectos." (22).

Nevertheless despite being a remembrance, there are elements which moved the boy, had an impact on his sensibility and helped in the birth of his poetry. And this poetry was to be a persistent activity, strongly motivated in the future by the world surrounding him, kept going even when he found himself in adverse conditions.

Neftalí Reyes found himself surrounded by nature, living in a moment of collective enterprise against the jungle, when the soil was ploughed for the first time. He lived side by side with men dedicated to dominating nature, to cultivating the recently cleared forest, and building the railway line. It was a time when wheat was harvested for the first time, when the town was just a group of disorganized houses and the time of the first book of poems published in the region.

From the practical activity of man itself, from the creative energy daily displayed - from the forest came the wood for houses, for furniture, the handles of tools; from the nearby land came different products to feed the population. And the contact with nature brought to light the creative propensity expressed in poetry.

Different elements interwove. Different activities criss-crossed and merged with one another. As everything was at its beginning the boy met every day with pioneers and with things still of no fixed position, unfinished or in a permanent state of motion. He found himself in the middle of a singular collective task, where the world had a special character: "Las casas nuestras tenían pues algo de campamento. O de empresas descubridoras. Al entrar se veían barricadas, aperos y monturas y objetos indescriptibles." (23).

Nature imposed a rhythm on life and its presence was overwhelming. She invaded everything. She offered a space for the community to develop, she was there to be transformed to enrich the quality of life, and nature also offered scope for the birth of poetry.

"El verano es abrasador en Cautín. Quema el cielo y el trigo. La tierra quiere recuperarse de su letargo. Las casas no están preparadas para el verano, como no estuvieron para el invierno. Yo me voy por el campo en busca de mi poesía. Ando y ando. Me pierdo en el cerro Ñielol. Estoy solo, tengo el bolsillo lleno de escarabajos. En una caja llevo una araña peluda recién cazada. Arriba no se ve el cielo. La selva está siempre húmeda, me resbalo, de repente grita un pájaro, es el grito fantasmal del chucao. Crece desde mis pies como una advertencia aterradora. Apenas se distinguen como gotas de sangre los copihues. Paso minúsculo bajo los helechos gigantes. Junto a mi boca vuela una torcaza con un ruido seco de alas. Más arriba otros pájaros se ríen de mí con risa ronca. Encuentro difícilmente mi camino. Ya es tarde." (24).

The adolescent needs to shape his personality, he needs to shape his characteristics as an individual. And above all he needs to establish himself in the world. Apart from carrying out his duties as a student, Neftalí accompanied his father in those journeys by train into the new tracks being opened into the forest, went on these excursions into the nearest jungle to look for insects or animals, and also to confront himself in isolation. The individual begins to take shape in loneliness and isolation.

"Mi padre no ha llegado. Llegará a las tres o cuatro de la mañana. Me voy arriba, a mi pieza. Leo a Salgari. Se descarga la lluvia como una catarata. En un minuto la noche y la lluvia cubren el mundo. Allí estoy solo y en mi cuaderno de aritmética escribo versos." (25).

The frontier offers a singular space where one of the main

factors is the effort of men to transform and enrich nature. The recently opened forest, the plots just cultivated demanded a special kind of worker. The most needed quality of men were strong arms and skills, they had to work hard, rather than be intellectually creative. But, all the same, to the creation of new land and richness of the environment, was added the creativity of the mind.

Nevertheless it must be remembered that Neruda wrote about that period only during adulthood; only then did he write of that world of infancy and adolescence. The poetics of the young Neruda do not present the world around him or the people struggling to improve their conditions.

It must be recognized that nature appears in the early poems. The rhetoric of the young poet found in nature, in the jungle around and in the endless variety of forms - a rich display of beings and things with which to create images. In the first poems there are images brought forth almost directly from nature. That recreation of nature on the sensitivity of the boy and the adolescent worked its way into poetry. It can be detected as a birth of poetry itself and later on in life will be one of the main themes and topics of Neruda's work.

During the early years, however, he does not say a word about the men building up the new world, or about those relatives who were peasants or workers in the city, or about the newly built houses. He does not refer to his father's job on the railways or to the work of his mother as housekeeper, all things with which the poet was directly in touch. His poetry was born out of a growing sense of his literary vocation. His invented literary personality was beginning to be defined by its solitude, its intimate suffering for the world and the closeness to a world in its natural state.

Poetry and nature coexisted in the daily experience of the boy. There is one long thread passing through different experiences. From the green plums eaten in the back garden, through the insects collected in the forest, the cries of birds in the thickest of the jungle, and his readings of Sandokan, Buffalo Bill, Jules Verne, Vargas Vila, Gorky, Felipe Trigo, he came to

compose the poems in his school notebook or poems for the newspaper La Mañana .

"No he hablado gran cosa de mi poesía. En realidad entiendo bien poco de esta materia. Por eso me voy andando con las presencias de mi infancia. Tal vez, de todas estas plantas, soledades, vida violenta, salen los verdaderos, los secretos, los profundos tratados de Poesía que nadie puede leer porque nadie los ha escrito." (26).

To find out the origins of Neruda's poetry one has to take into account all the factors involved and all the poetry referring to the period, the earlier verses written in the school notebook and those written later on in life about that period. It is clear that labour as such is not present in the first poems even though the world around the poet was full of energy, with the struggle of men transforming nature to push forward a collective enterprise in which society and members of the Reyes family were heavily involved, even though the transformation of the frontier demanded men prepared to work in a never-ending task.

2. THE FIRST POEMS.

According to Hernan Loyola (27) the earliest of Neruda's poems are from the period 1918 to 1920. The poems can still be seen handwritten as Neruda himself says in his Memorias in O'Cruzeiro Internacional:

"Recientemente, en estos mismos días acercándome ya a los sesenta años, mi hermana me ha traído un cuaderno de mis más antiguas poesías escritas en 1918 y 1919. Al leerlos he sonreído mucho ante el dolor infantil y adolescente y el sentimiento literario de soledad que se desprende de toda mi obra de juventud. El escritor joven no puede escribir sin ese sentimiento de soledad, aunque sea ficticio... " (28).

Those first poems were written in two school notebooks: one of them, the one H. Loyola calls Cuaderno Neftalí Reyes, contains poems of different authors and quite a few written by Neruda himself either in Temuco or in the nearby location of Puerto Saavedra. According to Loyola in the first page of one of them it says "Helios. Poemas de Pablo Neruda. (29). From this projected book which the young poet took with him to Santiago in 1921, compositions like "Inicial", "Esta iglesia no tiene", "Pantheos", "El nuevo soneto a Elena", "Gruta", "Campesina", "Las palabras del ciego" (later to be renamed "Viejo ciego llorabas") would later be published in Crepusculario (1923).

In all these early compositions one can read what the poet said about himself and how a pressing creative need compelled him to write and express himself through words. In the quotation the writer mentions feelings of pain and solitude which, even if they are fictitious or induced, are prior conditions of creativity. The following quotation introduces sentiments which became a repetitive theme in the early poems.

" Las almas se recogen en sí mismas. Son fuertes.
Se han calentado en todos los dolores humanos.
Nada tienen o esperan: cuando venga la muerte
la esperarán tal como si llegara un hermano." (30).

The young poet assumed that the soul (soul for him at this stage is that space where the spiritual and moral capacities reside, a different space from the body, an entity in itself) is formed paradoxically in objective experience; in this way the soul, fortified can acknowledge death with serenity.

Death, the soul, human pain, unhappiness, solitude are all at this stage literary themes and topics which will be repeated and readdressed in a variety of forms and expressions in diverse compositions of the period.

In the next poem it will be seen that death is a beneficent entity, an agent who transports the individual to a greater and more harmonious level of existence. Death finishes with this

limited and simple life. It is a "negrura luminosa" which opens up a realm of quietness, the opposite of that painful existence.

It is relevant to point out the female persona of death in the poem itself, as well as in the Spanish language. And it must be remembered that the painful existence and solitude of the poet are here both the fictitious motivation and at the same time the themes of the poem.

"Negrura luminosa que vendrás algún día
a cortar las raigambres de nuestra soledad
para comunicarnos con la inmensa armonía
que presentimos desde nuestra eterna maldad.
(¡Tanto perfume vano de Rosas y de Rosas
que se hace transparente, sin sentir la ansiedad
suprema de callarnos estas terrenas cosas
e irnos por la ruta de frente a tu bondad!) .

Pero ya que nosotros sentimos el perfume
de tu buena venida, ya que tú nos resumes
todas las ansiedades de nuestra plenitud,
tu tendrás que venir aladamente y luego,
a darnos con tus labios aquel beso de fuego
que vagamente entonces se trocará en quietud..."
(31).

Death, therefore, is conceived as an entity who comes bearing good news, a benefactor whose kiss changes misery into peace and plenitude.

But besides these poems on death there are texts which present the disturbing question of what will happen when the poet himself dies. In this case there is frustration and anticipated disappointment for the young writer. The world fails to comprehend the loss once the poet has died. Life continues as before with no adequate expression of the grief which the young poet feels he deserves. Apart from the strange nature of the situation, the overestimation of the young poet is visible.

"Pensar que cuando yo me haya muerto

el sol saldrá...! ¿ Y por qué no ha de salir?" (32).

Death is just an excuse that becomes a poetic theme. At the same time one can see the existence of a conflict between the poet putting himself in the situation of meeting his own death and the indifferent attitude of nature towards the loss of the generous adolescent.

" Mentiroso es el árbol, la luz, el agua, el fruto,
el sol- padre máximo de nuestra juventud...
y cuando te hayas muerto, hermano mío,
árboles, agua, luz, frutos maduros,
alegrarán la primavera azul.
Porque te han engañado- hermano mío,
no sentirán que te hayas ido tú..." (33).

The poet senses bitterness towards a nature which continues as an unaltered force - unmindful of the young man's death. The poet overestimates his own self-worth to the point of expecting that his loss must be felt badly by the world. He would like to be valued on a higher plane. But he has been deceived.

The topic of death touches different things and beings. The image is applied to the subject of trees and can be seen touching as well the theme of the blindness of people.

"(los árboles) se hacen un milagro de dulzura y
silencio
para que cuando venga no los lleve la muerte." (34).

Also the theme of death appears when the poet remembers a familiar and recent event . It is well known that Neruda's mother died soon after giving birth to Ricardo Neftalí. The subject can be found in Cuaderno Helios. There is a poem which express the feelings of the young man about his mother's death.

"Cuando nací mi madre se moría
con una santidad de alma en pena.

Era su cuerpo transparente. Ella tenía
bajo la carne un luminar de estrellas.
Ella murió y nació.

Por eso llevo
un río invisible entre las venas,
un invencible canto de crepúsculo
que me enciende la risa y me la hiela.

Ella juntó a la vida que nacía
su estéril ramazón de vida enferma.
el marfil de sus manos moribundas
tornó amarilla en mí la luna llena...

por eso- hermano- está tan triste el campo
detrás de las vidrieras transparentes...
... Esta luna amarilla de mi vida
me hace ser un retoño de la muerte..." (35).

The temporal and circumstantial references are there. The linguistic composition is rather simple. The rhetoric, rhyme and rhythm indicate a creative struggle and effort with only few and poor results: en pena- de estrellas; venas- hiela; enferma-llena. The text shows a prosaic structure even though it is written in verse; the verse seems forced into a discursive linguistic structure. Words and expressions such as "cuando...por eso,...por eso..." indicate this prosaic quality of the writing.

But on another level of interpretation one can see nature answering the sentiment expressed in the poem. The sad countryside matches the emotive references that the poem wants to express. The poem may not possess the poetic richness and the depth of emotion that the poet intends to present or the richness of linguistic expression which Neruda will have years later, but there is that common link between the emotion of the young poet and the correspondence he finds with the sadness of the countryside.

"Por eso- hermano- está tan triste el campo..."

Casually, the poet sees himself as a new bud on a dying plant; from a dying being there is a new growth emerging. But this discovery of the dynamic of life was neither a result of the young poet's understanding of the world, nor was it consistently developed in the poetry of the period. It was just an occasional expression of rhetoric.

'Blindness' is another recurring theme in the earlier poems of this period, in Cuaderno Neftali Reyes, in Helios and later on in Crepusculario. For example in the poem "Las manos de los ciegos" dated the 12th of July of 1920 or in the text "El ciego de la pandereta" published in Claridad (24-6-1922) which would be included in Crepusculario.

"Dame tus manos, ciego. Las manos de los ciegos
son como las raíces de estos hombres inertes:
se queman retostadas por el sol de Enero
y en el otoño sienten cómo llega la muerte." (36).

Themes are interwoven. The vegetable world here is applied to recreate an image for the hands of the blind man, they are "como las raíces" through which nutrition is absorbed, and in this case receives the donations of passers-by. And then again in the last verse the topic of death is mentioned.

In "El ciego de la pandereta" the poet expresses some sympathy for the sufferings of others, but this sentiment becomes a mechanism to reinforce the poetic ego. That pity is here also contained as a theme, a literary exercise. It is not a genuine feeling for the purpose of transforming anything, but rather a device to practice the reinforcement of the literary ego in the created fictitious world.

"Yo pasé ayer y supe tu dolor:
dolor que siendo yo quien lo ha sabido
es mucho mayor." (37).

In October of 1920, in Temuco when the poet was sixteen

years old, he wrote a poem (38) which was published by the local paper La Mañana and later included in the projected collection Helios of 1921. The poem in part says:

"Hombre:
no seas como el árbol primifloro
que después de dar hojas y morir
comienza a florecer.

La vida tuya
necesita de tierra removida
germinadora y buena. Todo paso
de otoños ha de ser como una ruta
que te alumbre de sol las yemas nuevas.
Después de arder, hundirse en el espasmo
de florecer y florecer...

Más tarde
la primavera pasará cantando...

The poem was signed in October 1920 with the pen name Pablo Neruda (39). The text itself shows how the adolescent sees himself in the world, and his persistent urge to create. One sees the pretentious young man lecturing men about organizing life and here man is a generic creature presented in general terms which bears no relation to real flesh and blood characters, no sense of ease or familiarity of the poet living with his fellow men. The poet indicates rules as if he is in possession of fundamental truths about life. But this mood of being in command of life's secrets gives way to a vision of nature. The poem does not finish on the theme proposed at its beginning, instead it becomes something else.

However the poem projects a pantheistic sense of the world. Man needs the natural habitat in order to rejuvenate himself and for keeping the rhythms of vital stages. Beings are linked to earth and from nature comes the force to renovate.

Mention of nature is very early presented in Neruda's poems.

The references to it and especially to the vegetable world are numerous: árboles, otoño, yemas, florecimiento, frutas, and different processes of natural life facilitate the creation of images.

"Ser un árbol con alas. En la tierra potente desnudar las raíces y entregarlas al suelo y cuando sea mucho más amplio nuestro ambiente con las alas abiertas entregarnos al vuelo." (40).

Thus the natural world, especially the vegetable or plant kingdom, offers to the young poet a wide range of possibilities for poetic imagery. In the poem just quoted those images show a vision of the poet himself who, once rooted like the trees in fertile soil, once strong and secure, will be able to take off and initiate that dreamed-of project of running away which the young man imagines furtively. It is an image which exposes a paradox. An idealistic dream of taking off towards the unknown, and at the same time being secure on the fertile soil. At this point it is worth remembering the title of the poem, because it clarifies the overall meaning; the poet cultivates a personal flight and a creative one, is planning an escape from family ties, as well as a progression towards creativity.

The literary themes of escape and pursuit are quite repetitive throughout this period. The young poet perceives a creative impulse and struggles to discern and to direct that motivation into poetry and words. He understands the escape as a positive step forward, a necessity, supposedly advantageous. But at the same time there are contradictory statements. The poem "La busca" says:

"Ya me estoy cansando de buscar en vano:
no encuentran mis ojos, mis pies ni mis manos
LA CASA en que debo cantar mi canción..." (41).

The same frequent frustration of the projected creative flight, of the dreamed escape and literary and personal dreams can be found in the verses:

"Soy una esponja, nadie me ha estrujado,
y soy un vino, nadie me ha bebido..." (42).

That theme of escape, of frustrated creativity and the personal feeling of being wasted is well rounded in the poem "El Liceo" of July 1920 (43). In this poem can be found the conflict in which the young poet finds himself; on the one hand, the personal and obstinate decision to become a poet, on the other, the familiar, social and school pressure on any student of secondary level who has to decide his future possibilities.

There is the contradiction in the poetic consciousness as well as in the real world of every day. There are also those references to himself as a young unhappy man; but again in this case that false feeling of pain appears which was commented on by Neruda in Memorias de O'Cruzeiro.

The young man made a definitive resolution: having, at just sixteen years of age, decided to become a poet he had nevertheless to make some concessions of a tactical nature to the pressures at home.

"Pero claro, es inútil, porque en un cierto día
compraré una maleta y sin una alegría
me iré donde van todos estos que han
estudiado.

¿Qué me importa? Ingeniero, médico o abogado,
siempre seguiré siendo lo que hasta ahora he
sido:
un muchacho que tiene mucho de dolorido,
mucho de candoroso, mucho de desgraciado...

El Liceo, el Liceo! Toda mi pobre vida
en una jaula triste, mi juventud perdida!
Pero no importa, vamos! pues mañana o
pasado
seré burgués lo mismo que cualquier abogado,
que cualquier doctorcito que usa lentes y lleva

cerrados los caminos hacia la luna nueva...
Qué diablos, y en la vida, como en una revista,
un poeta se tiene que graduar de dentista!"

The conflict expressed here seems to be very defined: the young man thinks of himself as a poet and that is his personal way of being in the world and responding to the social and familiar demands upon him.

Don José del Carmen Reyes, Neftalí's father, could not accept his son's need to become a poet. To him as well as to the rest of the community, there were far too many basic needs and problems to solve in society: The jungle needed labour and technology, the building of the railways was still unfinished, there were houses and roads to build, there was the land just cleared from the forest to cultivate. In that context what was demanded above all was to study or to work hard.

The poet, however, wrote about his young life being wasted and lost in all those senseless duties as a student or in the routine of everyday life. To him the paramount thing was that idealistic and romantic notion of being a man dedicated only to the observation of himself in the world, and to exploring the creativity resulting from that process. But, despite that decision, there was imposed upon the young man temporarily the social pressure to become someone in life, in the sense of becoming someone respectable in the community, someone in possession of a degree or a profession, a man with some status and prestige.

On the one hand the poet accepted a romantic idea of himself. He was above all else a poet, a different human being, with special characteristics which should have been enough in his view to earn him a decent standing in life. But this aspiration being unacceptable to the rest of society, the young man accepted unwillingly the social convention and the family pressures to become a member of the professional bourgeoisie.

In his view men in general in the business of their life are enclosed within well defined patterns: the doctor wears

spectacles and is a bourgeois; the lawyer, the dentist, the technician, were professionals who cannot escape a bourgeois way of living. Each of these characters is incapable of developing the creativity potential that, on the poet's view, represents life at its richest. The artist's capacity to create is in his opinion the universal and best of values, and those professional men are condemned to mediocrity.

In the dilemma of choosing between the mutilating liberal professions, and the call to become a poet, the young man now chose resigned and against his will, to do something to comply with the pressure.

"Qué diablos... un poeta se tiene que graduar de dentista!".

According to the poem life plays these tricks on poets; and in spite of being different human beings and in spite of their singular capacity to create and value the beauty of the world, they have to face this dilemma and the challenges which make them bourgeois. For the moment what is relevant is that the poet, having lived sixteen years sees the professions, especially those mentioned in the poem, as contradictory and opposed to his romantic notion of creativity. These people would never know what was most noble and great: they could never attain the spiritual heights that would differentiate them from other men.

The poet does not value the social contribution to the community of those professionals or others. Their lives and works are considered from the romantic point of view of the capacity to create. He does not glimpse the creative capacity of the work of those men or others, nor does he see their contribution to the development of the community. The poet only sees the difference between his idealistic vision - in his role as poet - and the mediocrity of existence of those who live a professional life. It can be said that the poet opposes the poetic task to that of any different kind of activity.

With time the poet's determination to follow a creative way of life was going to take the upper hand. In the meantime

the adolescent made a decision. As a poet he had to make concessions to the social pressures, however temporarily. In that mood the young man wrote on the back cover of the Cuaderno Neftalí Reyes:

"Pablo Neruda desde octubre de 1920".

His devotion to creative activity was shown at that time in the activities that absorbed him. He was Chairman of the Ateneo Literario del Liceo in Temuco. As Chairman of that Club he obtained an interview with Gabriela Mistral, who at the time was headteacher of a secondary school for girls in Temuco. At the time Neruda was, the Correspondent in Temuco of the Santiago university students' Magazine Claridad. He won the Temuco Spring Literary Competition in 1920 with a poem entitled "Salutación a la Reina". According to Jorge Sanhueza (44) Neruda wrote in several different magazines between 1918 and 1920 including Corre-vuela, Cultural (Valdivia), Los Ratos Ilustrados (Chillán), Siembra (Valparaíso) and in the newspaper La Mañana of Temuco at the time.

On the occasion of his sixteen birthday, Ricardo Neftalí wrote a poem which expressed that will to create and exposed his adolescent conflicts and his invented sentiments of pain. The poem also mentions his frustration at his unfinished literary projects and the ambitious intellectual dreams of a young poet.

"Hace dieciséis años que nací en un polvoroso
pueblo blanco y lejano que no conozco aún,
como esto es un poco vulgar y candoroso
hermano errante, vamos hacia mi juventud.

Eres muy pocas cosas en la vida. La vida
no me ha entregado todo lo que yo le entregué
y ecuacional y altivo me río de la herida...
el dolor es a mi alma como dos es a tres!

Nada más. Ah me acuerdo que teniendo diez años
dibujé mi camino contra todos los daños

que en el largo sendero me pudieran vencer
haber amado a una mujer y haber escrito
un libro. No he vencido, porque está manuscrito
el libro y no amé a una sino a cinco o seis..."(45).

The poet wrote this text about himself and already he was revealing that overestimation of the ego which was to continue for some time. The adolescent Neruda overestimated his significance in the world. Here can be seen the arrogance and the determination to write so characteristic of the young poet Neruda. Above all taking that definitive decision and imposing it on any other demand was governed by a need to express himself through words.

3. LITERARY ATMOSPHERE.

END OF NINETEENTH AND BEGINNING OF TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

Rubén Darío (1867-1916) arrived at Valparaíso in 1886. He immediately wrote an article for the paper El Mercurio of that city, and began one of his jobs as a journalist. Later he wrote for La Epoca and El Mercurio - both published in the capital, Santiago. Once settled in the capital he frequented regular literary, journalistic and social gatherings. Later on in his life he wrote about that time:

"... entré inmediatamente en la redacción de La Época... y desde ese momento me incorporé a la joven intelectualidad de Santiago. Se puede decir que la élite juvenil santiaguina se reunía en aquella redacción... ". (46).

Darío shared his life with men of letters, politicians or diplomats who would in later years become prominent. The writer and poet stressed the fact that his life touched the highest circles of Santiago society of the time, though this active social life required sacrifices:

"La impresión que guardo de Santiago, en aquel tiempo, se reduciría a lo siguiente: Vivir de arenques y cerveza en una casa alemana para poder vestirme elegantemente, como correspondía a mis amistades aristocráticas..." (47).

In the meantime Abrojos was published and very soon Azul in 1888. This later collection particularly represented an upheaval and a renewal for the Chilean writers of the end of nineteenth century. Around this period the predominant influence on Chilean literature was French. Darío encouraged new efforts to renew versification, poetic rhythm and sounds. The young writers took up the poetic task with fresh impulse. They tried new techniques in verse and prose, new mechanisms for poetic rhythm, the inclusion of the exotic, animals and

plants, and a cosmopolitan dimension in their subjects. The new young writers were in this way, preparing a literary renewal which was very soon to change the literary fashion and the meanings of poetic writing till then practised within the continent.

But opinions on the modernista writers of Hispanic América are diverse and antagonistic. D.P. Gallagher, for instance, says that their association with the European patterns, especially in relation to poetic content, limited the contribution which the modernistas could otherwise make. That contribution in his view can be summarised in two or three items: "They enriched Spanish versification. They wrote erotic poetry thus removing an unhelpful Hispanic taboo... they asserted the right of Latin American to be cosmopolitan" (48).

Enrique Anderson Imbert and Arturo Torres-Rioseco (49) are emphatic in saying that Modernismo created an entirely new poetry and that the Spanish American poetry has an "antes" and a "después" of Darío.

From the beginning the modernistas insisted on the new rhythmic versification, on the use of Gallicisms, on a Hellenic Classicism, on formalist perfection, linguistic rhythm, musicality and a sonority of language.

The poetic creation could create a different and distinct world to the dark realities and the oppressive atmosphere in which the modernista poets lived. This new fictitious world permitted evasion from the normal world. It was ideal, beautiful, elegant, exotic, where the poet's soul could escape the darkness of the objective real world. The poets found a refuge in creativity.

But, considering Modernismo and Darío in their totality, it can be seen that the modernista poetry had in itself the possibility and potential for development and change. That poetry included also, and especially in its last moments, historical themes, social topics, general cultural problems of the day. The metric renewal of verses, the novelty of the

rhythm, were, in the latest of the Darío's work, for instance, accompanied by a different and deeper poetry. In Prosas Profanas (1896) or in Cantos de Vida y Esperanza (1905) elements of the Spanish tradition (Cervantes), of Latin American history (Canto a la Argentina, Oda a Mitre) or of North American history (Salutación al águila) can be observed. There are then in the latest modernista poetry observations on historical topics and circumstances .

Gordon Brotherston summarised the totality of the movement and its cultural contribution in the following words: "The first body of literature which can be meaningfully called Spanish American." (50).

Though many of the modernista writers were still active during the first two decades of the twentieth century, towards 1910, in the opinion of Enrique Anderson Imbert for instance, many of them were already dead, famous, or established. Around that period modernista creativity was losing strength. Rubén Darío himself died in 1916. (51).

In the meantime and after the First World War the diversity and renewal of the artistic expression of Europe had an impact on the writers and artists of Hispanic America. In the words of Anderson Imbert:

"Pero la Guerra Mundial 1914- 1918 exacerbó a todos. La inestabilidad de la civilización, el poder de la violencia política, el desprecio al hombre, el sentimiento del absurdo de la existencia y aun del mundo, el desengaño ante las pretensiones de seriedad del arte del pasado produjeron una erupción de expresiones incoherentes..."(52).

Modernista possibilities were flagging and the new creative forces from Europe would eventually influence and motivate the writers and artists of Hispanic America with fresh ideas and techniques. So this new generation of creators were set to display towards the second and third decades of the century an enormous amount of energy, irreverent, rebellious, criticising

and questioning not only poetic and artistic patterns, but also the social, cultural, political and historical explanations of the establishment.

Literary groups were born and died quickly; magazines or tendencies flourished and disappeared; groups were created or recreated; new practices were tried or copied; rebellious poets decided to change things; strident, discordant writers emerged who wanted to change and revolutionize the poetic patterns: there was 'creacionismo', 'vanguardismo', 'cubismo', 'dadaismo', 'ultraismo', 'superrealismo', 'estridentismo', etc. Even though many of the groups and magazines follow the European models a few original creators could be found among the writers of the period. (53).

3. a. The young poets of Santiago during the third decade of the twentieth century.

The young intellectuals met in bars and cafes. Bohemian life was the normal and accepted way of creating an atmosphere of informal and irreverent artistic discussion, the reading of the new verses or the improvisation of others. Poets wrote poetry open to any rhetoric and to all the new fashions of European origin. Numerous are the magazines and papers which bear witness to this display of creative renewal at this time. Neruda remembers thus:

"Aleteaban sobre Santiago las nuevas escuelas literarias. Rojas Jiménez conocía todos los ismos. El había fundado con Martín Bunster una escuela Agú que no pasó más allá del primer manifiesto. Las escuelas de París y la influencia de Reverdy llegaba a la calle Ahumada." (54).

"Juan Egaña, poeta extraordinariamente dotado se quebrantaba hasta la tumba...". (55).

"Aliro Oyarzún... era demacrado baudeleriano, un decadente lleno de cualidades, un Barba Jacob de Chile,

atormentado, cadavérico, hermoso y lunático... Era el protagonista de una época cosmopolita... Juan Cifuentes Sepúlveda, salía de la cárcel escribiendo innumerables versos bellos empapando en alcohol terrible su desamparada bondad... Alberto Valdivia... entraba y salía silenciosamente en bares y cernáculos, en cafés y en conciertos... " (56).

Furthermore Neruda wrote in detail about one of these young poets, typical of the writers who frequented literary circles in which he himself participated. Neruda wrote an Elegy to this same poet in 1934, at the time when he was Consul in Barcelona, the poem which was published in Residencia II.

"Entre mis compañeros de aquel tiempo, encarnación de una época, gran despilfarrador de su propia vida, está Alberto Rojas Jiménez. Elegante y apuesto, a pesar de la miseria en la que parecía bailar como un pájaro dorado, resumía todas las cualidades del nuevo dandismo. Una desdeñosa actitud, una comprensión inmediata de los menores conflictos y una alegre sabiduría y apetencia por todas las cosas vitales... Descubría poetas de Francia, botellas oscuras sepultadas en bodegas, dirigía cartas de amor a las heroínas de Francis James. Sus bellos versos andaban arrugados en sus bolsillos sin que jamás, hasta hoy, se publicaran." (57).

But not all the writers or poets participated in organised groups or in the Bohemian life. The artist or poet generally belonged to informal groups based often as much on personal friendships as political affinities. For instance, in another group can be found poets and writers of a more militant political tendency, those who thought it was a duty, in addition to writing creatively, to participate in writing political pamphlets, manifestoes or union programmes. Francisco Pezoa, the author of the poem "La pampa" about the nitrate zone and the workers of that land, wrote also in proletarian papers. According to González Vera in his book Cuando era muchacho,

the poet F. Pezoa wasted his creative capacity because of Bohemian way of life and poverty. He wrote innumerable pamphlets for the workers at the time. Manuel Rojas wrote poems and participated in the theatrical activities organised by groups of anarchist workers. The carpenter and writer don Antonio Acevedo Hernández and the poet José Domingo Gómez Rojas were all writers and poets sympathetic to workers and artisans and many of them were themselves craftsmen or active political organisers.

There was a third group of young poets. Gonzalez Vera mentions these "individuos privados", people who did not participate in meetings, political groups, or the Bohemian life, and whose poetry was about inner life, female characters, the fragrance and colours of the night. Among those writers he mentions Juan Guzmán Cruchaga and Angel Cruchaga Santa María.

Also towards the second and third decades of this century Chilean literature boasted some well known and recognized writers whose main works were already published and already were influential or were to have considerable influence. One such writer was Pedro Prado (1886-1952) whose Flores de cardo of 1908 and his book of poems in prose Los pájaros errantes of 1915 were considered respectable examples of that genre. Prado was the leader of a group called "Los diez", people who spread the news about the Russian writers and novelists. At the same time Prado was a moderate figure whose serenity and moderation counterbalanced the irreverent and libertarian mood of the younger writers.

In 1914 the Sociedad de Escritores y Artistas de Santiago announced a poetry competition. The winner was the poem "Sonetos de la muerte" by Gabriela Mistral, which was published in Desolación (1922). G.Mistral wrote in a solemn, religious, symbolic language in a completely different mood to that of the modernistas. Her later works Ternura (1924) and Lagar (1954) developed the themes of human sentiments about love, children in need, the dispossessed. Her first poetry had a painful, hopeless, frustrated nature.

Also in 1914 there appeared the manifesto "Non serviam" by Vicente Huidobro (1893-1948). In that text Huidobro wrote about liberating poets and writers from a servile attitude to nature. According to him poets should create or recreate nature through poetry instead of copying it. The poet, he said, is a small god and must be lord of his own creations and not just a good imitator of nature or of what is already created. In saying this Huidobro defended creativity in itself and the poets who must create as nature creates fruits; he must invent new things, so making a fresh contribution to the world. In 1916 Huidobro published his El espejo del agua and in 1918 his collections Poemas árticos and Ecuatorial. In 1913 Huidobro wrote 'ideograms' which in their structure recreated meaning in form. He was a constant innovator.

Eduardo Barrios (1884-1963) was another author whose writings appeared towards the second decade of the century. His works insisted on the analysis and exposition of the psychological nature of characters. Best known are his novels El niño que enloqueció de amor (1915), and Un perdido of 1917.

Among the more strident poets and eternal, discordant rebels Pablo de Rokha (1885-1968) stands out -a poet who maintained his ideas and attitudes throughout and consequent upon a long and creative life. In his poetry most of the conflicts and phenomena are gigantic, colossal, of huge dimensions. His poetry aims to express vast human and social conflicts. Men are involved in titanic efforts, there are volcanic forces in action, Cyclopean displays of strength. De Rokha was a permanently rebellious, antibourgeois, polemical and aggressive poet. In 1922 his book Los gemidos was published and in 1929 his Escritura de Raymundo Contreras appeared. He wrote critically about Neruda's poetry from very early in the thirties. In 1933 he published a "Epitafio a Neruda" and later on in his life maintained his controversial, critical approach. In 1955 he published a book called Neruda y yo where he included an ideological review of the long polemic. In relation to the twenties and Neruda he wrote:

"Pablo Neruda no revolucionó ni la poesía chilena,

ni la poesía americana, ni siquiera la manera de ponerse los pantalones; y qué había de revolucionar con esos versitos sentimentales, San Diego-abajo, en los que la subversión contra la era burguesa-industrial-capitalista y "democrática", chilena, originadora de las hambrunas, las cesantías, las penurias del 20 al 25, con Alessandri a la cabeza, la subordinaba al peoncito que quería ser patroncito, es decir, al traidor a su clase, a su ambición oportunista y no vio los "albergues", ni escuchó tronar a Recabarren como lo escuché yo, que estampé en las páginas desmesuradas de Los gemidos, la huella de las huelgas y su resplandor social..." (58).

The popular poets of the time expressed a different vision of poetry. These creators wrote - as Carlos Pezoa Véliz did - poems on vagabonds, workers of the countryside, part time labourers, the unemployed, semi skilled workers, the poorest sector of workers and their feelings and philosophy. In this poetry appeared the ironic humour of that people, the black humour of tragedy. This form of poetry coexisted with the rhetoric, the preciousity, the Classicism, the exoticism of the modernistas. Pezoa Véliz emerged as one of the permanent exponents of popular poetry with roots in the life and philosophy of the poorest sectors of Chilean society. This form of creativity was linked with the tendencies of renewal in the literary sense and also with the political forces for change. This expression of poetry is seen in for example, the poetry about the nitrate lands of the north by Pezoa Véliz and Francisco Pezoa as well as in the later songs and poems of Violeta Parra and other composers and popular musicians. Pezoa Véliz published mainly in Santiago magazines like Pluma y Lápiz of 1901 and 1902, La Lira Chilena, or in Zig-Zag around the years 1905 and 1906.

3. b. Santiago, 'Claridad' magazine and the 'Federación de estudiantes'.

Neruda travelled to Santiago at the beginning of 1921 to

register as a student of French language and literature at the Universidad de Chile. This move from a provincial town to the Capital would prove to be more than a simple moving from idyllic surroundings to the dark city. The change would be meaningful in terms of everyday living conditions and would entail a change in Neruda's attitude and creativity. Neruda himself remembered the occasion in the following words:

"Me sentí humilde y perdido en la ciudad. Santiago tenía un olor a gas y a café en el año 1921, en el mes de marzo. Miles de casas estaban ocupadas por gentes desconocidas para mí y por chinches. Yo no entendía nada. El otoño y luego el invierno terminaban con las hojas secas en las calles y en los parques. El mundo se hizo más sucio, más oscuro y doloroso. En la calle Maruri No 513 terminé de escribir mi primer libro. Escribía dos, tres, cuatro y cinco poemas al día. En las tardes, al ponerse el sol, frente al balcón se desarrollaba un espectáculo diario que yo no me perdía por nada del mundo. Era la puesta de sol con grandiosos hacinamientos de colores, con repartos de luz, abanicos inmensos de anaranjado y escarlata. El capítulo central de mi primer libro se llama "Los Crepúsculos de Maruri". Nadie me ha preguntado nunca que es eso de Maruri. Tal vez algunos sepan que es esa humilde calle visitada por los más extraordinarios crepúsculos... Me refugié en mi poesía con ferocidad de tímido." (59).

The new situation became decisive in terms of literary practice and also in the way the young poet lived every day of his life. Among his duties there were those of a university student and those of creativity. But step by step the tendency to creative writing prevailed. At the time Neruda published in different magazines, apart from his own poems, some translations of Rilke, some reviews of new poets' works or general comments in defence of persecuted writers or on those who were not encouraged by the critics. (60).

Neruda had already established contact with Claridad the University students magazine of Santiago as a correspondent in Temuco. And in January 1921 a selection of his poems was published by that magazine.

Claridad was created by students to voice their cultural and political views at the time and to offer those pages to those students who wanted to express their ideas and criticism of the injustices of the moment; to respond to harassment by the establishment and the security police over those sectors of the students who were keen to maintain contacts and links with the unionists and anarchist groups of the period, and in general to express the progressive views of the time.

Prior to this, on July 21st, 1920 the building of the 'Federación de Estudiantes' was attacked with the aim of intimidating the students and those who wrote in the students' magazine called 'Juventud'. The perpetrators were civilian supporters of the government among whom there were policemen in civilian clothes. As Raúl Silva Castro, remembers that attack destroyed the premises of the 'Federación' and some printing of a magazine. The action according to this author was planned and executed with the connivance of the authorities. More than that, he writes: "La investigación policial y judicial se aplicó a perseguir a las víctimas y no a los autores de la tropelía." (61).

The students answered by launching a new magazine. It was an outlet for well known authors and new young writers who were just starting their production. The first number appeared on October the 12th, 1920. Claridad had as a subtitle "Periódico de Sociología, Crítica y Actualidades", as can be seen in one of Margarita Aguirre's books (62).

Some of Neruda's contributions published by the magazine appeared in the number of January the 22nd. of 1921. The new poet was presented by Raúl Silva Castro who used the pen name "Fernando Osorio". The selected texts were the poems "Inicial", "Campesina", "Pantheos", "Maestranzas de noche", "Las palabras del ciego", "Elogio de las manos" and included as well a portrait

of Neruda. Using an affected and pretentious language, Silva Castro detects that pain for humanity expressed in the poems though as was already suggested this is based more on fictitious pretensions than on the objective experience of the young writer. Neruda's interest in modern thinking, probably had something to do with Neruda's desire to keep in touch with Santiago University students' new ideas. Silva Castro wrote:

"Pablo Neruda se nos revela - a través de estos últimos versos suyos - como un producto complejo que rima su ensueño por la realidad cotidiana e indispensable... Adolescente aún, sabe de los anónimos retorcimientos del dolor humano, investiga en las fuentes del más moderno pensamiento, vive lo que expresa, y nos presagia las más preciosas cosechas líricas... Y Neruda es así una individualidad que no halla acomodo y busca soluciones. ... Desde Temuco nos llega su promesa significativa y ungida de dolores casi ancestrales. Vendrá dentro de poco a esta ciudad. Al lado nuestro veremos desenvolverse la madeja sutil de su labor, y aquí también, ha de publicar un libro que nos anuncia como ya listo para ser impreso. Su título será HELIOS." (63).

Eventually, the projected book *Helios* was transformed and from its structure some poems survived to be published in Crepusculario in 1923. (64).

Neruda's contributions to Claridad were to continue for some time. He wrote in prose and verse on diverse motifs and themes (65). Among his contributions in prose, "Ciudad" and "El cartel de hoy" are of special interest (66). The first one was published in number 29 of the magazine of August the 13th of 1921, and says:

"Los brazos caen a los lados, como aspas cansadas. Son muchos. Van juntos, las anchas espaldas, las miradas humildes, los trajes deshechos, todo es común, todo es carne de un solo cuerpo, todo es

energía rota de un solo cuerpo miserable que parece llevan la tierra entera. ¿Por qué estos hombres que van juntos, tocándose las espaldas robustas, no llevan los vigorosos brazos levantados, no levantan hacia el sol la cabeza? ¿Por qué, si van juntos y tienen hambre, no hacen temblar los pavimentos de piedra de la ciudad, las gradas blancas de las iglesias, con el peso sombrío de sus pisadas hambrientas, hasta que la ciudad se quede inmóvil, escuchando el rumor enorme de las pisadas que treparían hasta cegar el fuego de las fábricas, hasta encender el fuego de los incendios? ¿Por qué estos hombres no levantan los brazos siquiera?"

When Neruda wrote "Ciudad" he was seventeen years old, and in effect, preparing his first book- the evasive and egocentric Crepusculario. In the opinion of J. Concha "Ciudad" exposed the bourgeois attitude of the student wanting to strike a pose, the attitude of a leader or a chief, a student wanting to paint a mural of the situation, a grandiloquent view of the social group to which the poet himself used to belong and now is separated from. It was a composition which reflected the writer's own abandonment. Neruda at the time was living apart from his family and had broken links with the social group to which he belonged. His new situation as a university student made him privileged but at the same time left him alone, isolated from his social roots.

"Ciudad" in the context of Crepusculario is apparently the exception. It suggests an occasional look at the horizontal plane of things, a look around. It suggests a literary pretension to being up to date with social issues and the general social agitation of students at the time. The young writer was assuming heroic gestures, pretending a rebellious posture as an expression of his idealism. At the same time he contemplated daily the celebration of dusk.

"El cartel de hoy" on the other hand was the generic title of a comment or editorial. It had to refer to a current social or

political issue which deserved the special attention of that section of the magazine. Neruda's contribution is a comment on an illustration, annexed to number 56 of Claridad of 17 of June of 1922.

Two motifs are presented in this text. One is the struggle for creativity itself, the impulse acting within the poet. The writer is depicted in front of a piece of white paper along with the urgency to produce a comment on the engraving which has to appear in the next number of the magazine. The poet wrote: "Miro el papel, el grabado, los vuelvo a mirar y .. ¡nada!...". The creative effort momentarily affected by the reflection and perplexity, is stopped by impotence. But finally the drawing motivates the writer and he can start his production: "Calla el hombre, me mira su compañera y comienzo a escribir."

The motif of the struggle for literary creation, the effort and the sense of the poet's will and urgency to express himself can clearly be seen in this composition. But also there is some unexpected intervention from the engraving itself. The character embodied in the illustration decides to intervene and speaks to the poet, convincing him of the importance of the creative word and its expression of their human misery. It is the solution found by the poet. The creature of the engraving is the motivating agent. The whole process is then transformed. The figure of the engraving with his fictitious and idealised intervention, solves the real problem of the poet.

The other theme stems from the fact that the poet faced with injustices and recognising the cold and hunger exposed in the engraving, has to express them in his writing in such a way as to empathise with the poor suffering creatures rather than writing about purely personal feelings and sentiments. In this case the theme is expressed by the contradiction faced by the poet when writing about his own particular feelings and uncertainties, his problems or pleasures, on the one hand, and the use of his power to illuminate situations, to refer to the pain and happiness of others, on the other.

Apart from writing poems or comments like those above,

Neruda also published translations; sometimes, as in the case of Marcel Schwob, it was done in conjunction with the poet Romeo Murga. This kind of work suggests a different preoccupation with words, their richness and variety, the multiple aspects of language from which could come a useful acquisition of poetical resources and linguistic practice.

The 'Federación de Estudiantes' and their magazine Claridad were centres for stimulating young writers and poets to produce, improve and express their capabilities. The author J.S. González Vera wrote on the activities of the 'Federación':

"En la Federación se hablaba de todo, en tono solemne, encendido, puesto el pensamiento en el destino del mundo. Por un instante, quizás por días, solíamos sentir que en nuestras manos descansaba el porvenir de la especie humana." (67).

"... entre los estudiantes había radicales, anarquistas, católicos, masones, hiduístas, liberales, positivistas, románticos puros, demócratas y muchachos casi en estado silvestre. Los unía la idea del cambio social y la simpatía al obrero." (68).

González Vera specially remembers the contribution of writers and politicians, linked to workers associated to the more militant groups. They include Manuel Rojas at that time a poet and a amateur dramatist who worked as a linotypist; Francisco Pezoa, a poet who according to González wasted his talent; and Juan Gandulfo who was a student leader, a man of never ending capacity and energy.

Another element not always shown but closely linked to Claridad and the 'Federación de Estudiantes' - to student union activities, political agitators and to many writers activities around the twenties- is the significance and effort of the anarchists, who were active from the end of the nineteenth century and whose actions continued into the first three decades of the twentieth.

"Con encendida vehemencia combatían al Estado, a los poderes públicos, a las fuerzas armadas, a la iglesia, a Dios, a la propiedad privada y al capitalismo, a la sujeción de la mujer al hombre, al patriotismo, que ellos estimaban fundamentado en fronteras artificiales. Ellos fundaron la primera Universidad..." (69).

They created organisations such as "Sociedades de Resistencia" and "Ateneos Obreros" which organized campaigns in defence of their programmes or individuals who were persecuted. Their activities embraced numerous foreigners and immigrants who kept political links with their anarchist bases in their original countries. Neruda wrote in 1962, remembering this period of Claridad and the students' political awareness around the twenties:

"Yo escribía semanalmente en el periódico estudiantil de la época, "Claridad". Los estudiantes apoyábamos las reivindicaciones populares y éramos apaleados por la policía en las calles de Santiago. A la capital llegaban miles de obreros cesantes del salitre y del cobre. Las manifestaciones y la represión consiguiente teñían trágicamente la vida nacional. Desde aquella época y con intermitencias se mezcló la política en mi poesía y en mi vida. No era posible cerrar la puerta a la calle dentro de mis poemas, así como no era posible tampoco cerrar la puerta al amor, a la vida, a la alegría o a la tristeza en mi corazón de joven poeta." (70).

But the inclusion of politics in the early poetry of Neruda was never so clear-cut and definitive as the poet wrote and remembered in 1962. There are other writings of the mature Neruda which offer a different view of the young poet of the twenties and in these instances it can be seen that there were other priorities selected by the poet at that time.

In the unpublished Lecture of January 1954 at the Universidad de Chile, quoted by M. Aguirre (71) Neruda recalled that period in the capital from another standpoint. The young poets and writers published in magazines while living a disorganised and Bohemian life. But Neruda also remembered having seen Luis Emilio Recabarren, leader of the "Federación Obrera" himself a publisher of numerous magazines and papers of political agitation and unionization of the workers, a restless man and activist.

Neruda remembers Recabarren being active at a time when he and his colleagues were discussing literary problems. But the association and reappraisal are made by Neruda in his writing of the fifties and sixties. He writes:

"Cuando pienso en aquellos días turbulentos, recuerdo que pasábamos sin saberlo cada día junto a la solución de nuestros problemas estéticos. En efecto, junto a la Federación de Estudiantes, desde donde salíamos cada tarde, estaba la Federación Obrera, y en la puerta de ella veíamos con respeto cada día un hombre de pelo gris y de ojos capotudos, voluminoso, en mangas de camisa. Se llamaba Luis Emilio Recabarren." (72).

The writing clearly suggests that the young poets group in which Neruda participated where the newly arrived ideas on artistic expression were discussed, did not see the possibility of linking that discussion with the activities organised at that moment by Recabarren.

Regarding this theme the poet Pablo de Rokha wrote (73) that Neruda did not see, did not listen even though things were so obvious. The young Neruda did not write anything about Recabarren's struggles or about the 'Federación Obrera'. He wrote about it later on in Canto General, in his Memoirs, in the Lectures given when he was already a respected mature poet.

The circles of creativity and artistic discussion of Neruda and his friends and that of the political and union agitation of

Recabarren and others did not touch or cross one another in their own time.

On the other hand there are critics like Raúl Silva Castro who are emphatic in saying that there is no question but that social issues and politics were present in Neruda's early poetry . He says:

"Para entender el nacimiento de la poesía social o política en Neruda, no está demás recordar que ya en *Crepusculario*, libro en todo de juventud, hay versos que acreditan preocupación por los problemas de la vida cotidiana. En "Oración" por ejemplo, canta a las mujeres caídas que ve en el suburbio, laceradas, humilladas, dolientes, buscando afanosamente el pan; y después de compadecerlas y de elogiarlas, dice: ... La elocución - continúes Silva Castro after quoting part of Neruda's poem- no es aquí brillante, y algunos versos huelgan; pero basta el primero, extraordinariamente bien logrado: "No solo es seda lo que escribo", para afirmar nuestro intento, es decir, para hacer ver que la actitud de comprensión hacia el hombre que sufre es antigua en Neruda, es contemporánea de sus versos de amor y precede con mucho a la conversión al comunismo." (74).

Nevertheless if the quoted poem is looked at in its totality and the detail of its composition and structure it can be seen that the theme has been transported to an idealistic level. The topic is seen not in a real-objective context but in a figurative and fictitious world deliberately created by the poet. The poet imagines "un vuelo" from where he can look at the idea of prostitution and the miseries relating to it down there in that fictitious notion. He is not creating fiction based on a real factual experience; it is an idealised figurative invention.

In 1954 Neruda published Odas Elementales and in its

first poem "El hombre invisible" can be found a critical look by the poet at the egocentric poets. The author is probably critical of himself, because the characterization is relevant to his own earlier poetry. The poet does not say he is writing about his own work or about himself but the content is clear enough. Neruda at the time of composing Odas had resolved many of the theoretical problems of writing poetry and now, he permitted himself to talk about it with irony, humour, without the expressive and syntactic tension of previous writings on other young men's poetry where the creativity is centred around "Yo" an expressive and lyrical young ego.

"siempre dicen "yo",
a cada paso
les sucede algo,
es siempre "yo",
por las calles
sólo ellos andan
o la dulce que aman,
nadie más." (75).

It will be seen later that that egocentric line of poetry is expressed in Crepusculario. There the "ego" found refuge and the possibility of evasion. And now in 1954 Neruda talks about the young poet's work as he was explaining his own creation:

"No pasan pescadores,
ni libreros,
no pasan albañiles,
nadie se cae
de un andamio,
nadie sufre,
nadie ama,
sólo mi pobre hermano,
el poeta,
a él le pasan
todas las cosas
y a su dulce querida..." (76).

How then should one understand the fragment of the poem

"Compañeros de viaje (1921)" of section XV of Canto General (1950) which recreated once again that period of the year 1921 when the young man arrived at the University in the capital city:

"... los trajes de 1921 pululaban
 en un olor atroz de gas, café y ladrillos.
 Entre los estudiantes pasé sin comprender,
 reconcentrando en mí las paredes, buscando
 cada tarde en mi pobre poesía las ramas,
 las gotas y la luna que se habían perdido." (77).

The fragment suggests that the young poet did not appreciate the variety and richness of the world surrounding him. On the contrary, the poet at that age was furiously writing, dedicating himself completely to literary creativity. He took refuge and isolated himself in producing many poems each day and but he did not have the eyes or the will to understand the social agitation the political life and struggle of others, some of them being poets like himself. The hard work, the efforts of the capital dwellers, the sphere of labour were not priorities which he chose to observe and write about. Those questions and subjects were seen by others whom Neruda recognised later -as in the case of Juan Gandulfo to whom Neruda later dedicated his book of poems of that period, Crepusculario.

Pablo Neruda at that time took refuge in literary creation and was not interested in the activities of social groups with more varied and different interests. He only treasured images about his own inner world or idealised the world around him, extending his own sphere to that of the lover at the most.

That seems to be the main dimension of his creativity at the time according to what he wrote then and also according to his own memory of the atmosphere of the epoch.

"Acudí al fondo de ella, sumergiéndome
 cada tarde en sus aguas, agarrando impalpables
 estímulos, gaviotas de un mar abandonado,
 hasta cerrar los ojos y naufragar en medio

de mi propia substancia."

Writing in "Compañeros de viaje" the poet mentions very clearly that he immersed himself in creativity, with the obstinate intention of expressing himself through writing.

4. EGOCENTRICITY IN CREPUSCULARIO.

Creative writing became the foremost and fundamental activity of the poet. The everyday requirements of the student were progressively becoming unimportant. At the same time there was a process of internalisation which had a particular effect on the way the poet saw the world around him, and especially how he saw and measured himself in the world. To the dullness of the surroundings the poet answered by going deeper into himself.

This phase, however, consisted of more than one dimension. There were many and varied moods and expressions, sudden shifts of emotion around the time of the composition of Crepusculario. For instance, since the composition of the poem "Canción de la fiesta", a poem which was the winner of the poetry competition organized by the 'Federación de Estudiantes' (Juegos Florales de 1921), a light, swift poetry about the goodness of student life, the strength, joy and carefree beauty of youth. This line of creativity runs concurrently with the others and is interwoven with the poet's need to acquire presence as an individual in the collective.

"Tiemble y estalle la fiesta. Que el goce
sea el racimo de bayas eximias
que se desgranen en las bocas más nobles
y que fecunde otras bellas vendimias." (78)

"Hoy que le tierra madura se simbra
en un temblor polvoroso y violento
van nuestras jóvenes almas henchidas
como las velas de un barco en el viento." (79)

It celebrates youth's capacity for joy and its light vanity. Uncontaminated, incorporeal, alien to any sad link with the world and particularly to any ties with the real social background, the poem offers this idealised image of youth, depicting young men and women who seem to come from nowhere. They are cut off from the collective body of society, and seem to be evanescent beings.

At this time in his life, the young poet himself was experiencing a severance of the links which bound him to his family and also the social and economic background to which he was attached. The student's life in the city had its own exigencies and the young man paid the consequences.

"Se harán agudas las piedras al paso
de nuestros blancos y rubios efesos
que seguirán con los ojos en alto
volcando siembras y cánticos nuevos." (80)

These young, beautiful people have eyes only to look up and forward. Their stance and presence are immaculate. They are without attachment to the past or to any dull background.

But this poetry of celebration of youth gives way to another more important process which is feeding the expression of the inner world of the poet, a process of immersion into himself. The poet's mood graduates towards a fulfilment of the soul and this movement merges with his efforts to acquire individual presence. It is the moment when the poet establishes his own existence by stressing his distance from the social group as in the following text.

"La canción de la fiesta... Octubre
premio
de la primavera:
un pierrot de voz ancha que desata
mi poesía sobre la locura
y yo, delgado filo
de espalda negra entre jazmín y máscaras,
andando aun ceñidamente solo,

cortando multitud con la melancolía
del viento sur, bajo los cascabeles
y el desarrollo de las serpentinatas." (81)

The poetic reflection is polarised. On one side the social conglomerate of people gathers for the show, which is here seen as panoramic and background characterised by their wildness, masquerading in bells and flowers. But this conglomerate is without substance. It represents a mere background whereby the real presence is that of the poet, who is the other pole around which the poem is structured.

The poet is that fortunate individual, elevated, contemplative, alone and absolute, disconnected from the boisterous crowd and the noise. The poet is a unique creature who keeps his distance from the crowd by means of his special gift, that spiritual sign which distinguishes him and makes him a different observing man. In "Ivresse" a poem of the first section of Crepusculario the poetry is a celebration of youth and joy, and at the same time that insistence on the importance of the poetic ego can be seen. Things come alive and exist only when they are touched by the poet. He is after all a distinctive man.

"Oh mujer- carne y sueño -, ven a encantarme un poco,
ven a vaciar tus copas de sol en mi camino:
que en mi barco amarillo tiemblen tus senos locos
y ebrios de juventud, que es el más bello vino.
...
es bello porque nosotros lo bebemos..."

From the same period and even when the poetic motif is the social and spiritual poverty of the city and prostitution, the poet observes from an elevated plane, above the objective realities, separate, by means of one of his own mysterious qualities, the exaggeration of his poetic self, alien to reality. That is the case with the poem "Oración" where this polarization between the collective human group and the singular individual can be observed again.

"En esta hora en que las lilas
sacuden sus hojas tranquilas
para botar el polvo impuro,
vuela mi espíritu intocado,
traspasa el huerto y el vallado,
abre la puerta, salta el muro

y va enredando en su camino
el mal dolor, el agrio sino,
y desnudando la raigambre
de las mujeres que lucharon
y cayeron
y pecaron
y murieron
bajo los látigos del hambre." (82)

Nevertheless the poet feels himself able to redeem that miserable social group. He hopes to overcome the injustice, and alleviate the pain with his poetry because this redeeming capacity is part of his gift as poet. It is the poet's ultimate tribute to himself. It is the kind of poetry which pretends in one way or another to assimilate the world seen by the individual but he finds himself in the middle of a privileged circle, (it is not without significance that he mentions a surrounding wall) cultivating his own absorption in his inner self. The result is no more than good intentions, nice myths, beautiful feelings, wishful dreams.

The poet's solidarity and redeeming intentions work to stimulate his own dreams. He maintains that polarization between his ego in search of plenitude and the social group which never appears as a concrete body fully recreated. On the contrary that group is a fictionalised, colourless, inconsistent recreation of a collective. The poet persists in grasping his own inner self and ends up by pleasing himself.

The twilight- says J. Concha- surrounds the poet and becomes the notion which presides over the collection, but also permits the poet to become a subject who pleases himself,

stubbornly grasping his own inner self. This self-apprehension works as an antidote and an escape from the uncertainties of the present and the emptiness of the future. This movement of the ego towards his own inner self is understandable when confronted with the notion of the ego being cut off from reality.

"Separado de esa embriaguez en que el niño participaba del Todo, el adolescente se degrada en centro." (83)

The young poet is insecure, breaking off his links with concrete existence. He does not understand where his individuality lies in relation to social life; he sees neither his role in society or in his group nor his function in life at the moment. The poem "Aquí estoy con mi pobre cuerpo" expresses that emotional state, the sense of isolation and of breaking away from the social ambience to take refuge in the cultivation of the inner self.

"Yo no sé por qué estoy aquí ni cuando vine
ni por qué la luz roja del sol lo llena todo.
Me basta con sentir frente a mi cuerpo triste
la inmensidad de un cielo de luz teñido de oro.

La inmensa rojedad de un sol que ya no existe,
el inmenso cadáver de una tierra ya muerta,
y frente a las astrales luminarias que tiñen el
cielo,
la inmensidad de mi alma bajo la tarde inmensa."
(84).

The poet faces objective reality and the ephemeral state of things in the objective world. He opposes them with what in his eyes is his discovery - a discovery he considers immense and grand. He presents himself with clarity. The world outside himself is ephemeral. In order to combat this he possesses the immensity of his soul, his own self. Paradoxically, this precious inner self is contained within his poor, sad body.

How far is the poet from the early stages of his life when

he was surrounded by the railway workers, the wood cutters, family life, the visible social margins, the excursions to the forest, the experiences of a real, concrete world. Now the poet seeks closer communication with his own inner self to compensate for social isolation and the lack of links with real objective experience.

Hernán Loyola in Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda (85), writes that in Crepusculario two poetic moments can be observed. One is present in the poems written between 1920 and the middle of the 1922. In these poems, according to Loyola, there prevails a solidarity with the sufferings of others, a redeeming impulse towards the pain of others; in general he says the writer shows an enthusiasm to share the greyness and pain of his fellow humans. The poet maintains his faith in creativity and is confident of facing with a degree of success all those dark sides of life. The fact that he is a poet means he is capable of facing the miseries that life offers. The second moment comes towards 1923 when Neruda's writings show: "Una progresiva conciencia de fracaso en aquella ambición de ejercer con su poesía, con su canto, una influencia transformadora sobre el mundo exterior." (86)

Nevertheless this process seems to be less schematic than the one Loyola proposes. For instance in the poem "Farewell" of the section called "Farewell y los sollozos", written in five stanzas, a statement of the sensibility and uncertainty of the poet can be found.

"Yo me voy. Estoy triste: Pero siempre estoy triste
Vengo desde tus brazos. No sé hacia donde voy." (87)

"Farewell" is the poem of saying goodbye to the lover. The poem expresses that change manifested in the poet in relation to his faith and confidence in creativity on which Loyola comments. Here the poet faces the future and his surroundings with insecurity and uncertainty.

"Vengo desde tus brazos. No sé hacia donde voy."

That is why says Loyola the poet discards his ambition and turns towards scepticism. The poet in his opinion looks for a refuge: "La poesía de Neruda se refugió con desconcierto en el rincón del amor". (88)

However, a close analysis of the central part of the collection "Los crepúsculos de Maruri" reveals some differences of opinion and variations regarding Loyola's interpretation. The poem "La tarde sobre los tejados" for instance, shows the fleeting life and movement of the elements, the ephemeral passing of friendship and love:

"La tarde sobre los tejados
cae
y cae.."

And also the same theme can be found in "Mariposa de otoño":

Todo se va en la vida amigos.
Se va o perece.

Se va la mano que te induce.
Se va o perece.

Se va la rosa que desates.
También la boca que te bese." (89)

It is poetry of crepuscular timing. Apart from being the theme of the book itself, it gives its name also to the section. It is the moment when the fugacity of time is detectable in a concrete and determined moment, an instant which shelters the feeling of solitude cultivated by the poet, offering him an atmosphere less hostile and appropriate to those dreams of immersing himself in his inner life. But there are very different moods and sentiments expressed here too.

"Y hubo un día de sol y mi alegría
en mí no cupo.

Sentí la angustia de cargar la nueva
soledad del crepúsculo." (No lo había mirado).

"Amigo con la tarde haz que se vaya
este inútil y viejo deseo de vencer." (Amigo).

"Dios ¿de dónde sacaste para encender el cielo
este maravilloso crepúsculo de cobre?
Por el supe llenarme de alegría de nuevo,
y la mala mirada supe tornarla noble."
(Dame la maga fiesta).

As can be seen there are diverse feelings and states of mind being expressed one after the other. A happy mood is followed almost immediately by solitude. To the sad feeling of one instant follows suddenly its opposite. It seems that the schematic way in which Loyola explains the changes hides a development of a more complex nature. There is a continuous struggle of diverse sentiments, some of them expressed in one poem. After the poetic image about solitude, there is the expression of a pleasant mood brought forward by the presence of the twilight.

For example in the text "No lo había mirado" there is an expression of optimism and friendship, comradeship, but also the poet feels the arrival of solitude and sadness.

"No lo había mirado y nuestros pasos
sonaban juntos

Nunca escuché su voz y mi voz iba
llenando el mundo.

Y hubo un día de sol y mi alegría
en mí no cupo.

Sentí la angustia de cargar la nueva
soledad del crepúsculo.

...

Y mi dolor bajo la noche negra

entró en su corazón." (90)

In this collection of poems, then, there is solitude and sadness, a young man's melancholy, intangible pain. Many of these sentiments are fictitious, but all the same they were an impulse to creative writing, a motivation which opened a way to literary practice and the exercise of linguistic expression.

Considering that many of the poems are expressions of different moods and feelings, some of them opposite to one another, that they show the uncertainties and the variety of moods of the poet, the struggling of diverse sentiments for a linguistic expression, how can the poem "Hoy que es el cumpleaños de mi hermana" be understood, where there is confession of sentiments at variance. Is the poem no more than an exercise of linguistic expression or a game of half-truths and lies -or is the poet on this occasion making a statement of truth? Or it may be that the poem is an expression of what is brought forth as it is happening in the poet's sensibility.

"Todo lo que poseo siempre lo llevo lejos.
A veces hasta mi alma me parece lejana.

...

los dolores, tú sabes como me caen todos
como al camino caen todas las hojas muertas.

...

Tú lo sabes, hermana, la soledad me lleva
hacia el fin de la tierra como el viento a las nubes!

Pero para qué esto de pensamientos tristes!
A ti menos que a nadie debe afligir mi voz!
Después de todo nada de esto que digo existe...
No vayas a contárselo a mi madre, por Dios!

Uno no sabe como va hilvanando mentiras,
y uno dice por ellas, y ellas hablan por uno.
Piensa que tengo el alma llena de risas,
y no te engañarás, hermana, te lo juro." (91)

There is uncertainty here and a struggle to express diverse

feelings. The poet faces the fictitious pain and sentiments but also the real uneasiness, the loss of his well-being regarding family ties. He is trying to offer some comfort but at the same time asking for understanding and struggling to put into words the conflict of so many different moods. The poet tries hard to organize his own contradictory feelings.

The poem "Sinfonía de la trilla" from the section "Ventana al camino", presents that polarisation of the world established by the poet in a previous section. But in this case the poles are the poet and a labouring multitude. The title of the poem indicates that there is an harmonious, multiple presence. It is a poem about the 'Trilla' or the harvest of grain where a multitude of people traditionally congregate to work, help and celebrate.

The first four stanzas introduce the presence of diverse elements: wind, horses, countryside, wheat and also briefly the intervention of humans.

"hombres de corazón sencillo"
 "Este es el fruto de tu ciencia
 varón de la mano callosa." (92).

Labour is shown just in a couple of verses. The peasants appear then fade away. The poet chooses a rich and objective experience as worthy of poetry. But from it only remains a passing touch of rhythm and sound rather than a meaningful creation. The fifth stanza starts a new expressive movement. The change is indicated by a new rhythm and a new kind of metre, following the pattern of the process of germination, growth, and ripening of wheat. But the poem becomes at this stage a song to the self.

From the initial pretension of a poem to the harmonious movement of a rich experience of work and the capacity of the sun and the natural elements to allow and encourage germination, there are just a few verses and then the poem launches into a glorification of the self. The poetic images of the natural elements are here background to the satisfaction of

the self.

At the 'trilla' the annual harvesting of wheat in the Chilean countryside, a numerous group of people and workers gather to help and also to participate in the joy of harvesting the fruits and of the social gathering. However, an event enriched by the collective presence of the peasants, and the meaningful gathering, becomes a scenario for the poet displaying his ego and in doing so denies the possibilities of the symphonic dimension offered in the title.

In a third stage of the poem also indicated by a different metric system, the poet figure rises up and in the meantime the initial motif of the poem fades away. A communal event, meaningful as a gathering of workers in a mood of solidarity, becomes a decorative background for the satisfaction of the poet's ego :

"Dulcifica mis labios con tus mieles,
campo de los recónditos panales!

Perfúmame a manzanas y laureles,
desgráname en los últimos trigales...

Lléname el corazón de cascabeles,
campo de los lebreles pastorales!"

When Karl Marx (93) wrote his letter to Ferdinand Lasalle regarding the play Franz von Sickingen written by the latter he pointed out how the playwright distorted the historic conflict of class as he overlooked the presence of the collective social group of peasants and other city dwellers in rebellion to stress instead the individual character participation. Marx added that if those peasants and city dwellers were presented in the play they could provide an active and vital contribution to it. By distorting the real-historical background, then the play lost aesthetic possibilities.

F. Engels (94) signals the same aspect in his letter to Lasalle, pointing out also the absence of the community group in

the play. Apart from being respectful of the true events the inclusion of this element could add some tragic dimension from the artistic point of view. In Engels view that could offer a more satisfying conception of the tragedy of a frustrated rebellion.

In "Sinfonía de la trilla" it seems, there is a similar situation. The theme announced by the title of the poem evokes the social gathering and the collective efforts of peasants to collect the results of innumerable annual tasks. But this poetic and symphonic theme transforms into a self-praising poem. The real objective experience loses all potential meaning to support the egotism of the poet.

It has been stressed that the most visible characteristic of Neruda's Crepusculario is the praising of the self and from that egotism the poet sees the world. So his creative efforts, have as their starting point that centre, the soul of the poet.

In the young Neruda there prevails that romantic vision of the poet as a singular and different human being, with a redeeming capacity regarding the pain and sufferings of others. There is also the notion that he, as poet, is a point around whom things and beings of the universe revolve. From that position the poet could not present an artistic view of labourers, peasants or workers who were at the same time as he, busily transforming the world.

If at some point these workers are mentioned by the poet, they become decorative elements in the background where the most eminent presence is that of the poetic ego.

Or if the creative obstinacy and poetic motivation bring the poet to topics where workers or collective groups appear, they soon dissolve to give way to the expression of the self or they are transferred to an idealised vision where they lose density and corporeality. Only the presence of the poetic ego stands out.

Further illustration of this interpretation can be seen in the poem "El pueblo" found in the section "Ventana al camino". The

poet goes for a walk to the countryside where from the hill above, the poet can oversee the town beneath him. The poem starts with the poetic speaker sheltered by nature. The forest and the sky protect the poet. From that position the poet can see the church silhouette, and hear the traffic noise from the town. But from the town only the sadness and opacity affect the sensibility of the poet. He sees the streets and feels the melancholy nature of it all. But from men, he detects:

"Las almas de tus hombres me parecen más feas."

That is to say, the poet does not see one concrete man from his observation post. Instead he refers to those ethereal and incorporeal instances of humanity, the souls of men.

Everything mentioned here exists only in a dependent relation to the poetic ego: "me cubre, bebo, siento, encuentro, me parecen..." are examples of how these verbs point to that centre. Everything converges towards that centre of the self. The realities which stimulate the creative mood exist because of the poet's ego. Nothing else exists apart from that relationship.

And the poet goes back to the sad, grey, opaque village. There is then an intense mood of rejection. Nevertheless the poem ends by mentioning another poetic presence which will be relevant in the next collection of poems: Veinte poemas de amor y una canción desesperada:

"Pero ella vive allí".

CHAPTER TWO.

THE POETIC WORLD OF 'VEINTE POEMAS' : HOW IT DIFFERS FROM OTHER BOOKS OF THE PERIOD.

1. The poetic world shaped in Veinte poemas de amor y una canción desesperada starts and finishes as an exclusive enclosure for the lovers. In it exist only the poet and his lover. The surroundings are there only as a projection of that world, articulated to it, as an area where their silences, the poet's melancholy, the absences and the lovers feelings are prolonged.

The real-objective world has no independent presence or any well-defined shape or character. On the contrary, it is integrated into the lovers world, that closed circle, alien also to any other human presence.

"Como todas las cosas están llenas de mi alma
emerges de las cosas, llena del alma mía."
(Poema 15).

The lovers' enclosure stays hermetic and resists any approaching human presence which does not belong to it, seeing it as hostile. This, then, is why no other human presence is represented in the poetic world of the collection and when there is mention of other humans they are either alien presences impregnated with hostility, or the poet himself feels aggressive towards them:

"Nadie nos vió esta tarde con las manos unidas
mientras la noche azul caía sobre el mundo."
(Poema 10).

"A nadie te pareces desde que yo te amo"
(Poema 14).

"Cuanto te habré dolido acostumbrarte a mí
a mi alma sola y salvaje, a mi nombre que todos

ahuyentan."
(Poema 14).

And if the lover is not there the poet could neither conceal his annoyance nor his hostility towards what has no place in the lovers' enclosure.

"¿Entonces dónde estabas?
¿Entre qué gentes?
¿Diciendo qué palabras?
(Poema 10).

Also any human existence alien to the lovers' precinct is depersonalized and to face them the poet stands firm.

"Yo sólo puedo luchar contra la fuerza de los
hombres".
(Poema 14).

The collective human entity, their efforts and hard work to humanize the world have no place in this poetry. The poet is not interested in establishing connections or communication with those presences, as they are perceived as hostile and threatening.

"Yo que viví en un puerto desde donde te amaba.
...
Acorralado entre el mar y la tristeza.

Callado, delirante, entre dos gondoleros
inmóviles."
(Poema 13).

Nevertheless, there an exception where the presence of the collective human has a positive echo. In poem 5 there is an image of the poet as the voice of the plurality, but it is only one image which has no consequence or particular development:

"Escuchas otras voces en mi voz dolorida.
Llanto de viejas bocas, sangre de viejas súplicas."

(Poema).

This image is isolated; only later will the poet develop the content insinuated within it. At this point the image is linked to the creative expression of love, to the individualistic creative sentiment of the collection. The poetic image does not attempt to put forward a meaningful content with respect to humanity or the individual's place within society. Throughout the collection the hostility and aggression towards alien presences predominates.

1. a. Words.

Words are a pure example of the creative capacity of man. Man in his efforts to humanize his surroundings, created and developed this tool to express himself. They are a classic contribution of humankind to the transformation of nature and its own advancement. They are thus an example of the permanent improvement and change operated by man on nature and on the words themselves and their expressive capacity. They are a collective possession. But if as in this case the poet needs them, they will be used at will and as he pleases by this poetic speaker.

"Ahora quiero que digan lo que quiero decirte
para que tú las oigas como quiero que me oigas."
(Poema 5).

Words are the property of the collective, the creation and result of the efforts of the species; here they have become an exclusive instrument of expression in a precinct for two. Even, so, the poet strives to use them as things, passing a thread through them to make a homage and a present for the lover.

"Voy haciendo de todas un collar infinito
para tus blancas manos, suaves como las uvas."
(Poema 5).

1. b. The crafts.

If at any given moment the crafts are mentioned they will become decorative elements, rhetorical effects to serve poetic images where the poet expresses amorous feelings. Craftsmen are mentioned by the poet with the intention of using those words because of their resonance and value as words in the image of which they are a part. The meanings of the words play a part in the whole of the image, they serve with their background in the presentation of the emotion and sentiment expressed by the poet.

"Ahogando lamentos, moliendo esperanzas
sombrías,
molinero taciturno,
se le viene de bruces la noche, lejos de la ciudad."
(Poema 17).

It is the poetic image as the poet sees himself in isolation, remembering the absent lover, immersed in the process of writing:

"Pensando, enredando sombras en la profunda
soledad." (Poema 17).

In Poem 13 again the poet alludes to craftsmen, in this case the 'gondoleros'. There again their presence is decorative, to stress with their motionlessness the sadness and solitude of the poet who faces again the remembrance of the absent lover.

"Acorralado entre el mar y la tristeza,
callado, delirante, entre dos gondoleros inmóviles."

In Poem 1 the poet says: "Mi cuerpo de labriego salvaje te socava...". The allusion to 'labriego' refers to the fact that the poet is stressing certain qualities in himself by applying metaphorically its meaning of rough worker of the land reinforced with the adjective 'salvaje'. And in the last poem of the book and when he is referring to the lover, says:

'De tumbo en tumbo aun llameaste y cantaste.

De pie como un marinero en la proa de un barco."

The mention of 'marinero' in this case also is a rhetorical mechanism. The image presents comparatively an idealised posture of the lover. She stands as "De pié como un marinero..." exemplifying again the way in which the craftsmen and workers appear in the volume. Those words have an evocative echo, creating a sentimental atmosphere which the poetic ego chooses to communicate.

The inclusion of other people in this collection is strictly metaphorical. If they are mentioned it is as a decorative element, or because the words have a cultural resonance and echo which Neruda deliberately exploits, but divorcing the image from any association with others outside himself.

"Eso es todo. A lo lejos alguien canta. A lo lejos.
Mi alma no se contenta con haberla perdido."
(Poema 20).

And now at the end of the volume the poet exposes the loss of the lover and her definitive absence. The last poem invokes his solitariness, his sense of indecision and aimlessness. The poet, obstinate in his creative capacity, stubbornly immersed in his particular universe, faces a new beginning. After the immersion in the self and the obstinate writing on himself and after the creation of an exclusive world for the lovers, the poetic ego prepares himself to depart.

"Es la hora de partir. Oh abandonado."

1. c. Nature.

Nature is conceived as a perfect entity. She is perfect and her elements behave as though they are beyond any possibility of change and improvement. She is there and is used as reference or as an image of excellence and harmony. In that space there is no labour. There, nevertheless, the poet finds the images and poetic patterns and references for his purpose. In the exemplary disposition of nature the poet finds comparisons and

metaphorical elements which are crucial to the images:

"Apegada a mis brazos como una enredadera
las hojas recibían tu voz lenta y en calma.

...

Dulce jacinto azul torcido sobre mi alma."
(Poema 6).

"Eres como la noche, callada y constelada.
Tu silencio es de estrella, tan lejano y sencillo."
(Poema 15).

Tienes ojos profundos donde la noche alea.
Frescos brazos de flor y regazo de rosa."
(Poema 8).

But in the creation of this notion of nature the efforts of man do not participate. The poet does not see the transformation and enrichment which labour contributes to nature. In his vision the only role left to the poet confronted with the unchangeable hierarchical natural world, is the contemplation of that world and the translation of its excellence into images:

"He visto desde mi ventana
la fiesta del poniente en los cerros lejanos."
(Poema 10).

If human existence outside the exclusive circle of the lovers is conceived as aggressive and hostile, the natural world flows in a system of concordances with the different sentiments of love, offering in its richness, multiplicity and exemplary order, a pattern and aesthetic scheme useful to the poetic imagery.

"Eres como la noche, callada y constelada.
Tu silencio es de estrella, tan lejano y sencillo."
(Poema 15).

So the emotive charge of the poetic discourse has a

resonance, a correspondence in the natural world.

"Y como te amo, los pinos en el viento,
quieren cantar tu nombre en sus hojas de alambre."

Finally, when towards the end of the volume the poet faces the definitive loss of the lover, it is the natural world which offers the categories and images to express the desolation and solitude of the poetic ego:

"El río anuda al mar su lamento obstinado.

Abandonado como los muelles en el alba..

Surgen frías estrellas, emigran negros pájaros."

2. THE OTHER BOOKS.

El hondero entusiasta is also in a way that expression of an exclusive world of lovers which was presented in Veinte poemas.... It was published for the first time in January of 1933 (1). The volume includes an 'Advertencia del autor' dated January 1933, where the author explains that even though the book was published in 1933, it was written during the years 1923-1924. He adds that the book is published as a document, with no additions, no alterations, nor revision of any kind. The collection is not complete because some poems have been lost and some poems are not concluded, though the book contains 12 poems.

The first poem presents the poet as a solitary man facing the hostility of the world. Situations and hostile entities are accumulated in the text. Dark and threatening nights, dark fires, walls, death, immense wind, dark country, shadows, dark sky, the threatening look of the sea, are all elements which announce some sinister and unidentifiable presence which surrounds the poet. But the poet is determined to open a way and a gap for himself. But that intention destroys itself in its own fight and the poet has a premonition of the ineffectiveness of his efforts.

The second poem introduces the lover and she becomes a refuge and protection for the poet against the innumerable hostilities that inhabit the world. In her he finds tenderness and enjoyment. Nevertheless, as he is committed to the unknown and despite his declaration of his need of her, there are moments when he shuts her out. The exaggerated solitude of the ego in the face of the hostility of the world is vividly expressed.

"Oyeme estas palabras que me salen ardiendo,
y que nadie diría si yo no las dijera"
(Poema 5).

In "Poema 3" appears the theme which defines this poetry. The poet expresses his desire for solitude to strengthen his will, and to enable himself to face with integrity the assaults of hostility. This pronouncement is directed at the lover; but these statements are alternated with their opposite. Following that pronouncement of eagerness to be alone to reinforce his commitment, there is a call to the lover: "Amiga, no te mueras./ Oyeme estas palabras que me salen ardiendo" (Poema 5). Also the poet says in "Poema 3" putting clearly the main theme of the collection:

"Huye. Aléjate. Extínguete. Mi alma debe estar sola.
Debe crucificarse, hacerse astillas, rodar,
verterse, contaminarse sola,
Abierta a la marea de los llantos,
ardiendo en el ciclón de las furias,
erguida entre los cerros y los pájaros,
aniquilarse, exterminarse sola,
abandonada y única como un faro de espanto."

The poetic ego feels himself in the middle of a singular adventure which is expressed in chaotic, turbulent, contradictory images. He would like to cut off ties and links of any order and then to participate in that adventure and escape to the unknown. The plan is not a precise one, neither has it any clear cut definition. The lover here is just a helper and an instrument to the poet's wishes. She is a tool prepared and made

by the poet according to his particular individualistic needs. He wishes to be morally strong and to acquire that strength he manifests eagerness to be alone, but also he needs the lover and is prepared to use her to fulfil his own purposes.

"Y que yo pueda al fin, correr en fuga loca,
 inundando las tierras como un río terrible,
 desatando estos nudos, ah Dios mío, estos nudos,
 destrozando,
 quemando,
 arrasando
 como una lava loca lo que existe,
 correr fuera de mí mismo, perdidamente,
 libre de mí, furiosamente libre.
 Irme ,
 Dios mío,
 irme.
 (Poema 8).

However there is no mention here of any other people or creatures. The poetic world includes only two characters. In this collection there is just one occasion when the poet calls to his friends when, at the end of poema 1, he says: "Ah, mi dolor amigos, ya no es dolor de humano! Ah, mi dolor amigos, ¡ya no cabe en la sombra!" But apart from this brief call there is no other opportunity for humans or others to appear. There is only room for the poet and his love. And she becomes instrumental to the desires and plans of the poetical ego.

Since the collection - as Neruda himself says in the 'Advertencia' - was written between 1923-1924, the poet displays at the time no intention to write about the everyday efforts of others. He was still preoccupied with his singular mode of being and with the different variations which were offered to him by the sentiments of love. There is no sign of the presence of the human sphere of labour as such. The overwhelming impression is of the omnipresence of the poetic ego and the impulse to escape and venture into the unknown.

Something different happened soon afterwards when Neruda

published new books around 1926. Already in the 'Prólogo' to the first edition of El habitante y su esperanza (1926) Neruda explained that he wrote the story in answer to an editor's request. He added that he was not inclined towards narrative writing, that the task was not an easy one and even that the literary activity was for him, at that time, an uncertain one and that he vacillated about it. Then by way of a personal definition of himself he wrote that as a citizen and as an author:

"Como ciudadano, soy hombre tranquilo, enemigo de leyes, gobiernos instituciones establecidas. Tengo repulsión por el burgués, y me gusta la vida de la gente intranquila e insatisfecha, sean éstos artistas o criminales." (2).

The poet at the time, around 1926, did not participate in nor had no experience of any practical work. His only production was a literature that was the sentimental expression of the ego. Student activity and literature absorbed all the young man's energy. The poet had not yet know the discipline of labour nor the demands of a permanent job. He knew nothing of the effort involved in everyday routine, the rigour of timetables and other conventions and mechanistic functions of labour.

The hostility expressed by the poet to the establishment, to routine and institutions and bourgeois life must be understood in the context of the period. Neruda left the student life, but he did not work; he felt isolated and alien to the environment. On the other hand, paradoxically one year later he accepted a Consular Post in Rangoon, Burma, in 1927.

In the meantime, during 1925 Neruda lived with his friend Rubén Azócar in Ancud, Chiloé, in the extreme south of the country. Azócar was given the post of a teacher in that town and invited his friend to the south. Azócar himself wrote the story:

"Me habían destinado a servir un horario de classes de Castellano en el Liceo de Ancud, en Chiloé. Pablo había abandonado de hecho sus estudios y su padre ya no le enviaba su mesada. Le propuse que me acompañara a

Ancud. A pesar del éxito de sus Veinte Poemas, la situación anímica de Pablo era angustiosa y desconcertada. Me parecía que su alma giraba sobre sí misma, tratando de encontrarse. Tal vez por eso, porque deseaba renovarse en algún sentido y examinarse desde otra atmósfera y otra perspectiva, tal vez porque tenía problemas de amor y de poesía, mi proposición encontró terreno favorable en mi amigo."(3).

Also another writer remembers:

"Era perfectamente natural entre nosotros que nos ayudáramos mutuamente, y Rubén, además de llevarse consigo a un amigo a su destierro, quería ayudarlo. Pablo había abandonado los estudios y no tenía un trabajo estable. Su padre, disgustado ya no le enviaba dinero. Y aunque era buscavidas a su modo, su poesía y sus traducciones para Nascimento no alcanzaban como medio de subsistir. Todos queríamos ayudarlo como antes él había ayudado a otros." (4).

The poet facing the problem of finding means of subsistence took cover in literary production. So the journey to the extreme south of the country takes place in the context of his search for something to do with his life and particularly with his creative capacity. While in Ancud he wrote a short narrative and helped his host with the work demanded by teaching.

"Pablo me ayudaba muchísimo, no sólo con su compañía inapreciable en el destierro, sino también en los aspectos más pesados de mi labor pedagógica, corrigiendo pruebas, revisando cuadernos de mis alumnos, copiando notas y cuestionarios: era un excelente secretario." (5).

It was a productive period. Neruda wrote three new books. This creative writing grew stronger roots and the poet tried new poetic forms in Tentativa del hombre infinito, and in the poetic prose of Anillos and worked up new possibilities in narrative with the story El habitante y su esperanza.

The story is written in the first person. That perspective has encouraged some critics to associate the fiction with Neruda's own life experiences. For instance:

"El habitante y su esperanza, novela en la que Neruda poetiza algunas aventuras eróticas tal vez reales, transfiriéndolas a un ambiente más o menos apócrifo de contrabandistas, y en las que por primera vez se venga de uno de sus críticos bautizando con su nombre el cuatrero de la novela." (6).

But in the main character contemplative attitudes predominate. He is a lonely character with a peculiar way of seeing things to whom the social context is uninteresting and whose life expands itself at the most to those very near him or those with whom he has occasional contact. Apart from the protagonist and the other two main characters, other figures are encountered briefly, just passing by, almost by accident. His social projection goes then to his companion in illegal activities and to the lover they both have in common. The rest of the characters and members of the community presented in the story are not delineated with care, they are of no interest to the protagonist. He mentions a few names, some tradesmen but in general men and women of the context pass by as silhouettes, drawn against a background from a distance. The hero presents those figures and silhouettes on the horizon. They do not touch him, nor alter his way of being in the world. Those characters belong to a distant sphere away from the interests and activities of the protagonist. They are figures without a history. They do not have importance for his life.

"He estado muchas veces solo en mi vivienda mientras el temporal azota la costa. Estoy tranquilo porque no tengo temor de la muerte, ni pasiones, pero me gusta ver la mañana que casi siempre surge limpia y reluciendo. No es raro que me siente entonces en un tronco mirando hasta lejos el agua inmensa, oliendo la atmósfera libre, mirando cada carreta que cruza hacia el pueblo con comerciantes, indios y trabajadores y

viajeros. Una especie de fuerza de esperanza se pone en mi manera de vivir aquel día, una manera superior a mi indolencia, exactamente superior a mi indolencia." (Chap. I.)

A contemplative character, indolent, paradoxically he works as a cattle robber; but he is interested in what happens around him only to display his fantasy and of open spaces where he can liberate his thoughts and personal feelings of closeness. The distances, the vast expansiveness of the sea, the deserted streets, the empty patio of the silent house, are spaces where he can realize his escapes, his fantasies of a solitary man, where he can roam and flow freely. Even when he visits his lover's house, he first goes through the ritual of casting a look around the empty space, over uninhabited surroundings, while he wanders around almost without purpose.

"Atravieso ese recinto baldío que me separa del pueblo, cosa de una legua, sigo por las calles deshabitadas y me detengo frente al portón de su casa... si no está, me gusta ver vacío el patio y la huerta y la espero sin desear que llegue." (Chap. I).

Most of the human characters of the story are intangible, just silhouettes at a distance, with whom the protagonist does not build links or communicate. He makes only casual or fleeting reference to the lives of these other people who reside only in the background. But there are some with whom he exchanges a few words. He mentions only their names.

In chapter IV the hero says that he was arrested. In jail he recounts his life. His narrative, however, leaves out countless numbers of human beings who have had some kind of contact with him. The hero does not see them; they have no place in his world.

"Dos o tres presos son: Diego Coper, también cuatrero, hobre altanero, de aire orgulloso, y Rojas Carrasco, tipo gordo, sucio, antipático, que no sé qué líos tiene con la policía rural.

Pero por sobre todo, el largo día, cuando el verano de esta comarca marina zumba hasta mis oídos como una chicharra, con lejos, lejos, el rumor de la desembocadura, donde recuerdo el muelle internando su solitaria madera, el vaivén del agua profunda, o más distantes las carretas tascadas de viejos trigos, la era, los avellanos." (Chap. IV).

The protagonist gives a simple view of his jail companions and the men of his trade. He just mentions them and then they disappear. But there is plenty of room for the main character's thoughts, for his worries and daydreams, his longing for open space, for the latitudes offering liberty. Longing for old but good days of plenty. The old ox carts full of fruits. The opposites are clear in the flow of the monologue.

In the next chapter, in a letter to his friend Tomás, about whom nothing was said before and nothing will be said again, the protagonist says again that he is in detention and mentioning his fellow prisoners leaves them in anonymity. The hero is not interested in the miserable existence of those creatures, jailed like him. There is no hope for these unhappy humans.

"Estoy preso en la policía de Cantalao, por unos asuntos de animales. He pasado un mes ocioso, con gran tedio. Es un cuartel campesino, de grandes paredes coloradas, en donde vienen a caer indios infelices y vagabundos de los campos." (Chap. V).

The fate of these Indians or of those vagabonds does not worry the protagonist. Those lives are there but they have no meaningful relationship with him. They are figures without history, their lives are alien to the protagonist's world created by the narrative. They do not touch even at a tangent the protagonist's fate.

Nevertheless, the protagonist mentions the names of a set of characters whom he stumbles against during his illegal

movements. Apart from the previously mentioned cases of Coper and Carrasco, in the next chapter in the letter to his friend Tomás, the Vázquez women, who live facing Irene's house, are mentioned. Later, in chapter X, he tells the story of someone called Silva who is unknown to the reader and who does not interest the hero either. In the same chapter Elvira appears. In chapter XI he mentions Andrés, and also Lucha, Aguilera and Sebastián -two of them it seems involved in an amorous encounter with Lucía. But none of these characters have a meaningful presence in relation to the protagonist. These are just people with whom the hero has casually mingled, passers-by who do not interest him.

But on the other hand there are three characters who are the centre of gravity of the story. Florencio Rivas, cattle robber, old companion and fellow tradesman of the protagonist and narrator has clear-cut characteristics. Florencio is quiet and cool, speaks very little and about his movements very little is known, apart from those cattle robbing adventures. Even in the telling of the story which the author himself terms a novel, the main incidents are not the actions, but rather the flow of consciousness of the protagonist, the different moods and reactions to the amorous conflict in which he is involved.

"Florencio Rivas es hombre tranquilo y duro y su caracter es leal y de improviso. Mi compadre de mesas de juego y asuntos de animales perdidos, es blanco de piel, azul de ojos y en el azul de ellos, gotas de indiferencia..." (Chap. VII).

Rivas is a man of a few words. He makes himself present at the moment of tragedy, when he kills his woman. The narrator does not mention all the details or the complete sequence of events. There are a few things and facts which the narrator does not tell. As the narrative perspective belongs to the protagonist and he imposes his condition of contemplating man, his day dreaming, his interest rests not in actions but in the way he observes the world.

The contradictory game of personalities of the three main

characters, Florencio-Irene-Protagonista, is presented accordingly with the selection of facts and the vision of the protagonist. In this way there are things and facts and characters which are not fully presented.

When the crucial moment of the final encounter arrives, and both men know that the amorous conflict has had its final moment, both opt out by escaping, and leaving the oppressive situation. When in chapter VII, after killing his woman, Rivas looks for the protagonist to take him to see the body, but no opportunity for reaction is offered. At such a crucial moment Rivas chooses to leave.

"Pero esta puerta la conozco, es claro, y la empujo y sé quien me espera detrás de ella, sé quien me espera, ven tú también Florencio. Pero ya está lejos y las pisadas de su caballo corren profundamente en la soledad nocturna; él ya va arrancando por los caminos de Cantalao hasta perderse de nombre, hasta alejarse sin regreso." (Chap. VII).

The reaction of the protagonist is also to escape. But in his case and at this time the escape will be again the flowing of his consciousness towards relief. Only after that will he leave:

"Estoy sentado cerca de ella, ya muerta, y su presencia, como un sonido ya muy grande, me hace poner la atención sorda exasperada hasta una gran distancia... Sólo al amanecer estoy otra vez transido encima del caballo que galopa el camino" (Chap. VII).

Only later will the protagonist say that he explicitly chose escaping as his answer to difficult situations.

"Yo escogí la huida, y através de pueblos lluviosos incendiados, solitarios, caseríos madereros en que indefectiblemente uno espera... " (Chap. X).

It is possible that the perspective and attitude of the protagonist-narrator implies something of the poet himself in

relation to his way of seeing and facing the world. His adventures seem to avoid the lives of others not very closely involved with him. Those who do not belong to the hermetic circle of the amorous conflict are only passers-by, silhouettes and figures with no meaning to the main characters. The main preoccupation of the character's life could be resumed in his own words; the same quotation could speak for the author himself:

"Pero no habrá algún rincón de piedras duras y enormes, y teñidas de vetas verdes desde donde un hombre con vocación de soledad, puede esperar todas las tardes a una misma mujer." (Chap. XI).

The search here is for a world of plenitude in which love is possible and where the lovers can be fulfilled, a world that allows the existence of that hermetic and unique love circle. But this ideal is always frustrated and broken. However it is in the construction of this world where the characters display their energy and efforts. Those are the aims of the characters and also the pretensions of the poet.

Thus, when the narrator-protagonist faces the sphere of labour and of workers his attitude is contemplative, inactive. He allows them to pass without seeing them, never taking into account their efforts. His interest is different; when this protagonist faces repetitive activity and the routine of disciplined labour, he ends up frustrated, and broken. That world is alien to his sensitivity.

After a long period of inactivity the hero finds a job as a shopkeeper in his brother's shop. Of this brother we hear nothing until this point. And now, when he has to face the responsibility of concrete daily tasks, indolence takes over. He becomes negligent and irresponsible. He is unable to run the shop as a service to the community.

"Yo soy peroso y soñador, y niego casi siempre a los parroquianos las pequeñas mercaderías que solicitan de continuo. Pronto va tomando todo esto

un aire de bancarrota y de término. Pero me encuentro bien." (Chap. XIII).

In chapter XV at the end of the story an invocation to diverse kinds of workers can be found. The hero has decided to avenge the death of Irene and now he has to find Florencio. He invokes the complicity of the workers; he does not expect them to participate in the action as workers or producers, rather as entities who know the secret of the night, those who can decipher its secrets and identity. He invokes the symbolic nature of their nocturnal labour: fishermen, poets, bakers, lighthouse-keepers, every one of them of nocturnal habits, capable of listening to the night. The night is so far the space and the environment where tragedy strikes, where the lovers meet, and robbers act. It has been the protector of the assassin and of the avenger.

"También la noche ha entrado titubeando en la casa del buscado, con el frío del arma en la mano, y con el corazón lleno de amargas olas. Es de noche..." (Chap. XV).

But in spite of the expressed intention of the narrator to clarify things in chapter XIV, in the end everything remains nebulous, vague, obscure. Everything is wrapped in dreams, mingled with the feverishness of vengeance. Only towards the end of the Chapter XV and when the story is finishing does the nebulosity dispel to give way to a kind of clarity promised by dawn.

"Es hora, porque la soledad comienza a poblarse de monstruos; la noche titila en una punta de colores caídos, desiertos, y el alba saca llorando los ojos del agua." (Chap. XV).

In conclusion, observing the story as a whole and having in mind the poetic world of Veinte Poemas... of Anillos or of El Hondero entusiasta, it can be suggested that in the story there is an extension of the social space in which the characters move. In the narrative social space there is a peculiar

participation of human beings alien to the amorous centre. Here detainees, Indians, vagabonds, travellers and others can be found, people whom the protagonist casually stumbles across. And here also there is that invocation to the nocturnal workers and particularly Florencio Rivas the other factor in the amorous knot, and the presence of Irene, who as will be seen boasts a well defined, rounded, human characterisation.

Some characters of the story are there just as background figures, seen in the distance by the hero, but they are there. The old poetic world of Veinte poemas... has been broken. The narrative world has become full of new presences.

Nevertheless, it must be said that these characters are not situated in a historical sequence. The novel lacks epoch signifiers. It is not situated in historical terms. Those workers, vagabonds, Indians, travellers, seem to belong to no historical period; they are timeless, without a fixed point in history. The only sign of chronological progression is in the observation of the seasons.

However, it is important to point here to the differences between the female characters of these different books. These differences exemplify the opening of the poet towards characters with common and simple qualities and for that reason they are on a more human level of characterisation and understanding.

Irene is comparatively a far more convincing character from the point of view of labour and from the characteristics she displays than the other female characters of Neruda's previous collections. She has in the first place a remarkable presence in the story itself as the character in the middle of the love knot and secondly her characterisation stresses those typical routine situations of women and housework. Scenes like these are impossible to detect in the characterisation of previous works or books published by Neruda in 1926. Until this point there are no such characters.

3. THE FEMALE CHARACTERS IN CREPUSCULARIO, VEINTE POEMAS... AND IN EL HABITANTE Y SU ESPERANZA.

In the first place, Irene the female character of El habitante y su esperanza is a motivational force providing incentives for others to act. She also communicates on an equal basis with the other characters.

Her tangibility, her structure, her housekeeping efforts, her presence in the amorous encounter can be appreciated. As a female character she instigates attitudes and decisions in others.

"Irene es gruesa, rubia, habladora, por eso me he formado el propósito de venirme al pueblo." (Chap.II)

The narrative discourse itself signals the motivational nature of the character in relation to the hero.

"Irene es así, por eso yo... Ella no me oye siquiera, me arrastra de prisa a contarle mis historias. Me siento alegre al lado suyo, invadiéndome su salud de piedra de arroyo" (Chap.II).

But it is in her domestic efforts where Irene shows her qualities as a person.

"Ella lava, canta, es ágil, rápida..." (Chap. II).

"Si está lavando me gusta ver sus manos que se azulan con el agua fría, si está entre la huerta me gusta su cabeza entre las pesadas flores del girasol " (Chap. I).

This characterisation of the woman is quite different from the ones found in Crepusculario or in Veinte Poemas. In these works the female characters are reduced to the intangible, the ethereal, the object of nostalgia. These female characters lack the common human characteristics. In Crepusculario, in the poem "Morena la besadora" for instance, it seems that the most concrete aspect of the woman as lover is her memory, the mark

left by her body.

"Huella que dura en el lecho,
huella dormida en el alma,
palabras locas."

The same corporal identity of the female found in El Habitante... is not grasped in the collection of poems. On the contrary the female is a fleeting memory, an ungraspable recreation of images, an incorporeal being. In the poem "Poema en diez versos" the poetic illusion of the female presence of Crepusculario can be exemplified.

"Ella- la que amaba- se murió en Primavera.
Recuerdo aún sus ojos de paloma en desvelo."

It could be said that in Veinte Poemas... the poetic femininity is presented occasionally in forms which suggest tangibility:

"Cuerpo de mujer, blancas colinas, muslos blancos."

But these descriptions do not depict one character, one specific creature. The images point to the generic feminine, to an idealisation of the woman who is now absent. And then that other dimension of the feminine, incorporeal, always longing dream is observable everywhere.

"Tu recuerdo es de luz, de humo, de estanque en calma!"

The character presented here is a generic character whose fundamental characteristics point to the memory of her, to her absence.

None of the characters of the collection have common, simple human qualities. In them the fugacity of their presence, their intangibility, their idealised generic nature, represents the lover taken to an ideal level of dreams.

The poetic world is rooted in the solitary motivations of the poet. The poetic perspective belongs to him. The female characters are relevant as part of his poetic world and vision, they are not important as equal parts in the bipersonal relationship of love. Those characters are instrumentalised by the lyrical ego, functioning as part of the story but as instruments of the poet rather than human characters with a due presence in the plot.

After the amorous encounters comes again the solitude, the frustration, the abandonment of the poet in the world. The poet becomes again a solitary figure, far away from the romance, to start again in another adventure. That is the idea expressed in the last poem of the collection: "Una canción desesperada". The poet is here again alone, abandoned, preparing a new journey. (7).

"Abandonado como los muelles en el alba.
Es la hora de partir, oh abandonado".

Without doubt the woman of Veinte Poemas... even when remembered in the form of her physical generic attributes or in her ungraspable forms, is far from being characterised with the charm and humanity of Irene, the woman of Rivas and lover of the protagonist of the El habitante y su esperanza. Irene is on a different level. She is a common or typical woman seen working or occupied with specific household tasks.

"Lava, canta, es ágil, rápida.... Irene es gruesa, rubia, habladora... Si está lavando, me gusta ver sus manos que se azulan con el agua fría..."

Also in 1926 the book Anillos was published. Written by Neruda and Tomás Lago, it is a set of alternating prose texts. Neruda's themes are digressions on autumn, some of them similar in tone to that of Residencia of years to come (8). For example:

"Es cuando el otoño se aleja cuando las enredaderas arden llenas de alegría, invadidas de una íntima y

desesperada resurrección. Tiempo lleno de desesperanza, todo corre hacia la muerte." (El otoño de las enredaderas).

The themes evoke the fugacity of things during their time, and the inevitability of this situation. But there is also an indication of what will be one of the meanings of the presence of the ocean in Residencia, an element that lasts in spite of the corrosive action of time.

"Voluntad misteriosa, insistente multitud del mar, jauría condenada al planeta, algo hay en ti más oscuro que la noche, más profundo que el tiempo." (Imperial del sur).

Other themes are spring, the port, the landscape, the provincial town, lovers, summer time, infancy. In the creative process there emerge associations and motifs from the world surrounding infancy, the rain and wind, sunset and the environment. Also some figures and themes which will appear in later poetry are seen here, such as the night and solitude, death and the individual contemplating the world. But some of these themes have a minor significance, unpretentious, casual events with a domestic dimension.

"También la vida tiene misterios sencillos e inaccesibles. Existen los rumores del granero inacabablemente, el perpetuo acabarse de las nueces verdes y amargas, la caída de las peras olorosas madurando, se reviene la sal transparente, desaparece o muere el gato de María Soledad." (Desaparición o muerte de un gato).

The ninth title interlaces the existence of both authors. Neruda in his text, entitled "T.L." says for instance: "pero de repente no me acuerdo de cual de los dos estoy hablando". Finally the last two of Neruda's contributions are a remembrance of two female characters: the daughter of the lighthouse keeper and the Alférez' s woman.

But there are other aspects of these literary exercises which call for some attention. The narrative voice sometimes becomes a lyrical ego, often adopting the perspective of a traveller, with an acute sense of observation, an individualistic approach to the world around him, and with a peculiar ubiquity in respect of things and creatures.

"Oh mar océano, vacilación de aguas sombrías, ida y regreso de los movimientos incalculables, el viajero se para en tu orilla de piedra destruyéndose y levanta su sangre hasta tu sensación infinita!" (Imperial del sur).

From that privileged position the traveller observes and then registers things, but he does so from a position well apart from them all. Between the contemplative traveller and the observed object which motivates the creativity (Sea, port, piers) there is nothing. In that relationship there are no elements which could intervene in the circumstance or make it opaque. The human presences and other objective things do not have a place or a voice in the texts.

And when there is a third presence or figure, as in the text "Imperial del sur", it is assimilated to the overall view and perspective of the traveller, ensuring that it does not develop an independent character. That figure could not appear as a character with attributes of his or her own. The poet keeps the perspective and the capacity for appreciation for himself. She sees only through his eyes.

"El puerto está apilado en la bahía salpicado de techumbres rojas, interceptado por sitios sin casas, y mi amiga y yo desde lejos lo miramos y adornado con su cintura de nubes blancas y pegado al agua marina que empuja la marea." (Imperial del sur).

"Ella y yo estamos en la cubierta de los pequeños barcos, se estrella el viento frío contra nosotros, una voz de mujer se pega a la tristeza de los acordeones." (Imperial del sur).

The friend of the poet is just accompanying him. He reserves for himself all possibilities of appreciation, of expression and knowledge, while she remains a vague character who does not intervene. Her passivity and silence, her lack of her own individuality cancel her as a character.

In contrast to the passive presence of the poet's girlfriend there is a vitality and energy found in the elements. The sea, air and the wind are strongly moving, they acquire a formidable presence, overwhelming, threatening and diminishing the human presence. Those further away, the people of the seaport, their activities, the collective body of the community are heard with difficulty in the background.

"Una voz de mujer se pega a la tristeza de los acordeones." (Imperial del sur).

"Ah, pavoroso invierno de las crecidas, cuando la madre y yo temblábamos en el viento frenético. Lluvia caída de todas partes, oh triste prodigadora inagotable. Aullaban, lloraban los trenes perdidos en el bosque. Crujía la casa de tablas acorraladas por la noche. El viento a caballazos, saltaba las ventanas, tumbaba los cercos; desesperado, violento, deserrataba hacia el mar." (Provincia de la infancia).

The poet's girlfriend can be found in other texts as a decorative and ecstatic being. While the poet observes, thinks and writes about the elements, his perspective does not suffer any alteration or contradiction as a result of her presence. His contemplation is absolutely subjective; she plays at most the role of woman as object.

"Yo fui el enamorado el que de la mano llevó a la señorita de grandes ojos a través de lentas veredas en crepúsculo, en mañanas sin olvido." (Provincia de la infancia).

As a traveller and as an observer, it seems the creative individual stays separate and apart from the social environment.

He acquires the privilege of a contemplative nature and his capacity to put himself in a special place allows him to remain a separate and distant spectator.

But how are the practical activities of man, his physical or manual capabilities for work and his efforts to transform the environment represented in Anillos? Is clear that if the poet mentions any trade or labour activity, it is in a metaphorical sense. That is what happens in "Imperial del sur" when the traveller-poet faces the ocean's immensity and feels the potential of the sea.

"Tu soledad le golpea el corazón y adentro de él tus llamamientos se sacuden como peces desesperados en la red que levantan los pescadores."

The emotive answer provoked by seeing the ocean is expressed in a comparison in which one of the terms is "pescadores y redes". That is to say, when the poet expresses what has touched his heart on contemplating the sea, the literary image arises from a labour activity. In "Atardecer", it is the 'palanquero', the railway worker, who offers an image to refer to that moment in which the evening breaks to give way to the night.

"Detrás del día extinguido, atardecer, triste y negro palanquero de luto, agitas, estiras las largas manos, las rodillas vencidas y te extiendes de golpe sobre el convoy de la noche violenta."

Here the poet presents a literary motif of the evening using an image of a worker, or rather, he uses the mechanical process as a poetic image. The practical movement of a worker who changes a gear, who forcibly effects change, is used symbolically to represent the change of the evening into night. As can be seen it is not the poetic representation of labour as such but its idea, applying its metaphorical content to represent a temporal process.

"Tristeza", the second last text, mentions another trade,

which is seen as a motif secondary to the main theme of the composition. Mele is the lover already far away in time, and is recreated in her most idyllic and enchanted form. But from the lighthouse keeper's activities the poet takes his most inactive moment, his resting time.

"Duerme el farero de llela debajo de las linternas fijas, discontinuas..."

The poet selects the most inactive moment in the life of the man, while in contrast, some elements like the sea, the plants, the night are full of potential activity, in constant movement, demonstrating the strength of their aggression.

"El mar, atropella las vastedades del cielo, ahuyentan hacia el oeste las resonancias repetidas... En la mano me crece una planta salvaje... Aun es de noche, pavorosa de oquedades, empollando el alba y los peces de todas las redes." (Tristeza).

In the final text entitled "La querida del Alférez", something similar happens, again the poet makes no observation on the activities of the man, presenting instead his silence and lack of activity.

"El se desmonta del atardecer y boca abajo permanece callado... El está boca abajo y a veces no se divisa".

Lack of understanding of human effort or of the creative nature of community or individual labour is evident at this stage of Neruda's production. The predominant features are the vision and images of the individual artist or poet, the vision of his exquisite sensibility, of solitary man alien to any social context or collective enterprise. One finds no enunciation of the value of man's work or any form of labour recognised as a form of enrichment of the world. What is represented is the lyrical expression of a personal sensibility elevated to an idealised level.

The poet aims to find in pure contemplation, in creativity

understood as a personal effort to express an exquisite and singular sensibility, separated from any form of social context, the fundamental values of existence. To him inactivity is superior to action. Against the absence of humans in the created world, is set the vigour and latency of natural elements. The collective efforts of the community are contrasted with the omnipresence of the ego.

"Lluvia, amiga de los soñadores y los desesperados, compañera de los inactivos y los sedentarios, agita, triza tus mariposas de vidrio sobre los metales de la tierra, corre por las antenas y las torres, estréllate contra las viviendas y los techos, destruye el deseo de acción y ayuda la soledad de los que tienen las manos en la frente detrás de las ventanas que solicita tu presencia." (Soledad de los pueblos).

Finally, the book has a serious paradox. The work was a joint venture originally written by Neruda and his friend Tomás Lago. It is interesting, however, that the book has not been published in its original form for a second time. Nowadays, only Neruda's contributions are included and published under the same title of Anillos. If the collection is now published with Neruda's texts only this would suggest that the original form was not a necessary and indispensable structure. One could conclude that although written by two authors whose contributions alternated in the original book, this was not an organic or careful planned literary work.

The co-written publication, it now appears, was a casual affair. Neruda did not see at the time the importance of dual creativity or for that matter the importance of collective creativity. The book was not the result of a collective aesthetic necessity; it was an arbitrary and casual diversion. One cannot see the ultimate intention behind the original publication of a dual collection.

Tentativa del hombre infinito, also published in 1926 is a set of poems which lack any 'signs of punctuation' or any use of capital letters. The whole text is a collection of poems,

sections of poems and stanzas, separated by means of blank spaces between lines. These blank spaces, at least the ones indicated by the edition of Obras Completas (9), are not the same as in the first edition of the book in January 1926. This premeditated presentation of the text clearly indicates the purpose and will of the poet to express in an innovative form all those newly discovered themes and enrichment of experience. The unity of the collection is indicated by the expressive form. An extensive monologue, sometimes incoherent, or fluent and comprising short and long verses where the syntax is casually dictated by the end of line or by those empty blank spaces at the end of stanzas or sections.

The reading difficulties are therefore varied. Some authors have proposed punctuation or explanations or paraphrases of texts, but as the difficulties are not only of punctuation or 'grammatical nexes', those approaches have failed. As the writer A. Cardona Peña says "Ha fracasado con una lectura así, porque interviene con la razón en un mundo hecho precisamente para desatar las amarras formales." (10).

In the opinion of J. Concha in Tentativa... there is a poetic intention of overcoming and solving the fundamental conflict of the poet at the time of composing the text, that is to say: "La irreductibilidad social en la que se encuentra el creador". According to this writer the collection is the poetic expression of the man who feels and participates with cosmic forces but also manifests that basic and simple part of a man's life. In that way he recognises the inclusion of colloquial expressions into the poetic discourse whose simplicity marks them as an organic antecedent of the 'Antipoesía' of years to come. (11).

From the beginning this collection is different from the previous ones. The structure and the themes of the long poem mark that difference. To start with, for instance, the poet describes the night and its invasive motion. But the poet establishes first the disposition of things and beings around him -those entities on the outside. The poet indicates the order of those things and how the night suddenly invades. Now, in that

description of the world around him some elements of the sphere of labour appear, though they are at the moment at rest.

"hogueras pálidas revolviéndose al borde de las noches corren humos difuntos polvaredas invisibles/ fraguas negras durmiendo detrás de los cerros anohecidos/ ciudad desde los cerros en la noche los segadores duermen" (Obras Completas, Vol.I. Losada. 1967 edition). p 109.

Suddenly one is confronted by the presence of the poet: "mi corazón está triste" and one line down "mientras tendido sobre el pasto delecto". The poem's structure includes then a description of the world in which the poet finds some realities linked with the labour sphere and also the presence of the lyric ego contemplating the powerful invasion of the night.

In another section other well-known figures of familiar connotation appear; the 'señorita enamorada' and her relatives, and the poet's sister. These familiar figures are an extension of the human presences of the poetic world as detected so far. There is an enrichment of the poetic world; for example the section includes a description of the family house, a topic which will reappear in years to come, and became an important part of Neruda's poetry. This frontier house, in Temuco is presented now as part of this widening of the poetic relationships and associations of 1926.

"esta es mi casa
aún la perfuman los bosques
desde donde la acarreaban"
(O.C. p 114).

Some surprising new questions are asked, as the poet enquires here for the first time:

"de quién fue el hacha que rompió los troncos"
(Idem. p 114)

But the answer to that decisive question is not given. The

poet does not know who produced those indispensable materials for the construction of the family house. The answer is vague, the questioning remains unsatisfied, the poet can find no answer:

"de quién fue el hacha que rompió los troncos
tal vez el viento colgó de las vigas
su peso profundo olvidándolo entonces".
(Idem p 114).

Here there is an approach to labour and to its components and materials. But it is only an approach; he has not yet discovered the creative dimension of labour, nor does he know its materials or agents. For example, in that quotation can be found some impersonal discourse referring to the fact that the wood required to build the house was not only cut by someone but also someone brought it from the forest to the city.

"aún las perfuman los bosques
desde donde las acarreaban"

They were brought, he says, but, by whom? The references to labour are here. But the poet does not know and cannot reveal at this stage the "who", or "when" or "how". Here is his limitation. And though slight indicators to clarify those issues are there, they are still almost hidden.

"era cuando la noche bailaba entre sus redes
cuando el niño despertó sollozando
yo no cuento yo digo en palabras desgraciadas
aún los andamios dividen el crepúsculo"
(Idem. p 114).

The poet touched an opening and found means of extending the poetic world. Now the poetic ego is surrounded by humans and other creatures with whom he establishes relationships of familiarity and to whom he feels linked by poetic and nostalgic associations. "Esta es mi casa" introduces a wider world, with numerous humans and aromas and substances and feelings which have a real, physical meaning to the poet: "allí tricé mi corazón

como el espejo". The poet knows that he is extending the subject of his compositions. In the last part of the collection he specifically refers to this by saying that he is happily writing on things and creatures.

"personas de corazón voluntarioso todo lo celebré
 ...
 todo como los poetas los filósofos las parejas que
 se aman/
 ya lo comienzo a celebrar entusiasta sencillo
 yo tengo la alegría de los panaderos contentos..."
 (Idem p 117).

From the first section of the book the poetic ego makes itself heard and seen in the text. The poet appears in various expressions throughout the poetic discourse. Already in the eleventh verse and without any linguistic announcement or warning he says:

"distante incendio mi corazón está triste"

In this way the poetic ego appears. And then, also, there is an insistence on this theme of the sadness of the heart or in the physical posture adopted by the poet to indicate that it is his ego and his physical presence which testifies and is present at the night invasion. The poet stresses that his ego is the one observing the moving nature:

"mientras tendido sobre el pasto delecto
 ahí pasan ardiendo sólo yo vivo"
 (Idem p 109).

"salvaje viento socavador del cielo ululemos
 mi alma en desesperanza y en alegría quien golpea"
 (Idem p 111).

It has already been indicated how the exaggerated presence of the poetic ego appears in previous works by Neruda. Here despite the new forms of presentation of poetic discourse and new subjects and themes, the poet emphatically emphasizes

those grammatical forms of the first person. The poet himself is the one opposed, oppressed, surprised or summoned by the elements.

Clearly, then, new themes and expressions are introduced. For example, that intentional incoherence of the discourse, the premeditated use of linguistic colloquial forms put into the poetic flow, as in: "en ese instante lo juro oh atardecer" or "se me durmió una pierna en esa posición" (Idem p 115), but also those unfortunate combinations of repetitive words as in "la noche de esmeraldas y molinos se da vueltas la noche de esmeraldas y molinos". And always that persistent presence of the poetic ego as witness and protagonist of the poetic story.

Above all it must be stressed that questions of who cut the wood in the forest, and who brought it to the town to build the family house, are now being posed. These are new and relevant questions proposed by the poet in this new poetic direction.

In conclusion, there is the qualitative difference between the poetic world created in Veinte Poemas... characterised as a hermetic circle for two, and that observed in El habitante y su esperanza or the opening of circumstances referred to in the collection Tentativa del hombre infinito of 1926. In Veinte Poemas... all the creatures belong to the lovers' enclosure. Even matters or subjects which clearly belong to the cultural heritage of mankind - such as the existence of words - are appropriated and instrumentalised by the poet to be applied in that singular space for two.

El hondero entusiasta also presents the exclusive world and the individualistic approach of the poetic ego. This is often presented as "mi alma" striving to harden itself against the hostility of the surroundings. The poet is still isolated, with no ties with the objective-real world. Also the texts of Anillos, composed and published around 1924-1925 in magazines and papers of that epoch, show a contemplative poet, displaying his creative nature in the observation of landscapes. The poet is still a singular presence; his girlfriend is a silent figure, a mere

shadow besides the preponderant stature of the poet.

But with El habitante ... and with Tentativa... Neruda proposes qualitative changes. Characters are introduced other than the poetic ego or his beloved. Florencio Rivas and Irene appear in the novel and there are these shadowy characters just over the horizon, the unhappy figures of prisoners, the travellers or peasants who are given no full presence in history or in time, but whose inclusion in the background opens up new possibilities in Neruda's work. Tentativa del hombre infinito breaks intentionally with the poetic patterns and the rhetoric of Neruda. New topics and themes and expressive modes are included such as popular expressions or colloquial language, family affairs, the presentation of the surroundings. And the clearest sign of change is that questioning by the poet as to who were the workers who made possible the construction of the family house. Till then those material things seemed only natural to the poet. There is here an opening and enrichment of poetic possibilities. There are other individuals who make possible the existence of those material things. But the poet does not know yet the full answers to his questions; there are still problems to be solved.

CHAPTER THREE.

RESIDENCIA EN LA TIERRA.

I (1925-1931)

II (1931-1935).

INTRODUCTION.

As the main purpose is to observe the conduct assumed by the workers, whether as individuals or collectively in the development of Neruda's poetry, and how the poet develops a particular conception of labour, it is suggested in the first place that in Residencia I (1925-1931) those poetic phenomena and beings which were very dear to the poet in his earlier poetry- such as love or the amorous couple - are also now sucked into the downfall and weakening of things which are presented in the collection. The poet here is presented as a threatened, oppressed and overwhelmed central figure. But this poet stands up toward the end of the book as a positive entity when he must fulfil his basic and original duty of creativity in the contradictory world of living and being and ceasing to exist at the same time.

Almost at the same time as Neruda wrote the first volume of Residencias he sent to La Nación of Santiago a set of contributions dated 1927-1928. In these writings, the Oriental crowds' efforts to survive the rough conditions of living under colonialism are alien to the poet, a distant reality, and even the presence of the crowd provokes displeasure and uneasiness within him. The poet wrote a series of journalistic pieces, a quick tourist overview and could not avoid showing the discomfort he felt in observing the crowd.

But in the second volume of Residencia (1931-1935) apart from intensifying the presentation of death, the poet invokes others to observe and participate in the poetic experience. He looks for the proximity of others and their complicity to alleviate the sense of solitude and isolation.

Throughout the collection workers, exemplified by the presence of administrative personnel, office workers, urban employees, workers in highly regarded institutions such as hospitals, barbers shops, as well as dining rooms and other social establishments, participate in that corroding system, destroying themselves.

Nevertheless the poet finds poetic representations, substances and beings to embody a positive notion, who fight the sinister conditions of the disintegrating world represented in the book. This positive aspect is seen, for instance, in the poem "Estatuto del vino", in the happiness of the men of wine, as in the existence of exemplary creators such as Lorca, Rojas Jiménez, el Conde de Villamediana.

Finally the representation of that mass of workers from the East can be seen, for example, when the poet observes the sailors of a passenger boat having a rest after a long cruise. He writes a text idealising and fictionalising that particular, concrete situation.

1. VALIDITY AND APPLICABILITY OF RESIDENCIA EN LA TIERRA.

Amado Alonso indicated that in the poetry of Residencia a permanent wearing and erosion of the things of the world can be seen. In that poetry one stumbles across a vision of failing and a process of physical destruction of matter. Life is dying incessantly. One participates in the disintegration of the real-physical world. And even when the theme of love helps to maintain the world, in the end anguish and corrosion finally impose their effect. Alonso wrote about that poetry:

" responde a una peculiarísima visión, nítida y desolada, del mundo y de la vida. Los ojos del poeta, incesantemente abiertos, como si carecieran del descanso de los párpados ("Como un párpado atrozmente levantado a la fuerza"), ven la lenta descomposición de todo lo existente en la rapidez de

un gesto instantáneo, como las máquinas cinematográficas que nos exhiben en pocos segundos el desarrollo de las plantas. Ven en una fría luz de relámpago paralizado el incesante trabajo de zapa de la muerte, el suicida esfuerzo de todas las cosas por perder su identidad, el derrumbe de lo erguido, el desvencijamiento de las formas, la ceniza del fuego." (1).

"No hay página de Residencia en la tierra donde falte esta terrible visión de lo que se deshace." (2).

On the other hand and as a complement to Alonso's ideas there is the "Interpretación de Residencia en la tierra de Pablo Neruda" of Jaime Concha who indicated a different view to enrich that of Alonso. According to Concha the Spanish author did not see another theme of similar importance in the poetic structure of Residencias. Parallel to the theme of disintegration there is also a persistent search for a noble element which can resist the process of destruction. The poet also looked for:

"La unidad que subyace a todas las manifestaciones precarias de las formas individuales, es decir, la realidad en su sentido más eminente." (3).

In this collection in Concha's view the poet looked for a permanent substance which is the "Fundamento de la existencia".

Hernán Loyola made similar comments where in his view Residencias has an explorative drive towards existence, a strong feeling of survival despite the conditions of the poetic world. In the collection, according to Loyola, death is everywhere, but the total validity of the book includes also that resistance to death, the poet's impetus to plenitude (4). E. Rodríguez Monegal also stressed the fact that despite being a poetry about permanent destruction, there is also a fundamental search for plenitude (5).

Alain Sicard (6) analyses the intuition of continuity that

according to his own view Neruda extracts from temporal discontinuity and where the poet also found the notion of matter. In his view between the years 1925 and 1935 the poet seems to move from abstract thought towards the discovery of objectivity and finds in this what he was looking for: "más allá de la destrucción temporal, el poeta descubriera en esa objetividad el secreto de una permanencia" (Op. Cit. p 105). The poetic process presented in the first two volumes of Residencia depicts a search for eternity from the abstract to the intuition of continuity in the material world. So when he analyses the poem "El fantasma del buque de carga" he notes that in the poem there is the erosion caused by time, but that the poet also emphasizes enthusiastically the renewing energy of the sea. The destruction by time finishes where the ocean starts. But these two dimensions of time belong to the same process, because the poet according to Sicard's interpretation offers a particular poetic version of his experience of time: "El tiempo destructor sometido a una plenitud temporal que simboliza el movimiento oceánico" (Op. Cit. p121). To him the poems with an oceanic theme depict that double dimension of time. And on the other hand those poems of "Los tres cantos materiales" represented an advance in the enrichment of the poetic materialism of Neruda's poetry. All the same, he adds, in "Entrada a la madera" there is a search for a dialectical solution, the embryo of a dialectical process. But still the poet does not find the solution to temporal discontinuity; in his opinion there is as yet in the first two volumes of Residencia no dialectical relation between life and death. That will be discovered later when Neruda sees the contradiction between temporal continuity and discontinuity.

When in 1971 Julio Cortázar wrote his Introduction to the Gallimard edition of Residencias (7), he pointed out the well known fact that Neruda at one point in his life publicly rejected the poetry of Residencias because of its pernicious influence on youth. Cortázar wrote that he very much respected the position adopted by his poet friend and that at the same time he acknowledged Neruda's involvement with the problems of his people and his contacts with the common man. But, he said, one cannot forget that the composition of Residencias allowed Neruda to progress and reach the later creativity of Canto

General. It was, wrote Cortázar, a necessary step in a genuine search of the poet into himself. The progression and development of poets, he added, is painful, slow, contradictory -but necessary.

Neruda on the other hand in his interview with Cardona Peña (8) said: "Contemplándolos ahora, considero dañinos los poemas de Residencia en la tierra. Estos poemas no deben ser leídos por la juventud de nuestros países. Son poemas que están empapados de un pesimismo y angustia atroces. No ayudan a vivir, ayudan a morir." But later, in the book Confieso que he vivido. Memorias, Neruda made a reassessment, considering now not only the social or political meaning of the Residencias but its poetic value in the development of his entire production and wrote: "

"Yo también he hablado alguna vez en contra de Residencia en la tierra. Pero lo he hecho pensando, no en la poesía, sino en el clima duramente pesimista que ese libro mío respira. No puedo olvidar que hace unos pocos años un muchacho de Santiago se suicidó... Creo que tanto Residencia en la tierra, libro sombrío y esencial dentro de mi obra, como Las uvas y el viento,... tienen derecho a existir en alguna parte. Y no me contradigo al decir esto" (9).

2. THE HOSTILITY OF LOVE.

If everything participates in that movement towards death and destruction and the poet himself is in search of something which could resist that process, what happens in the meantime to the efforts of man, to the labour of the community in this poetry? The world is a painful spectacle, dull and harsh; those forms in which the social life of the community manifest itself such as hospitals, barber shops, brothels, churches, also lose their identity. All things human are threatened, asphyxiated, humiliated. There is no room here for good intentions. Human beings do not escape the corrosive action, and the corrosion goes further than the physical. The destruction humiliates and alters the fundamental nature of man; everywhere there is

denigration and degradation of human beings and human qualities.

"Yo oigo el sueño de viejos compañeros y mujeres amadas,
sueños cuyos latidos me quebrantan:

...

Cadáveres dormidos que a menudo
danzan asidos al peso de mi corazón,

...

Mi pardo corcel de sombra se agiganta,
y sobre envanecidos tahúres, sobre lenocinios de
escaleras/
gastadas,
sobre lechos de niñas desnudas, entre
jugadores de foot-ball,
del viento ceñidos pasamos:

...

Camaradas cuyas cabezas reposan sobre
barriles,
en un desmantelado buque prófugo, lejos,
amigos míos sin lágrimas, mujeres de rostro cruel:

...

la medianoche ha llegado y un gong de muerte
golpea en torno mío como el mar."
(Colección nocturna).

Here the presence of man is assimilated into those conditions of annihilation of the world depicted in Residencias. Tradesmen and labourers are degraded; they are part of the entourage moving towards destruction. In the same poem Neruda wrote:

"mirando mucho el aire aparecerían mendigos,
abogados, bandidos, carteros, costureras,
y un poco de cada oficio, un resto humillado
quiere trabajar su parte en nuestro interior."

Human beings lose consistency and depth of meaning. Of their efforts or of the richness which their relationships could

have, one finds only the outward appearance, only the most superficial dimension. Degradation reaches the inner strata of man and only stereotype, pompous attitude, and affected pose can be observed. There is an absence of humanity. The poem "Ritual de mis piernas" expresses that vision:

"Las gentes cruzan el mundo en la actualidad
sin apenas recordar que poseen un cuerpo y en él la
vida,
y hay miedo, hay miedo en el mundo de las palabras
que
designan el cuerpo,
y se habla favorablemente de la ropa,
de pantalones es posible hablar, de trajes, de ropa
interior de mujer (de medias y ligas de "señora"),
como si por las calles fueran las prendas y los trajes
vacíos
por completo
y un oscuro y obscuro guardarropas ocupara
el mundo."

Values of everyday life are here inverted. Simple things and the most vain and futile displace the superior ones, to the point even where man loses his place and his dignity to be transferred to a situation where he does not have life. Degradation reaches all levels of existence; even the amorous relationship which in Alonso's view was the framework and structure of the poetic world of Residencias, also suffers harassment and degradation. According to Alonso this poetry makes the reader face the gradual and total disintegration of the world, in the face of which the poet grasps creativity and amorous instinct as the safeguard of life. He says that the theme of love is the core even of poems like "Alianza", "Madrilal escrito en invierno", "Fantasma", "Juntos nosotros", "Tiranía", "Materia nupcial". The amorous theme is for him the main column which sustains the poetic world. Writing about the poem "Las furias y las penas" he says:

"En ninguna parte baja como aquí nuestro poeta a lo puramente instintivo y animal, y por eso en ninguna

parte se declara tan bien como aquí el papel que lo erótico desempeña en el angustiado mundo poético de Pablo Neruda. En medio de la universal desintegración y de la angustia, ceder al vértigo de lo erótico, entregarse al paroxismo de lo fugaz (por eso una y otra vez buscado) de las fuerzas elementales de nuestra vida, es un desesperado intento de huida y de romper la radical soledad." (10).

However, that degradation of existence also affects the amorous instinct, with degraded lovers in their different forms: lovely girls, widows, young lovers, young homosexuals. All of them appear deteriorated, in the miserable condition of dehumanized beings. Dull and sad, they perform mechanically, their actions becoming themselves hostile creatures to the poet. The pair of lovers who represent the possibility of realisation become a threatening and hostile presence to the central figure of the poet, who feels oppressed, harassed and overwhelmed by the general discontinuity of the world.

"Los jóvenes homosexuales y las muchachas amorosas,
y las largas viudas que sufren el delirante insomnio
y las jóvenes señoras preñadas hace treinta horas,
y los roncós gatos que cruzan mi jardín en tinieblas
como un collar de palpitantes ostras sexuales
rodean mi residencia solitaria,
como enemigos establecidos contra mi alma,
como conspiradores en traje de dormitorio
que cambiaran largos besos por consigna."
(Caballero solo).

The solemn meaning that the amorous couple had in Neruda's earlier poetry is here no more. The amorous realization is now degraded, become a relationship of things, reduced to gestures and strange noises, to the rubbing of clothing against clothing. Now there is no human meaning in the relationship.

The dehumanization of the poetic characters, their growing hostility towards the central figure of the poet, denies in part

Alonso's interpretation. One can observe the lovers' attitude becoming degraded, dehumanized, stereotyped. The poem "Caballero solo" depicts this notion clearly:

"bajo los elegantes cocoteros, junto al océano y la luna,
 hay una continúa vida de pantalones y polleras,
 un rumor de medias de seda acariciadas,
 y senos femeninos que brillan como ojos."

Seduction is no longer the joyful and solemn matter of former books, but a frivolous, unceremonious, coarse event.

"El pequeño empleado, después de mucho,
 después del tedio semanal, y las novelas leídas de noche en/
 cama
 ha definitivamente seducido a su vecina,
 y la lleva a los miserables cinematógrafos
 donde los héroes son potros o príncipes apasionados,
 y acaricia sus piernas llenas de dulce vello
 con sus ardientes y húmedas manos que
 huelen a cigarrillo."

The world of man is corroded. The love of others seems to challenge the poet, to be one more pressure on him; he perceives himself as the central figure of a poetic world in which he is surrounded and besieged by threatening, overwhelming conditions.

However there is a poem like "Angela adónica" which is a celebration of young female beauty, a beauty which hides in its interior a force for renewal and offers energy and potential.:

"Hoy me he tendido junto a una joven pura
 como a la orilla de un océano blanco,"

The poem stresses the promise of hidden energy, a profound force and potential in feminine beauty, containing an offer of fruit and fire :

"Su pecho como un fuego de dos llamas
ardía en dos regiones levantado.

...

... su cuerpo
llenándolo de frutas extendidas y oculto fuego."

3. THE POET'S ATTITUDE.

Faced by this general state of misery the poet insists on his peculiar and special quality which enables him to detect that corrosive state of things and beings and at the same time permits him to search for the material which overcomes the destruction. He himself feels like a redeemer because in creativity, in the dignity of his heart, there is this possibility of rescue and salvation. Things and humans equally try to reach for security.

"y un poco de cada oficio, un resto humillado
quiere trabajar su parte en nuestro interior."
(Colección nocturna).

So the possibility of salvation and rescue rests in the poet himself, who feels in possession of special qualities and privileges which allow him to withstand the corruption of the world:

"Paso entre documentos disfrutados entre orígenes,
vestido como ser original y abatido:

...

Qué día ha sobrevenido! Qué espesa luz de leche,
compacta, digital, me favorece!"
(Caballo de los sueños).

The poet is a singular being among the characters and things of the poetic world; he testifies and observes things and humans as they proceed towards death:

"Vago de un punto a otro, absorbo ilusiones,

converso con los sastres en sus nidos:"
(Caballo de los sueños).

"Estoy solo entre materias desvencijadas,
la lluvia cae sobre mí, y se me parece,
se me parece con su desvarío, solitaria en el mundo
muerto, "
(Débil del alba).

But then the poet feels compelled to search for those materials or entities which deserve to be rescued and intensifies his efforts towards this end.

"Trabajo sordamente, girando sobre mí mismo,
como el cuervo sobre la muerte, el cuervo de luto.
Pienso, aislado en lo extremo de las estaciones,
central, rodeado de geografía silenciosa:"
(Unidad).

"Yo busco desde antaño, yo examino sin arrogancia,
conquistado, sin duda, por lo vespertino."

"Yo lloro en medio de lo invadido, entre lo confuso,
entre el sabor creciente, poniendo el oído
en la pura circulación..."
(Débil del alba).

The poem "Unidad" expresses the notion of the destruction of the world, the perception of the substance which resists it and also the attitude of the poet regarding the world created. The first stanza refers to the discovery of an element which keeps its identity despite the fact that others are constantly losing theirs.

"Hay algo denso, unido, sentado en el fondo,
repitiendo su número, su señal idéntica."

That element seems to indicate the noble substance searched for by the poet. Now, to express his discovery the poet adopts an impersonal and objective point of view with the

verbal form "Hay". But the second and third stanzas which refer to the general conditions of corrosion and the attitude of the poet are presented in the first person: "Me rodea", "Trabajo".

"Me rodea una misma cosa, un solo movimiento:
el peso del mineral, la luz de la miel, "

The third stanza presents the poet in his special role as witness, establishing his domain amid the destruction and his quest to find that element which survives.

"Trabajo sordamente, girando sobre mí mismo,
como el cuervo sobre la muerte, el cuervo de luto.
Pienso, aislado en lo extremo de las estaciones,
central, rodeado de geografía silenciosa:
una temperatura parcial cae del cielo,
un extremo imperio de confusas unidades
se reúne rodeándome."

The poet's role and attitude of this period is recalled later in the poem "Alturas de Macchu Picchu" from Canto General:

"más abajo, en el oro de la geología,
como una espada envuelta en meteoros,
hundí la mano turbulenta y dulce
en lo más genital de lo terrestre."

Neruda expressed - in letters to his friends from the East around the years 1928-1929 - this perplexity of finding himself surrounded by decay and the enigma arising from this which presents the poet with a special duty :

"Pero, verdaderamente, ¿no se halla usted rodeado de destrucciones, de muertes, de cosas aniquiladas? En su trabajo, ¿no se siente obstruído por dificultades e imposibilidades? ¿Verdad que sí? Bueno, yo he decidido formar mi fuerza en este peligro, sacar provecho de esta lucha, utilizar estas debilidades. Sí, este momento depresivo, funesto para muchos, es una noble materia para mí."(11).

Here again there is the personal capacity of the poet and the reservation of the central stage for himself. Things and beings surround and oppress him. This attitude, the poet as a man apart from other beings, has its origin in that self-sufficient egocentric notion of the poetic ego which leads him to assume the role of redeemer and that he alone can overcome the corrosive effects of the external reality.

The poem "Significa sombras" concludes the first volume of Residencias, but does not end the poet's particular process of analysing and observing the world, a process which projects itself further than the date of publication of Residencia I in April of 1933 (12). But Neruda often concluded his collections of poems with a text which marked an ending- in Crepusculario, for example, with the poem "Final" or in Veinte poemas... with the poem "La canción desesperada" or in Canto General with the poem "Aquí termino". Some of the concluding poems appear to summarise the poet's views on the themes and notion of conflict presented in the collection. Thus, in Residencia I it seems that the final reflection allows the poet to establish a definition in relation to the themes of destruction, with himself as a central figure searching for a noble element resistant to corrosion.

"¿Qué esperanza considerar, qué presagio puro,
 qué definitivo beso enterrar en el corazón,
 ...?
 ¿Qué vitales, rápidas alas de un nuevo ángel de sueños
 instalar en mis hombros dormidos para seguridad
 perpetua,
 ...?"

Clearly the poem presents the conflict in its most general sense. The poet seeks an element of perpetual security, in a disintegrating world, desiring a decisive solution.

One could assume that this questioning could not yield a conclusive outcome. The title of the poem suggests a hopeless situation. If everything and everybody suffer the corrosive

process of death which even the most cherished entities cannot escape, what hopes could the poet then suggest?

The search produces a number of possible solutions as expressed in the third stanza, initiated by "Tal vez...". But these solutions do not satisfy the poet. The poet must find his own way. In the fourth stanza he makes a discovery, which is still not precise but this solution takes form and definition at the end of the poem.

"Ay, que lo que soy siga existiendo y cesando de existir,
y que mi obediencia se ordene con tales condiciones de hierro/
que el temblor de las muertes y de los nacimientos no conmueva/
el profundo sitio que quiero reservar para mí eternamente."

By now the solution found by the poet appears to be a vague process always in the making, yet always deteriorating itself. Its way of existing is the process of being and at the same time of dying, even when the poet is searching for something definitive and secure.

But the last stanza declares that the poet has found a solution to an uncertain existence. The solution is a process. The poet himself is and at the same time is leaving that form of being. And he knows that his form of existence involves a form of mental activity and effort which he had decided to accept a long time ago. Now that form of existence becomes a way out, a solution and a means of gaining some security in the face of time.

For the poet, then, there is a positive hope, a kind of solution to the dim and obscure poetic world depicted in Residencia I, and that hope is based on creativity itself, in practicing that original duty of being a poet, a task always in realization, always vanishing. For the time being, then, the poet faces rather a challenge than a definitive solution. The result

obtained is a continuous series of new exigencies, but the tasks themselves are evidence of his humanity.

"Sea, pues, lo que soy, en alguna parte y en todo tiempo,
establecido y asegurado y ardiente testigo,
cuidadosamente destruyéndose y preservándose
incesantemente,
evidentemente empeñado en su deber original." (13).

4. THE POET LOOKS FOR SOMEONE TO SHARE AND SOMEONE TO COMMUNICATE THE POETIC EXPERIENCE.

In Residencia II (1931-1935), apart from the intensification of a world destroying itself and human beings losing their dignity, there is also an appeal to some others, external to himself, to whom he wants to communicate the experience. The first poem "Un día sobresale" starts with a description of the fall towards death:

"Herramientas que caen, carreras de legumbres,
rumores de racimos aplastados,
violines llenos de agua, detonaciones frescas,
motores sumergidos y polvorienta sombra,
fábrica besos,
botellas palpitantes,
gargantas,
en torno a mí la noche suena,
el día el mes, el tiempo,
sonando como sacos de campanas mojadas
o pavorosas bocas de sales quebradizas."

And still the poet is the central figure of the poetic world. Nevertheless the second last stanza of the poem contains an invocative call to what we could denominate a "reader or spectator", an invocation to regard that crazy movement of things towards death:

"Ved cómo se levantan los párpados del moho

y se desencadena la cerradura roja
y la guirnalda desarrolla sus asuntos,..."

"Ved" invites that spectator to observe how things run in their destruction. The spectacle is no longer a private affair for the poet, but is invoking someone to share the experience. But in the next poem of the collection again the poet is the only central being surrounded by these distorted existences. The poet alone testifies to and registers those things in their movement towards death and here the destruction attacks humans:

"Yo veo, solo, a veces,
ataúdes a vela
zarpar con difuntos pálidos, con mujeres de
trenzas muertas,
con panaderos blancos como ángeles,
con niñas pensativas casadas con notarios,
ataúdes subiendo el río vertical de los muertos,
el río morado,"

The third poem of the volume presents the same idea of the poet trying to communicate his experience and in this case the invocation passes through another individual: the lover. Later the poet expresses his wish to see others sharing the poetic experience. In the opinion of A. Alonso that lover mentioned by the poet is a "mujer fantasmal"; only a dream. The poem according to him depicts "La soledad, el ansia en la desesperación, la angustiosa congoja del naufragio total" (14). The poem "Barcarola" then is an outpouring expression of anguish. In his analysis Alonso insisted on the study of syntactic and rhythmic procedures to show that in this particular poem one can detect incomplete syntactic periods. In his view the poetic core is what appears to be the subordinate syntactic period: "lo que sintácticamente aparece como lo subordinado y dependiente (si solamente me tocaras el corazón...) es poéticamente lo central y lo directamente buscado: Ansia de que suceda eso que se expresa por medio de una hipótesis" (15). According to Alonso the poem expresses the nature of emotion itself.

"Es el sentimiento -lo más específico y lo más

irracional de la poesía- lo que constituye aquí para el poeta el centro y el germen estructurador, y a la vez el hilo de Ariadna para el lector." (16).

Nevertheless an important element escapes the understanding of Alonso regarding the poem "Un día sobresale". For here one also finds the expression of a poetic wish to find someone nearby and whom to share the poetic experience.

"Si solamente me tocaras el corazón,
 si solamente pusieras tu boca en mi corazón,
 tu fina boca, tus dientes,
 si pusieras tu lengua como una flecha roja
 allí donde mi corazón polvoriento golpea,
 si soplaras en mi corazón, cerca del mar, llorando,
 sonaría como un ruido oscuro, con sonido de ruedas
 de tren/
 con sueño,
 como aguas vacilantes,
 como el otoño en hojas,
 como sangre,..."

The poem starts with an appeal for the presence and action of a listener. If this listener comes to act as the poet suggests, a singular process will occur; that listener will become an alternative center to the world's movement of destruction. So that listener - the lover- becomes also a witness and an agent of change. But the process goes on. In the fifth stanza the poet proposes that the listener with her actions "Si solamente me llamas" could provoke a more complex situation where another presence is possible.

"Si solamente llamas,
 su prolongado son, su maléfico pito,
 su orden de alas heridas,
 alguien vendría acaso,
 alguien vendría,
 desde las cimas de las islas, desde el fondo rojo del
 mar,/
 alguien vendría, alguien vendría."

Alonso did not explain the meaning of that repetitive formula "alguien vendría", because it is not only the second part of the grammatical construction initiated by the line "Si solamente me tocaras el corazón,..." (which starts the poem) or the line "Si solamente llamas..." (which initiates the last of the grammatically crafted units), Neruda also uses this form to stress in its repetition a meaning, a way of ending the ritualistic process initiated by the intervention of the lover, and a solution to the wish expressed earlier by the poet that someone should come to counterbalance solitude.

But these expressed intentions and solutions are contradicted by a persistent feeling of solitude, with the individual facing those obscure characteristics of the world in its fall. The poem "Walking around" depicts the poet's tiredness with those conditions of the world and also presents a singular way out which corresponds to the imagery and the content of Residencia.

"Sería bello
ir por las calles con un cuchillo verde
y dando gritos hasta morir de frío."

Expressed here also is the rejection felt by the poet towards the conditions of the world, the solution he has found and the wandering solitary nature of the poet immersed in this oppressive reality.

If somehow the experience of anguish is intensified, if - as Alonso says - the anguish experienced is radicalised in the second volume of the collection, one could say also that the poet tries to move towards a listener with whom he can communicate and share that experience.

In "Desespedito" one can observe again that invitation to observe and examine the nature of things, the behaviour of institutions and human beings. Again there is a search for a spectator or a collaborator in the vision, an attempt to corroborate in the complicity of another subject the evidence of

the conditions of the world. From the beginning the poem insists on the destruction of the nature of reality. Also expressed here is the meaninglessness of ministerial worries, of transactions and proceedings, of stamps, titles and other administrative functions. Paradoxically, clothing, titles, watches, perfumes, papers acquire dominion over their producers and their grey, dehumanized existence.

"Todo llega a la tinta de la muerte
y a la boca violente de los timbres."

Having determined reality and the sphere in which humans move the poet establishes a second key to the structure of the composition: The expressed need is to open a possible dialogue, for a spectator to share and observe the world as he sees it.

"Ven conmigo a la sombra de las administraciones,..."
Examinaremos ahora los títulos y las condiciones,..."
Lloremos la defunción de la tierra y el fuego,..."
Caigamos a la profundidad de los papeles..."
Rodad conmigo a las oficinas, al incierto..."
Venid conmigo al día blanco que se muere..." (17).

Again in the poem "Enfermedades en mi casa" this call has obvious characteristics. The poetic motivation came from family troubles and the poem is one among a group related to the theme of the family. Here the call is directed to the old world of the South, the vegetable order which has a positive content in the collection. The poet invokes its presence to alleviate those feelings of anguish and pain.

"Ayudadme,hojas que mi corazón ha adorado en
silencio,/
ásperas travesías, inviernos del sur, cabelleras
de mujeres mojadas en mi sudor terrestre,
luna del sur de cielo deshojado,
venid a mí con un día sin dolor,
con um minuto en que pueda reconocer mis venas."(18).

5. THE POET FINDS THE LABOURING HUMAN BEINGS.

Wandering and searching for that substance capable of resisting destruction and in the search for someone with whom to communicate the experience, the poet stumbles across labouring humans. But these humans- as already said- are also subject to degradation. The poet sometimes uses the first person to depict the dark nature of this world, and also uses the plural form "nosotros" to signal the idea that he is not alone in testifying to and detecting those conditions:

"Vago de un punto a otro, absorvo ilusiones,
 converso con los sastres en sus nidos:
 ellos a menudo, con voz fatal y fría
 cantan y hacen huir los maleficios."
 (Caballo de los sueños)

"Yo oigo el sueño de viejos compañeros y mujeres
 amadas,
 sueños cuyos latidos me quebrantan:
 su material de alfombra piso en silencio,
 su luz de amapola muerdo con delirio."
 (Colección nocturna).

"Cadáveres dormidos que a menudo
 danzan asidos al peso de mi corazón,
 que ciudades opacas recorremos!"
 (Colección Nocturna).

"sobre envejecidos tahúres, sobre lenocinios de
 escaleras gastadas,
 sobre lechos de niñas desnudas, entre jugadores de
 foot-ball,
 del viento ceñidos pasamos."
 (Colección nocturna).

The search for meaning is then the aim of the poet: He searches, listens, examines, talks to others accompanying him in the plural forms of: "pasamos, recorremos". As everyone is subjected to those dull conditions, it is the poet who has the

unenviable task of continuing the search. In the meantime boxers, women, players, widows, and white collar workers depend on the poet to find that noble element resistant to deterioration.

In "Serenata" we are given a brief mention of a peasant facing the rare power of the night. The night advances on the countryside and imposes its dominion over everything. The frightened peasant turns back. The night in the poet's account has an indecipherable content, but the poet decides to greet it and enquire as to the nature of that imperishable substance he is looking for.

"Cuando corres detrás de los ferrocarriles, en los campos,
el delgado labrador te da la espalda,

...

El joven sin recuerdos te saluda, te pregunta por su olvidada/
voluntad,

...

Oh noche, mi alma sobrecogida te pregunta
desesperadamente a ti por el metal que necesita."

Night predominates over things and humans mentioned in the poem, and they in turn highlight the powerful presence of night. The brevity of the images around the peasant, the invaded countryside, the persecuted trains, the poet himself "joven sin recuerdos", simply reinforce the aesthetic advance of the powerful night.

The humans and the workers mentioned in the collection are represented in a way that underlines their identity with a world depicted as in a state of continuous decline. The human beings that the poet meets in his wandering are surrounded by death, or are ill, or crushed, or frightened. Where happiness or joy exists, this state is not going to last for long. Death comes suddenly:

Así, pues, me veo con camaradas estúpidos y

alegres, que fuman y escupen y horrendamente
 beben, y que de repente caen enfermos de muerte.

Y paso entre mercaderes mahometanos, entre gentes
 que adoran la vaca y la cabra, paso yo, inadorable
 y común de rostro."
 (La noche del soldado).

"Aúlla el cerrajero, trota el caballo, el caballejo
 empapado en lluvia y el cochero de largo látigo
 tose, el condenado!"
 (El deshabitado).

Workers are assimilated into that world, and their images
 correspond to its poetic representation. In the meantime the
 poet searches and works in his own way, witnessing the cortege
 go by:

Yo trabajo de noche, rodeado de ciudad,
 de pescadores, de alfareros, de difuntos quemados
 con azafrán y frutas, envueltos en muselina
 escarlata:/
 bajo mi balcón esos muertos terribles
 pasan sonando cadenas y flautas de cobre,
 estridentes y finas y lúgubres silban..."
 (Entierro en el este).

The poet sees things and humans in a death procession but
 here in this poem the dead people in the procession come alive
 to make noise, to whistle and make music - if only to give a
 ritual form to their last journey towards cremation. The poem
 contains a celebration of death, where the deceased celebrate
 their last journey accompanied by an entourage of dancers and
 musicians. However this sinister ritual celebration has a short
 life because all is consumed by flames and falls as ashes into
 the river where they, finally, float to nothingness.

Residencia II contains a more intense vision of how death
 reacts against everything human, as can be seen in "Sólo la
 muerte". Death here is an entity with distorted human

characteristics. The poet, with the intention of capturing an appropriate image of death, twists and distorts normal depictions of reality, normal concepts and imagery. To represent death crushing and sweeping away human beings, irrespective of their condition or privileges:

"Yo veo, solo, a veces,
 ataúdes a vela
 zarpar con difuntos pálidos, con mujeres de trenzas
 muertas,
 con panaderos blancos como ángeles,
 con niñas pensativas casadas con notarios,
 ataúdes subiendo el río vertical de los muertos,"

Nevertheless in the poem "Walking around" the poet expresses the existence of a positive element in an image which corresponds powerfully to his desolate vision.

Loyola points out that the poem belongs to a particular period of Neruda's life, at the moment when he was a white collar worker with a bureaucratic post in a Ministry. At the same time that activity was mingled with a life in an oppressive and dull city. The poet rejects the situation: tailor's shops, cinemas, barbers, gardens, lifts, goods in general, are all signs of death. Other things too have this sinister character -paper, the ministry, administrative offices, stamps. All the same, says Loyola, the representation of that asphyxiating atmosphere has its contrast in a set of positive images, of simple or elementary things, objects which in the imagery of the poem depict vitality. There are stones, wool, soil, fire, wheat, to represent the positive. "Walking around" thus expresses decadence in urban life but also a vitality. He wrote:

"Ahora bien, justo cuando la curva descendente de "Walking around" en tono y significados llega a su nivel extremo, vemos cómo resurge a verso seguido la más patética e irreductible vitalidad. El giro de timón en el poema, tan inesperado y violento, es de una eficacia magistral:

"Sin embargo sería delicioso
 asustar a un notario con un lirio cortado
 o dar muerte a una monja con un golpe de oreja.
 Sería bello
 ir por las calles con un cuchillo verde
 y dando gritos hasta morir de frío." (19).

A similar view is expressed by D. P. Gallagher when analysing the mechanisms used by the poet to overcome the opacity of the city, liberating himself from a shapeless, insecure oppressive world:

"In "Walking around" after a description of his impatience with the city's mediocrity (The smell of barber shops make me scream with tears.../ I want only to see no more establishments, no more gardens,/ nor merchandise, nor spectacles, nor elevators"), he dreams a way of getting his own back on it: "Sin embargo sería delicioso..." (20)

In Gallagher's opinion what is clearly represented here is a way of opposing the dark side, presenting a possible way out: "he desperately attempts to free himself from an environment that is feeble, opaque, damp, amorphous, claustrophobic, sweaty, bland, grey, heavy and putrid." (21).

Alonso for his part, when referring to the system of symbols found in Residencia, indicates the existence of positive symbols which suggest strength and the splendour of life: roses, pigeons, wheat, stones, grapes. On the other hand there are those who represent hostile things, harmful, damaging, injurious, limiting, restraining, constraining to life. "Walking around" is in that respect a key poem to decipher the meaning of symbols of city life and those that refer to a positive nature. The poet - says Alonso - rejects the uselessness of urban life, the efforts of man and his institutions. Everything is senseless. The poet in the text expresses his repugnance towards organised city life (22).

Clearly the poem shows the dull appearance of the world.

Life and establishments are presented in their nefarious character. Meanwhile the poet observes and wanders, as the title of the poem itself suggests, passing through a set of attitudes from tiredness, to the feeling of a profound rejection of those unacceptable conditions of life, until he finds a solution to the unbearable situation.

The character adopted by social institutions and public establishments, realities created by man to provide comfort and to satisfy the need for comradeship and social life make the poet now react with disgust and violence, because the actual nature of those realities is transformed and distorted. Social places where man normally finds rest, comfort, services, clothing, food, here provoke a decisive rejection by the poet.

"El olor de las peluquerías me hace llorar a gritos."

"Sólo quiero no ver establecimientos ni jardines,"

"Y me empuja a ciertos rincones, a ciertas casas húmedas, /
a hospitales donde los huesos salen por la ventana, /
a ciertas zapaterías con olor a vinagre,
a calles espantosas como grietas."

So, in this continuous wandering and among the different attitudes adopted, there is this discovery expressed in the already quoted stanza:

"Sin embargo sería delicioso
asustar a un notario con un lirio cortado
o dar muerte a una monja con un golpe de oreja.
Sería bello
ir por las calles con un cuchillo verde
y dando gritos hasta morir de frío."

The poetic world is characterised by an oppressive atmosphere; its forms are distorted. So when the poet finds a consistent answer his discovery has a coherence, flowing from the same kind of reality, enunciated in the same language and

with the same kind of images which were created to represent that atmosphere.

But the poet also found those different basic things which have a positive meaning and promise refuge and rest.

"Sólo quiero un descanso de piedras o de lana"

Some of these positive symbols are, however, stained and corrupted by the activities of urban life, those senseless bureaucratic activities of office work, as expressed in "Desespiciente". The poet does not hide his contempt for administrative tasks, and the vision of the useless labour this involved. These activities end up as degrading symbols which had a positive meaning in the former poetry:

"La paloma está llena de papeles caídos,
su pecho está manchado por gomas y semanas,
por secantes más blancos que un cadáver
y tintas asustadas de su color siniestro." (23).

"Tres cantos materiales" constitute Section IV of Residencia II and in them there is an expression of positive findings. The poet celebrates the generic process of life, especially in the second poem "Apogeo del apio", a poem to the newly born entity at its zenith. And afterwards men in their active collective positive dimension appear in the third : "Estatuto del vino".

Wine, it has to be remembered, has a long poetic history; the Bacchic celebration produced happiness, friendship, social gatherings, singing and dancing. Here the evocation of wine signals that tradition. The poet starts the text by celebrating the vital strength of wine, its particular way of grasping life:

"el vino abre las puertas con asombro,
en el refugio de los meses vuela
su cuerpo de empapadas alas rojas.æ

Wine to the poet is not to be intimidated; is a moving force

towards vitality, grasping life tenaciously.

"Yo sé que el vino no huye dando gritos
a la llegada del invierno,
ni se esconde en iglesias tenebrosas
a buscar fuego en trapos derrumbados,
sino que vuela sobre la estación,
sobre el invierno que ha llegado ahora
con un puñal entre las cejas duras."

And this is happening even as the world is in that process of destruction, falling towards death. The poet registers the wear and tear of elements but also observes that wine has this determination and fierceness to enable it to resist deterioration.

And now the poet introduces the men of wine. They are "Los hombres del vino", singing wedding songs. The poet inserts here, in the middle of a world falling apart, this red resistant substance and these men who sing and celebrate. Even the poet states that this new fact arouses in him a sense of pleasure:

"Me gusta el canto ronco de los hombres del vino,
y el ruido de mojadas monedas en la mesa, y el
olor de zapatos y de uvas
y de vómitos verdes:
me gusta el canto ciego de los hombres,
y ese sonido de sal que golpea
las paredes del alba moribunda."

The poet finds himself in the middle of this celebration but cannot forget the general state of things going in that procession of death. The poem presents the resistance of wine to that deterioration, the singing and cheerfulness of the men of wine, but also the sad remembrance of darkness in the surroundings. There is the representation of opposites and the poem with diverse temporal statements ('Cuando, entonces, recordando') referring to different stages of that confrontation.

Another poetic positive discovery in this deteriorating

world is presented in "Oda a Federico García Lorca". The Spaniard seems to embody a superior reality to the corroding capacity of time. This poet has peculiar characteristics. Among these special qualities the poet distinguishes the voice, the singing, the laughter, the sweetness of the Spanish poet. But most importantly it is their complicity in creativity that is recalled, the knowledge that poetry contains a power to overcome the limitations which oppress man.

What is the use of poetry, asks the poet, if it is not to face these terrible conditions of existence, when man decides he is going to die. And now, when things are marching towards death, poetry rescues the value of friendship, the positive side of poetic creation, the superiority of the creative man over the corroded surrounding world.

"Ven a que te corone, joven de la salud y de la mariposa, joven puro/...
y conversando entre nosotros,
hora, cuando no queda nadie entre las rocas,
hablemos sencillamente como eres tú y soy yo:
para qué sirven los versos si no es para el rocío?"

"Alberto Rojas Jiménez viene volando" is a positive poetic vision of another poet. Even after death this young man maintains his resistance, he overcomes the dark multitude of beings swept on by death. "El desenterrado", a poem to the poet Conde de Villamediana, also brings to life the presence of the old poet, born again to overcome the deteriorating effect of death.

These insights, in the sense that in the creative work of poets there is a means of overcoming the destructive force tearing apart the world, are expressed again in "Vuelve el otoño" where the poet comes closer to that substantive element of renewal. The poet suddenly can feel its existence and curious appearance:

"No sé si se me entiende: cuando desde lo alto
se avecina la noche, cuando el solitario poeta

a la ventana oye correr el corcel del otoño
y las hojas del miedo pisoteado crujen en sus
arterias,
hay algo sobre el cielo, como lengua de buey
espeso, algo en la duda del cielo y de la
atmósfera."

Here again the work of the poet reaches out to that noble
substance.

6. THE POET AND THE NOISY CROWD.

On February 12th 1928 La Nación of Santiago published Neruda's "Madrás, contemplaciones del acuario". This was one of several contributions sent by Neruda from the East while he was composing Residencia I (24). The article was dated November 1927. In his articles Neruda mentions characters of the society he knew at the time. The texts show a distance between the writer and the situation described; the poet is alien and distant from the people concerned. His observations are those of a passer-by.

"Es tarde cuando regreso del movable Museo. Ya a la puerta de sus casas, hindúes en cuclillas comen su carie, sobre hojas anchas, en el suelo, con lentitud: las mujeres mostrando sus tobilleras de plata y sus pies con pedrerías; los hombres melancólicos, más pequeños y oscuros, como aplastados por el inmenso crepúsculo de la India, por su palpitación religiosa." (25).

The writer sees from a distance. He observes those most visible characteristics of the population. Men to him are oppressed by intangible realities like religion or ideas; he still does not see the source of that oppression in the objective world. In "Diurno de Singapore" (26) he depicts the multitude of that city - an enormous number of people involved in their everyday business. The article presents the richness and variety of humans in the city; yet the poet, in the middle of the crowd, is concerned only to preserve his isolation.

"Magnífica muchedumbre! Las anchas calles del barrio chino dejan apenas trecho para el paso de un poeta. La calle es mercado, restaurante, inmenso montón de cosas vendibles y seres vendedores. Cada puerta es una tienda repleta, un almacén reventado que no pudiendo contener sus mercancías las hace invadir la calle. En ese revolverse de abarrotes y juguetes, de lavaderos, zapatistas, panaderos, prestamistas, muebleros, en esa jungla humana no has sitio apenas

para el comprador.

...

Hay forjadores que manejan sus metales en cuclillas, vendedores ambulantes de frutas y cigarros, juglares que hacen tiritar su mandolino de dos cuerdas. Casas de peinadoras en que la cabeza de la cliente se transforma en un castillo duro, barnizado con laca. Hay ventas de pescados adentro de frascos: corredores de hielo molido y cacahuets: funciones de títeres: aullidos de canciones chinas: fumaderos de opio con su letrero en la puerta: Smoking room...Es un inmenso espectáculo de multitud cambiante, de distribución millonaria: es el olor, el traqueteo, la paciencia, el color, la sed, el hambre, la mugre, la costumbre del Lejano Este."

The poet finds himself in the centre of activity, observing people carrying out their daily tasks. But the writer keeps his distance and his observations are journalistic, focussing on only the most visible and external aspects of people at work. The writer is above the spectacle, referring to the visual effects of the movements. He has no interest in the real existence of those people. He sees them and stays apart. These texts show the poet on the one side and the people in the other.

Many years later Neruda wrote in Memorial de Isla Negra (1964) remembering those years in the East and his appointment as Consul in Rangoon in 1927:

"Cuando salí a los mares fui infinito

...

Yo no sabía que existía el mundo.

...

Había descubierto tanto en nada.

...

No sabía leer sino leerme,
no sabía vivir sino esconderme." (27).

Also in Memorias y Recuerdos de Pablo Neruda (1962) (28) there was discussion as to why in his view he failed to reach an

affinity with the human activities of the East. There were so many obstacles, an impossible distance of meanings to overcome between an isolated and obstinate poet in his duties as a creator and that active and noisy crowd. The distance seemed to be not only a literary problem, or result of a journalistic approach to things, but a difference of language, cultural background, habits, and above all a distance between the poet's vision and understanding of things at the time and the environment he found himself in then.

"Yo comprendía que a través del aire azul, de la arena dorada, más allá de las víboras y de los elefantes, había centenares de seres humanos que cantaban y trabajaban junto al agua, que hacían fuego y hacían cántaros, mujeres ardientes que dromían desnudas sobre delgadas esteras a la luz de las inmesas estrellas. Pero, como acercarse a este mundo palpitante sin ser considerado un enemigo?"

7. THE PRESENCE OF THE CROWD.

"Mis criaturas nacen de un largo rechazo" (29).

Having found the presence of the crowd in those texts, writing which are contemporaneous with some of the poems of Residencia I, one has to observe the attitude of the writer to that multitude of labouring people.

Some ideas of the writer Walter Benjamin and his studies on the presence of the crowd in the poetry of Charles Baudelaire can be compared with and applied to Neruda's writings during his residence in the East.

W. Benjamin sees the presence of the mass or crowd as one of the main components in Baudelaire 's poetry. But this mass is not understood as a social class.

"The masses when they do not stand for classes or any sort of collective; rather they are nothing but the

amorphous crowd of passers by, the people in the street." (30).

This mass, the multitude of the great metropolis, became a decisive element of Baudelaire's writing, so much so that even when it was not the main poetic theme, it was a permanent presence. "The presence of the crowd - wrote Benjamin - is secret but is demonstrable almost everywhere, as in *Tableaux Parisiens*". In the poem "A une passante" (31), for example, the presence of the crowd is never mentioned but it determines the whole of the poem; providing the meaningful structure which permits the poetic development of the motif.

"The crowd is nowhere named in either word or phrase. And yet the whole happening hinges on it, just as the progress of a sailboat depends on the wind". (32).

This "Amorous possibility" could only occur in the big city. The potential lover is discovered by the poet when she goes by among the multitude without him having the opportunity of realising his intense love. She passes immersed in the multitude and the poet cannot stop her, remaining on the threshold of a possible encounter, limiting himself to seeing her disappear into the crowd. For him now there remains only the aesthetic recreation of the experience, against the background of the multitude.

What, then, is the attitude adopted by the French poet to the crowd and what are the possible attitudes of any writer facing its existence? First, in Benjamin's view the poet is "le flâneur", that is to say he feels sympathy for the crowd, but at the same time rejects its impersonal and inhuman behaviour.

"He becomes their accomplice even as he dissociates himself from them. He becomes deeply involved with them then only to relegate them to oblivion with a single glance of contempt" (33).

The story "The man in the crowd" by E. Allan Poe

exemplifies another possible attitude. In the story, the narrator chooses a site, from which to observe the crowd, to follow it and discover the main characteristics of its behaviour. In the end - the attempt is fruitless and finally only the idea of the man answering mechanically to the multiple demands of the surrounding crowd remains. On Poe's characters Benjamin adds:

"His pedestrians act as if they had adapted themselves only automatically." (34).

"The boy on the street corner" exemplifies another of the possible attitudes an author might adopt. In the comings and goings in the street the characters find their best way of expressing themselves; they make of the streets their home and environment.

"Nante, Berlín's street-corner boy, has no reason to bestir himself. He makes himself at home on the street which naturally does not lead him anywhere, and is as comfortable as the philistine is in his four walls." (35).

Another possible attitude of a character or narrator or writer in general to the crowd's presence is that of the "The cousin's corner window" by E. T. A. Hoffman. Here the narrator observes, motionless, from his window the behaviour of the street crowd.

"His attitude toward the crowd is rather, one of superiority, inspired as it is by his observation post at the window of an apartment building. From this vantage point he scrutinizes the throng... His opera glasses enable him to pick out individual genre scenes". (36)

Given all these possible ways for a writer, a narrator-character, or a poetic ego to respond to the existence of a crowd, of whatever collective nature, how should one see Neruda's writings from the East? In his dispatches to the Santiago newspaper, his approach is journalistic. The writer

appears to be distant, superior to the multitude, prevented by these characteristics from achieving better communication with those people.

The incompatibility of the writer with the people is mentioned also in the letters sent by Neruda to his friend Hector Eandi. These letters were sent from Ceylon, and Burma. For example:

"Me lo paso el día leyendo sin cesar, y encuentro cada vez más que el único placer que me va quedando es leer." (37).

And then in another fragment from a letter from Colombo in 1929:

"Eandi, nadie hay más solo que yo. Recojo perros de la calle para acompañarme, pero luego se van los malignos" (38).

The poet felt separated and isolated to such an extent that even when he was in the middle of the crowd, he remained separate - a spectator :

"Magnífica muchedumbre! Las anchas calles del barrio chino dejan apenas trecho para el paso de un poeta."(39).

Inmersed in this world the poet conceived of himself as an island, as a entity complete in himself, being able to wander in the crowd but keeping his independence as an individual. The poet is more or less "le flaneur", so different from "The man of the crowd".

"There was the pedestrian who could let himself be jostled by the crowd, but there was also the flaneur who demanded elbow room and was unwilling to forgo the life of a gentleman of leisure." (40).

The poet was able to observe the multitude and all their efforts and noises demanded by the sort of work they were doing

in the streets, and in doing so also maintained his deep-rooted individualism. That observational attitude, at the same time tainted with some rejection and repulsion at the relentless harassment of the noisy crowd, can be seen already in the text entitled "Port Said", of 1928. On the one side the crowd are selling their merchandise, and on the other the solitary poet, visits places, looks around and above all fiercely defends his autonomy..

Referring to the same circumstance the writer Alfredo Lozada describes Neruda 's attitude in the following terms:

"Acosado en el paqueboat donde iba por el oscuro enjambre de los vendedores de chucherías egipcias... ensaya una postura impermeable, hierática, de ídolo ausente y vecino a la vez."(41).

Not only is the poet posing accidentally as an idol at the moment of composing, he has an entrenched attitude, when faced by situations which cause him to reinforce his own individuality. In this case it is the presence of the crowd at work. "Port Said" exemplifies the author's rejection and uneasiness in front of the vociferous crowd and already the distance and differentiation of the writer from the background can be detected.

"Port Said encierra una ruidosa gravitación de las más chillonas razas del mundo. Sus callejas estrechas son por completo basares y mercados, y grita en todas las lenguas agudamente, acosan con inmundos olores, se tiñen con tintas verdes y escarlatas. En esa acumulación vegetal y bestial quisiera retrocederse inútilmente; el aire de Port Said, la luz, gritan también precios y convites; el cielo de Port Said, bajo y azul, es una carpa de barraca, y apenas oscila sobre su monstruoso bazar."

There is in the crowd, in their activities and among the things around a sort of hostility. The poet rejects this market place atmosphere which causes him to withdraw into himself:

"Yo, sobre la proa del paqueboat, sentado en mi silla de lona, tengo una carencia de sentido especial, mi mirada es de esfinge hueca, de cartón, difícil de amamantar lo sorpresivo."

In September 1927 Neruda wrote "El sueño de la tripulación", and in this text the poet observes the crowd on the boat on which he is sailing. An actual event, from which the writer produces an idealisation and mythical version. The sailors are resting after the long cruise.

"Duermen los dulces anamitas, con el torso desnudo, sobre mantas y laho, su caporal sueña levantando una espada de oro bordada, sus músculos se mueven como reptiles dentro de su piel, su cuerpo sufre, se fatiga luchando. Otros tienen adentro un sueño de guerreros, duro como una lanza de piedra, y parecen padecer, abrir los ojos a su aguda prisión. Otros lloran levemente, con un ronco gemido perdido, y los hay de sueño blando como un huevo, cuyo tejido a cada sonido, a cada emoción se quiebra; el contenido resbala como la leche sobre cubierta, y luego se recompone, se pegan sus cáscaras sin materia y sin ruido, y el hombre sigue absorto."

The sailors' efforts permit the transport of passengers and goods and they are now resting, yet the writer depicts them in an idealised vision. On the other hand the poet imagines himself, daydreaming, escaping from the actual circumstances: "Trato de no soñar con cascabeles, con Montmartre, con fonógrafos; podrían despertar. Soñaré con mujercitas las más silenciosas:" .

But what the poet does not want to disrupt with his dreams or with the noise provoked by his memories, are his own creations, the creatures of his own fantasy, his own warriors and amamites. The respect deserved by the workers having a rest has been transported to the mythical world created by the poet.

CONCLUSION.

At the end of Residencia I the poet finds one way of meeting the dilemma which the decaying, degraded world depicted in the collection confronts him with. His response consists of the permanent exercise of creativity. It is at that moment an open challenge to the poet, always in the making, never completed.

In Residencia II apart from an intensification of the process of decomposition and anguish and death, there is also the reinforcement of the belief in a sort of superiority of creativity, and of the special character of the creators themselves, exemplified by the poems addressed to eminent poets such as García Lorca, El Conde de Villamediana and Alberto Rojas Jiménez.

In the meantime workers and social institutions and other establishments which are dear to man are subjected to this vision of the general degradation of life. They belong also to the oppressive world encircling the poet.

Nevertheless the poet finds other means of overcoming the problems depicted in the whole collection. These are symbols of positive significance expressed in "Tres cantos materiales". There he celebrates the capacity of the elements to generate life, and also the capacity to fight back against the process of destruction as in the case of the poem "Estatuto del vino", or celebrates the singing and coarse voices of the "men of wine".

At the time of composition of many of the poems of Residencia I, the poet discovered the laborious and noisy crowd of the East and sent a number of contributions to a newspaper in Santiago. According to these articles he neither sympathised with those workers, nor understood the world they were struggling in. He passed them by as a "flaneur" and did not apprehend their real problems or aspirations.

CHAPTER FOUR

TERCERA RESIDENCIA.

(1935-1945). (1)

INTRODUCTION.

Neruda came back from the East in 1932. In April he arrived in Chile, resumed his old friendships and acquaintanceships in Santiago, and reinitiated an active literary life (2). His reentry into a Spanish-speaking environment became a powerful incentive to creativity. At the same time he worked in a ministry.

But above all Neruda became involved in literary circles, amid the fraternity of poets and writers. He was living among people who had similar aspirations and creative activities to his own. Neruda participated in discussions and literary gatherings which were common literary practice at the time. At this time successful steps were taken to publish a new edition of Veinte Poemas..., the first edition of El hondero entusiasta published in January 1933 ten years after it was written, and the first edition of Residencia en la tierra I in April of 1933. Also in the same period Neruda wrote poems which were included later in Residencia II (1931-1935) (3).

In August 1933 Neruda travelled abroad again to work at the Chilean Consulate in Buenos Aires where he stayed until April of the next year. Here he also participated in literary circles, and established friendships with people who would appear later in his poetry or who were going to play an important part in his future development (4).

From this period a text survives, composed by Neruda and F.García Lorca on the theme of Ruben Darío. This is a speech made by both writers at the Pen Club of Buenos Aires, paying homage to the Nicaraguan writer at the end of 1933. This "Discurso al alimón sobre Rubén Darío por Federico García Lorca y Pablo Neruda" (5) shows important elements regarding the

development of Neruda's poetry. For example in one of the paragraphs read by the Chilean two elements found in the poetry of Darío are mentioned, the first is the presence of intangible realities such as air, dreams, or sounds, while the other trades on the real-objective, the importance given in Darío's poetry to the circumstances of life. Neruda exhorted,

"... Hagamos esta noche su estatua con el aire, atravesada por el humo y la voz y por las circunstancias, y por la vida, como ésta su poética magnífica, atravesada por sueños y sonidos."

And Lorca added :

"Pero sobre esta estatua de aire yo quiero poner su sangre como un ramo de coral", and then, "Las estanterías comidas ya por los jaramagos, donde suenan vacíos de flauta, las botellas de coñac de su dramática embriaguez, y su mal gusto encantador, y sus ripios descarados que llenan de humanidad la muchedumbre de sus versos. Fuera de normas, formas y escuelas queda en pie la fecunda substancia de su poesía." (6).

Obviously, both writers valued and rescued from Darío's poetry a diversity of elements and put them on the same aesthetic level. To those mentioned by Neruda, Lorca added the poetic dimension contained in the inclusion of padding or in the representation of human tendencies such as bad taste. Poetry, they declared, may include with aesthetic propriety also all those elements which seem to be alien to it. Lorca and Neruda insisted on a human dimension to poetry which could include those elements considered inappropriate in traditional rhetoric.

These aesthetic values persisted in Neruda's creativity. Later in Spain, around 1935, he proposed in the editorials of Caballo verde para la poesía ideas and criteria which were merging at the time of the "Discurso al alimón...". For instance in "Sobre una poesía sin pureza" he wrote "Quien huye del mal gusto cae en el hielo", an echo of the similar notion read by Lorca in Buenos Aires.

Neruda's aesthetic assessment of Darío's poetry and of poetry itself was developing and at the time of the editorials of the mentioned magazine he expressed it in a better form. Poetry was in a process of humanising itself in the sense of including in it all those elements which express human feelings, even those which were considered till then not proper to it.

But this new and enriching development has to be seen in detail. Neruda travelled to Barcelona and then to Madrid to work in the Chilean Consulates in those cities in May 1934. In February 1935 he was in Madrid.

In Spain Neruda tried, unsuccessfully, to publish his first volume of Residencia. Some of his work did appear in print. He wrote to Rafael Alberti (7) and had published in Revista de Occidente in 1930 (No LXXXI of December 6) the poems "Galope muerto", "Serenata" and "Caballo de los sueños". Neruda himself later reflected on these times:

"En 1934 ... adviene el florecimiento de la República... Llegué pues, en un momento único para mí.

...

Pocos poetas han sido tratados como yo en España. Encontré una brillante fraternidad de talentos y un conocimiento pleno de mi obra." (8).

Don Luis Enrique Délano lived in Madrid from the beginning of 1934 until the end of 1936 and like Neruda worked in the Chilean Consulate in that city. Délano observed Neruda's development and activities. He saw, for instance, how Neruda came to write the poem "Canto a las madres de los milicianos muertos" which was published in El mono azul, the magazine of the Alianza de Intelectuales Españoles. According to Délano, Neruda read the poem at a rally organised by the Republicans on the 12th of October of 1936 in Cuenca (9). He also mentions Neruda's inclination to participate in writers'circles entering into comradeship with poets. Neruda looked for the human contact and the warm atmosphere of literary gatherings, the never-ending discussions and friendships of fellow creators.

Délano wrote:

"Pablo Neruda se caracterizaba en esos días por un irrestricto deseo de comunicación y convivencia, por una especie de afán de no estar nunca solo, sino rodeado de amigos." (10).

In the meantime there were some literary divergences. But there was also the special publication of "Tres cantos materiales" heralded by a text signed by numerous writers and friends of the poet in homage to Neruda and his contribution to the Spanish language (11).

Part of the same process of recognition and friendship was the presentation made by Federico García at Neruda's poetry reading. Lorca expressed once more the linguistic preferences in times of social unrest. To him the torrent of emotive expression of the Chilean was valuable, as opposed to the moderate rhetoric of the more traditional poetic tendencies of Madrid (12).

Neruda worked consistently as 1935 approached. That year there appeared the edition of Residencia en la tierra (2 vol.), his edition of Selección de cartas y sonetos de Quevedo, his Antología de poesías del Conde de Villamediana and a translation of William Blake. This bore out the opinion of Jaime Concha when he wrote:

"Marginado social en Chile, expatriado en el Extremo Oriente, burócrata en su propia patria, por fin puede Neruda ser lo que siempre ha ansiado: poeta. Ser poeta en España, significaba en esos días- como él lo ha recordado a menudo- un oficio, una actividad cotidiana, un trabajo permanente y lleno de sentido. De hecho, Neruda llegó a confundir prácticamente su cargo de Cónsul con el de la producción y de la difusión poética. Lee, escribe, edita, antologa, traduce, publica." (13).

Certainly Neruda had an active literary life at the time, but

at this point he did not conceive those activities as a form of independent work, deserving the same respect and social consideration as other kinds of work. He was still the Chilean Consul and of the belief that the poet had special qualities which set him apart from other human beings. The concept of the poet as a worker without special characteristics, as just another worker, had not yet taken shape. The poet to him was still a singular being; as Neruda wrote in Caballo verde, the 'casa de la poesía' was a peculiar space, so different from the rest of the human activities.

This active literary life had another expression in the magazine 'Caballo verde para la poesía' (14). According to J. Lechner (15) this was not the voice of any particular poetic tendency or homogeneous group of creators. One does not find here the expression of any single current or tendency, but an amalgamation of various artistic expressions of the epoch- an assortment of personalities and conceptions. In addition, the magazine, contrary to previous suggestions, had no political commitment. In Lechner's opinion "Lo que llama la atención es la diversidad de colaboraciones, diversidad que queda manifiesta en más de algún terreno".

The diversity of contributions suggests more differences than similarities or unity of style, even when the editorials signalled some ideas others could accept or identify with. The editor himself was not expressing conceptions or ideas in the name of any one group, but he was expounding his own ideas about creativity and the conflicts and pressures of writing. Furthermore the ideas of writing about new materials mentioned in the first editorial, were not new to the European poetry of the time.

Also, the diversity among the authors to whom the magazine pays homage pointed to the multilateral character of the publication. One of the editorials was entitled "G.A.B. (1836-1936)" in evident homage to Gustavo A. Bécquer. Then in the number 2 of November 1935 appeared the "Oda a Lautreamont" of Luis. E. Délano. Number 3 closed with a text about Valle Inclán, as note of admiration to the dramatist.

Finally, there was the public homage to Góngora, as well as Neruda's works about Quevedo and Villamediana, and the intention, announced in issue 3, to dedicate the double issue number 5 and 6 to Julio Herrera y Reissig: "Nuestros números 5 y 6 serán consagrados a la memoria del grande y olvidado poeta Julio Herrera y Reissig".

It is not difficult to see the disparity of poetic criteria among the contributors of Caballo verde... which is why J. Lechner could conclude that there are magazines which represent the voice of literary tendencies and in that way expose a homogeneous vision. Lechner continues:

"Hay otras en que confluyen varias tendencias de una época y que en el remanso de sus páginas reflejan gran parte de su tiempo. A esta última categoría pertenece Caballo verde para la poesía." (16).

A similar interpretation has been indicated regarding the "Generación del 27" (17).

But in Caballo verde... some ideas and perceptions were clearly expressed which could not pass unnoticed by the editor.

The first editorial of October 1935 signed by Neruda is entitled "Sobre una poesía sin pureza" and in it the poet proposes a process of humanisation of poetry, understanding this as an extension and enrichment of the field of poetry: all the works and worries of man, all his acts, his concerns, both noble and impure, are all worthy of inclusion in poetry, just as the things of the world, instruments and materials denote in their wear and tear the action of humans on them. Just as we perceive in things the presence of humans, poetry must also register everything concerning human life -poetic creation can exclude nothing. So, says the editor, just as we perceive in goods and in instruments the effects of human contact, so we must perceive in poetry the complexity of human nature, noble actions as well as bad. The parallel established by the editor between the action of man over the real-objective world and the creativity of poets is understood as a lesson from the

community to poets.

Even when the editor establishes a link between the two worlds, obviously to him there is a distinction between the material world of the labouring community and the exclusive sphere of the poet.

The importance of the proposition is that to move closer to human understanding, poetry must include the noble deeds of man as well as the impure fruits of man's activities. Given this breath and range, poetry draws closer to man.

The first issue of the magazine contains the poems "Nocturno del hueco" by F.García Lorca and "Vecino de la muerte" by Miguel Hernández. The second poem shows Hernández thoughts about the nearby graveyard. What is left, reflects the poet, of all our quarrels and differences but the symmetrical order of graveyards. That is why he says, he does not want to add himself to nothingness. The poet rebels against mediocrity and conventionalism. But at the same time, he discovers that there are positive signs in the way humankind rests in natural elements, in the way things go back to nature and to earth where the nutrition is found for regeneration (18).

Also in this issue the poem by Raúl González Tuñón introduces a polemic tone, with topics rooted in class struggle. Writing about the actual struggle of the time, his poetry takes a belligerent stand in a tense atmosphere. Nevertheless, writes this poet, there is a possibility and a future for man. To start with there is a mood of rebellion, the passionate commitment of people which signals a future for mankind and particularly a future for creativity itself. The possibilities for poetry are clearly there:

"Hay bronca.

"Hay la revuelta próxima que estallará de pronto
como la luz tan súbita que inventa una ventana.
Hay posibilidades para la poesía.

Hay mañana". (19).

From the poet Arturo Serrano Plaja there is the first part of an extensive poem called "Estos son los oficios" (20) whose second and third part would be published in the second issue of the magazine. The poem expressed admiration for the human effort put into labour. The poet praised the enterprises of man, his commitments and sacrifices and he wished to express it with an appropriate voice and skills. The poet requires a language worthy of the material of his poem, a language and voice harmonious with the labour of man and the innumerable lives dedicated to the making of the world. The second and third part of his poem related to the efforts of man to dominate beasts, cultivate the forests, to prospect for metals, all of it to enrich man's existence. And there, among all those craftsmen creative man participated and contributed to the whole. In spite of trials, obstacles and dark presences positive signs triumphed. By working hard and creatively man builds a hopeful future.

Examination and analysis of these examples reinforce the notion of the variety of poets and writers presented by the magazine. As in Serrano Plaja's poem, included also a form of homage to workers and their labour for their contribution to the advancement of society, plus the inclusion of the political tensions of the moment and the struggles of the period. There is also an individualistic rebellion against mediocrity and conventionalism, against the order imposed by force on people, and particularly the knowledge that creativity has a role to play even in desperate circumstances.

However the editorial of the second issue of 'Caballo verde...' entitled "Los temas" (November 1935) stressed the singular character of the poet who is marked by a special virtue of solitude because his creativity springs from a noble element, the heart.

"El sitio del corazón nos pertenece. Sólo solamente desde allí, con auxilio de la negra noche, del otoño desierto, salen, al golpe de la mano, los cantos del

corazón." (21).

While Neruda writes of the poet as a solitary being and the exclusiveness and exquisiteness of his sensibility, other contributors suggest a writer open to the environment and society, in a close relationship with what is actually happening. While Neruda proposes a writer who becomes lost in his own world and thoughts ("El poeta vestido de luto escribe temblorosamente muy solitario"), others are writing a poetry rooted in historical conflict, about poets linked and open to the fate of all men.

The poetic motifs of R. González T. and those of A. Serrano P. represent that literary tendency in which the historic and social facts are the basic material for creativity and for whom poetry is not a realm apart but becomes a contribution to what is produced by man in other spheres.

These diverse literary notions and conceptions probably had repercussions and ideological influence in the magazine and on those writing in it. The Director and Editor of the publication surely could not remain indifferent. The pressure was there.

In the third editorial (December 1935), entitled "Conducta y poesía", the editor reveals the pressure and near crisis point which he is facing, the pressure of the multitude of facts from the real-objective world which surround his exclusive sphere, the domain of poetry. The poet now asks himself if the right time has come to renounce that special circle and space and accept the challenge to immerse himself in collective ideas and values. The conflict is acute enough and manifests itself in advances and retreats. There is evidence of progress, as expressed in the first Editorial, and then retreat as seen on the second of November 1935.

At that moment the nature of the conflict was becoming clearer and the poet expressed it with certainty. The question was now about when would be the best moment to abandon privilege and allow the exclusive house of poetry to "fall" into that world where everyone was struggling. Had the time come to

move towards that sphere where people strive in the effort to survive : "se sostiene el hombre a puro diente, a puras uñas, a puros intereses". Neruda wrote:

"Cuando el tiempo nos va comiendo con su cotidiano decisivo relámpago, y las actitudes fundadas, las confianzas, la fe ciega se precipitan y la elevación del poeta tiende a caer como el más triste nacar escupido, nos preguntamos si ha llegado ya la hora de envilecernos." (22).

The tensions of the real-objective world, the disagreements of humans put pressure on the poet, demanding that he be resolute. And if the poet thought that his existence as a creator was marked by privilege and that his duty was to study himself and cultivate his solitude, he now discovered that a multitude of human facts were pressing him to change his conduct. But the arrival of this tension and pressure within the poet's sphere was not a sudden and unexpected avalanche. It neither provoked an immediate overturn nor a revelation. There were innumerable facts, ideas, problems, meetings, friendships, discrepancies, polemics, which were added, rejected or refuted in a contradictory consistent, relentless advance.

The passage of time which "lava y desenvuelve, ordena y continúa" is no longer a sinister entity with an independent existence and an impossible mandate. There are now new elements, a new richness and complexity, and with this comes an invasion of problems which the poet has to take on board and assimilate into one whole.

"La dolorida hora de mirar como se sostiene el hombre a puro diente, a puras uñas, a puros intereses, y como entran en la casa de la poesía los dientes y las uñas y las ramas del feroz árbol del odio." (23).

However, towards the end of the text the writer asks himself what is left of these hostilities and conspiracies. Nothing, he answers. From all this nothing remains, only what

has been written with sacrifice: "...en la casa de la posía no permanece nada sino lo que fue escrito con sangre para ser escuchado por la sangre." To the irrelevant discrepancies, to hate and hostility, the writer opposes his creativity.

It can be said that there is no solution yet to the crisis. The problem is still there. The poet has not taken up a decisive stance. The pressures are there but the poet, after all, thinks writing is a painful activity which has its own audience.

The fourth editorial (January 1936) indicates that on the turbulence of time, the penuries of real life and the temporal nature of hate and feelings, the presence of the poet is superimposed. Against the violent historical reality, the editorial sets the majestic figure of a poet of the previous century.

The contradiction is still there. The struggle between the pressure of the community and social issues with this notion of the poet guarding the special precinct of poetry.

1. TERCERA RESIDENCIA. (1935-1945).

On the 15th of August, 1947 the publishing house Losada of Buenos Aires published a new collection called Tercera Residencia. The volume was divided in five sections (24).

The themes of the first section were still love and the solitude of the poet. Love suffers from opposing hostile forces and the poet has difficulty in posing it as a foundation of life or a force for survival. This can be observed in the poem "Alianza (sonata)":

"...quiero estar, amor mío, solo con una sílaba

...

ya no es posible, entre dos seres
temblar, tocar la flor del río:
hebras de hombre vienen como agujas,
tramitaciones, trozos,

familias de coral repulsivo, tormentas..."

The poet wishes to be alone. It is difficult to find in love that necessary support for existence. Love is surrounded by hostility. There are dark forces opposed to the realization of love. The poet himself feels surrounded by aggressive entities while he is trying to make his solitude work. Nevertheless there is another with whom it is possible to establish communication:

"Yo toco el odio como pecho diurno,
yo sin cesar, de ropa en ropa vengo
durmiendo lejos." (Vals).

"Ahora, en medio
de la velocidad desetimada, al lado
de los muros sin hilos,
en el fondo cortado por los términos,
aquí estoy con aquello que pierde estrellas,
vegetalmente, solo." (Bruselas).

"Te busco, busco tu efigie entre medallas
que el cielo gris modela y abandona,
no sé quien eres pero tanto te debo
que la tierra está llena de mi tesoro amargo."
(El abandonado).

There is an unresolved struggle and contradiction which the poet faces by immersing himself in creativity. It seems that the objective world pressures the poet in so many ways that he decides to opt for what he does and knows. To the diverse demands and tensions, he responds,

"No me busquéis entonces recorriendo
el habitual hilo salvaje o la
sangrienta enredadera.

No me llaméis: mi ocupación es esa.
No preguntéis mi nombre ni mi estado.
Dejadme en medio de mi propia luna,
en mi terreno herido." (Vals).

But the last poem of the section presents an image of an imperishable thing. The poet knows the secret and now declares it as a precious possession.

"Llevo en mi mano la paloma que duerme reclinada
 en la semilla
 y en el fermento espeso de cal y sangre
 vive agosto,
 vive el mes extraído de su copa profunda:
 con mi mano rodeo la nueva sombra del ala que crece:
 la raíz y la pluma que mañana formarán la espesura."
 (Naciendo en los bosques).

This is an enthusiastic poem about generation, and that which gives life to natural things. The poet tells the story and participates in it. The poem started by saying "Cuando..." putting across the idea of a process of gestation and growing. The poet enthusiastically testifies and declares:

"Cuando el arroz retira de la tierra
 los granos de su harina,
 cuando el trigo endurece sus pequeñas
 caderas y levanta su rostro de mil manos,
 a la enramada donde la mujer y el hombre se
 enlazan acudo,
 para tocar el mar innumerable
 de lo que continúa. (Naciendo en los bosques).

The images "Cuando el arroz retira" and "Cuando el trigo endurece", point to a natural process of growth that is meaningful to man. They are examples of vital continuity to which the procreation of humans is assimilated and linked.

According to Alain Sicard's analysis there was in the first two Residencias an incomplete aborted dialectical movement. But that latent dialectical intent found its complete process in the poem "Naciendo en los bosques". This poem says Sicard " Es el texto en el que la gota de agua se vuelve semilla" (25), opposing in this way the negative dimension of time with its

positive counterpart. The drop of water in this poem develops all its possibilities and contradictions. To the negative discontinuity of time the poet counters his discovery of that which continues and grows.

The only poem of the second section was published in May of 1939 by Nascimento in Santiago. On that occasion Neruda wrote an epigraph (quoted from Quevedo): "Hay en mi corazón furias y penas" and also an explanatory note (26) saying that the poem was written in 1934. So it seems that Tercera Residencia was written from 1934 and not 1935.

The third section comprises just one poem: "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas" (27), which is an explicit declaration about the changes experienced by the poet and the related development in his poetry. The poet claims he has been looking for something. The first part of the poem is abundant in verbs expressing past attitudes: "fundé, escuché, averigué, busqué", till today when the poet takes note of the change of attitude regarding his response to the pressures of circumstances and the expression given to that in poetry.

"No,
ya era tiempo, huid,
sombras de sangre,
hielos de estrella, retroceded al paso de los pasos
humanos."

The poet now recognises his fundamental semblance and kinship with his fellow humans. And this opens up his poetry to new possibilities in the context of a new richer and more comprehensive understanding (28). In recognising this bond with other men, the poet expresses his awareness of a process of change and development, and the need for poetry to acknowledge and represent this change through new imagery and meaning.

"Yo de los hombres tengo la misma mano herida,
yo sostengo la misma copa roja
e igual asombro enfurecido:".

This fundamental bond with the species means that poetry discovers its place among humans, and the bitter, solitary expression of the past transform itself. Now the poet feels able to answer the initial question saying that there is now a confident, optimistic and positive attitude with a fresh determination to face the new challenges.

"Es la hora
alta de la tierra y de perfume, mirad este rostro
recién salido de la sal terrible,
mirad esta boca amarga que sonr e,
mirad este nuevo coraz n que os saluda
con su flor desbordante, determinada y  urea."

"Espa a en el coraz n" (1936-1937) is the fourth section of the collection. It was published as a single volume in November 1937. This edition included a note saying: "Este Himno a las glorias del pueblo en la guerra forma parte del tercer volumen de Residencia en la tierra", and a final note which says: "Este libro fue comenzado en Madrid, 1936, y continuado en Par s y en el mar, 1937."

Some poems were published earlier in 1936 as with "Canto a las madres de los milicianos muertos" (Revista Mono azul, Madrid, 1936), and "Canto sobre unas ruinas" published by the magazine Los poetas del mundo defienden al pueblo espa ol (Madrid, No 1, Nov. 1936) and others. (29)

Already in the first poem the intention of writing a solemn and vigorous poem is detected. The aim is declared in the poem entitled "Invocaci n".

"...la voluntad de un canto
con explosiones, el deseo
de un canto inmenso, de un metal que recoja
guerra y desnuda sangre."

The subtitle of the collection is "Himno a las glorias del pueblo en la guerra" which announces the setting and background to the meanings as well as to the language forms used. The

themes and the literary motifs must therefore be assimilated and referred to this definition and context.

Then immediately appears one of the central themes and a repeated one for that matter in Neruda's collection as well as in nearly all the main poetic works on the Spanish Civil War -the theme of Spain as a mother, noble and sublime, old and full of promises which at the moment of composition is besieged by a dark wave of treasons. The theme is presented in various poems:

"España, cristal de copa, no diadema,
sí machacada piedra, combatida ternura
de trigo, cuero y animal ardiendo."

...
Madre natal, puño
de avena endurecida,
planeta
seco y sangriento de los héroes!"
(Invocación).

"España dura, país manzanar y pino,"
(España pobre por culpa de los ricos).

In the poem "Como era España" the poet says that Spain is not only a natural entity, or a geographical or mythical reality. In her there is also the excellence of her people, of the towns, the pleasant existence of bread and wine. Spain is unique, alive, but also somnolent and sonorous. Above all it is interesting to note that the poet particularly acknowledges the existence of poor villages, hamlets, country towns and the common people in them as essential part of that "Madre España", the reality saved by poetry.

"Cómo hasta el llanto, hasta el alma
amo tu duro suelo, tu pan pobre,
tu pueblo pobre, cómo hasta el hondo sitio
de mi ser hay la flor perdida de tus aldeas
arrugadas, inmóviles de tiempo, "

The two sides facing each other in the war are defined by

both prototypes and individual personalities. On the one side there are guards, priests, the king's lackeys, the 'macacos' who came from the Américas, General Mola, General Franco y Sanjurjo. All of them appear as execrable traitors. On the other side are those defenders of the Republic, the milicianos, the mothers, the Spanish intelligentsia, the poets. The poet frequently uses the image of a struggle between dark and light. The in-between tones do not have a place in such a radical confrontation. The fighters are condemned or they are heroes. Here there is the holy and honourable blood, the children's blood, the mothers, and there on the other side are dark military barracks, angry cassocks, muddy dirty waters. The poet remembers Madrid in 1936 happy and confident, full of light and sun and refers to the sudden arrival of that sinister invading wave:

"Un hipo negro
de generales, una ola
de sotanas rabiosas
rompió entre tus rodillas
sus cenagales aguas, sus ríos de gargajo."
(Madrid (1936)).

A similar pattern can be observed in the poem "Explico algunas cosas". The poem is structured around the notion of answering the question of why Neruda's poetry has lately changed. Now- says the poet- is the time to explain what is happening with my poetry. Then he looks for an audience, calling up some contemporary friends, individuals who shared the experience of the war (Raúl, Federico, Rafael) or some collective characters such as 'milicianos', 'antitanquistas', 'las madres'. The poet adopts a narrative attitude and uses the first person which helps him to construct a simple and direct text: "explico, voy a contar, yo vivía". Once he has personalised the facts, relating the closeness of the events to familiar background he turns towards the actual surroundings, the Madrid house, the neighbourhood and the social context.

The community in which the characters of the poem live is a neighbourhood with a market of bustling activity, a warm

human atmosphere of constant comings and goings. The poem illustrates the rich labour of people, where everyday activity has a positive generous, human and historical value. That is, says the poet: "esencia aguda de la vida". It is, then, a form of labour recognised by the poet as one positive human effort.

There is here a decisive change in attitude from the earlier poet's observations on the confusion and industrious activity of people in the market as in one of the cities visited during his stay in the east, presented in "Diurno de Singapore". There the poet could not avoid expressing his dislike and rejection for the shouting, labouring crowd. Now however:

"Todo
 eran grandes voces, sal de mercaderías,
 aglomeraciones de pan palpitante,
 mercados de mi barrio de Argüelles con su
 estatua/ ...
 un profundo latido
 de pies y manos llenaba la calles,
 metros, litros, esencia
 aguda de la vida,..."
 (Explico algunas cosas).

But this idyllic picture of the life which the poet and his friends and the community as a whole had been enjoying is suddenly broken up, attacked, set on fire by sinister figures, bandits and traitors. Now the poet comes to the initial question of why his poetry has changed and the answer flows from the poem's structure itself when the poet invites the reader to see the historical panorama, the irruption of war, in a cruel all encompassing exposition.

"Canto sobre unas ruinas" is a poem about the destruction of the world by the war waged by fascism. In the poem, writes A. Sicard, man's work is conceived as part of the natural process. But in his view the notion of time- which is the main theme of his analysis- suffers a change here, becoming the amount of work and the value generated in the construction of objects. He says,

"Es un tiempo infinitamente precioso el que ha engendrado esos objetos de los que se rodea el hombre: el tiempo del trabajo; (y el gran escándalo de la guerra consiste en aniquilarlo." (30)

To the poet the process of construction of objects has been painful and arduous. It has similar and parallel relationships with the natural process of formation of things. But the poet also includes in the process of labour new values such as creativity, use-value, possession and enjoyment (31). He praises the effort and time-consuming process of building:

"Oh profundas materias
agregadas y puras:Cuánto hasta ser campanas!
y cuánto hasta ser relojes!"

How much real and physical time and creativity to build up this world says the poet. But he does not yet mention the concrete builder nor the artisan nor the manufacturer. In the first part of the poem it is the notion of labour-time that is praised and rescued by the poem. Then he adds their use-value and their contribution to the enrichment of the world. In the second part of the poem he refers to destruction, the way back to dust, and only now does he mention man, at the moment when man suffers the effect of destruction.

"...ved cómo
la madera se destroza
hasta llegar al luto: no hay raíces
para el hombre: ...

Ved cómo se ha podrido
la guitarra en la boca de la fragante novia:".

In the text of "Canto a las madres de los milicianos muertos" the poet portrays his vision of the heroes, the defenders of the Republic. These men were the symbols of hope and even now after their death their actions still affect the new developments. Because of the fundamental justice of their

cause, they have access to a sort of immortality and their death is an historical fact with a transcendental meaning. The poet records these men as civilians, their contribution to the world as workers before they became milicianos and recognising their labour as that of common men:

"Y si estoy orgulloso de sus muertes,
estoy también orgulloso de sus vidas.
Sus risas
relampagueaban en los sordos talleres,
sus pasos en el Metro
sonaban a mi lado cada día, y junto
a las naranjas de Levante, a las redes del sur, Junto
a la tinta de las imprentas, sobre el cemento
de las arquitecturas/
he visto llamear sus corazones de fuego y energías."

The poem "Los gremios en el frente" also refers to the participation of workers in war. Here the poet recognises their contribution in peacetime, and their enrichment of the world .

"Los que hacen el cordel, los que maduran
la suela, los que mandan la red?".

The words point to the action involved in labour itself: 'hacen, maduran, mandan'. But the poet is not mainly interested in that. To him the important fact is that these men are now at the war front as milicianos, and this is to him an extension of their humanism, defending the values he shares. So the intention of the poem is not to stress the fact that these men were workers and that each one has a different trade. The fundamental point raised here by the poet is that these men are now in battle. The mention of their lives as workers establishes a structure to the poem to emphasize the other more important fact to the poet. Here the subtitle of the whole collection acquires its full meaning, it is a volume dedicated to the people waging war.

"Antitanquistas" (32) is also about workers at war. These soldiers, says the poet, were once simple producers, workers of

the countryside or in the metallurgy industry, olive collectors, fishermen, wood workers, or builders. All of them made a contribution to the development and betterment of society. But here again this topic supports the structural design of the poem. The final aim of the poet is to present the war contribution of these men who once also knew how to be workers. The poem is structured in two chronological periods: one when these men were workers contributing to the improvement of things, a poetic past era; and a second one, here and now when these men are soldiers defending their vision of things.

"Vosotros nunca visteis
antes sino la oliva, nunca sino las redes
llenas de escama y plata: vosotros agrupasteis
los instrumentos, la madera, el hierro
de las cosechas y de las construcciones:
en vuestras manos floreció la bella
granada forestal o la cebolla
matutina, y de pronto
estáis aquí cargados con relámpagos
apretando la gloria, estallando
de poderes furiosos,
solos y duros frente a las tinieblas."

1. a. The fifth section.

"En la noche el labriego duerme, despierta y hunde/ la mano en las tinieblas..." thus begins the section about public historical affairs of the first part of the 1940's. The Second World War was at its peak and that moment the poet decided to write about the events and personalities involved in it. From the poems on the Spanish Civil War Neruda jumps to the wider world conflict (33).

"Canto a Stalingrado" (34) is the first poem about the siege of that city in 1941. The poet presents the motif through the perspective of generic personalised characters, so indicating the participation of simple men of labour in the defence of the city.

"dime, dice el labriego, si no escucha la tierra
cómo cae la sangre de los enrojecidos
héroes,..."

"Y el marinero en medio del mar terrible mira
buscando entre las húmedas..."

"Y el español recuerda Madrid y dice: hermana,
resiste, capital de la gloria, resiste:"

Spain is still a poetic theme in the section but now is used as an historical reference, as a political and military lesson. If the poet remembers Spain it is because the topic throws a light on what was happening in Stalingrad. Now, insists the poet, everyone knew the lesson of the Spanish events and now Stalingrad was besieged, yet New York and London remained indifferent. Neruda was writing about public affairs which were heatedly discussed in the public and diplomatic circles he frequented. Neruda was writing now on subjects with a far wider range than the besieged city itself, and his poetry began to reflect public and historical subjects which compelled him to take a position with one of the parties in the conflict. This produced polemics, friendships and enmities and above all an awareness and a way of understanding global struggles.

For example the "Nuevo canto de amor a Stalingrado" is an answer to critics of the earlier "Canto de amor a Stalingrado", and it is specifically charged with political comment. It is not - says the poet - a casual poem on a casual subject. The text is about how history is understood and how military forces are just an expression of world conception and political meanings. There are no mistakes to be corrected regarding the earlier poem. There are principles involved and not only the fate of this or that military division. There are political and social forces at the base of any military move:

"Yo escribí sobre el tiempo y sobre el agua,
yo escribí sobre el cielo y la manzana,
ahora escribo sobre Stalingrado."

The poet does not hesitate to defend the subject matter chosen. To him there is a sort of duty to speak up his support for one of the forces at war.

"Yo pongo el alma donde quiero"

After this personal defence and justification of the new subjects, the poet celebrates recent events on the battle front. He asks for three mementos from the successful military defence: "una violenta espuma, un rifle, un arado". One of them is purely symbolic; the second is a reminder of the war operations and the third is a productive tool, a creative medium. But all of them are considered at the same aesthetic level of poetic understanding:

"Guárdame un trozo de violenta espuma,
guárdame un rifle, guárdame un arado."

This section also includes poems relating to Latin American history like "Un canto para Bolívar" or "Dura elegía" . The poet includes this poem because in his view the liberation struggles of the nineteenth century are related to the fighting of today. These international conflicts of different periods are linked in the overall picture of poetry. The libertarian heritage of Bolívar must be maintained today. In this way the figure of the nineteenth century hero is projected through the twentieth.

"todo lo nuestro viene de tu vida apagada,
tu herencia fueron ríos, llanuras, campanarios,
tu herencia es el pan nuestro de cada día,
padre.

Otra vez entre pólvora y humo tu espada está
naciendo."

To Neruda the ideas and struggles of Bolívar have a meaning in the struggles against the Nazism and Fascism of the forties and in his view the struggling figure of the hero can be transposed into the future.

"Dura elegía" also refers to the intervention of past heroes in the present situation. In this case the poet names various national heroes in a continental setting, a subject which is developed later in Canto General but is now used to emphasize the connections between the old struggles and those of the present.

But the poetic leitmotiv in this section is the hope left by the strugglers which stays alive in spite of cruel conflicts. In "Canto a Stalingrado", at a time when the possibility of success was still far away and was more a fervent wish than a certainty, the poet says:

"Porque los hombres ya no tienen muerte
y tienen que seguir luchando desde el sitio en que
caen
hasta que la victoria no esté sino en tus manos...
porque otras manos rojas...
sembrarán por el mundo los huesos de tus héroes
para que tu semilla llene toda la tierra."

"Nuevo canto de amor a Stalingrado" is structured in two poetic periods of time. The past is referred to in the first stanzas by "yo escribía, yo toqué, mi voz estuvo". The present is no doubt also the now the historic time after the surrender of the German Commandant in charge of the forces besieging the city. The poet emphasizes here the hope and the possibility of building again a better future.

The same idea is found in "Un canto para Bolívar" where the poet celebrates the fact that men with whom he identifies strive to construct a better world.

Even from the ruins of Germany a new hope for man will emerge. That is the message of "Canto a los ríos de Alemania", where the poet expresses the idea of new forces emerging from the country:

"La voz secreta crece junto a las rojas márgenes

y el hombre sumergido se levanta y camina."

The Red Army victories - in Neruda's vision - announce those new perspectives for man. The collection finishes with this message of hope and celebration to the Red Army. The poem "Canto al ejército rojo a su llegada a las puertas de Prusia" (35) manifests the poet's aim. Published in 1946 once the war was ended and the fate of Nazism was known, the poet reflects these new hopes and completes the volume with optimism:

"Pero las cosas pasan, y desde el fondo
de la tierra la nueva primavera camina."

2. TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGE.

Tercera Residencia contains a break and a change in content and themes that can be observed in the language and imagery. The transformation is detected not at the beginning of the collection but from the 'tercera sección' onward. As the poems are not organised in chronological order, the diverse dates of composition and publishing of the texts included have to be taken into account to observe the process of change. It should also be necessary to consider articles and conferences, poems and speeches from that period, to supplement or to avoid if possible, the explanations which Neruda himself published years later regarding his own change.

2. a. The process of change.

When Neruda and García Lorca read in the Pen Club of Buenos Aires at the end of 1933 the "Discurso al alimón sobre Rubén Darío" they proposed a fresh aesthetic evaluation of the modernista poet, to include:

"...sus terribles dolores del corazón, su incertidumbre incandescente, su descenso a los hospitales del infierno, su subida a los castillos de la fama... un sentido de universalidad y de generosidad que hace falta a los poetas actuales... sus defectos, el mal gusto encantador, sus ripios descarados que llenan de humanidad la muchedumbre de sus versos... la fecunda substancia de su poesía." (36).

García Lorca and Neruda say that the poetic value of rhythm, of verbal sonority, of the richness of form and linguistic variety of Darío's modernista poetry, one should add as well all those familiar and colloquial elements which enrich the creativity of that poetry. They stress the value of the poetic expression contained in colloquialisms, linguistic forms considered of bad taste or vulgar. It seems that the fundamental intention is to value in the poetry of Darío what is most human and representative of everyday life. These ideas were developed

later on in the Editorials of Caballo Verde para la poesía. Poetic expression must be marked by its contact with man, expressing all those things which concern him:

"Así sea la poesía que busquemos, gastada como por un ácido por los deberes de la mano, penetrada por el sudor y el humo, oliente a orina y a azucena, salpicada por las diversas profesiones que se ejercen dentro y fuera de la ley.

Una poesía impura como un traje, como un cuerpo, con manchas de nutrición, y actitudes vergonzosas, con arrugas, observaciones, sueños, vigilia, profesías, declaraciones de amor y de odio, bestias, sacudidas, idilios, creencias políticas, negaciones, dudas, afirmaciones, impuestos." (37)

Even the second editorial, which insists above all on the special meaning of solitude for poets, says that poetry also touches those categories usually considered less sublime: "La poesía mete las manos en el miedo, en las angustias, en las enfermedades del corazón." (38)

But it is in the third issue where the editorial states with clarity the pressure of the social and historical issues which demand a creative answer. The poet observes man defending himself daily, struggling in a society where opposing interests rule and impose the norm, and he also observes how poetry is affected by that struggle and that atmosphere.

"Cuando el tiempo nos va comiendo con su cotidiano decisivo relámpago,... nos preguntamos si ha llegado la hora de envilecernos." (39)

The editorial acknowledges how the poet strives to defend his special dimension, his separateness, his own realm, but how time invades all:

"Vemos cada día el miserable ser humano defendiendo su miserable tesoro de persona preferida? "(40).

But the pressure of events, the development of social interrelations, the closeness of friendships, the struggle between different interests and ideologies, intensify that process of change of the creative attitude and of the appreciation of the opposite currents of the period. The poet is already beginning to adopt a specific point of view and a position in relation to the issues involved.

The fourth editorial pays homage to the centenary celebrations of Gustavo Adolfo Becquer. The text indicates the validity of that poet and the contrast between his poetic application and the weight of today's circumstances on the shoulders of contemporary men:

"Los dolores del amor ponen ahora falanges de cólera y odio en el corazón... Debajo de los nombres, debajo de los hechos corre un río de aguas de sal sangrienta... Y debajo de las cosas se levanta su estatua de bordados caídos, lavada por tanta lluvia y tanta lágrima.... " (41).

The events are closing in on the poet, the circle of social tension is getting tighter. On the other hand the contributions of other writers such as García Lorca, Miguel Hernández, A. Serrano Plaja, R. González Tuñón, etc, were discussed and added their own weight to the pressure.

The first sign of a thematic change and its expression can be registered around 1936 (42). For example, the poem entitled "Canto a las madres de los milicianos muertos" published by the magazine El mono azul, in Madrid in 1936, as remembered by the writer Luis Enrique Délano:

"Recuerdo el primer poema social, proletario, de contenido revolucionario o como quiera llamársele, producido por Neruda. Es "El canto a las madres de los milicianos muertos" y fue escrito en septiembre de 1936, dos meses después de iniciada, por Franco y us aliados de Alemania e Italia, la guerra. Tuve el privilegio de conocer este poema inmediatamente

después de terminado, en el original dactilografiado y con correcciones manuscritas. Me lo mostró Neruda seguramente por ser yo en ese instante la persona que tenía más cerca, puesto que trabajábamos en la misma oficina del Consulado, establecida en una habitación de la Casa de las Flores.

Neruda dió lectura pública a este poema. Lo hizo en un acto realizado en la ciudad de Cuenca, un mitín organizado conjuntamente por la Federación Universitaria Hispano Americana y la Alianza de Intelectuales, el 12 de octubre de 1936." (43).

Very soon afterwards "Canto sobre unas ruinas" appeared, underlining the change. As was already seen the poem is a recognition of time and labour (44).

Yet even though the change observed here contains an important qualitative element, it is neither a rounded expression of the totality of the complexity of the historical situation nor, as in the case of the second poem, an integral expression of labour as Neruda later understood the phenomenon. Here one does not find labour as a conscious activity of transformation, as a creative contribution slowly elaborated and with perseverance by man. The poems register a distinctive change but this new poetic dimension is still developing.

"Canto a las madres de los milicianos muertos" is an expression of that process of change and, as remembered by Délano, was a contribution to the Republican cause on that particular moment of a public event. It was an emotive contribution by the poet who at the time was transforming his own creativity to express a solidarious mood.

A third poetic text of 1936 is the poem "Madrid (1936)" which appeared in 1937 in España en el corazón. The poem recalls the sudden beginning of the war and immediately surprises with language that does not avoid insult. That leit-motif of Neruda's Spanish Civil War poetry, the drop of blood, appeared in this early poem.

" Corrás
 por las calles
 dejando estelas de santa sangre,...

no hubo
 sino tu paso de banderas,
 y una honorable gota de sangre en tu sonrisa" (45).

But the war continued and events accelerated. Neruda travelled to Paris and there he delivered a lecture on Federico García Lorca in February of 1937 where the Chilean poet said:

"... pero recién salido de España, yo, latinoamericano, español de raza y de language,... No soy político ni he tomado nunca parte en la contienda política, y mis palabras, que muchos habrán deseado neutrales, han estado teñidas de pasión... nosotros, los poetas de América Española y los poetas de España, no olvidaremos ni perdonaremos nunca, el asesinato de quien consideramos el más grande entre nosotros,..." (46).

Neruda also explained why he was considering just one human case among many, why he selected one individual out of a collective tragedy:

"Tanto los humildes cultivadores de Andalucía,... como los mineros muertos en Asturias, y los carpinteros, los albañiles, los asalariados de la ciudad y del campo, como cada una de miles de mujeres asesinadas y niños destrozados, cada una de estas sombras ardientes tiene derecho a aparecer ante vosotros..." (47).

Neruda's answer reflects the social tensions and his writings acquire that virulent, attacking tone. He himself says that his reaction is one of condemnation, the public statement of an individual taking a stand. Yet it is the emotion and the sense of solidarity that dominate; politically he remains

uncertain ("No soy político"), without a coherent body of ideas explaining the course of events, their ultimate meaning or providing any conception of their totality.

In November 1937 España en el corazón (48) appeared; Neruda explains in the poem "Explico algunas cosas" the transformation he has recently undergone. The poem explains that there is a rupture between a past full of creative activity and vitality and a present of banditry, treason, destruction by war and where the presence of blood explains the existence of new themes and a new expression in his poetry.

Then in March of 1939 Neruda published in Santiago the poem "Las furias y las penas" which carries a prior note dated March of that year saying, in part :

"El mundo ha cambiado y mi poesía ha cambiado. Una gota de sangre caída en estas líneas quedará viviendo sobre ellas, indeleble como el amor." (49)

The crucial difference between this poem and those dated after the year 1936, particularly those which express the motif of change, is clarified by this note of 1939. The "Gota de sangre" became a leitmotif in the poems written about the Spanish Civil War as well as in the articles, speeches and lectures given by Neruda in the years between 1937 and 1940.

2. b. Other manifestations of the change.

There is a set of Neruda's activities and writings in which that change manifests itself. Many of them enrich and complement the purely literary manifestations of solidarity (50). In August of 1938 Neruda published a homage to César Vallejo who has just died in Paris in April of that year. The whole situation of Spain represented to Neruda and many others a crucial historical circumstance. That was the case of Vallejo. And according to Neruda's homage the Spanish Civil War held Vallejo in Paris: "Lo de España ya te iba royendo el alma..." Neruda established a singular correspondence between the fate

of the Civil War and the last days of the Peruvian poet:

" ... Las muchas hambres, las muchas soledades, las muchas leguas de viaje, pensando en los hombres, en la justicia sobre la tierra, en la cobardía de media humanidad. Lo de España ya te iba royendo el alma". (51).

Towards the end of that year Neruda read a speech at the first anniversary of the Alianza de Intelectuales de Chile where, again, he made this change explicit. First the poet signals that his personal development is closely linked with his literary production, and adds that for the last few months he has been unable to observe things which are very central to his poetry such as: stars, plants, cereals, stones. But, nevertheless, he says:

"Pero he avanzado por otro camino, y he llegado a tocar el corazón desnudo de mi pueblo..."(52).

This personal development, continues the poet, owes much to foreign travel; and recent Spanish history has had an impact on the political awakening of Chilean society as a whole. That influence then has for the poet positive repercussion at both the personal and collective levels.

"Hora es de decirlo: la inmensa corriente popular que ha llevado al poder a nuestro venerado Presidente, Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda, tiene una inmensa deuda con España, deuda que esperamos y exigimos se pague con la misma generosidad..." (53).

A few months later in his speech in Montevideo en route to France to take charge of the special programme to transport Spanish refugees to Chile, Neruda clarified the relationship between what was happening in Spain and its impact on the cultural life of Spanish América in the following words:

"Y cuando repercutieron en nuestro desesperado corazón los tiros que habían masacrado a nuestros

valientes camaradas intelectuales, cuando recién asomaba a nosotros el olor de la sangre y de la pólvora, eran nuestros muertos, eran nuestras canciones, era nuestra pintura resucitada, y nuestras investigaciones y nuestra sabiduría y nuestra ternura la que moría, la primera asesinada" (54).

But according to the poet these tragic circumstances pointed to a road ahead. The painful experience of the civil war generated a higher level of personal development and offered to the community the opportunity of gaining a higher level of understanding and awareness :

"España, es pues, enseñanza singular y total, enseñanza para el pueblo, enseñanza de laureles destrozados, enseñanza para el humanista, lección para la humanidad y para la soledad." (55).

To Neruda, then, the Spanish lesson opened possibilities for future personal development and favoured collective social awareness.

3. SOME AUTHORS AND NERUDA'S CHANGE.

A number of authors explain Neruda's change in the thirties by referring to Neruda's own writings of later years. For instance the writer Margarita Aguirre in her book Genio y Figura de Pablo Neruda (56) explains in the chapter "España en el corazón" the attitudes of Neruda at the time of writing that book with quotations from Memorias y recuerdos of 1962. (The text published by O'Cruzeiro Internacional) or with texts from Viaje al corazón de Quevedo of 1947, or by quoting poems from Canto General which recall the epoch of the transformation. Her second book on Neruda repeats the same approach (57).

Volodia Teitelboim in his article "Neruda, 60 años" (58) applies the same procedure. To explain for example the attitudes of Neruda around the years when he travelled to the capital for the first time, Teitelboim uses texts which Neruda published in

1962 or poems written and published by Neruda as a mature poet remembering infancy. When Volodia refers to Neruda's task of selecting Spanish refugees to be transported to Chile according to a policy adopted by the Chilean Government in 1939, he quotes a poem entitled "Misión de amor" from Memorial de Isla Negra, published in 1964.

H. Loyola in Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. 1918-1945. (59) says Neruda's poetry of years past is seen by the poet himself with a new perspective in the poem "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas". To confirm his interpretation Loyola quotes poems from Canto General. Then he says: "Hace poco, a 27 años de distancia, el Memorial de Isla Negra puntualizó el sentido testimonial de España en el corazón". Nevertheless in Loyola's opinion the fundamental writings to understand the period are those included in Viaje al corazón de Quevedo which Neruda started in 1939 and published in a revised edition in 1947 and the text "La copa de sangre" written in 1938.

J. Alazraki (60) when analysing the significance of Alberti's influence in the development of Neruda's writings quotes a few verses from the Chilean poet, or in studying the relationship Neruda-Vallejo towards 1937, quotes the "Oda a César Vallejo" from Odas elementales of 1954. Also when he refers to Neruda's stay in México he does so by presenting a long text from Viajes of 1955.

Don Raúl Silva Castro (61) writing about the friendship between Neruda and Alberto Rojas Jiménez presents an extensive quotation from Neruda's Memories which in his opinion confirms his view with the addition of a few interesting details.

It can be said, then, that there is a tendency to explain Neruda's process of rupture and change during the thirties or any other past period of the poet by using writings which explain, recall and re-write years later the story according to the poet's own interpretation.

Neruda's development of poetic thought, of his poetic

subjects, and his technical expression have been interpreted generally in two different ways. One stresses the fact of a radical and sudden change, an extra-sensory force impacted the poet and he changed his view of the world and his creativity from one day to the other. Those who follow this line of interpretation use the language and the comprehension of A. Alonso of the forties. Alonso applies the term "conversión" which has had since then and in some authors more than others a peculiar religious connotation. According to this the change in Neruda's personality and creativity comes from the serious impact of the Civil War.

To Alonso the poetry of the first two volumes of Residencia and a good part of the Third is poetry which expresses an inviolable solitude, turning into itself, alien to any fellow men, isolated, and representative only of the tumultuous outpourings of the poet's heart.

"La TERCERA RESIDENCIA, 1935-1945 de Pablo Neruda (B. Aires, Losada, 1947) empieza con siete poemas que, por sus temas y estilo bien podrían tener cabida en el tomo II de una edición de RESIDENCIA EN LA TIERRA; tan semejantes son con aquella poesía como dispares con el resto de este nuevo libro." (62)

But within this determined sense of isolation, continues Alonso, that vision of the destructive and disintegrating effect on things, reached a crisis point where the poet questioned the poetic creativity and his own mode of integration in society. Neruda escaped from that terrible vision of things thanks to a total "conversión". This change meant to Alonso "no una conversión a Dios, sino al prójimo", where all the spiritual forces of the poet become one, set on a new direction, guided towards fresh goals. Alonso adds:

"Pues la poesía de Pablo Neruda ha cambiado de la noche a la mañana radicalmente: ya no más de ensimismada soledad, de angustia metafísica y de visión de muerte ... desde ahora su poesía es la del hombre con los hombres, encerrada y selladas las

angustiosas preguntas que el hombre se hace a solas consigo mismo; una poesía social y de combate político, de adhesión y repulsión para el prójimo, de alegato y execración, de esperanza y rabia: de acción." (63).

In Alonso's view the poem "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas" documents the change and all the relevant questions. There the poet declares his solidarity and his new way of perceiving and understanding humanity. The poet himself feels a new man, liberated, , enthusiastic, resolute and in touch with his fellow man. From now on, says Alonso, the poet supersedes the poetry centred around himself to write about social struggle. This new poetry sees the world structured in a way where some men who are just and pure struggle against abominable and repulsive men.

Carlos D. Hamilton produces a considerable amount of information on Neruda 's life but he does not analyse its meaning in relation to poetry. He accepts the concept of "Conversión" adding that this conversion of the poet appears as part of a continuity. He explains:

"El impacto de la guerra civil española y del asesinato de García Lorca cambió al poeta chileno, apolítico de suyo y ensimismado, y lo convirtió en simpatizante, primero, y luego en activo militante del partido comunista." (64).

But there is confusion in Hamilton's view, when he establishes the "before" and "after" regarding the line of change, at least in the following quotation, which does not take into account the disposition of the poems in Tercera Residencia, nor the different times of composition and publication of the texts. Also he confuses the actual meaning of the note prior to the poem added in March of 1939 to "Las furias y las penas". Hamilton says:

"Ya hemos citado la célebre nota con que Neruda divide la historia de la humanidad y la de su poesía en dos partes: antes y después de la Guerra Civil española. La

vieja poesía hasta el final del poema *Naciendo en los bosques y la nueva*, que comenzaría con "Las furias y las penas", escrita en 1934, en *Tercera Residencia*." (65).

As already stated: Neruda wrote that note in 1939 to put in perspective that the poem was written in 1934. Also it must be taken into account that the poems of *Tercera Residencia* are not chronologically arranged. So Neruda has not attempted to divide with this poem the history of his production, nor the order and architecture of the collection, which includes poems written in 1934 and also in 1945.

"Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas" according to Hamilton is the first poem after the conversion. This assessment, it seems, is made with regard to the position that the poem has in the collection despite the date of first publication. The poem was first published in 1940 (*España Peregrina*; México. Vol II. Number 8-9, 12 October) and he forgets also that a couple of years before Neruda published as an independent collection *España en el corazón*. To this confusion Hamilton adds another. According to him there is in Neruda's poetry a sort of continuity - a humanist theme which already appears in *Crepusculario* - but nevertheless he accepts Alonso's notion of "conversión". Even more in Hamilton's view the idea is adorned with religious overtones:

"En el fondo del corazón del poeta la Conversión es, como de ordinario, un encuentro. El converso al Cristianismo se encuentra con Cristo. Neruda, el poeta a-religioso, solitario como una planta, ... comienza a encontrar camaradas, organizados férreamente bajo comunes banderas en el frente común del sufrimiento de la injusticia." (66).

Jaime Alazraki also follows the Alonso interpretation. The war in Spain had a profound personal effect on the poet forcing him to address the tragedy of the times. This author then writes about the poetry before and after the "conversión". Also to him the poem "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas" is the text which introduces the new poetry of Neruda. Alazraki claims to

recognize a particular law of development by stages in Neruda's poetry, beginning, for example, with Crepusculario and reaching a peak in Veinte poemas...-ie, a development arising from a "conversión", ultimately producing Canto General. That is, says Alazraki "la ley del crecimiento del verso nerudiano".(67)

M. Aguirre also explains the change as a sudden and violent rupture of a full, happy life. To her the poem "Explico algunas cosas" announces and explains the turn.

Emir Rodríguez Monegal in his article "El sistema del poeta" refers to the situation in Alonso's terms. A change understood as a "conversión":

"La experiencia que significó para él la guerra civil española y la sangre corriendo por las calles de Madrid, trajo una ruptura dramática con su poesía de Residencia. En varios lugares, pero sobre todo en el poema que se titula "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas" y en algunos fragmentos de "España en el corazón" (1937) ... el poeta habrá de renunciar a su paso de lobo, aceptará la solidaridad con todos los hombres y convertirá su poesía en armas de combate." (68).

Raúl Silva Castro believes that some personal events in the poet's biography are fundamental and determine Neruda's poetry. He mentions for example the importance of the rain since the time Neruda lived in the south of Chile, his journey to the east at the end of the thirties, the residence of the poet in Isla Negra and "El mayor determinismo de su vida es, naturalmente, la conversión a la fe comunista, y ya hemos aludido a ella en diversas partes del estudio a que ahora ponemos término." (69). In his opinion, even the curse and insulting language used by the poet in "España en el corazón" has a determining force in the fact that his side lost the war:

"La guerra civil pretendió eliminar de España el comunismo, y al triunfar pareció probar que lo había conseguido. De allí el calor blasfemo de Neruda, para

condenar a esos hombres que lograron doblegar las banderas que él creyó invencibles. España en el corazón, es en resumen, un libro rebotante de odio y de rencor..." (70).

The biographical determinism explains then in Silva Castro's opinion a large part of Neruda's creativity and especially those poems produced out of the Spanish Civil War.

Yet, it has already been noted that Neruda declared after one year of civil war in the speech given in Paris (February of 1937) that he neither was, nor wished to be a politician. His militancy came years later. So to qualify his poetry as communism at that time is an exaggeration and reveals a poor understanding of the difference between the militancy of a particular political party and the general growing political and social awareness of individuals. In Neruda at that time there was a constant and developing consciousness regarding the general circumstances of the civil war, and he was assimilating and learning from what was happening.

As early as 1948 A. L. Lloyd wrote about this transformation of the poet on the basis of his affiliation to party politics. This confusion and misunderstanding lasted for a long time and still today persists in some modern writers who apply their own political patterns of understanding to the development of Neruda's poetry. In Lloyd's view:

"When, in the first days of the Spanish Civil War, his friend García Lorca was executed, Neruda was shaken right out of his poetic habits, and his mind was made up for him by the evidence of events... From now on, Neruda had a special sense of political purpose. He gave up his diplomatic career to join the Chilean Communist Party and to devote himself to changing the state of affairs by his action as well as his poetry." (71).

Later, authors like D. P. Gallagher, insist on the "conversión" theory by saying:

"Between RESIDENCIA EN LA TIERRA y CANTO GENERAL came Neruda's conversion to communism, a direct result of his living in Spain as Chilean consul in the 1930s and of his witnessing the Spanish Civil War." (72).

Nevertheless Gallagher added that Neruda's poetry at that time was a genuine and authentic answer to the historic events:

"His reaction to it (to the Republic) is a personal one, and not an exercise in bad faith made to order, as his political poetry is often supposed to be." (73).

On the other hand Hernán Loyola comments:

"...versos de "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas", poema recogido en Tercera Residencia, resumen por primera vez desde un ángulo nuevo el sentido de toda la poesía anterior de Neruda." (74).

It is the first time, according to this author that Neruda strikes a balance from an historical point of view. In his judgment:

"Neruda ha descubierto... que el hombre no sólo es naturaleza sino también historia. Bajo el impacto de la guerra civil española, Neruda se encontró a sí mismo en la historia, pudo al fin comprenderse como elemento de un paisaje histórico." (75)

But Loyola instead of "conversión" applies development. In his view, in Spain Neruda found a way to discover his cultural roots and also a way to develop his poetry from a new historical conscience. The Spanish experience of the poet, then, for this critic was the experience of fraternity, of the artist's responsibility to society, and these elements were vital to the new style and new development in Neruda's poetry. The "Viaje al corazón de Quevedo" shows according to Loyola that process of Neruda finding his place in history. The other fundamental text

to understand this process is "La copa de sangre", written by Neruda in 1938 which permits us to observe the continuity of the poetic development and the comprehension of Canto General. Neruda, discovers here, says Loyola, his American roots.

"Esa agua brotada de la violencia de la muerte (el agua que salió del ataúd de su padre), le confirmaba a Neruda sus vínculos profundos con cierta gente, con cierta geografía, con ciertos sufrimientos y agonías: es decir, " con una determinada vida, región y muerte". (76)

There is then in Loyola's approach an important difference. The Spanish Civil War, or better still, Spain, offered the poet a set of interrelated factors which opened a possibility of discovering his cultural roots and at the same time his position in the flow of historical time. For the same reasons it gave his creativity a decisive impulse.

There is yet another way of explaining the origin and development of Neruda's change. It is the theory of the process of change, slow or accelerated according to the new character adopted by his poetry towards the middle of the thirties.

J. Concha in "El descubrimiento del pueblo en la poesía de Neruda" says regarding the moment in which Neruda presents man as a creative and transforming figure:

"La crítica, casi toda, identifica esta transformación con "España en el corazón". Esto es verdad. Con la breve corrección de que su plasmación imaginaria definitiva sólo puede situarse en "Alturas de Macchu Picchu".

And then he adds:

"En "España en el corazón" la configuración poética del pueblo esta en ciernes. Cada poema vale aquí como un arma del momento, como violencia instantánea. Es poesía para un pueblo que se vió agredido de improviso y que se defiende improvisadamente. La experiencia,

por lo cruel y dolorosa, parece resistir su coagulación estética." (77).

Concha then has a similar view. There is according to him in Neruda's production a process in which the Spanish experience had a considerable impact and which helped the change but to an insufficient level. Later at the time of composing "Alturas..." that process found its maturity. In Concha's own words:

"No hay, pues, en absoluto, transformación mecánica de su poetizar por efectos de una militancia pretendidamente exterior." (78).

Therefore what is detectable is a sort of poetry always developing, growing constantly governed by a unique necessary, vital, law.

Alain Sicard thinks that in the composition itself of the first two volumes of *Residencia* there is a creative process of development. And that is why in his view it is important to consider the dates of composition and the chronology of the texts. According to him that process shows the transformation and how the poet struggles to find continuity to overcome the discontinuity and temporal and material self destruction of the world. There are in his judgment decisive steps between one volume and the other. For example he says, the poem "El fantasma del buque de carga" (1932) expresses already a double temporal dimension: on the one hand the destructive discontinuity but on the other a kind of temporal plenitude found in the oceanic movement.

This evolution manifested in the texts of the first two *Residencias* is also observed in the structure of the volumes. He adds:

"En relación con los poemas de tema oceánico, a los que son cronológicamente posteriores, los "Tres cantos materiales" suponen un innegable progreso en la génesis del materialismo poético de Neruda." (79)

Also this evolution and transformation can be observed in what Sicard calls the "non dialectical" solutions of Neruda's poetry from the period of Residencias. Nevertheless this aspect will be overcome in the third volume. The poem "Entrada a la madera" for example, shows that the poet is looking for a dialectical solution, but his attempt fails. The poem has a no dialectic solution to the discontinuity of time. He writes:

"Nada impide interpretar en la curiosa figura del "desenterrado" una ilustración de esa dificultad que experimenta Neruda, en la época de Residencias, en establecer un tipo de relación auténticamente dialéctica entre la vida y la muerte". (80)

Poems such as "Agua sexual" and "Materia nupcial", show some positive aspects and a move towards a dialectical process and solution which will find its full expression in Tercera Residencia in the poem "Naciendo en los bosques". With this poem according to Sicard the poetic world of Residencias opens up to history. The drop of water contains now the notion of growth and permits a dialectical development to the natural world mentioned in the text.

"Temblorosa como el nuevo corazón que descubre tener el poeta), precaria, pero grávida de crecimiento infinito, la gota de agua ha desarrollado todas sus contradicciones." (81).

Therefore, following Sicard's ideas of an internal development in this poetry, Neruda's discovery of the notion of 'Lucha de clases' and an inclusion of the concept in history is expressed in España en el corazón. That major process of change and development is expressed in "Oda solar al ejército del Pueblo" where there is another positive step, the discovery of the people as hero.

In Sicard's view, the Spanish war is a decisive fact in the poetic development of Neruda, as it permits the poet a better understanding of the relations between history and poetry. But

this change was just another step in a greater process of development already under way. The discovery of dialectical solutions was latent already in poems of Segunda Residencia.

Jean Franco on her part writes about a complex situation where there is process. Neruda, says Franco, participated actively at the time when the Civil War started and at that moment he found himself fully committed to his poetic development. She recognises:

"He was moving from solitude and despair to militancy. In 1937 and 1938, he was active in the Popular Front movement..." (82).

Robert Pring-Mill clearly says that already in "Tres cantos materiales" a discovery of the positivity in things themselves, can be observed, signalling therefore the existence of a development in poetry itself. Even more, he finds that this notion of positivity has a resonance and an echo in the editorials of Caballo verde...

"The fresh approach of the "Tres cantos" was neatly and resonantly put across in Neruda's first editorial in Caballo Verde. Though this statement is not yet "committed" in the political sense..." (83).

Neruda's political commitment and support for the Republican cause eventually would come. But the idea that at the time of composing "Tres cantos..." and also at the time of writing those editorials for Caballo Verde there already existed a process of development is clearly put forward by the critic. According to him the poem "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas" would express later in an organic form a reaction to the latest creativity and the acknowledgement of the new attitudes adopted by the poet.

Conclusion.

There is then a process of internal growth in Neruda's poetry which can be detected already in that "Discurso al alimón" of 1933, and later expressed in a more organic form in Caballo verde... This evolution and enrichment is observed also by Sicard when this author comments on the development of the dialectical poetic solutions in Neruda's writing regarding the theme of time.

To this process of internal change of poetry itself has to be added the social and historical pressures, the discussions and polemics, and finally the impact of the civil war itself. All this intensified a process of social and political awareness in the poet, among individuals and in the whole of society.

Neruda answered by taking sides and creating, towards the middle of 1936, poetry linked to the social struggle. Poetry which was an emotional answer to those issues and which could not be a comprehensive understanding of the conflicts. This poetry, still in its infancy, had a tendency to understand the struggle of workers and soldiers and their attempts to change the conditions of life.

However the book suffers from a lack of thematic and stylistic unity, a fact already indicated by Alonso:

"Tercera Residencia... empieza con siete poemas que, por sus temas y estilo bien podrían tener cabida en el tomo II de una nueva edición de Residencia en la tierra; tan semejantes son con aquella poesía como dispares con el resto de este nuevo libro." (84).

Clearly the book is a collection of disparate texts. But has to be recognised that Neruda organised the book in sections and that every one of them is a unity on its own. For example, the inclusion of "Las furias y las penas" as an independent section or that of "España en el corazón", which was even considered a book on its own and published as such in 1937, or the inclusion of a poem like "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas" as an independent section. Also, the organisation of the texts does not follow a

chronological order of composition. (Section II. of 1940 follows "España en el corazón" of years before). Evidently, thematic or stylistic unity is maintained not throughout the entire collection, but within individual sections.

This lack of thematic unity is reflected in the theme of the vision of workers when the collection is seen in its entirety. In the first section of this book the poetic vision of the first two volumes of *Residencia* predominates: human beings are inserted into a poetic disintegrating world. The poet is alone in a hostile world:

"Toco de pronto un rostro y me asesina"
(Vals).

Apart from the lover there is no other human presence. Yet the poem "Naciendo en los bosques", shows a key change regarding the new dialectical comprehension of the world by the poet. Here he expresses that process which permits the living world - animal and vegetable - to survive. And then there is something which conquers the discontinuity of existence. But on the theme of the richness contributed by labour the poet as yet has nothing to say.

The next section, "Las furias y las penas", presents the poet's uneasiness regarding love, while in the third section the poet presents that process of change and transformation and explains how he feels now as a member of the community.

In "España en el corazón" in poems like "Antitanquistas", in "Los gremios en el frente", or "Canto a las madres de los milicianos muertos" the presence of workers can be seen. But these workers are here not because of their contribution as workers but because of their role as soldiers. Here the workers are displayed in heroic attitudes and the poet celebrates not their contribution as workers but the heroism of workers taking up arms.:

"Dónde están los mineros, dónde están
los que hacen el cordel, los que maduran

la suela, los que mandan la red?

...

Dónde están los que cantaban en lo alto
del edificio, escupiendo y jurando
sobre el cemento aéreo?

Dónde están los ferroviarios
Dónde está el gremio del abasto?

Con un fusil, con un fusil.
(Los gremios en el frente).

The fifth and last section is about the Second World War. Here also workers are soldiers and the poet celebrates their pose and their solemn and grandiloquent attitudes:

"En la noche el labriego duerme, despierta y hunde
su mano en las tinieblas preguntando a la
aurora:"
(Canto a Stalingrado).

CHAPTER FIVE.

CANTO GENERAL.

INTRODUCTION.

Cardona Peña (1) says that the original aim of Neruda was to write a Canto General de Chile, a collection of poems about history, geography, flora and fauna of that country. But this original plan changed and was enriched, becoming more complex until it was transformed into a bigger project entitled Canto General, a collection on the whole American continent.

Neruda went back to Chile at the end of 1937 and afterwards travelled in the country and throughout the continent taking notes of the variety and richness of that world. He became determined to sing in honour of that reality: (2).

"Yo estoy aquí para contar la historia."

He organised the sections of the book in an historical pattern, tracing a chronological as well as a thematic line. For example, the first five sections of the book are I "La lámpara en la tierra", II "Alturas de Macchu Picchu", III "Los Conquistadores", IV "Los Libertadores", V "La arena traicionada". Furthermore, for instance, an indication of time is enclosed within brackets "(1400)" in the first section of the book (3). This form of indication will be repeated in various poems.

The poet understood that the story to which he makes reference had clear origins reaching further back than the times of the Conquerors' arrival and that understanding is an integral part of the poetic structure.

Also one must understand that the poet's own biography could not completely explain his poetic expression. The personal events of the poet's life had a "relative importance" as A.

Sicard says, when analysing the relationship between the visit of the poet to Isla de Pascua and the poems written about that island, or when he presents his understanding of the relationship between Neruda's visit to the ruins of Macchu Picchu and the poem "Alturas..." :

"Los vestigios - ruinas o estatuas - no producen el pensamiento poético, sino más bien lo contrario: la meditación poética interpreta libremente, reinventa y al final se apropia de las obras del pasado. Desde Macchu Picchu a la Isla de Pascua se extiende la misma reflexión." (4).

It is also worthwhile to remember that the collection has a close relationship to history, important men, ideas, and as a result the poetic expression itself has been frequently understood only from narrow historical, ideological or political viewpoints. Poetry does not aspire to replace or compete with historical science, but has its own field; if it touches the same facts and ideas it can still maintain its specific independence. One must not forget that historical meanings and ideas as expressed by historical science or by poetry contain a speculative sometimes polemical dimension that also must be commented upon and analysed. The poet could get it wrong; time and men eventually would see it and act accordingly.

1. SECTION I: INAUGURAL AMERICA.

"La lámpara en la tierra".

The first poem "Amor América (1400)", indicates an inaugural time, a time of origins and also a set of themes and problems developed in later pages of the collection. The title seems to be global and the text reinforces that view. The date given in the title immediately presents the historical dimension of the context. The expressive forms stress the narrative approach of the poetic text: Clearly forms like "Antes de..." suggest time limits and background. Later one finds expressions like: "El hombre tierra fue..." or "Nadie pudo recordar después..." .

The first theme then presents the territory in an initial period, during the genesis. It is the time when things and elements have no name. There is matter and the planet:

"Antes de la peluca y la casaca
 Fueron los ríos, ríos arteriales:
 fueron cordilleras, en cuya onda raída
 el cóndor o la nieve parecían inmóviles:
 fue la humedad y la espesura, el trueno
 sin nombre todavía, las pampas planetarias."

The poet introduces the theme of the lost key elements of history, signalling an important problem of how to understand such a distant period in the history of the continent and its men if some important elements of it are lost. A considerable effort will be necessary to decipher its origins and its early development.

"Nadie pudo
 recordar después: el viento
 las olvidó, el idioma del agua
 fue enterrado, las claves se perdieron
 o se inundaron de silencio o sangre."

Here one sees how poetry approaches a specific problem of history -how to rediscover the lost elements that are key to understanding the beginnings. To the poet, the natural elements are the carriers of those fundamental explanations of the continental origins. Poetry expresses with no shame its closeness to natural matter in its attempt to clarify a problem in its own field and competence.

In the second stanza man is presented as a fundamental theme of the collection. How can one conceive the presence of man in this inaugural time of history where there are no key elements to clarify his situation. The poet understands that man stayed close to the physical, material level of the surroundings. Man belonged to the same matter from which things and other elements came to life:

"El hombre tierra fue, vasija, párpado
del barro trémulo, forma de la arcilla,
fue cántaro caribe, piedra chibcha,
copa imperial o sílice araucana."

The poem has then a clear introductory role in relation to themes and content. The key elements are lost but all the same life is there, rooted in the material world of origins. The six poems included in this section present this inaugural time in their titles and subjects: "Vegetaciones", "Algunas bestias", "Vienen los pájaros", "Los ríos acuden", "Minerales", "Los hombres".

The first refers to that inaugural character of America. Uncharted lands with no name, no boundaries, with enormous vegetable potential, where everything was volume, material magnificence, ferment. Nature was maternity; she generated the elements:

"A las tierras sin nombres y
sin números
bajaba el viento desde otros dominios,
traía la lluvia hilos celestes,...

"Germinaba la noche...

"la piedra germinal, los nacimientos.
Utero verde, americana
sábana seminal, bodega espesa..."

But that maternal, generating capacity of nature was matched by another virtue which permitted the poet to establish a process of development, contradictions which were resolved in stages. It was a world where the main factor was the weight of matter, its terrestrial existence, but in it also:

"En la fertilidad crecía el tiempo"

And this other element brought the possibility of development. There was a future dimension in that genesis. All

the vegetable elements participated in that notion of movement and change. Things and beings had a changing existence, and the poet stressed this through his depiction of past transformations.

"Bajaba el viento
traía la lluvia
 y el dios de los altares impregnados
devolvía las flores y las vidas."

But there are also definitive and resolute elements being born once and for all. To express this the poet chooses linguistic forms of a definitive character:

"Como una lanza terminada en fuego
apareció el maíz, y su estaura
 se desgranó y nació de nuevo
diseminó su harina..." (5).

In the meantime beasts and birds include themselves in this inaugural world with perfect crafted harmony. In them there is dynamism. They carry out their activities in the manner of tradesmen, as an "oficio" integrated into this huge continent.

"Los monos trenzaban un hilo
 interminablemente erótico
 en las riberas de la aurora..."
 El jaguar tocaba las hojas...

El puma corre en el ramaje
 como el fuego devorador...

El cóndor, rey asesino
 fraile solitario del cielo,
 talismán negro de la nieve...

La ingeniería del hornero
 hacía del barro fragante
 pequeños teatros sonoros
 donde aparecía cantando."

In this way the poet established a palpitating world, full of energy and activity. Matter was fermenting and its inhabitants participated in that movement; the main feature of that world, then, was its changing nature.

Rivers are the most expedient ways of finding those lost key elements, acting as conductors that lead the poet to find those secrets and hidden truths. The poet invoked them to remember and hand over those secrets. Water in its different stages is understood as an elemental substance in the formation and development of the poetic world; so the rivers become guardians of the fundamental truths of the continent.

"Bío Bío
Tú,...
me contaste el amanecer
de la tierra, la poderosa
paz de tu reino... "

Tequendama, recuerdas
tu solitario paso en las alturas..."

Orinoco,...
déjame hundir las manos que regresan
a tu maternidad, a tu transcurso,
río de razas, patria de raíces,
tu ancho rumor, tu lámina salvaje
viene de donde vengo,..."

Another poetic element which is impregnated with history are the metals. These have an aggressive, harmful meaning. Metals, minerals and other hard natural elements announce a violent future. They contain a sinister omen of suffering and invasion:

"Madre de los metales, te quemaron,
te mordieron, te martirizaron,
te corroyeron, te pudrieron

más tarde, cuando los ídolos
ya no pudieron defenderte."

The aggression and violence is announced in the presence of various pugnacious beings.

"Caobas
formadoras del centro de las flechas,
hierro agrupado en el desván florido,
garra altanera de las conductoras
águilas de mi tierra, ...

agua desconocida, sol malvado,
ola cruel espuma,
tiburón acechante, dentadura"

The sixth poem of the section is "Los hombres", depicting the presence of man in the inaugural world. The poet refers to the particularities of that man and the various racial groups of the continent. As already presented in the first poem, man is here mingled and in close touch with matter composed of a blend of soft and changeable materials as well as hard and durable ones.

"Como la copa de la arcilla era
la raza mineral, el hombre
hecho de piedras y de atmósfera,
limpio como los cántaros, sonoro."

"La luna amasó a los caribes,
extrajo oxígeno sagrado,
machacó flores y raíces."

Man has dedicated himself to productive activities, to articulate the world in a changing structure. His work is intended to better the surroundings. The main thing now is the effort to organise the physical world and acquire knowledge. The poet discovers the varying levels of development of the inhabitants of the continent at that stage of the inaugural period.. So in mentioning their efforts he also mentions the

bloody practices of Aztec sacrifices or the painful work of others; it is not only the idyllic dimension of life and original purity that are represented here.

"El tarahumara se vistió de agujones
y en la extensión del Noroeste
con sangre y pedernales creó el fuego,"

En un trueno como un aullido
caía la sangre por
las escalinatas sagradas.
Pero muchedumbre de pueblos
teñían la fibra, guardaban
el porvenir de las cosechas,
trenzaban el fulgor de la pluma"

Y en el nuevo dominio entre las cumbres
el labrador tocaba las semillas
con sus dedos heridos por la nieve."

As can be seen every one of the racial groups mentioned in the poem has individual characteristics which makes it unique. At the same time these groups develop creativity as an important force in their lives. The creative activity is parallel to the work with the physical world and becomes fused with it.

"Anduvo el hombre de las islas
tejiendo ramos y guirnaldas."

"Los trabajos iban haciendo
la simetría del panal
en tu ciudadela amarilla
y el pensamiento amenazaba
la sangre de los pedernales."

At the extreme south of the continent are the Araucanians, a group found by the poet at a different level of development. They are totally melded with the elements. Towards that latitude water is the dominant factor followed by the wind then the trees. The natural forces predominate over the presence of

man, who blends with the world around him.

"No busquéis bajo el verde espeso
el canto de la alfarería.

Todo es silencio de agua y viento."

Man is fused with nature and all the poet can see are the threatening elements of nature; the cold, the storm, the tiger, the warriors. A dark premonition comes from these elements in these verses on the Araucanian people. Hostile presences show their aggression.

"Pero en las hojas mira el guerrero.
Entre los alerces un grito.
Unos ojos de tigre en medio
de las alturas de la nieve."

"Mira las lanzas descansando".

2. ANOTHER PARTICULAR PLACE, MOMENT AND MEN IN THIS POETIC HISTORY.

The second section is formed by the poem in twelve parts, "Alturas de Macchu Picchu". The poet introduces a different moment in the poetic history of the continent. Here he tries to find out about the specific keys to a particular territory and culture: the Inca period and with it the meaning of the citadel of Macchu Picchu. But the poem presents first a balance and poetic reminiscence of the previous creative attitudes of the poet, so the text begins with a remembrance of personal order, and then refers to the fortress itself.

It has been said regarding Residencia I and II that the poet continued his creative search amid material things that were subject to constant erosion. Part of "Alturas..." is dedicated to recreating that vital period, with the aim of achieving retrospectively some overall vision and understanding. That was a moment, the poet says, of dispersion and chaos when death

presided over everything. And yet the poet, even then, tirelessly pursued his search for permanence and creative regeneration amid decay

"Del aire al aire, como una red
vacía,
iba yo entre las calles y la atmósfera, llegando y
despidiendo,...

Hundí la mano turbulenta y dulce
en lo más genital de lo terrestre."

That exploration of the order of things in the material world found only impossible solutions. The poet ends towards the final part of the first poem by saying:

Y, como un ciego, regresé al jazmín
de la gastada primavera humana."

As already seen, at the human level of things he found only frustration. The poet says:

"Cuántas veces en las calles de invierno de una ciudad
o en
un autobús o un barco en el crepúsculo, o en la soledad
más espesa, la de la noche de fiesta, bajo el sonido
de sombras y campanas, en la misma gruta del placer
humano,
me quise detener a buscar la eterna veta insondable..."
(6).

No pude asir sino un racimo de rostros o de máscaras
precipitadas, como anillos de oro vacío,"

The poet's quest was frustrated, and he asks himself now, at the moment of remembering, what the source of that enduring human quality could have been, what it was that could guarantee the continuity of life.

"Qué era el hombre? En qué parte de su conversación

abierta
entre los almacenes y los silbidos, en cuál de sus
movimientos metálicos
vivía lo indestructible, lo imperecedero, la vida?

But the existence of man in these conditions could not escape the corrosive power of death. The poet says now:

"cada día una muerte pequeña, polvo, gusano, lámpara
que se apaga en el lodo del suburbio, una pequeña
muerte de alas gruesas
entraba en cada hombre como una corta lanza"

In poem IV this remembrance becomes personal. Having established that man as a generic creature is under the dominion of death, now the poet remembers that he himself is subject to the same rules of dying:

"La poderosa muerte me invitó muchas veces;
era como la sal invisible en las olas,...

y en las últimas casas humilladas, sin lámparas, sin
fuego,
sin pan, sin piedra, sin silencio, solo,
rodé muriendo de mi propia muerte."

In Crepusculario as well as in Residencia the poet considered himself as a special human being with singular qualities, a sort of privileged creature able to overcome difficulties through his own capacities. But now, at the moment of expressing his poetic recollection, the poet says that he was also under those conditions of discontinuity and destruction, subject to the same fate as other men.

The poet recreates the past, and now he does not feel himself to have those special qualities that allowed him to escape the decline to which others were subject. Now, in recollection, those singular qualities have disappeared. The poetic discourse belongs now to a different poetic ego. This one, the composer of "Alturas..." sees differently. He is a new

speaker, telling the history of people, of diverse communities. He is no longer the egocentric and self-sufficient poetic ego, but rather one who observes the development of communities, the process of their emergence, enrichment and death. (7).

The poet of today sees with a materialist perspective, which has history as its poetic core and he makes a retrospective reassessment of the earlier idealism of the solitary individual facing the metaphysical questions alone:

"Del aire al aire, como una red
vacía,
iba yo entre las calles y la atmósfera, llegando y
despidiendo..."

The word "Entonces" that starts poem VI is not only an unexpected linguistic form or a rhetorical device; at this point in the composition of "Alturas...", it indicates above all a specific moment in time in that long poetic history. "Entonces" brings the memory into history and into time and organises the contents around them

"Entonces en la escala de la tierra he subido
entre la atroz maraña de las selvas perdidas
hasta ti, Macchu Picchu."

If that word indicates a particular moment in remembered time, Macchu Picchu denotes a specific point in geography. The poetic theme is inserted into space and time. And the poet stresses his historical and geographical theme with the repetition of words in the following lines:

"Esta fue la morada, este es el sitio;
aquí los anchos granos del maíz ascendieron...
Aquí la ebra dorada...
Aquí los pies del hombre..." (8).

Poem VI then breaks the personal recollection to start a new reflective moment. The poetic reflection is concentrated now on the meanings of the citadel and the history of American

man. The poet adopts the perspective of a witness in telling the story.

"Entonces... he subido
hasta ti, Macchu Picchu."

"He subido" y "Miro" are the expressive forms which indicate the poet's approach. They appear in the present poetic moment.

The city then is described as "Morada" for man, a place of refuge, maternal, a privileged place where the original men could create, work, and rest. In it every human activity had some form of expression, but many of the products of that activity collapsed or disintegrated.

"Porque todo, ropaje, piel, vasijas
palabras, vino, panes,
se fue, cayó a la tierra."

Not only do the physical materials suffer decay, so too do the immaterial creations of man, such as words fade away. Everything falls victim to this death: "Vasijas, pan, vino". The motif of the disappearance of the community is carried into the next poem. Death has been overwhelming. In a few verses the poet summarises thousands of years of painstaking building:

"vino la verdadera, la más abrasadora
muerte...

...

Os desplomasteis como en un otoño
en una sola muerte.

...

Cuanto fuisteis cayó: costumbres, sílabas
raídas, máscaras de luz deslumbradora."

But the paradox is that this total and unique death allows one human product to become permanent. Work is fixed in time and place to ensure that the creativity of the community does remain after their death. The city of stone remains upright, in a privileged position to escape the communal death.

"Cuando todo el hombre se enredó en su agujero,
 quedó la exactitud enarbolada:
 el alto sitio de la aurora humana:
 la más alta vasija que contuvo el silencio;
 una vida de piedra después de tantas vidas."

The inaugural man established his permanence in history. He left his geographical mark at a site built by collective enterprise. This site projects man towards the future, giving a meaning to his existence and efforts and also to his death (9).

Part VIII invokes the inaugural American man. So far the poet has established that the realm of that man is still there, that there is a form of life left behind by him. "El reino muerto vive todavía". Now the poet tries to rescue a concrete form of that man himself. One of the key elements has been deciphered; there is now a sort of permanence of that ancient community. Now the process of rescue must have a different purpose: the poet must resolve to move to a new phase of the process, and this is the intention expressed in the first verse of poem VIII. Now the aim is to rescue man himself:

"Sube conmigo, amor americano.
 Besa conmigo las piedras secretas.

...

Ven, minúscula vida, entre las alas
 de la tierra,...

The poet questions the natural elements during his new search. Of the river Wilkamayu he asks:

"Qué idioma traes...?
 Qué dicen tus destellos acosados?"

Also the poet mentions on various occasions the existence of time and the factors which depend on it for their complete realisation such as the poetic process and the proposed rescue. The poem contains direct calls to time as a necessary element of the process: "Deja que el tiempo cumpla su estatura".

Everything now evolves through time; and has a direction. Finally at the end of the poem there appear images where there are modern figures such as a "Reloj" and other one as the "cóndor", or the presence of ecology elements such as the Wilkamayu or the Mantur. All of these indicate that the ancient realm is still alive and through those figures tries to transmit its message and secrets.

Poem IX solves the problem of the fortress' s projection in time even when there are no expressive forms to indicate a speaker. The poem itself is a long list of images depicting the old city, communicating an event which could not be measured in small divisions of time but only in vast moments which are themselves impossible to enumerate or measure.

"Geometría final, libro de piedra.
Regimen de la garra encernizada.
Muralla por los dedos suavizada.

These images suggest the enormity of the task as well as the vastness of time. Towards the end of Poem IX the poet refers to his fundamental discovery of the citadel in relation to time and history, fundamental because the physical task undertaken by early man ensured that he through his works would survive his own death and that of his community. At the end of the poem the poet says of the citadel:

"Ola de plata, dirección del tiempo."

The citadel has finally a direction in time which enables the poet to reinsert the life of the community into history.

According to A. Sicard (10) Neruda in this case avoids a typical trap of aesthetic contemplation - that of the possibility of the creative process remaining in mere contemplation and enjoyment of the beauty of the stone fortress as a finished article, as a death monument, as a frozen fruit of mankind, a form of idealist contemplation,- by asking himself at this moment of the dialectic creative process about the fate of man.

The next poem of the series opens by posing questions regarding man.

"Piedra en la piedra,el hombre,donde estuvo?
Aire en el aire,el hombre,dónde estuvo?
Tiempo en el tiempo,el hombre,dónde estuvo?"

These questions are resolved by inquiring into the surviving materials themselves, by looking at everyday life, the simplest tasks of the common man. As the poet wants to rescue the dispossessed, the dominated, the worker of the citadel, his questions centre around the solutions found by that man to basic problems like bread, housing, clothing - problems which were the result of harsh government and domination.

"Macchu Picchu, pusiste
piedra en la piedra, y en la base harapo?
Carbón sobre carbón, y en el fondo la lágrima?
Fuego en el oro, y en él,temblando el rojo
goterón de la sangre?
Devuélveme el esclavo que enterraste!
Sacude de las tierras el pan duro
del miserable,muéstrame los vestidos
del siervo y su ventana."

Thus it is not the poet's intention to investigate the fate of the dominant sector of that society or the powerful nor even that of the eminent men of the lost realm, but to seek out the fate of the dispossessed. And this search for the forgotten truth of the forgotten sector of the citadel involves an immersion in the past which the poet describes as "una caída", in the sense of a journey towards historical beginnings.

"Y que hay que caer en él como en un pozo para salir
del fondo
con un ramo de agua secreta y de verdades
sumergidas."

Poem XI includes a long syntactic construction from verse seventeen onwards where the poet expresses a discovery of a

key element. The combination of the theme of time, the presence of the "condor" and the "huracán" initiate a journey towards discovery:

"Cuando, como una herradura de élitros rojos, el cóndor
furibundo
me golpea las sienes en el orden del vuelo
y el huracán de plumas carniceras barre el polvo
sombrío
de las escalinatas diagonales..."

Through the actions of these creatures, when one of them hits the poet and the other sweeps away the dust of the stone-built citadel, the poet-witness begins to see the route to the place where man is.

"Veo el antiguo ser, servidor, el dormido
en los campos, veo un cuerpo, mil cuerpos, un hombre,
mil mujeres..."

Juan Cortapiedras
Juan Comefrío
Juan Piesdescalzos."

The poetic ambition is satisfied as discovery is made. The sought-after creatures are there; their names tell the story of old efforts and misery, of anonymous knowledge and craftsmanship and also the daily suffering of the oppressed.

Poem XI ends with an appeal. At the bottom are those figures discovered by the poet, those singular and symbolic figures. Now they can be called and rescued by the poetic process:

"Sube a nacer conmigo, hermano."

"Dame la mano", "Sube a nacer" are the expressive forms used to invite those forgotten men to come up from the depths where they have lain forgotten.

From the eighth line of this final poem of the section the poet names the men evoked to put forward their grievances. These are the artisans and workers, the dominated men who built up this stone construction. The list of tradesmen is eloquent:

"Mírame desde el fondo de la tierra,
 labrador, tejedor, pastor callado:
 domador de guanacos tutelares;
 albañil del andamio desafiado:
 aguador de las lágrimas andinas;
 joyero de los dedos machacados:
 agricultor temblando en la semilla:
 alfarero en tu greda derramado:
 traed a la copa de esta nueva vida
 vuestros viejos dolores enterrados."

The poet chose from a wide historical background to enumerate a list of tradesmen, who with their work made possible the projection in time, who created a form of eternal existence. But then why does the poet offer himself as a recipient of the complains of the workers of Macchu Picchu? And why must he be the one to receive the message coming from the depths of history? Verse 28 gives the clue to understanding the poet's role:

"Yo vengo a hablar por vuestra boca muerta"

The poet offers himself as a spokesman for the old grievances of the ancient worker; he will expose their complaints and miseries.

"Hablad por mis palabras y mi sangre."

3. SOLDIERS AND OFFICIALS OF THE EMPIRE.

The third section, "Los Conquistadores" presents the main character and meaning of the period of Discovery and Conquest of America by the soldiers and officials of the Spanish Empire.

The poet presents in dark and sinister tones the actions of those who put forward and backed the policy of Conquest and submission of the people dominated in the name of the Empire. But he describes in a different tone those who were the dominated, and those Spaniards who came to the New World not to suppress but to look for a new beginning for their own lives.

The first poem of the section entitled "Vienen por las islas" includes a date between brackets. Again the poet defines clearly the space and time referred to in the text. It is the moment of the Conquerors' arrival at the Caribbean coast. Then the poet describes the submission of the locals. In his view the natives do not have the aggressiveness and military development to defend themselves. They are fragile and weak creatures exposed naively to the cruelty and belligerence of the invaders:

"Los hijos de la arcilla vieron rota
su sonrisa, golpeada
su frágil estatura de venados,
y aún en la muerte no entendían."

To the organic, soft, vegetable nature of the natives the poet opposes the warlike splendour, the gleaming sharp metallic armaments, the ferocity of the Empire's soldiers. Language and poetic images depict this disparity; on the one side ships, knives, armour, crosses, swords, horseshoes, helmets are associated with violence, aggression, death and abuse. The military leaders are depicted as ferocious, ambitious and mean. They are above all warriors and as such are determined to impose the rules of the Empire they represent and the values they uphold:

Cortés no tiene pueblo, es rayo frío,
corazón muerto en la armadura."
(Cortés).

"Alvarado, con garras y cuchillos
cayó sobre las chozas, arrasó
el patrimonio del orfebre..."
(Alvarado).

"Balboa, muerte y garra
 llevaste a los rincones de la dulce
 tierra..."

(La cabeza en el palo).

"Valdivia, el capitán intruso,
 cortó mi tierra con la espada
 entre ladrones..."

(Valdivia (1544).

On the other hand the vegetable word can easily be cut and kept under strict control. Once the Conquest advances to the south, the same sort of imagery is repeated. Atahualpa is again "estambre azul, árbol insigne" in opposition to the characterisation of the metallic Conqueror's advancement:

"Era un confuso
 brillo y temblor desde la costa,
 un galope increíble
 -piafar y poderío-
 de hierro y hierro entre la hierba.
 (Las agonías).

This contrast is expressed again in the individual characterisation of the Conquerors' leaders and of Atahualpa. The native leader is a delicate vegetable form but Pizarro is a "cerdo cruel", and Valverde is a "capellán de corazón traidor". At the end of poem XIV the poet says:

"Pizarro, el cerdo cruel de Extremadura
 hace amarrar los delicados brazos
 del Inca."

But the Conquest of the Incas' realm has a bitter end for the invaders. The victors fall victims to their own excessive ambitions. As representatives of the Empire they have in the eyes of the poet all those ignoble characteristics of power. Blinded by the military and political power delegated by the Spanish Crown they fall victim to their own bestiality. In the

poet's view:

Almagros y Pizarros y Valverdes,
Castillos y Urias y Beltranes
se apuñaleaban repartiéndose
las traiciones adquiridas,
se robaban la mujer y el oro,
disputaban la dinastía."
(Las guerras).

These warriors are in the poet's opinion loyal representatives of the Empire. They were soldiers and officials of the monarchy and carriers of that form of domination, representing all forms of cruelty and values of the Imperial Authority.

"representasteis en el polvo
dorado del Inca, el teatro
de los infiernos imperiales:"
(Las guerras).

Later in poem XVIII, when the theme is the Conquest of those territories to the south of the Incas' realm, the invader found resistance in the natural elements as well as from the inhabitants. Till now the poet asked himself why the elements and nature did not offer resistance to the advancement of the foreigners. And now in poem XVIII the invader meets nature as resister. Almagro, the first Captain to organise the Discovery of the land to the south did not expect such hostile elements:

"El español sentado junto a la rosa un día,
junto al aceite,junto al vino,junto al antiguo cielo
no imaginó este punto de colérica piedra
nacer bajo el estiércol del águila marina."
(Descubrimiento de Chile).

The poem "La tierra combatiente" refers to the resistance of the elements to the Conquerors' column, as snow, wind and hunger threaten the invader.

"Primero resistió la tierra.

La nieve araucana quemó
como una hoguera de blanca
el paso de los invasores.

El aire chileno azotaba
marcando estrellas, derribando
codicias y caballerías.

Luego el hambre caminó detrás
de Almagro como una invisible
mandíbula que golpeaba..."

This motif of the resistance offered by natural elements to the foreigners finds another expression in the case of the Araucanians. The poet finds a fusion between the natural world and the natives against the new invader. The Araucanians whose belligerent attitude was already mentioned in the first section of the collection, are people of a rudimentary development. There are no sophisticated rituals, no architectural grandeur, no impressive knowledge nor the brilliance and colourful culture that the Conquerors found among the northern natives. Nevertheless the poet finds this fusion of man and nature in defence of the invaded land. Aboriginals appear blended and transformed into trees, to stones and roots, to wind and other elements of nature.

"eran piedra y árbol, raíces
de los brañales sacudidos,
hojas con forma de lanza,
cabezas de metal guerrero.

Se hicieron sombra los padres de piedra,
se anudaron al bosque, a las tinieblas
naturales, se hicieron luz de hielo,
asperezas de tierras y de espinas,

...

uno era un árbol rojo que miraba,
otro un fragmento de metal que oía,

otro una ráfaga de viento y taladro,"
(Se unen la tierra y el hombre).

Pedro de Valdivia arrived to Chile in 1544 and he was determined to continue the Conquest initiated by Almagro. He restarted the long war with the Mapuche indians, a war which lasted for centuries until the creoles of the country itself applied the policy of pacification of the Araucanian territory at the end of the last century and the war of resistance finally ended. But Captain Pedro de Valdivia died in combat with the Mapuche people.

During this long war the poet finds among the Conquerors men with a diverse approach to the dominated people. For example the poem "Ercilla" depicts one of these cases.

In the poet's view the Spanish soldier-poet received on his arrival a different treatment from the natural world. There is no hostility to him. The elements receive him with friendly gestures and welcome him to the land. Neither the hostile rain, the aggressive snow, nor the the cold wind greet the Spanish poet. He is received by tender plants bearing no thorns or hard or sharpened points. Ercilla to the poet is a man of different qualities, thus the elements welcome him. Ercilla has similar characteristics to the inaugural man of the continent, who was made of earth and stones, clean as a clay pot, "sonoro". Ercilla then shares the qualities of the man of the land and differs clearly from his own group of Conquerors (11).

"Hombre, Ercilla sonoro, oigo el pulso del agua
de tu primer amanecer, un frenesí de pájaros
y un trueno en el follaje.

...

Sonoro, solo tú no beberás la copa
de sangre, sonoro..."

(Ercilla).

Various are the individuals among the Conquerors who are described and presented in the collection. There are the military leaders, the representative of the Church, and those with the

qualities of Ercilla. Nevertheless, even though the anonymous soldier of the Spanish camp participated in the submission of the natives, he will be described occasionally in humanitarian terms. The poet observes in him the tiredness, the childish look, the hunger and illnesses, the bewilderment in the face of the vastness of the landscape, the aspirations for a better life. In the poem "Duerme un soldado" this anonymous Spanish warrior is seen by the poet through the eyes of one of the natives' Gods:

"Extraviado en los límites espesos
llegó el soldado. Era total fatiga
y cayó entre las lianas y las hojas,
al pie del Gran Dios emplumado:

...

Miró al soldado
extraño nacido del océano.
Miró sus ojos, su barba sangrienta,
su espada, el brillo negro
de la armadura, el cansancio caído
como la bruma sobre la cabeza
de niño carnicero."

The solemn "Gran Dios emplumado", witnesses here the presence of an anonymous foreign soldier who has fallen exhausted to the ground. Here the poet depicted some human characteristics in this soldier. This is a tired man, who wants to rest and sleep. These images are different from the ones which depict the leaders of the warriors in their prime. In the poem "Llegan al mar de México (1519)" the poet presents the common soldiers, men who come from the poorest sector of the Spanish population, who suffer hunger, sickness, and seek freedom and a better life.

"Las barcas van apretadas de garras
y barbas rojas de Castilla.
Son Arias, Reyes, Rojas, Maldonados,
hijos del desamparo castellano,
conocedores del hambre en invierno
y de los piojos en los mesones.

No salieron de los puertos del Sur
 a poner las manos del pueblo
 en el saqueo y en la muerte:
 ellos ven verdes tierras, libertades,
 cadenas rotas, construcciones,
 y desde el barco, las olas que se extienden
 sobre las costas de compacto misterio."
 (Llegan al mar de México (1519)).

These men dream of green pastures and solutions for their problems and aspirations. They look for freedom and shelter. Their lives are also subjected to abuse from their own authorities. They want land to cultivate and a life with no oppression. The poet here shows his sympathy for these men and common soldiers of the invading force. His view of them differs considerably from that of their leaders. These men belong according to the poet's view to that large family of the poorest of the world:

"Y los ojos de Nuñez y Bernales
 clavaban en la ilimitada
 luz del reposo,
 una vida, otra vida,
 la innumerable y castigada
 familia de los pobres del mundo."
 (Llegan al mar de México 1519).

The poem II of section "Los libertadores" shows another different individual from the Spanish camp. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (12) is also a man who can be set apart from the warriors and conquerors.

"Padre, fue afortunado para el hombre y su especie
 que tú llegaras a la plantación,
 ...
 Quien te puso, mortal desnudo,
 entre los dientes de la furia?"

The churchman is imbued with those characteristics present only in the natives. He goes around without armour, and

despite all odds his contributions and hopes bear fruit. To the poet this man is formed also with those materials of nature which make him a different sort of person;

"Cómo se cruzan los fermentos
 en la escondida harina humana
 para que tu grano inmutable
 se amasara en el pan del mundo? "
 (Fray Bartolomé de las Casas).

Fray Bartolomé is to the poet an ancient light which survives in spite of the lying and crime. He was a founder of hope and his contribution stays alive. The poet stresses with no hesitation the singularity of the churchman:

"Quien te puso, mortal desnudo
 entre los dientes de la furia?
 ...
 Pocas vidas da el hombre como la tuya, pocas
 sombras hay en el árbol como tu sombra,..."
 (Fray Bartolomé de las Casas).

Later in the section "Los libertadores" and in texts which present the struggle for independence during the nineteenth century, the poem "Mina (1817)" is dedicated to Francisco Javier Mina, a Spaniard born in 1789 who, in 1816, joined the struggle for the independence of México. Mina was imprisoned and shot by the royalist forces of Mariscal Pascual Liñán in 1817 (13). The poet then says that also in Spain of that period there were just men rebelling against injustice.

"España, entre tus garras
 de cruel antigüedad, tu pueblo puro
 Sacudió las raíces del tormento,
 sufragó las acémilas feudales
 con invencible sangre derramada,
 y en ti la luz, como la sombra, es vieja,
 gastada en devorantes cicatrices."

Mina is then another Spaniard rescued by poetry, recording

his contribution to the libertarian struggles of the rebels of the nineteenth century. The poet shows him as another example of a Spaniard who came to América pursuing justice and liberty.

"A América lo lleva el viento
de la libertad española,

...

En nuestra tierra, en nuestra tierra
se desangraron sus cristales,
luchando por la libertad..."
(Mina (1817)).

The only female character of the section "Los Conquistadores" appears in the poem XXI entitled "Valdivia (1544)". Doña Inés de Suárez, Pedro de Valdivia's companion, has, according to the poet that sinister fanaticism of so many of the soldiers and officials of the Spanish Crown. She is unsympathetically portrayed as a ferocious warrior. One has to remember that during the long war of Arauco no efforts were spared to dislodge the enemy. Pacts and agreements were broken or ignored. The Mapuches gave no rest to their resistance for centuries. So the Conquerors with the aim of establishing new villages and towns in the new territories had to apply the most cruel and bloody repression against the restless natives. Doña Inés to the poet's eyes appears:

"Toda
empapada de vísceras, aullando,
Inés de Suárez, la soldadera,
sujetaba los cuellos imperiales
con sus rodillas de infernal harpía."
(Valdivia (1544)).

Finally, the poem "A pesar de la ira" reassesses and concludes this long period of Conquest and resistance. After all in the poet's view not everything was death and destruction. The Conquest brought warriors and officials of the Empire who imposed their values and religion on the subdued. But with them also came men like Ercilla, Mina, Padre de las Casas, men who were to be conquered themselves by the new reality and who

brought with them a contribution. With all of this came a number of positive elements which enriched life and encouraged transformation for the better.

"Así, con el sangriento
titán de piedra,
halcón encarnizado,
no sólo llegó sangre sino trigo.

La luz llegó a pesar de los puñales."

The Conquest then brought not only men of diverse characteristics; as A. Sicard comments they brought with them much that would enrich life.

"En ese poema ("A pesar de la ira") Neruda ensalza sin reservas la inmensa aportación de España al continente americano. En primer lugar la lengua,... y tras la lengua, la poesía, las artes, pero sobre todo las técnicas, con una alusión, mediante una referencia a los "mercaderes", a la clase que fue el origen de su prodigioso desarrollo:" (14).

3. a. Religious men and christian symbols.

With the Conquerors came a set of religious elements of that time. Neruda sees in them similar hostility and aggression to that of the soldiers and officials. Those religious elements form part of the invasion. Their presence was destructive and some elements like the horse, horseshoes, swords, knives, are symbols and at the same time specific instruments of oppression. Figures like El Obispo, El Fraile o El Cura, the Chaplain have similar characteristics. So the cross, the rosary, the Inquisition are objects and instruments, weapons of invasion.

"El Perú oscuro, sumergido,

estaba señalado y las cruces,
pequeñas, negras, negras cruces
al Sur salieron navegando:
cruces para las agonías,
cruces peludas y filudas,
cruces con ganchos de reptil
cruces salpicadas de pústulas,
cruces como piernas de araña,
sombrias cruces cazadoras."
(Cita de cuervos).

"Diez mil peruanos caen
bajo cruces y espadas..."
(Las agonías).

The churchmen have in his view the same kind of role as the most ferocious conqueror. Valverde, Pizarro's Chaplain and Bishop Luque, are represented as traitors and bloodthirsty soldiers of the Spanish army. They participate in battle or when the time comes to share the booty of the plunder, or when it is time to divide the conquered territory among the victors.

4. ANTHROPOMORPHISMS. THE POETIC PERSONIFICATION IN THE CONFLICT.

To the poet the advance of the invasive force brings with it violence and aggression against the population as well as against the natural world. To nature and to many of the individual elements of nature the Conquest meant subjugation, violence, abuse, submission. Among the defeated were natural entities whose feelings were to be personified. These natural elements appeared to have been violated and to suffer like humans -for example, the Caribbean islands on the arrival of the invasion forces.

"Cuba, mi amor, qué escalofrío
te sacudió de espuma a espuma,
hasta que te hiciste pureza,
soledad, silencio, espesura,
y los huesitos de tus hijos
se disputaron los cangrejos.

Cuba, mi amor, te amarraron al potro,
te cortaron la cara,
te apartaron las piernas de oro pálido,
te rompieron el sexo de granada,
te atravesaron con cuchillos,
te dividieron, te quemaron."
(Ahora es Cuba).

In order to communicate the historical event the poet personifies the island. The conflict is expressed then in a series of parallel images. On the one hand there are these images of the invader acting forcefully: "Te amarraron, te cortaron, te atravesaron..." and on the other, images of the colourful, fragile new world: "Cuba, mi amor, las piernas de oro pálido, el sexo de granada..." One is the world of warriors: sharp, metallic, cutting; the other is vegetable.

In the context of natural elements which assume human characteristics, some are criticised by the poet because they

did not offer resistance to the invading forces.

"Maldita sea la espinosa
corona de la zarza agreste
que no saltó como un erizo
a defender la cuna invadida."
(La cabeza en el palo).

And other natural elements who could have done something remained impassive, motionless, impotent at the moment of the tragedy:

"El grave río vio sus hijos
morir o sobrevivir esclavos,
vio arder en las hogueras junto al agua
raza y razón, cabezas juveniles."
(Alvarado).

4. a. Invocation to the Magdalena river.

Once the Spanish warriors arrived at Colombia and their advance had not been stopped, the poet invoked the Magdalena river for help, in stopping the invaders.

"Ya van, ya van, ya llegan,
corazón mío, mira las naves,
las naves por el Magdalena,
las naves de Gonzalo Jiménez
ya llegan, ya llegan las naves,
detenlas río, cierra
tus márgenes devoradoras,
sumérgelos..."

But the sailing ships went on, Colombia surrendered, and the local prince was made prisoner. The invocation to the river was fruitless.

One has to comment here on the use of verbal forms. The poet brings forward the historical events to the present as the

invading ships advance. At that moment the poet calls on the river to help. The verbs insist on the poetic appeal to the Magdalena: "échales... sumérgelos...arrebátales...atraviesa... arrójales... ciégalos... húndelos... sujétalos... púdreles... devorándoles... ". In the next stanza, however, the poet uses the past tense to depict the consummated event: "Ya entraron...". The conflict as it unfolds is narrated in a historic present that creates a sense of immediacy, of presence; once consummated and complete, it becomes past history again.

The poet insists on the actualisation of the historical event. He repeats six times the adverb of time "Ahora" to refer to the fate of the local prince who was subjugated.

"ahora agarran al zipa
ahora lo amarran.
...
Ahora atormentan al príncipe
...
Ahora queman la casa solemne
ahora siguen los caballos,
...
ahora quedan unas brasas"
(Ximénez de Quezada (1536)).

Hunger is another entity which assumes human characteristics in its poetic behaviour. "She" walks behind the military column with threatening patience:

"Luego el hambre caminó detrás
de Almagro como una invicible
mandíbula que golpeaba."
(La tierra combatiente).

It is well known that hunger was an old presence in oceanic expeditions of the past whose actions finished off so many of the crowds of sailing ships of Spanish and other navigators. Hunger was a terrible reality, too, for some of the land expeditions across unknown mountains or unconquered deserts. Neruda therefore depicts a presence which has undoubtedly a

tragic historical meaning; it is more than a rhetorical means to express a poetic sentiment (15).

A similar case is the presence of death. It must be considered that the enterprise of Conquest and Discovery of América implied an interminable war. It is true that many of the tribes and peoples put forward little or no resistance, but it is also true that some of them gave unceasing battle. So death was an ever-present possibility. And in addition there was also illness, cold and heat, murder and beasts, which by themselves left a trail of dead men.

The poetic presence of Death, Hunger, Treason, Ambition, Robbery, Greed assumes a tragic power as they are given a human presence and a historical dimension.

".... donde esperaba
al descubridor rechazado,
la muerte del Norte, sentada
en el camino, con un hacha."
(La tierra combatiente).

"Y la muerte fina como el aire
inmóvil en su armadura."
(Las guerras).

The poet frequently appears as interlocutor or listener or simply as witness to confessions, hearing whispering, murmuring, rustling, humming of personified natural elements. That is what happens in poem XXIV :

"Viene el día y me dice: "Oyes
el agua lenta, el agua,
el agua,
sobre la Patagonia?"
Y yo contesto: "Sí, señor, escucho."
(Despierto de pronto en la noche pensando en el
extremo sur).

The poet converses with "el día" (the day), a character who

seems to know what happened in distant days and also what is distant in space. The extreme south of the continent is presented here while the poetic subject-character "el día" tells the story of that region. There are many examples of this poetic anthropomorphism, as some natural elements tell the poet the old stories like the snow drop or the tempest who communicate with the poet.

"Una gota de nieve llora y llora en mi puerta
mostrando su vestido claro y desvencijado
de pequeño cometa que me busca y solloza.

... encuentro la tempestad y su voz de ruptura,
su voz de viejo libro, su boca de cien labios,
algo me dice, algo que el aire devora cada día."
(Recuerdo la soledad del estrecho).

It is the extreme south of the continent, an uninhabited land, where only the personified creatures could tell something of the time when the Conquistadors came. It is a place where no one survives, where history is retained only by creatures and elements of nature. The conquistadors passed through this land, yet nothing of them now remains.

"Recuerda el agua cuando le sucedió al navío.
La dura tierra extraña guarda sus calaveras
que suenan en el pánico austral como cornetas

...
nadie
ya sobrevive:"
(Los descubridores aparecen y de ellos no queda nada).

As the poet rescues from the historical development of the Conquest the positive results of the two conflicting contrary forces, he rescues at the level of anthropomorphisms and personifications the positive results of those contradictions. So it is observed how after the war the offensive weapons and arms lay corroded and unprotected and how with the forceful might of war also came the potential for a superior phase of peace and reconstruction. With war came other elements which

were added to the positive transformation of the world.

"Pero a través del fuego y la herradura
como de un manantial iluminado
por la sangre sombría,
con el metal undido en el tormento
se derramó una luz sobre la tierra:
número, nombre, línea y estructura."
(A pesar de la ira).

At the anthropomorphic level he says:

La inteligencia con un hilo helado
fue detrás de la sangre hilando el día.
El papel repartió la miel desnuda
guardada en las tinieblas."

...

"La luz vino a pesar de los puñales"
(A pesar de la ira).

5. THE LIBERATORS. SECTION IV.

"Aquí viene el árbol, el árbol
de la tormenta, el árbol del pueblo."
(Los libertadores).

The symbol of the tree. As noted by A. Sicard the tree is a symbol which already appeared in the section dedicated to the Araucanian resistance, showing the unity of a people at war as well as a variety of individual heroes who, depicted as trees, offer some resistance to the invasive force. Says Sicard:

"símbolo de la relación dialéctica que transforma al héroe en la expresión, a través del individuo, de las aspiraciones colectivas o bien en la superación, en el seno de la colectividad, de las aspiraciones individuales." (16).

The tree is the symbol of the hero. It represents the

libertarian spirit of the men of the continent. And this tree is kept up and sustained by so many lives given for men in their struggle for freedom. This tree-symbol get its maintenance and support from the sacrifices of those fighters, while the struggle for the elementary rights of man sustains and nourishes this tree.

This symbolic reality is not created to remain unchangeable and is subject to the vicissitudes of permanent struggle. Its existence is always threatened and just and libertarian men are responsible for keeping it alive, feeding it with their efforts. The symbol demands a permanent vigil. The poet concludes the first poem of the section by calling to the reader, his interlocutor, to add his efforts to the maintenance of this symbolic tree of rights of man. In the last two stanzas the poet says:

"Asómate a su cabellera:
Toca sus rayos renovados
...
y monta guardia en la frontera,
en el límite de sus hojas.

Defiende el fin de sus corolas,
...
vigila la altura estrellada,
sosteniendo el árbol,..."
(Los libertadores).

According to Sicard the poet expresses here a materialistic and historic conception of man, which is determined by the relationship that he maintains with the natural world when producing the means of existence. The hero belongs to the people and people make history. The hero is rooted firmly in his people as the tree is rooted to the earth. All of the struggles make man progress in this materialistic conception of history. Man stays firmly linked to matter and acts upon it to transform it and enrich it.

Now, among the heroes rescued by poetry a few Spanish

personalities can be found; men who adopted a defence of that tree-symbol. The poem to Fray Bartolome de las Casas is an example of the theme of how man participates in history. The poem starts with reference to the present of the poem, the time of composition: "Piensa uno, al llegar a su casa..." writes the poet, presenting the historical atmosphere of the present time. It is known that the poet at that time was a victim of persecution, that in general he was experiencing a period of political vicissitudes and threatened liberties. Thus the reference to this background in present time recalls historical events. Paradoxically hope appears in these difficult circumstances:

"surge una luz antigua, suave y dura
 como un metal, como un rastro enterrado.
 Padre Bartolomé, gracias por este
 regalo de la cruda medianoche,
 gracias porque tu hilo fue invencible:"
 (Fray Bartolomé de las Casas).

The churchman is one of the defenders of the tree-symbol. The poet stresses his fight for justice, the fact that he found hope in wartime and that that hope became a concrete form of the tree.

"Tu esperanza
 se convirtió en precisas herramientas,
 la solitaria lucha se hizo rama,
 el llanto inútil se convirtió en partido."
 (Fray Bartolomé de las Casas).

Today, when the poet says is immersed in the day to day struggles of the trade union movement, he invokes the colonial priest's hopeful message. The poet creates a historical relationship between the just contribution of Fray Bartolomé in favour of the victimised natives of the Conquest and the Colonial period, and the contemporary struggles in which the poet participates. He writes.

"Hoy a esta casa, Padre, entra conmigo.

Te mostraré las cartas, el tormento
de mi pueblo, perseguido.
Te mostraré los antiguos dolores."
(Fray Bartolomé de las Casas).

The tree, symbol of the libertarians, has been enriched by the contribution of the priest.

The Mapuche contribution to the maintenance of this tree-symbol was considerable. It is one of the main themes of the section and of similar importance in the structure of the collection as a whole. The historical contribution of the Mapuche people is in the eyes of the poet one of the main foundations of the realities of the present day, and in his view one which sadly has gone unrecognised.

The poem "Avanzando en las tierras de Chile" shows the first steps of the Conquerors towards the zone of Arauco. Some natural elements offered fruitless opposition to the invading force:

"España entró hasta el Sur del Mundo...
...
El Bío-Bío, grave río,
le dijo a España: "Detente",
el bosque de maitenes cuyos hilos
verdes cuelgan como temblor de lluvia
dijo a España: "No sigas". El alerce,
titán de las fronteras silenciosas,
dijo en un trueno su palabra."

The natural world's resistance is unsuccessful. The jungle cannot stop the invader. So the poet in the next poem introduces the native man. The poem is entitled "Surgen los hombres". But this sudden poetic appearance is not the result of spontaneous generation or a mythical presence; these inhabitants have come to life through a process of nature:

"Allí germinaban los toquis."

The inhabitant of this land has been forming in a long process in which the soil plays an important role; it involves fermentation and growth out of matter itself. The poet says clearly:

"De aquellas negras humedades,
de aquella luna fermentada
en la copa de los volcanes
salieron los pechos augustos,

...

Arauco fue un útero frío,
hecho de heridas, machacado

...

Así la tierra extrajo al hombre.

...

Creció como una fortaleza.
Nació de la sangre agredida."

In the poet's view there is in the origin of the Mapuche people a natural process to which he refers in the first advance of the new invader (17). The poet avoids the idealist or a mythological explanation of those origins nor does he mention any divine creation of man to explain it. These people are there as a result of a long material process in which the germinative and maternal power of nature has favoured the formation and growth of that race.

The original trees of the region receive here a special mention and relevance. They are often mentioned, and play an important role in the origin of the people as well as in the defence of the invaded land: One can mention as examples "Alerces, Maitenes, Avellanos, Raulfes".

The poem "Toqui Caupolicán" connects these various factors in one meaningful exposition of the native trees and their maternal relationship with man, to the wider topic of the symbolic nature of the tree.

"En la cepa secreta del raulí
creció Caupolicán, torso y tormento

y cuando hacia las armas invasoras
 su pueblo dirigió,
 anduvo el árbol,
 anduvo el árbol duro de la patria.
 Los invasores vieron el follaje
 moverse en medio de la bruma verde,
 las gruesas ramas y la vestidura
 de innumerables hojas y amenazas,
 el tronco terrenal hacerse pueblo,
 las raíces salir del territorio."

The Chief Caupolicán commanded for some time the forces of resistance. With him came others who were also trees. The images to depict the people resisting the invading force is taken in part from the vegetable world. "Toda la raza de ramajes rojos". Caupolicán is born from a tree and soon joins the struggle of other trees, real and symbolic ones. His poetic presence fuses all these images in that of the hero who -once he is dead- will feed others to be born from matter through his blood. After the death of the hero the war continues. The tree-symbol, the libertarian spirit, symbol and reality at the same time, receives that sacrifice. The spilled blood runs to earth not to disappear but to feed other trees and combatants.

"La sangre quemante caía
 de silencio en silencio, abajo,
 hacia donde está la semilla
 esperando la primavera.

Más hondo caía esta sangre.

Hacia las raíces caía.

Hacia los muertos caía.

Hacia los que iban a nacer.

The poet wrote four poems in this section to Lautaro, another Mapuche Chief of the resistance period: "Lautaro (1550)", "Educación del Cacique", "Lautaro entre los invasores",

"Lautaro contra el centauro (1554)" (18). In the case of this Chief the poet indicates again the material and earthly origin of the man. The whole poem has just three lines which recount the last Chief's sacrifice as his blood falls on the earth, and the origin of the new Chief from it:

"La sangre toca un corredor de cuarzo.
La piedra crece donde cae la gota.
Así nace Lautaro de la tierra."

The new Chief received education and training first among his fellow Mapuches and then with the enemy army itself. Later Lautaro escaped from the Spanish army to join the resistance. The fourth poem presents the clash between the two leaders of the armies in conflict. On the one hand there is Pedro de Valdivia who has organised a new expedition to the south to placate a new wave of assaults and to destroy the native revolt. On the other hand there is Lautaro, the new Chief of the Mapuches.

The confrontation is presented with linguistic forms which emphasise on one side in the case of the Captain Valdivia the anguish of the moment, the longing for the far away Spanish land once the battle is lost, and on the other side, the effectiveness of the victorious Mapuche Toqui.

Valdivia in the poet's account on this occasion could appreciate how much the natives knew about conducting their own war. Their new Chief had learned and solved many of the false ideas about the power and real relationship between horse and Spanish rider. From line eighteen onwards there is a change in the linguistic form of presentation. To a two or three line stanza referring to the Spanish Captain's movements or thoughts, the poet presents a stanza of just one line to depict the threatening movement of the native Chief.

"La fatiga y la muerte conducían
la tropa de Valdivia en el follaje

Se acercaban las lanzas de Lautaro.

Entre los muertos y las hojas iba
como en un túnel Pedro de Valdivia.

En las tinieblas llegaba Lautaro.

Pensó en Extremadura pedregosa,
en el dorado aceite, en la cocina,
en el jazmín dejado en ultramar.

Reconoció el aullido de Lautaro."

Here the mental process of the Spanish leader is represented in his remembrance of peaceful moments and the things of his own land: the oil, the kitchen, the flower, the sheep, the white walls remind him of a quietness and gentleness of life in his own native country. The moment is brief and suddenly interrupted by the yelling of Lautaro.

The poetic confrontation has on the other hand the aggressiveness and sharpness presented in the form of just one line. Valdivia's remembrance is interrupted by the presence of danger. The memory of those beloved things back home is stopped by the sudden whisling of arrows.

Curiously the battle in question is not finished in this poem but in the next, which recreates the defeat and death of the Spanish Captain. Till now the Araucanian war was presented in the third person. The poem "El corazón de Pedro de Valdivia", however, is initiated in the first person plural and this breaks again the linguistic pattern applied. This change and others have a poetic intention. The poet says:

Llevamos a Valdivia bajo el árbol."

The poet uses the first person plural form to convey the event with the perspective of a multipersonal witness who was also an active agent in the events (). But once the sacrifice of the enemy Chief is consummated and the rite is almost completed there is another change in the mode of telling the

story. Suddenly the poet breaks in again:

"Entonces repartimos el corazón sangrante.
Yo hundí los dientes en aquella corola
 cumpliendo el rito de la tierra." (19).

The prisoner was executed by "nosotros", but when the moment of eating the heart of the enemy warrior arrives the event is presented in the first person singular; thus the text acquires again a stylistic reinforcement with that break towards a personal account of a relevant historical fact.

6. CONCERNING WORK AMONG CONQUISTADORS AND MAPUCHES.

In the section dedicated to the Conquistadors one rarely finds any mention of labour or any constructive task of man. War, invasion, the comings and goings of war do not permit the buildings of man to be seen. Rather the warriors are determined to destroy. Each poem includes imagery of violence and subjugation. The war subjugates, cuts, breaks. Men are above all warriors. There is mention not of craftsmen but of the enforced advance of one or the other party in the conflict. Labour is not poetically recreated; what is depicted is war.

When one finds an image referring to the constructive labour of man, this appears as a feasible dream in a distant future as in the case of the Spaniards who arrived at the Central American coast and even before landing, dreamed of a new world constructed by man - a free and ordained world. These aspirations were very dear to common Spanish soldiers, as the poet shows:

"Qué miran acodados al navío?
 Cuánto de lo que viene y del perdido
 pasado, del errante
 viento feudal en la patria azotada?"

No salieron de los puertos del Sur

a poner las manos del pueblo
 en el saqueo y en la muerte:
 ellos ven verdes tierras, libertades,
 cadenas rotas, construcciones,
 y desde el barco, las olas que se extinguen
 sobre las costas del compacto misterio."
 (Llegan al mar de México (1519)).

All these illusions were devoured by war. The poet does not mention the realisation of these projects in this section or at this time. The efforts demanded by war and its recreation exhausted the poetic imagery of these men of the Conquest.

In poem XV "La línea colorada" refers to the line drawn by Atahualpa after being taken prisoner to indicate the amount of gold he was prepared to offer for his release. Here it is observed that the natives made a strenuous productive effort to produce the amount of gold necessary to liberate their king. But this immoderate, restless activity was no longer constructive labour. The poetic images indicate the effort of the natives but this effort is related to the destruction of the world they had constructed. Now they destroyed the things they valued most, to collect the metal required. Helplessness and abandonment in defeat are represented here.

"Allí trazaron
 la línea colorada.
 Tres cámaras
 había que llenar de oro y de plata,
 hasta esa línea de su sangre.
 Rodó la rueda de oro, noche y noche.
 La rueda del martirio día y noche.

Arañaron la tierra, descolgaron
 alahajas hechas con amor y espuma,
 arrancaron la ajorca de la novia,
 desampararon a sus dioses.
 El labrador entregó su medalla,
 el pescador su gota de oro,
 y las rejas temblaron respondiendo..."

The poet does not depict the labour which enriched and transformed their world. Here, the peasant and the fisherman are examples as they hand over their dearest possessions; they are shown in defeat. Their actions show them destroying their own world with their own hands.

The Poem XXI, entitled "Valdivia (1554) " also exemplifies how war occupies the whole of the poetic space and demands all the poetic imagery. Conqueror and native do not find common elements which could develop constructively; the bellicosity of the first simply clashes repeatedly against the resistance of the latter. For a moment the poet refers to construction -the sun-dried bricks, the native hands occupied in the transformation of the objective world. He observes man at work. However the ferocity of the ambition to dominate brings war and this destroys suddenly the small poetic space where native man is a builder. Labour is not poetically presented because it is violently thrust aside by the destruction of war.

"Asomó Arauco. Adobes, torres,
calles, el silencioso
dueño de casa levantó sonriendo.
Trabajó con las manos empapadas
por su agua y su barro, trajo
la greda y vertió el agua andina:
pero no pudo ser esclavo.
Entonces Valdivia, el verdugo,
atacó a fuego y a muerte."

And again one has to quote the poem "A pesar de la ira", a text that summarises the section dedicated to the Conquest. In it the dominant theme is war: confrontation, violence, abuse, resistance, death. Yet even here the positive consequences of Conquest are also acknowledged:

Roídos yelmos, herraduras muertas:

Pero a través del fuego y la herradura
como de un manantial iluminado

por la sangre sombría,
 con el metal hundido en el tormento
 se derramó una luz sobre la tierra:

número, nombre, línea, y estructura."

Despite the violence of the period, and the physical destruction brought by the Conquest, it also brought Number, Line, Word y Structure, which in the overall account, enriched and transformed for the better the American world as it was. Later machinery and the technological age came and hastened the transformation of nature.

"Y en la primavera
 del mundo, amaneció la maquinaria.

La técnica elevaba su dominio
 y el tiempo fue velocidad y ráfaga..."

7. A NEW PERIOD.

The subtitle "(Intermedio)" includes three poems related to a new period, a new order known as the period of the Colony. The poems XIV "La Colonia cubre nuestras tierras", XV "Las haciendas", and XVI "Los nuevos propietarios" depict this new epoch and paint the social characteristics of those new economic and social conditions. According to this poetic recreation this is a period of new problems, new and fresh contradictions, a new diversity of human types, some of them recently arrived who do not have a clear link with the old world.

After the armed metallic Conqueror and his heroic period comes the arrival of merchants and others who came from Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The poet says:

"Cuando la espada descansó y los hijos
 de España dura,...

...

llegó la ley al mundo de los ríos

y vino el mercader con su bolsita.

Times changed and now came the epoch of dark religious sentiments, dull life among buildings without light, supernatural terrors, the grey clothing of monks. The world became obscure and fearful.

"la oscuridad, la tentación, el fuego
del diablo en las habitaciones.

Una vela alumbró la vasta América

...

y por siglos al hombre habló en voz baja"

The overwhelming atmosphere was heavy with fear of the devil, the oppressive feeling of a powerful supernatural world which metes out punishment, where the heretics are put to death. In this world the creole people came to life.

"Llegó el criollo a las calles del mundo,
esmirriado, lavando las acequias,
suspirando de amor entre las cruces,
buscando el escondido
sendero de la vida
bajo la mesa de la sacristía."

The religious signs characterised the period. Beside them the poet indicated others which were also present there.

While the poor and dominated sector of the population suffered hunger there were those who were preparing the world for themselves and accumulating wealth for their own convenience.

En las sombras del día tenebroso
el mercader hizo su reino.

mientras el hambre bailaba en las minas
de México dorado,"

The second poem of this part introduces the concept of the

ownership and possession of land, and presents the picture of land becoming property as it changes hands. Earth being the mother of the native race became a commodity disputed by estate owners and Stewards with other titles given by the Spanish authorities. This process of enforced appropriation of vast tracts of land left new human social types wandering in their misery.

"La tierra andaba entre los mayorasgos
de doblón en doblón, desconocida,

...

hasta que toda la azul geografía
se dividió en haciendas y encomiendas.

Por el espacio muerto iba la llaga
del mestizo y el látigo

del chapetón y del negrero.

El criollo era un espectro desangrado
que recogía las migajas"

In the poet's eyes the Colonial system degraded the quality of life. Of the heroic period of the Araucanian resistance what was left was a land of miserable Creoles. The Spaniards who arrived now harvested what had been won by the sword. The land has become a commodity manipulated by greedy people, creating in the meantime alienation in the native people and the impoverishment of the dominated. From a system of the community property the land was divided into individual plots, changing the old native concepts of land tenancy. From the proud native warriors, sons of the land, the poet moves on to a description of miserable, abused Creoles.

The third poem of the section depicts human characters and their activities. These people established the new rules, acquired or appropriated titles and possessions, grabbed the instruments of dominance, started the new order in accordance with their interests. Later they would proclaim those interests as the interests of the community as a whole. So to the poet, once the Conquerors disappeared with their dreams of Imperial greatness, there came another world:

"se asomó el vizcaíno con su saco,
 el Errázuriz con sus alpargatas,
 el Fernández Larraín avender velas,
 el Aldunate de la bayeta,
 el Eyzaguirre, rey del calcetín.

...

Pronto, de camiseta en camiseta,
 expulsaron al conquistador
 y establecieron la conquista
 del almacén de ultramarinos."

After the Conquest came the period where land and man diminished under the rules of the storekeeper. Here there were new conflicts and new types of humans. This was the period, according to the poetic account, whose origins could be found in the first days of the Colonial period. It was the epoch of merchants and store keepers who arrived with trifles and trinkets and came to share the wealth and land conquered by others.

8. ABOUT LABOUR DURING THE COLONY.

Various references to labour can be found in "Intermedio". Work is done by the dominated, the most defenceless humans of that early colonial period. Typically:

"Las iglesias construídas a sangre".

The dominant sector built a world in accord with their interests using the labour of people who were not represented in the new system. The first Creoles had to work in miserable conditions to build cities, houses and roads for their lords.

"Llegó el criollo a las calles del mundo,
 esmirriado, lavando las acequias,

...

buscando el escondido
 sendero de la vida
 bajo la mesa de la sacristía."

The Creoles appeared to be subject to rules and norms of work not created by them but for the advantage of the dominant groups. So these workers became alienated, defeated, and were forced to build a world not for their comfort but for others. América was, says the poet, a place of affliction. On this blood and sacrifice the new order was created.

Things did not improve with land exploitation and the first large estates. The system of work included brutal methods of abuse and exploitation of the dominated people.

"Por el espacio muerto iba la llaga
del mestizo y el látigo
del chapetón y del negrero.
El criollo era un espectro desangrado
que recogía las migajas."
(Las haciendas).

The merchant and the store keeper imposed their realm, their rules and measurements. Alienation was the lot of the labourers and miners who could not recognise in the world they were building a creation for them to enjoy. On the contrary, they were building a world which would subsume them still more. This "Intermedio" establishes then, poetically, the foundation of an unjust system against which the liberators of the future are going to rebel.

8.a. The Liberators continue.

Following this set of three poems on the early stages of the Colonial period, the poet addresses the most relevant events, individuals and groups of the rebellion against the Imperial authority from the time of the Comuneros del Socorro rebellion of 1781. The section ends with the poem entitled "Llegará el día" referring to the same theme of liberation.

The text of the poem "Comuneros del Socorro (1781)" tells the story of the rebellion of that community. To the poet this is

one of the first movements against the injustices of the colonial regime. In the story the poet finds themes and motifs to recreate and project towards the future. For instance the theme of the rebel seed or that of the unfortunate intervention of the Bishop. The poem itself is structured around three moments: a) Popular insurrection. b) the unfortunate intervention of the Bishop. c) The justice of the crushed rebellion remains alive and latent, waiting for another appropriate moment to erupt.

The next poem "Túpac Amaru (1781)" has a similar pattern. Tupac is the leader of another native rebellion. This movement also ended up in defeat and its leader executed. But in the poet's account that does not mean that the rightness of the rebellion was called into question. The cry for justice has merely been silenced for a while; but it stays alive.

"América insurrecta (1800)" recreates the struggles for independence during the nineteenth century. The rebellion here is continental. The poet celebrates the general atmosphere of rebellion and includes here not just the participation of eminent individuals but also the intervention of the community. The poet includes the people and uses the term "pueblo". This is a concept which to the poet at that moment has a political and social meaning, including as it does all those sectors of society which are the poorest and miserable. Workers of different manual and physical capacities, labourers of the city and the countryside, craftsmen and miners, shanty town dwellers and inhabitants of villages and in the provinces. All those who were dominated and had submitted saw in the political and economic structure of the Empire a form of oppression. So these people participated in the rebellion; indeed in the poet's vision, they were its propagators and its main agents. Thanks to them the rebellion became unstoppable.

"El pueblo oscuro fue su copa,
recibió la substancia rechazada,
la propagó en los límites marítimos,
la machacó en morteros indomables."

The people who made the success of the rebellion possible,

are also the builders of the countries which emerged from their uprising.

"Patria, naciste de los leñadores,
de hijos sin bautizar, de carpinteros,
de los que dieron como un ave extraña
una gota de sangre voladora,
y hoy nacerás de nuevo duramente,
desde donde el traidor y el carcelero
te creen para siempre sumergida."

However the poem dedicated to the rebellion of the beginning of the nineteenth century has a break and change in its poetic time. The poet inserts events happening, at the time of composition, and mentions the specific issue of a local traitor in his own country. There seems to be no poetic reason to introduce this theme into the middle of the text, yet the poet cuts short an imaginative movement about the woodcutters, 'carpenters' and others' contributions to the formative stages of the Republic, to insert that contemporary political message. The objective of ending the poem with the notion that the Patria is threatened today as it was yesterday, and that it is the common people who will save her, does not seem to require the precise local reference

All these poems about insurrection against injustice end with the theme of the unbeaten seed of rebellion which remains alive, despite the violent execution of the rebellious leaders.

"Bernardo O'Higgins Riquelme (1810)" is the poem about a Chilean national hero and projects him on two levels which indicate the poet's thinking about his poetic subjects. First of all the poet remembers some facts of the historical past of a character so central to national history. The poet asserts that the combative and anticolonialist attitude of the hero remains relevant and that in some ways is still expressed by the citizens of today:

"Eres, OHiggins, reloj invariable
con una sola hora en tu cándida esfera:

La hora de Chile, el único minuto
que permanece en el horario rojo
de la dignidad combatiente."

Numerous verbal forms in present time indicate that the poet's intention is to rescue the meaning of the hero's struggles against colonialism as part of today's struggles.

"No sepas nada más porque, como antes,
después de las batallas victoriosas,
bailan los señoritos en palacio
y el mismo rostro hambriento
mira desde la sombra de las calles."

The second proposed level is to rescue the hero as a man of the people. To the poet the hero is a soldier of the people whose actions and historical aims represented those sectors of the population who were the dominated and poorest ones. In the poet's view the soldier-hero defended interests which were contradictory to those defended by the powerful and rich. The ideas of independence for these rich sectors of the population was different from those defended by O'Higgins. In the poet's account there was hostility between the interests defended and represented by the hero's struggle and that of the small, new Creole bourgeoisie. The exile and death of the hero meant that the people had to withdraw in spite of the victories in battle in which everyone had participated. The dominated sectors were relegated and denied the fruits of victory.

In the meantime the powerful grabbed the victories and the control, and soon showed their frivolity and contempt for the poor. So today as yesterday, the poet insists, one can see the same old story, that of the people being robbed of their victories.

The poet's aim has been to include the hero and his struggles of the past into the people's struggles of the present.

"Pero hemos heredado tu firmeza,
tu inalterable corazón callado,

...
 y tú, entre la avalancha cegadora
 de húsares del pasado, entre los ágiles
 uniformes azules y dorados,
 estás hoy con nosotros, eres nuestro,
 padre del pueblo, inmutable soldado."

But not only soldiers and heroes are rescued and projected by poetry. In the same section there appears a poem dedicated to the Brazilian writer Castro Alves. The poet discusses in the text itself his reasons why he decided to include this poem. He starts by asking the Brazilian himself:

"Castro Alves del Brasil, ¿tú para quien cantaste?"

The question is put by the poet as a character who examines and assesses history. This role of the poet who investigates the historical facts and the men who participate in them is expressed and clarified in various parts of the collection (20). Being a storyteller the poet could assume the role of a examiner and continue the questioning. In a second movement of the poem, the Brazilian writer answers back in dramatic form.

"- Canté para los esclavos....

...
 - Canté en aquellos días contra el infierno,
 contra las afiladas lenguas de la codicia,
 contra el oro empapado en el tormento,
 contra la mano que empuñaba el látigo,
 contra los directores de tinieblas."

The Brazilian answers that his writings were a form of denouncing abuses committed against the common man of his time. First, he explains his poetic programme, enumerating the content of his protest poetry. Second, he states the constructive, optimistic, humanistic purpose of his writings. After this the poet chronicler offers his recognition and prize because in his view the Brazilian poet's poetry satisfies the questioning:

"déjame a mí, poeta de nuestra pobre América,
coronar tu cabeza con el laurel del pueblo."

Neruda, the poet, chronicler, judge of historical events and individuals, explains here the measurements he uses to evaluate poetic creativity. Castro Alves becomes a poet who deserves recognition because he expressed in his writings the voice and claims of the dominated.

On the other hand if one analyses the poem "Balmaceda de Chile" one could see Neruda's political and historical criteria for selecting subjects and individuals who deserve poetic recreation. The poem refers to the conflict which finally led the President to suicide. Neruda depicts Balmaceda as a solemn and tragic character in contrast to the frivolity and corruption of the conservative group. The President, according to the poet's account, wanted to retain control of national resources and wealth to invest in the transformation of the infrastructure of the country. The conservative Creoles however were happy to hand over the exploitation of those resources to foreign companies and receive commission for this service.

Clearly then in the poet's eyes the traitors to the national interest are Chileans who belong to the most traditional groupings, the well-to-do, the aristocrats, all of them from the dominant classes. The economic interests of these people opposed and contradicted the political project of the President. The conservative group are the victors in the conflict, leaving Balmaceda in a deadlock.

Neruda offers no concessions in his investigations and denunciations of the pettiness of traditionalist sectors, but he does not not apply the same rigour and tenacity to treason and cowardice among the dominated, for example in the poetic recreation of the rebellion of the Comuneros de Socorro or of Tupac Amaru.

In the first instance Neruda does not mention that in the conflict between the Comuneros and the Spanish Crown there were traitors among the rebels. In this case he mentions only

the treason of the Bishop who in the poet's eyes undermined the confidence of the rebels. (The Bishop did not cheat his own interests nor those of his class, nor his nationality; but he could not stop the action initiated by the repressive machinery of the authorities). The poet does not mention the traitors from the rebel camp who denounced, arrested and handed over their own leaders to the authorities. Neruda does not recount how José Antonio Galán was finally handed over by a group of his own people. As B. Keen and M. Wasserman say:

"The creole leaders of the revolt hastened to atone for their political sins by collaborating with the royalist. Galán, who had vainly urged a new march on Bogotá, was seized by a renegade leader and handed over to the Spaniards, who put him to death by hanging on January 30, 1782." (21).

A similar pattern is found in the case of the poem dedicated to the rebellion of Tupac Amaru. The poet blames the diabolical nature of the oppressors for the defeat and execution of the rebels and their leader. However there are facts and objective causes which explain the defeat of the popular rebellion in the mountains of Perú. Those facts indicate that an important sector and social group of those dominated under Colonial administration were determined to keep their lives and some privileges, and thus put themselves on the side of the authorities. Again in the opinion of the authors Keen and Wasserman:

Tactical errors, such as Tupac Amaru's failure to attack Cuzco before the arrival of Spanish reinforcement, poor communications between the rebel forces, the superior arms and organization of the royalist armies, divisions among the native nobility, and the failure of the great majority of creoles to support the revolt, doomed it to defeat. Many of the indian caciques, jealous of Tupac Amaru or fearful of losing their privileged status, led their subjects into the Spanish camp." (22).

Neruda does not mention treason when this comes from the rebels, he does not apply the same rigour and condemnation of treason as when its perpetrators are the conservative, traditionalist groups or individuals. Here the weakness and treason of those rebel leaders had a decisive role in the outcome of the revolt and especially in the execution of the main leaders, but the poet's condemnation falls only on the evil and malign nature of the dominant people (23).

9. THE COLLECTIVE HEROES OF LABOUR.

Few are the poems of this section dedicated to the heroism of a collective or a community or social group. Most of them are about heroic personalities or eminent individuals. Among the poems with a collective character one could mention: "Comuneros del Socorro", "La guerra patria", "La dilatada guerra", "América insurrecta". The rest are poems about famous men as individuals and their contribution to the war of independence, to the resistance of the natives or later to the formation of the new emergent republics.

However, the poem "Hacia Recabarren" which consists of nine parts, expresses the efforts of a community, in spite of its title which names an important individual in the history of the social and tradeunion struggles of the Chilean working class during the first decades of this century.

The first part of this set has as its theme the earth and minerals found in the soil. Then the poet indicates that the land referred to is the one known as the desert of the north of Chile. The poet does not say so explicitly but it can be observed that there is a progressive movement of clarification of the poetic theme.

The second part entitled "El cobre" explains what is the specific geographical context referred to in the nine poems. It also includes the personal participation of the poet:

Yo llegué al cobre, a Chuquicamata.

Era tarde en las cordilleras.
 El aire era como una copa
 fría, de seca transparencia."

These successive movements bring him closer to the poetic core of the series. The first elements in this process are physical ones: earth, minerals. Then come the afternoon and the air. Yet the poet already detects threatening signs among the elements of nature:

"la oblicua estrella, el penetrante
 planeta, como una lanza,
 me arrojaban un rayo helado
 de fuego frío, de amenaza."

This hostile atmosphere is again present in the next poem "La noche de Chuquicamata", as a new factor now appear: man. The environment may be cold and hostile but nevertheless man is found here. This presence of man is however, indicated at the beginning as shadows and signs which will be clarified step by step, till then human presence is defined:

Era una multitud grasienta,
 hambre y harapo, soledades,
 la que cavaba el socavón."

This is still a ghost-like collective creature, still untouchable and distant. The poet will get nearer and nearer to its presence.

In the meantime those threatening and mysterious materials, those impressive materials under the earth, yield their mysteries to human effort.

"Para excavar los huesos minerales
 de la estatua enterrada por los siglos,
 el hombre construyó las galerías
 de un teatro vacío."

Man gives existence and meaning to those materials. This

man is still here a generic creature. But in the fourth poem "Los chilenos" the poet specifies who are the ones who built this structure to exploit the minerals. These men are just not Chileans in general but a sector, a social group among them:

"Todo eso fue tu mano.

Tu mano fue la uña
del compatriota mineral, del "roto"
combatido, del pisoteado
material humano, del hombrecito con harapos."

The poet has got nearer the poetic core. Now these men are no longer shadows or generic men, but men who belong to a particular social group in a given nation. And this process of narrowing the focus of the poem through a sequence of circles is a new step forward. The poet is naming the people who have created all this wealth:

"Se trata de un cráter remoto:
aun desde la luna llena
se vería su profundidad
hecha mano a mano por
un tal Rodríguez, un tal Carrasco,
un tal Díaz Iturrieta,
un tal Abarca, un tal Gumersindo,
un tal chileno llamado mil."

The next poem repeats this naming of workers. The poet offers them the title of heroes because they are the ones who created the wealth and transformed the desert.

The poet also undergoes a transformation as a result of the process of learning and comprehension of the process of production of mineral wealth and the process of progressive movement towards man.

Así fue como conociendo,
entrando como a una uterina
originalidad de la entraña,

en tierra y vida, fui venciéndome:
 hasta sumirme en hombre, en agua
 de lágrimas como estalactitas,
 de pobre sangre despeñada,
 de sudor caído en el polvo."

The sixth poem "Oficios" gives the workers a foundational nature. They are the ones who create the territory and the wealth. Only the labour of those men made possible the useful existence of matter. They gave origin to that reality. In the poet's opinion those hands created the site from the first day of its existence.

The last three poems depict again the theme of the series. The desert, the land, the feeling of solitude in the vastness of the surroundings, the discovery of humanity, poverty and fraternity. And in the last of the nine poems the figure appears who gives his name to the title of the whole set of nine poems. The poet concludes the text about the collective hero who transforms and enriches the desert with labour with the poetic presence of a particular human representative of all the struggles of that community.

"vi venir del espacio puro
 de las pampas inabarcables
 un hombre hecho de su misma arena,
 un rostro inmóvil y extendido,
 un traje con un ancho cuerpo,
 unos ojos enterrados
 como lámparas indomables.

Recabarren era su nombre."

10. MATERIAL WEIGHT OF THE WORLD, TOTALITY OF TIME AND CONTINENTALITY OF THE SUBJECT.

Section V "La arena traicionada" starts with a text which explains why the poet insists in detail on the theme of the most tragic moments, the most bitter and unfortunate stories of American man: exploitation, crimes, treason, war, tyrannies, executions and all the painful beginning and growth of capitalist society with its consequent class society. The poem which does not have a title appears as an introduction, explaining and laying the foundations for all those themes and by extension for the whole collection.

Probably -says the poet- to forget could be an efficient mechanism to overcome past miseries and probably life could go on as happens in nature. Probably there are means to overcome all those tragic moments of history and man could go on with living in spite of them. But, summing up he adds that he understands things otherwise. Definitely, to forget could not enable man to overcome the past. To do that the whole past must be considered, the whole of history has to be taken into account because that totality is permanently acting upon man.

"mis labios se abren sobre todo el tiempo, y todo el tiempo,
no sólo una parte del tiempo ha gastado mis manos."

That is why one must consider all these painful facts, and not because there is any pleasure in painful memories, regret, or bitterness. One needs the knowledge and the understanding of the totality of time to grow and advance properly in search of a better future.

"Por eso te hablaré de estos dolores que quisiera
apartar,
te obligaré a vivir una vez más entre tus
quemaduras,
...
...para caminar conociendo, para tocar la rectitud

con decisiones infinitamente cargadas de sentido,
para que la severidad sea una condición de la alegría,
para
que así seamos invencibles."

Only with a careful examination of the past, once the key historical facts are deciphered, can man conquer the future. And this examination has to be undertaken not because the remembrance of a painful past is agreeable, but to clarify knowledge and contribute to man's decision-making process.

The poet is proposing the consideration of time as a totality acting upon man, and that is why he presents all these stories about tyrants and the theme of the victories and banners conquered by all and being snatched away and possessed now by only a social group. In that way he creates a negative moment after the dialectic overcoming of another previous historical moment. This theme will appear again and was mentioned in the poem "Las satrapías", and at the moment of O'Higgins' struggles. Now, when the poet is depicting the American dictatorships of the forties just after the Second World War he says:

Trujillo, Somoza, Carías,
hasta hoy, hasta este amargo
mes de septiembre
del año 1948,
con Moriñigo (o Natalicio)
en Paraguay, hienas voraces
de nuestra historia, roedores
de las banderas conquistadas
con tanta sangre y tanto fuego,..."
(Las satrapías).

Dictatorships are seen as a continental expression. They have taken possession of power by snatching the victories of the communities' struggles and continue history with the backing of evil. Every one of the dictators, Doctor Francia, Rosas or García Moreno, are miserable men who do not have a possible projection on time. Their existences will finish in solitude and nothingness: Francia, "agoniza y muere perdido en la soledad del

palacio"; García Moreno, "rodó hasta el fondo de las masacres" and does not come back. Gómez of Venezuela fell in his own misery "Hasta morir, desaparecido, perdido." The evil men fall while the forces of goodness on the other hand survive.

These themes of the historic and geographical totality of the continent are again taken up in section VI "América no invoco tu nombre en vano." Here the poet insists on the totality and everything is observable to the poet:

"De noche y día veo martirios,
de día y noche veo al encadenado,
al rubio, al negro, al indio
escribiendo con manos golpeadas y fosfóricas
en las interminables paredes de la noche."
(Centroamérica).

In the poem "América" he explains again that he considers the total sum of experience, not only his personal experience, but that of the whole past, and he seeks to comprehend the future as well.

"Todo es mi noche, todo
es mi día, todo
es mi aire, todo
es lo que vivo, sufro, levanto y agonizo."

In the poet's view it is the totality of things, the objective real world and history, that affect him. He goes on to explain that this totality has its roots in the material world. The theme of the totality which affects him is linked to the material foundation of the world. The images which depict this motif include materials such as earth, sand, clay, stones.

"América, no de noche
ni de luz están hechas las sílabas que canto.
De tierra es la materia apoderada
del fulgor y del pan de mi victoria,
y no es sueño mi sueño sino tierra.
Duermo rodeado de espaciosa arcilla

y por mis manos corre cuando vivo
 un manantial de caudalosas tierras.
 Y no es vino el que bebo sino tierra,
 tierra escondida, tierra de mi boca,..."

There are two basic elements underlying this poetry: the material foundation of the world and the historical passage of time. These are the main components of the poet's experience. The poet feels surrounded by this materiality of the continent and he is also immersed in a time which has historical weight and where the poet establishes his poetic ego. In the poem "América" he defines once more the main components of his creativity: the materialistic weight of the world, a history which comprises the past and the future, and the combativity of man expressed in the image of "litoral" and "campanas":

"Estoy, estoy rodeado
 por madreselva y páramo, por chacal y centella,
 por el endadenado perfume de las lilas:
 estoy, estoy rodeado
 por días, meses, aguas que sólo yo conozco,
 por uñas, peces, meses que sólo yo establezco,
 estoy, estoy rodeado
 por la delgada espuma combatiente
 del litoral poblado de campanas."

The themes and subject matter of the section emphasize the relationship with these intentions. The subject matter is general on nature; "Los crímenes", "Juventud", "Los climas", "Las dictaduras", "Centroamérica", "Patagonia". They do not refer to particular individuals or names as in other sections of the collection. Here everything is drawn in the round, in generic terms. The only individual figure is that of the poet himself. He is there in the midst of that impressive material consistency of the world. The poetic ego feels itself as part of the physical surroundings. Nature is that maternal, generative substance. And in it also there is this other symbolic figure which embodies the combative material which transforms history: the burning blood. The last poem of the section sums up the idea of the poetic ego immersed in the midst of this generative world,

surrounded by the totality of nature:

"Soy y estoy...

vivo...

duermo y despierto...

...

empapado en esperma de tu especie,
amamantado en sangre de tu herencia."
(América no invocó tu nombre en vano).

11. SETTING UP OF AN UNJUST STATE.

The second part of Section V contains 19 poems which depict the founding and construction of the capitalist, bourgeois states of the continent. The dominant group sets up the rules of the game. It worth recalling how, in Section IV ("Los libertadores") under the title "Intermedio" the poet presented how things were before the rebellions of the 18th and 19th centuries. "Intermedio" showed the rules of the store and the recently arrived trifles being imposed. The new owners of the recently divided land, the slave trader and those who had gained possession of the victories of the conquerors, were those who set up the unjust Colonial system and administered it.

Here, new groups have taken possession of those gains in the name of independence and republicanism; they are determined now to build up a new economic order and the legal system of a new state. Again there are groups representing the most ambitious people raising the newly embroidered banners and flags which represent a multiform and heterogeneous group, from across the range of the Creole population.

In the poem "Bernardo O'Higgins Riquelme (1810)" appears the same theme of the flags usurped and taken away from the victorious sectors in another period of time. Now in the poem "Las oligarquías" the poet says:

"No, aún no secaban las banderas,
aún no dormían los soldados

cuando la libertad cambió de traje,
se transformó en hacienda:"

Or in the poem "La crema" when the poet adds:

"pero cuando el viento arrogante
del pueblo, agitando sus lanzas,
nos dejó la patria en los brazos,
surgisteis alambrando tierras,
midiendo cercas, hacinando
áreas y seres, repartiendo
la policía y los estancos."

The poet understands that events happen in changeable ways, clashing with and overcoming each other; the new state emerges as a result of class struggle and the contradictions and miseries that underpin it.

As the new state is organised and structured, its innovative nature is aggressive, violent and tireless.

Karl Marx and F. Engels described it in the Communist Manifesto in the following terms:

"The bourgeoisie, whenever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations" (24).

The poet says that in the setting up of the new state the dominant sectors:

"Hicieron una línea negra:
Aquí nosotros, porfiristas
de México, 'caballeros'
de Chile, pitucos
del Jockey Club de Buenos Aires,
engomados filibusteros
del Uruguay,...

Allá vosotros, rotos, cholos,

pelados de México, gauchos,
 amontonados en pocilgas,
 desamparados, andrajosos,..."
 (Las oligarquías).

The new social structure thus contains a dominant sector and a dominated conglomerate on the other side; and the structure is continental. This form of state organisation soon produces typical human characters and situations; on the one hand, the solemn declaration of the unjust law, the declaration of private property, religious alienation, and on the other the poets who sell themselves, the ad hoc writers who can be bought, -"los siúuticos"- lawyers who defend foreign interest, the ad hoc diplomats, the brothels. And there is also the presence of the multinational companies which are represented in the series by three poems describing the performance of international business operating in a world organised at their mercy.

In contrast, the poet presents also the working man of the most miserable strata, those who suffer the consequences of the new order. This man is degraded, forgotten, treated as a beast:

"Anda por nuestra América un fantasma
 nutrido de detritus, iletrado,
 errante, igual en nuestras latitudes,
 saliendo de las cárceles fangosas...."
 (Las oligarquías).

"Torvos, tostados, harapientos,
 son apiñados, conducidos
 con una botella en la mano,
 vigilados y apretujados
 vuelven a cobrar la paga,
 y otra vez hacia las carreteras
 enfilados como caballos
 los han conducido."
 (Elección en Chimbarongo).

"Naufragó en vino hasta perderse,
abandonado, invadido
por un ejército de piojos
y de vampiros..."
(La crema).

Alienation, brutalization, exploitation are not a literary invention or the poet's discovery. They are the consequence of an economic structure and of the way these specific states work. In the same document by Marx and Engels already quoted one can read:

"The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers." (25).

And the poet for instance, asks what the poets have done in view of what is happening to the forgotten people.

"Qué hicisteis vosotros...
ante el reinado de la injusticia,
frente a este oscuro ser humano,
a esta pateada compostura,
a esta cabeza sumergida
en el estiércol, a esta esencia
de ásperas vidas pisoteadas?"
(Los poetas celestes).

But those particular poets are not interested in the fate of the dominated. On the contrary, they care only about themselves.

Later, after describing the multinationals the poet clarifies his own position and actions regarding the characterisation of this world. The poem is "Las tierras y los hombres". The text follows a repetitive pattern. To the ambitious capitalist, exploitation of the land follows in intensity what happens in the cities; in both of them there is misery and social degradation.

And it is in the cities where the poet saw, judged, knew and took decisions. He states clearly:

"Yo he visto en los agrios recodos
de Talcahuano..."

Yo entré en las casas profundas,
...
vi arrastrarse seres hambrientos..."

The poet includes his participation as a story teller and also as a person in the story and expresses the idea of once having that experience he took a decision:

"Entonces me hice soldado:
número oscuro, regimiento,
orden de puños...
sistema de la inteligencia,
fibra del tiempo innumerable..."

It has been noted how the word "Entonces" organises the poetic text with notions of time and space. It divides the flow of time into meaningful moments and indicates a precise moment where a qualitative change is produced. The poet specifies that at that moment he became something special, he was different. At that point he became a part of something more powerful than himself as an individual -he became part of a collective force.

"Y vi cuántos éramos, cuántos
estaban junto a mí,...
eran todos los hombres,
no tenían rostro, eran pueblo."
(Las tierras y los hombres).

The natives.

From the beginning of the collection the theme of the native people is a constant. At the time of the continent's emergence the existence of the early man is assimilated to nature and the

material world; man is part of matter. This theme is clearly depicted when the poet presents the Araucanians. In Section V, in the poem "Los indios", when the poet is characterising the capitalist state, the natives are integrated as a social class into the conglomerate of the dominated.

The poet recalls first the early stages of these people their life as part of nature, then their subjugation and degradation, and later their entry in the social conglomerate of the poor.

"El que gastó la luna, el que peinaba
la misteriosa soledad del mundo,
el que no transcurrió sin levantarse
en altas piedras de aire coronadas,
el que duró como la luz celeste
bajo la magnitud de su arboleda,
se gastó de repente hasta ser hilo,
se convirtió en arrugas,
desmenuzó sus torres torrenciales
y recibió su paquete de harapos."
(Los indios).

In early existence, man was the constructor and creator of his own world, society was later organised in such a way as to form a subjugated and persecuted human being. The new state depicted by the poet proves especially hostile to the Indian population, persecuting them, putting a price on their heads so that they were hunted down by mercenaries or settlers and brought to the towns' markets.

Isolated from the old way of living with and relating to nature, the Indians were subjected to the new order. But this new order which degenerated them, created a contradiction in itself by creating a class society and a collective actor whose political task was to overcome those conditions. The native in the final stanza of the poem enters the only possible integration left by the system, joining the social class that goes hand in hand with their own interests. They became integrated into the social class of the dispossessed.

Y entró en la única puerta que le abrieron,
la puerta de otros pobres, la de todos
los azotados pobres de la tierra."

The Communist Manifesto again comes to mind in its description of the thrust and driving force of the bourgeois state, its unstoppable advance in the search for new markets, in its creation of new possibilities for profits, its destruction of obstacles to the pursuit of its development, its incursions in every land and nation:

"It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst." (26).

But the same tools and equipment which the bourgeoisie use to destroy and subdue those societies it encroaches upon, will be used to overcome its own state. That bourgeois state creates its own exterminator, generating the social class which will overcome the contradictions created by it. The natives end up by being integrated into that social class who are going to struggle to overcome the situation.

"But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself, it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons - the modern working class - the proletarians." (27).

As the Manifesto shows, as capitalist society develops the working class also develops. And it is this developing working class that absorbs the social conglomerate of the Indian population. The development of the material situation offers this alternative to natives.

The poet includes the Indian in the whole world which he has depicted in the collection. It started by depicting the early man of the continent at the first stages, living in accordance with nature as part of the materialist world organised and

created by himself. But this state of things changed and the new state subdued and subjugated him, (historically the Indian was exterminated in numerous areas of the continent) leaving only one possible way out for the Indian finds his integration into the social class of the dominated.

12. THE STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME INJUSTICE.

Exploitation, tyrannies, brutalization of the poor, defeated rebellions, the execution of the fighters for freedom is a theme that does have a counterweight: the struggle to overcome the conditions. The struggle is depicted on various pages of the collection and sometimes presented in its symbolic form of the "Gota de sangre que arde". From the spilled blood of the struggle new men will emerge. In that drop of blood trembles the new life. It is the symbol of the burning blood:

"Yo encontré por los muros de la patria,
junto a la nieve y su cristalería,
detrás del río de ramaje verde,
debajo del nitrato y de la espiga,
una gota de sangre de mi pueblo
y cada gota, como el fuego ardía."

This image of burning blood contains the idea of struggle which does not die. From the sacrifice of those who die in the struggle a new life will emerge to overcome a new stage in the conditions. The same theme is found in the poem "Los llamo". Here the aim is to remember the ones who fell but also showing that life still reverberates in the message left behind:

"Juramos en tu nombre continuar esta lucha
para que así florezca tu sangre derramada".

All these themes -exploitation, tyrannies, social struggle, the burning blood, have a continental dimension. Very often the poet speaks of "Nuestra lucha" signalling the fact of a collective struggle which has this overall presence. The themes of working, oppression and the struggle are intimately linked and

developed as in the last part of "La arena traicionada". Miners work deep in earth or in the desert. The system brutalizes and oppresses them in various ways. But their answer comes in dialectical manner, as exemplified in the poem "Grecia" about the coal miners of the south of Chile. Here these miners, like the dockers of Valparaíso or the northern miners, are poetic prototypes, apart from being a concrete example of communities at work. The poet exemplifies with them a particular view of the poetic world.

"y bajo el mar sombrío el hombre
cava y cava el reino negro."

Later comes the depiction of the workers reaction with their strike and the counter reaction of the system.

"La arena traicionada" depicts a long historical process. In it some individual tyrants are mentioned. In its vastness the continent has given origin to those forces of evil which perish and end in nothingness. Another set of poems presents the formation of the capitalist states, their characterisation, the vitality of the ruling classes in command and the miseries of the underclass. The third part, starting with the poem "Los muertos de la plaza" is about the popular rebellion of the class which is struggling to change those injustices. The struggle could not finish with their deaths or with the last repressive measures. It is going to continue in "La sangre que arde" from which new fighters will emerge (28).

13. WORKERS HAVE A NAME, A SURNAME AND A TRADE.

The section "La tierra se llama Juan" is the one which presents workers with a name and each one with a trade. Only the last poem of the section depicts an individual with no surname and his figure is archetypal and symbolic. He is a figure who does not die, nor sicken. He is an heroic figure -idealised, strong and invincible, marching towards the future. The rest of the poems have as a title the name of a common man and his trade. For example: "Cristóbal Miranda (Palermo-Tocopilla)",

Jesús Gutiérrez (Agrarista)", "Olegario Sepúlveda (zapatero. Talcahuano)", "Arturo Carrión (Navegante. Iquique)". There is also a popular poet, a fisherman, a miner from Bolivia, two women workers. Clearly the section depicts workers and these are represented by individuals with a typical story told by themselves and where the poet also participates with his comments.

In general the poems protest about the working conditions of these men. Their labour is not a form of satisfaction for them. On the contrary, they feel exploited, humiliated, and even their struggle seems to offer no way out. The strike generates more repression. The workers seem condemned to suffering and frustration. Only death brings an end to their miseries and a form of rest.

The poem about the popular poet Abraham Jesús Brito depicts a man who exemplifies an active participating life among the miners. Death finishes that miserable life and bring peace and satisfies one of the most appreciated wishes of the popular poet:

"Arbol errante, ahora tus raíces
cantan bajo la tierra y en silencio.
Un poco más profundo eres ahora.
Ahora tienes tierra y tienes tiempo."

The popular creator is seen as a craftsman who works with a material as other trademen work in theirs:

"Iba por los ramales arenosos,
...
construyendo el romance clavo a clavo,
y teja a teja levantando el verso:"

Also in the poem "Margarita Naranjo (Salitrera 'María Elena'. Antofagasta)" the woman hero allowed herself to die to end a life of injustice. Her attitude is that of a protester but at the same time she feels defeated. And there is the poem about the Bolivian miner "José Cruz Achachalla" when the man decides to

stop and die on the spot after growing tired of a hard working life:

"José Cruz Achachalla, sí,
no sigas moviendo los pies,
hasta aquí llegaste, hasta aquí,
Achachalla, hasta aquí llegaste."

"Juan Figueroa" exposes clearly this motif of death as a sort of welcome end to a hard miserable life. The worker in this case receives the poet and talks to him. "Usted es Neruda? Pase camarada". The man explains the conditions of his work and what happens if he protests about it. Finally he expresses that idea of finding rest and a sort of liberation from suffering when death comes to men like him:

"Aquí me tiene usted, ya soy el último:
¿dónde está Sánchez?, ¿dónde está Rodríguez?
Podridos bajo el polvo de polvillo.
Al fin la muerte les dió lo que pedíamos:"

Why are these men dissatisfied with their work? Why do they feel frustrated and undervalued to the point where they take death as a liberating force from the miseries of their lives. The poet explains:

"Qué vida la de los nuestros, qué alegrías segadas,
qué fuerzas destruídas por la comida innoble,
qué cantos derribados por la vivienda rota,
qué poderes del hombre deshechos por el hombre!"

When he mentions the power of men, he refers in the context of poems dedicated to work, to the transformative power of work. To the capacity to make a better world. But this power, says the poet, is diminished, distorted and destroyed by man when work is organised with aims which contradict the realisation and fulfilment of man. Here the poet denounces alienated work and the conditions of that work. When the aims of production are not to transform the world, to get better conditions of life, but greed, man brings into labour an element

which condemns workers to frustration. (29).

"No es el gas: es la codicia la que mata en Sewel".

Nevertheless there is also the theme of rebellion or the potential for rebellion. The poem "Amador Cea" presents the case of this man, who in spite of repressive measures against him is determined to go on fighting. The circumstances do not defeat him. Or in the poem "Jesús Gutiérrez (Agrarista)" where the instruments of liberation are there behind his door, resting now:

"y aquí colgado en la pared
junto a la puerta la canana
el fusil listo,
por la tierra, por nuestro pan,"

14. LABOUR AS FULFILMENT AND PROJECTION OF MAN.

It is in the section "Canto general de Chile" that the poet celebrates labour as an activity where workers get a sense of fulfilment out of it. Here the poet celebrates three forms of craftsmanship: leather work, pottery and textiles.

The first title is about the making of a traditional saddle, involving metals, leather and manual sewing. The poet praises the richness and perfection of the object and the happiness of the tradesman who has given a new object to the world. The craftsman feels a sense of satisfaction with the finished work. The object is a way of projecting himself and his creativity through materials.

The second poem praises creativity and its expression, despite negative and difficult conditions. The creativity of the potter is seen as a superior way of transforming nature. From earth and mud emerge new objects thanks to the hands of these anonymous people.

"Sóis reunión de sueños escondidos,

cerámica, paloma indestructible!".

To the poet this form added to mud has eternal existence. To him this is one of the eminent forms of creativity.

The third text "Telares" praises again creativity in labour. The maker expresses himself in the work and obtains satisfaction from the finished object. Here the poet presents the pleasure obtained by labour's creativity. The new object shows the happiness of the maker, his delight in creativity.

"substituyendo hebra por hebra el cielo
para que cante el hombre sus amores
y galope encendiendo cererales!."

As can be seen the three poems praise a form of labour which is not subject to the aim of production for greed. Here the product is not alien to the maker, but on the contrary, is a form of popular craftsmanship, where creativity is an important part of the finished product. Men here manifest themselves in the process of production and in the object itself. Workers celebrate their happiness with the detailed finishing and the colourful combinations.

14.a. Peasants' labour in section XI: "Las flores de Punitaqui."

Exceptionally this section contains poems dedicated to peasants' work and to problems of land exploitation. The poet shows the meaning of rain or the importance of water for cultivation, the efforts of farming, the frustration of wasted production after a year of working, the annoyance of wasted effort, the loss of land to thieves of lands. The poet praises only one or two aspects of farm production as the action of the sun over grape plants or the moment when some women give him a bunch of flowers in Punitaqui. Most of his observations about this subject concern the problems faced by smallholders.

These workers of the land seem to be, however, from the

poor sector of the farmers. The poet does not say if they belong to the labouring sector but from the context it seems they belong to that impoverished sector of small farmers.

"Es este jueves de las pequeñas semillas
que en sus bolsas guardaron los campesinos
hambrientos:
hoy apresuradamente picarán la tierra y en ella
dejarán caer sus granitos de verde vida."
(El valle de las piedras.(1946))."

Then the poet, including himself personally in the story, receives the complaint of peasants about the use of water:

Hermano,
no hay agua,hermano Pablo, no hay agua, no ha
llovido."

But even if the poet expresses a real complaint of the peasants of the north of Chile around 1946, at the time when Neruda was a Senator for that area, the poetic text is limited and does not recreate the situation successfully. The poet forcefully commits himself to a problem which he believes will not receive the attention of the authorities. He does not establish the potential for solving the problem of the people themselves or otherwise. Soon, in the same section, he returns to the subject of mining where he feels more comfortable. Poetry about peasants or workers of the land is nearly completely absent, as can be observed.

"Subamos desde la agricultura al oro."
(Hacia los minerales).

It is from here, from the capitalist exploitation of minerals, and with the example of the extraction of gold, that the poet gives in a set of poems a more complete vision of production and class struggle. He starts this poetic vision of the mode of mineral production by travelling:

"Después de las altas piedras

de sal y de oro, a la enterrada
 república de los metales
 subí:"
 (Hacia los minerales).

Then he goes on to name the places and the human presences of those who work in the mining. He mentions the tools which have the marks of human use. In the poem "El oro" he states that the mineral is produced by common men. Their hands and their efforts purify the final product. Till then men and mineral have a relationship which is still in a state of purity, between man and nature. But the gold is taken away from those hands and given an added value, a commercial dimension which transforms it into a hostile product alien to the man who produced it. Gold becomes an enemy and an oppressor.

"el hombre seguirá mordiendo el polvo,
 seguirá siendo tierra pedregosa,
 y el oro subirá sobre su sangre
 hasta herir y reinar sobre el herido."

And gold will go on corrupting, rotting, manipulating, buying, diminishing, prostituting. Everything falls under its power. Yet the poet follows his poetic denunciation and search:

"Fui más allá del oro: entré en la huelga."

Here there is a another level of this complex subject of production, distribution and consumption of gold. Here the poet claims to have discovered another dimension of man, a note of truthfulness in man on strike and in solidarity. While gold has become aggressive and hostile to the workers, these men present here their truly vital and noble characteristics:

"vi por primera vez lo único vivo!
 La unidad de las vidas de los hombres."

In the fraternity of people on strike the poet finds a superior form of humanity. But this strike and solidarity have also their counterweight and opposite in the law, the chief, the

Church, the gold, the man with a knife, death. These are the entities which oppress.

The poem "La huelga" complements this vision of the production of gold in the capitalist mode of production. And here the absence of workers from the factory leaves it empty and lifeless. This establishes that the machinery becomes a useless pile of material if the workers are absent.

"Extraña era la fábrica inactiva.
 Un silencio en la planta, una distancia
 ...
 quedó un montón de inútiles aceros
 y en las salas sin hombre, el aire viudo,
 ...
 Nada existía sin aquel fragmento
 golpeado, sin Ramírez,
 sin el hombre de ropa desgarrada."

If the worker who commands is absent the machinery is dead. The strike then shows that in the relationship between man and machinery man is a necessary and vital element of the pair. Machinery is the element at his command. "La huelga" is in that respect a sort of introduction to the final part of the section which deals with workers' struggles. The theme is expressed in the motifs of "the people's flags", "the people's shooting", "the singing" or "the unextinguished fire", "the burning blood", or "the men's step". This struggle brings an optimistic view that there is a new superior level to struggle for.

The poet recognises that this struggle of the people together with the creative power of man's work are the main foundations for optimism. The last part of the section celebrates the creative power of labour and its unlimited capacity to transform and enrich the world. The construction of a better level of existence is possible on these foundations and the poet praises that possibility:

"Sobre esta claridad irá naciendo
 la granja, la ciudad, la minería,
 y sobre esta unidad como la tierra
 firme y germinadora se ha dispuesto
 la creadora permanencia, el germen
 de la nueva ciudad para las vidas."
 (La letra).

Clearly the struggle of people creates the foundation on which creative liberated labour can build the new superior order. This new construction is the optimistic final note with which the poet celebrates the final part of the section. Here the poet deals with confidence in the struggles of men as well as in the creative capacity of labour (30).

14. b. The statue builders.

"Los constructores de estatuas", one of the poems about Easter Island also praises creative labour. It is worth noting that the builder (who is also the poetic speaker) identifies himself with the statues: "Las estatuas son lo que fuimos, somos nosotros" says the poetic ego. The statues are that "Nosotros" as well as other levels of the native race who build them:

"Ellas tienen mi rostro petrificado, la grave
 soledad de mi patria, la piel de Oceanía."

More than that. They survive time to show in their way how man by means of his creative capacity can also survive. Death could come to many lives but the statues will remain there.

"Se van a consumir esta carne y la otra,
 ...
 y tú estatua, hija del hombre, quedarás
 mirando con los ojos vacíos..."

It was the patient and laborious effort of man which produced these objects. Man added to these stones the firmness

and energy of creativity. It was on the other hand a number of anonymous people who gave a form to this material through sacrifice and nameless effort. The man, small, mortal, anonymous but a creative creature defeated death as a result of creative labour.

15. THE PAST RECREATED. HOPEFULNESS.

The last section recreates some meaningful moments in the poet's biography. The poet remembers historical situations, geographical themes, people. Here the presence of workers and their products can be found, now seen with the maturity and the perspective of the adult poet. The remembrance starts with the year 1904, when the poet was born, then continues with his period as a student, his oriental journey, Spain, love, México, the return to his native country.

The poem "La frontera (1904)" recalls his early infancy, the family house, his father going out to work, the dusty street in front of the house:

"por donde las carretas crujían y lloraban
embarazadas con nueve meses de trigo"

The remembrance of infancy and in this case of the result of the cultivation of the nearby lands, are here presented in a happy atmosphere. The remembrance idealises. "Lo primero que vi" says the poet; yet the adolescent poems made no mention of these events recreated now in maturity.

The same happens in "La casa" where the poet remembers the workers who accompanied his father and the sociability and hospitality of his father:

"De pronto trepidaron las puertas.
Es mi padre. Lo rodean los centuriones del camino:
ferroviarios envueltos en sus mantas mojadas,..."

Here the poet mentions as well his vision of men who come

from the outside world. They come wet and cold but in solidarity to share a few stories, some bread and wine. But this is a recreated view of the comradeship of those men. Also as a young man during the twenties the poet found himself in a similar pattern of life as a student in the capital. As he says in "Compañeros de viaje (1921)" he became involved in comradeship and the solidarity of men dedicated to similar duties as those of his father:

"Entré a ser hombre
cantando entre las llamas, acogido
por compañeros de condición nocturna
que cantaron conmigo en los mesones,...".

The text about his residence in the East exemplifies once again this recreation of the past (31). Now, with the perspective and experience of years, he can say with no doubt that the East was also divided into social classes, something he did not discover or see when he lived and wrote in that place:

"Capitanes y príncipes
vivían sobre el húmedo estertor
de agonizantes lámparas, desangrando
la vida de los pobres artesanos."
(Las máscaras de yeso).

He refers to the real misery of those people. He remembers that vividly. Now at the end of the decade of the forties he can recreate the social atmosphere in which he lived in 1927, at the time when he lived a persistent interest in himself and the world in its immanent destruction.

"El regreso" celebrates his inclusion as an individual in the struggle of many. The poet has found a community which accepts him to share again wine and comradeship. The poet discovers the happiness of writing for people, even when he recognises immediately that this is more an illusion than reality, but with time poetry will reach at the most forgotten sectors and that will be the best recognition of the poet's efforts of today. Now the poet is confident in the people themselves to improve their

own development. The popular man will overcome the present circumstances:

"Yo tengo frente a mí sólo semillas
desarrollos radiantes y dulzura."

CHAPTER SIX

ODAS ELEMENTALES (1).

1. THE POET AS A CRAFTSMAN.

In January of 1954 a few months before the publication of Odas Neruda gave a set of Lectures at the Universidad de Chile in Santiago. In those Lectures he explained a number of topics related to his poetry and biography. One of them is the theme that the poet is also a worker and that his trade is neither more nor less important than others; it deserves the same respect as any other and must be considered with the same seriousness as others.

These ideas go hand in hand at that moment with his intention to write for a widening public which is now reaching those less educated sectors. Towards the end of Canto General, for instance, Neruda proposed that his writing should reach the most modest sector of the population. Then during 1953 he wrote about his intention to write in a simpler way because he wanted to reach those sectors which had less opportunity to receive a regular education. So he said in his "Discurso al Congreso Continental de la Cultura" in Santiago in May of that year.

"Escribimos para gente tan modesta que muchas veces, muchas veces, no sabe leer. Sin embargo sobre la tierra, antes de la escritura y de la imprenta, existió la poesía. Por eso sabemos que la poesía es como el pan, y debe compartirse por todos, los letrados y los campesinos, por toda nuestra vasta, increíble, extraordinaria familia de pueblos." (2).

Therefore, when he proposed in those Lectures of 1954 the concept of the poet as a craftsman, this idea had already some antecedent. At the same time one has to remember that many of the Odas were already composed as they were published in July of that year by Losada. This idea of the poet as worker persisted and was expressed again in his Memorias which were written in part at the beginning of 1973, in the section "Versos cortos y largos", for example, he wrote :

"Si suena vanidoso lo que digo tendrán ustedes la razón. En mi caso se trata de la vanidad del artesano que ha ejercitado un oficio por largos años con amor indeleble."

"Pero de una cosa estoy satisfecho y es que en alguna forma u otra he hecho respetar, por lo menos en mi patria, el oficio de poeta, la profesión de la poesía." (3).

The idea of the poet as worker arose at the time when Neruda was convinced that his task was to write for widening and more numerous sectors with a positive and constructive message, with confidence in man's abilities to improve the conditions of the world, and ensure a better future for mankind.

From the second of those Lectures, for example, E. Rodríguez Monegal quotes a text which states that the poet is a worker who guides the deep-rooted feelings of humans, the main orientation for humankind of a given period:

"El poeta no es 'un pequeño dios', ni ha arrebatado el fuego celeste, ni procede de una raza especial, andrógena o maligna. El poeta es el trabajador de oficio. Este oficio no es más importante que los otros. No es más arriesgado que los otros, salvo cuando se enfrenta con las fuerzas sociales regresivas. Entonces es peligroso porque habla, porque es portavoz de la verdad. Es un oficio delicado porque debe expresar muchos sentidos inexpresados,... Es un oficio parecido al del barquero. Debe dirigir su barca y saber dejarse

llevar por la corriente sin perder la dirección." (4).

This poet as a craftsman, writing for those less cultivated sectors, has to overcome first some difficulties and cultural prejudices. The task is not an easy one if one understands poetry as the expression of an infinite amount of human possibilities given in language and as in Neruda's case when the poet himself cultivated a rhetoric with a variety of linguistic resources. He himself experienced the problems arising as a result of a theoretical proposition and the particular poetic expression.

"Yo confieso que escribir sencillamente ha sido mi más difícil empeño." (5).

"Me costó mucho salir de la oscuridad a la claridad, porque la oscuridad verbal ha pasado a ser entre nosotros un privilegio de casta literaria, y los prejuicios de clase han tenido como plebeya la expresión popular, la semilla del canto." (6).

"El mayor problema de estos años en la poesía, y naturalmente, en mi poesía, ha sido el de la oscuridad y la claridad..." (7).

Neruda based the new poetic requirements on the one hand on his intention of writing for that widening sector of new readers and listeners who in their majority came from the less privileged social groups. He also found grounds in his class origins as he explained in one of his 1954 lectures. Then, it was not only a theoretical proposition he arrived at by way of education, political affiliation, ideology or because of his travelling. Now, at the age of fifty he recognised the link between his class background and the poetic needs of the present:

"Ya les conté a ustedes de donde vengo, de la frontera. Ya saben ustedes y conocen la naturaleza de los hombres, las vidas que crecieron conmigo. Si yo no fuera un hombre sencillo, si no tratara de ser un poeta

sencillo, sería desleal con los fundamentos de mi poesía." (8).

The poet took on his trade understanding it to be like any other; and in his case, he managed to win the respect of a large audience. But this extension of the audience brought with it new requirements regarding poetic rhetoric. The poet faced the task of simplifying his expression to make it accessible to the public he wanted now to reach.

2. THE ONLY INVISIBLE ONE.

The first poem of Odas elementales is "El hombre invisible". It is an introductory declaration of principles about his new ideas on poetic creativity. In the first place he judges the poets who become lost in thought, those egocentric, personalistic individuals. Those poets, says Neruda, always use the form "Yo" and things around them disappear; nothing exists but the egocentric poet and his feelings. But, exceptional to other occasions the poet here states a critical remembrance of his own previous creation. The characterisation of it seems extremely relevant to his own earlier poetry (9).

The poet goes on to signal what in his view are his own peculiarities as a poet, stressing the difference with those egocentric poets of the first lines.

"Yo no soy superior...
y solo yo no existo..."

Nevertheless this poetic ego also has a particular quality. He is the only invisible one, the one who is in a loose relationship to men, the one who receives their complaints and sees their happiness. This poet is then a point of reunion for everyone and he composes as everyone requires. This poet is assimilated to the totality where he lives and participates in the community's life. His creativity gathers the elements of that totality and expresses it as the poet faces the fate of all

men. His job is then to compose for all and about all. In that way there is no room for his own affairs: he is the invisible one.

"Yo no tengo importancia,
no tengo tiempo
para mis asuntos,
de noche y de día
debo anotar lo que pasa,
y no olvidar a nadie."

This idea of the poet as a tradesman, supposedly with no intentions of being a different human being, who enjoys no privilege over other workers, is expressed also in numerous poems of the collection. In "Oda a la crítica" for instance, he says:

"Yo escribí cinco versos:
uno verde,
otro era un pan redondo,
el tercero una casa levantándose,
el cuarto era un anillo,
el quinto verso era
corto como un relámpago
y al escribirlo
me dejó en la razón su quemadura."

Lines are the objects made by the poet. Lines are for use. They are applicable materials in everyday life, independent objects, permanent or ephemeral, which accompany man's life. Everyone of them has its peculiarity, its consistency and its validity in other men's life. These other men are the simple people among whom poetry finds itself in its natural element. To those people belong the result of the poet's labour. Critics with their comments, the poet adds, desintegrate and kill the poetic text. Only in its natural environment, that is, among the simple common people, does poetry recover its utility, its own character.

" ... los hombres,

las mujeres,
 vinieron y tomaron
 la sencilla materia,
 brizna, viento, fulgor, barro, madera,
 y con tan poca cosa
 construyeron
 paredes, pisos, sueños.
 En una línea de mi poesía
 secaron ropa al viento."

There is a third moment and proposition in the poem where the poet decides to go and join the simple people. But this proposal appears to be wishful thinking rather than a practical decision or possibility at the time. It belongs to the level of utopian and poetic expression of sentiments. The poet in his effort to project his creativity on to the common people expresses the possibility of moving to join them at the level of fiction.

"Y ahora,
 perdonadme, señores,
 que interrumpa este cuento
 que les estoy cantando
 y me vaya a vivir
 para siempre
 con la gente sencilla." (10).

This notion that the product of the poet is useful to the rest of the community as material or an implement which accompanies man yet which has an independence with respect to its producer is also stated in the poem "Oda al libro. I". Here the result of the poet's labour is the book, an object which condenses an exploration of the world, an object which becomes a companion of man. As it has its origin in a human life it becomes a point of reunion for men.

Poetry as companion and objective result which the poet could shape and develop maintains a peculiar relationship with its maker where both are dependent upon each other. This notion

is presented in "Oda a la poesía". At the beginning, argues the poet, he had a clumsy, adolescent relationship with poetry, but this affair changed with time and both parts of the relationship matured and developed in the process: "Tanto anduve contigo/ que te perdí el respeto." On the one hand the poet makes that poetry participate more and more in man's everyday life. On the other hand, poetry helps, encourages, accompanies the poet, in a sort of interchanging relationship where both enrich themselves. Finally, only through this relationship, says the poet, could he reach the prestigious level he aimed for where the common man was.

In 1956 Neruda published a second book of Odas entitled Nuevas Odas Elementales whose first poem "La casa de la poesía" depicts again the poetic space made by the poet with and for his craft, clarifies the attitude of the poet and organises that world. The poet says in the first lines of the poem "Sé lo que soy/ y adónde va mi canto" stressing his certainty about the task and about his attitude to it. His craft has this singularity of working with objects and matter which belong to everyday life.

"Yo trabajo
cortando
tablas frescas,
acumulando miel
en las barricas,
disponiendo
herraduras, arneses, ..."

Also the poem establishes some particulars of the actual poet's existence, such as: "Yo soy del Sur, chileno, ..." and repeats that idea of simple work shared with everyone. So, at the beginning of this second book of Odas the poet reinforces ideas expressed before the publication of the first one. The house of the Odas is a simple distribution of everyday things and in it everyone is welcome. Nevertheless, a poem like "Oda a Juan Tarrea", where Neruda strongly criticises the Spanish author Juan Larrea, is inconsistent with Neruda's intention to present

poetry to the common people. This criticism belongs to the field of polemic between authors and should not belong to the simple world aimed at now by the poet (11).

El Tercer Libro de las Odas (1957) starts with a poem called "Odas de todo el mundo", where again Neruda insists on the notion of the poet as a producer of useful things and tools for the everyday life of people and the poet offers them in the market place.

"Yo vendo Odas
delgadas
en ovillo,
como alambres,
como otras cucharas, ...
...
De todo
un poco
tengo para todos."

The poems become merchandise, a commodity which can be bought by people who want them; and the poet is a figure who is offering them in the market place (12).

3. LANGUAGE IN ODAS ELEMENTALES.

The poet's aim is to write in a simple way for an audience increasingly more numerous, but this audience, says the poet, also often could not read and belonged to those sectors of the population with very little formal education. So what was required was a poetry written in simple language, accessible to these people. This simple language however, must still be poetic. Odas Elementales is the first book aiming to answer these questions. The poet's aim is to express a poetic content in a language that is comprehensible to those common and simple people the poet seeks as an audience.

The poet encounters many difficulties in his effort to write

and express his vision in a simple manner. He often expresses his intention of writing in that way to reach common people.

"Yo lucho
y canto desde ahora, como canto,
en forma tan sencilla,
para todos, "
(Oda a la flor).

Examples of how this aim can be achieved can be found when the poet refers to the theme of popular wisdom expressed in colloquialisms in the middle of poetic discourse: "Tanto anduve contigo/ que te perdí el respeto" as in "Oda a la poesía", or in "Oda al caldillo de congrio", where there is a popular soup recipe and the language used is that of the impersonal popular form in which this sort of writing is presented: "Lleven a la cocina, se cuecen con el vapor, se sumerja en gloria, es necesario dejar". Or expressions of popular knowledge: "da gusto decir fuego, ahora sabes que no puedes conmigo, te pongo a silbar, no me vengas con tu famosa túnica" of "Oda al fuego". In this last poem however one finds also a profusion of adjectives, a complex poetic imagery, figurative language and numerous images linked together which are not simple linguistic constructions.

"Oda a los poetas populares" celebrates those creators who are paradigms of the popular simple poetic expression. These men are in the poet's view natural poets and examples of what he aims for. They have these undeniable links with common people, their social roots are clear and their expression examples of simplicity:

"Así quiero que canten
mis poemas,
que lleven
tierra y agua,
fertilidad y canto,
a todo el mundo."

In the poet's eyes the popular poets' compositions are

strongly based in the poor people's fate, they express themselves colloquially and their meanings are the summary of the community's knowledge of life. For that reason, says the poet, they express also an optimistic view of the future. Those poets are the best examples of what the poet now considers his creative aims to be.

On a different level of appreciation, but with a similar understanding of the link between creators to the common people's fate, are the poems in honour of two North American creators: Paul Robeson and Walt Whitman. In "Oda a Paul Robeson" Neruda praises Robeson's commitment to singing for all men who are denied the possibility of expressing themselves, in an historical moment when men are put on trial under the most sinister circumstances. (The Second World War). At that moment Robeson's voice represents the survival of humanity in spite of tragedy.

"Voz de la tierra
recordándonos
que aún
éramos hombres."

This voice selects that portion of humanity which must be rescued from disaster. A voice which sings not only for the black people, but for all. So the poet asks the singer to continue his encouragement to people:

"Canta...
para todos nosotros,
los que viven
pescando,
clavando clavos con
viejos martillos,
hilando ..."

In the poem to Whitman the poet acknowledges the teaching and legacy of the North American, his appreciation of books, rivers, nature and the vision of humiliated man who needs the

fraternal writing of poets. In Whitman, says Neruda, poetry was already seen as a useful object to the poor. Whitman with his poetry already sent a basket full of fruits, a line bearing good news, refreshing openness for his needy fellow humans.

"Oda a la sencillez" presents this new value found by the poet. Here "sencillez" is depicted as a creature discovered by the poet and with whom he establishes a comradely relationship. This "sencillez", like poetry, fire, spring, autumn, undergoes in the poetic language a transformation, becoming an independent presence with human qualities which appear and confront the poet as an equal.

"Sencillez, te pregunto,
me acompañaste siempre? "

This conventional literary form presents the content at the level of everyday life, where "sencillez" is an entity with whom the poet could talk, and who along the years develops and enriches itself, influencing the poet as well.

"Y así sencillez, vamos
conociendo ...
...
Me voy contigo,
me entrego a tu corriente..."

"sencillez,
ven conmigo ayudándome a nacer,
enseñándome
otra vez a cantar,
verdad, virtud, vertiente,
victoria cristalina."

"Sencillez" then has to be learned in a process where there is a mutual interchange between the poet and the other term of the relationship. But paradoxically, the poem contains very rich poetic language and images. Parallel to the effort of explaining

the process of acquiring and developing "sencillez", a complex structure of poetic language can be observed.

This purpose of expressing the content poetically and aiming at the same time for naturalness can be seen in "Oda al cactus" of Tercer Libro de las Odas where the poet celebrates the plant brought from its natural habitat in the mountains, to be planted at the sea coast. The aesthetic intention is depicted both in the imagery and in the breaking up of the formal or expected linguistic convention. Words are cut to pieces arbitrarily stressing rhetorical purposes of expression. The simplicity of the action of transplantation becomes a complex poetic form.

"El saludó
al océano
con
un
im-
per-
cep-
ti-
ble
mo-
vi-
mien-
to ..."

"Oda a la alegría" too, contains examples of unexpected images in a chaotic and linked enumeration. There is a complex structure of images which signals a committed rhetorical writing. The adjectives in a poem such as "Oda a las aves de Chile", for instance, baffles and surprises: "Pomposos buitres, dictadores del cielo, aves amargas, brujas del monte, sangrientas majestades silenciosas estirpes asesinas, metálicos loros, fringilo dorado tenca cristalina...". This shows a desire to express the subject matter in a rich poetic language. The poetic will to expression imposes its criteria. There is then a gulf between the theoretical desire to achieve naturalness and

simplicity and the complex imagery and structure of some poems.

4. ABOUT LABOUR.

In the first Lecture of 1954 entitled Infancia y Poesía Neruda remembered the years of infancy and his early adolescence at the frontier. There he offers once more a resume of the past and a reevaluation of the labour of men he knew at the period.

"Pero los aserraderos cantaban. Se acumulaba la madera en las estaciones y de nuevo se olía a madera fresca en los pueblos." (13).

In 1954, when the poet considered himself a craftsman and his writings as the product of work, he saw in a new light the labour of those men in Temuco and of those who surrounded him then. There are numerous poems in different collections where Neruda remembers the past, and they can be found too in the poems of Odas.

"Oda a la madera" for instance depicts this past as part of the process of transformation and enrichment of the world. He starts by remembering his infancy and projecting its meaning towards the future:

"Mi pecho, mis sentidos
se impregnaron
en mi infancia
de árboles que caían
de grandes bosques llenos
de construcción futura."

The poet remembers when the woodcutter caused the trees to crack in their fall and then the wood was transformed into sleepers for railways, beams, roofing, schools, tables, handles. He celebrates this transformation of reality at the hands of

men. But here one can see the reevaluation of the past born of the intellect, maturity and the wisdom of adulthood when the poet projects all this into his vision of the future where there is a fuller life for all to enjoy.

To the poet of today there is a meaning in the labour of man in the forest and also this understanding contains the meaning it has for the future of mankind. In the poet's view of labour man is a creature who changes to perfect himself to become a better expression of humanity.

"veo
salir de ti,
como un vuelo de océano
y palomas,
las alas de los libros,
el papel
de mañana
para el hombre,
el papel puro para el hombre puro
que existirá mañana ..."

Timber is the result of labour. Yesterday's efforts are relevant today and the transformation undergone now will be enjoyed and developed further by future generations of better men.

The same idea of man perfecting himself through labour is found in "Oda al edificio". Here the poet celebrates the domain of man over matter to organise, distribute, structure diverse materials to construct the building. And during this useful transformation of materials and elements, man also is transforming himself. Workers cut, polish, lift up, roll up, everything comes from the hand of man. ("Todo sale del hombre"), but in the meantime man is also transforming himself: "venció su orgullo vano". So a new structure appears and man also grows with it.

"y con razón y acero

irá creciendo
el edificio de todos los hombres."

In "Oda a la energía" this poet's image of man dominating the elements is represented again. Here energy is the element of control, serving the interest of man's life and transforming in the process, man himself. The poet wishes man to use energy as a positive element, to transform it into an agent to improve things and men. The poet here expresses his unlimited confidence in the capacity of man to transform reality and improve himself. Energy becomes also a companion who makes things grow and lift, moving nature forward in its improvement. So energy is improving life itself. Because man, in the poet's understanding, is still far from being at his best, there is plenty of room for improvement and here the power of energy comes to play its transformative role.

The result of man's effort is celebrated also in "Oda al pan". Bread, is to the poet a clear cut example of what man can produce with his working activity. Bread has a destiny to serve as nutritious substance, to be given and shared. So this product is presented by the poet in its essential meaning. It is first a nutritious substance and may then acquire other functions such as the religious or mythological ones.

However, it is in the poem "Oda a la tierra" where labour is understood as the fundamental component of the process of transformation of nature by man. First, the poet clarifies what kind of land it is that deserves his praise. He starts by saying that it is not the fertile, prodigious mother of the vegetable world, nor the one which is cultivated. His subject of celebration is the mineral earth, the hard land which has to be mined and worked upon to get at the mineral hidden in its core. It is the land which is transformed into metal and then tools and then buildings.

"Y entonces
duro, contigo tierra,
colérico metal,

te hiciste por la fuerza
 de las pequeñas manos de mi tío,
 alambre o herradura,
 nave o locomotora,
 esqueleto de escuela,
 velocidad de bala."

Man's labour is the added essential element here and the reason why the poet chose this kind of earth to celebrate. It is the earth which man brings to life by producing another material out of it. This dried up earth is the one which man with his labour brings to life, making it flourish. This is the earth deserving the poet's celebration together with that capacity for transformation existing in labour.

"A ti te canto
 porque el hombre
 te hará parir, te llenará de frutos,
 buscará tus ovarios,
 derramará en tu copa secreta
 los rayos especiales,
 tierra de los desiertos,
 línea pura,
 a ti las escrituras de mi canto
 porque pareces muerta
 y te despierta
 el ramalazo de la dinamita..."

Another celebration of the capacity of transformation of labour is found in the poem "Oda al espacio marino" of Nuevas Odas Elementales. Here the poet had to choose between praising the natural beauty of nature and the effort of man. In the first moment he praises beauty and the powerful sea in its eternal movement. In the face of such magnificence man is a very small creature, vulnerable and insignificant. But to the poet's vision of today this differentiation is apparent. Man has in his possession an immeasurable power, in his tireless effort of transforming through labour.

"Aquí están
 los puertos,
 las casas, las aduanas:
 el hombrecito
 de la costa elevó estructuras
 y regresó a los cerros, ..."

Solemn is the greatness of the ocean which has always attracted the attention of the poet. Its beauty and movement resist any attempt to contain it. Nevertheless the poet chooses to celebrate the tiny presence of man, with his transformative capacity:

"Océano,
 bella es tu voz, de sal y sol tu estatura,
 pero,
 para el hombre es mi canto."

Another poem where labour is the decisive factor defining identity is "Oda al hígado". Here the poet rescues mainly its cleaning function (work); the labour of the liver here is the element which defines the subject.

"monarca oscuro,
 ...
 Amo la vida: ¡cúmpleme! ¡Trabaja!".

"Oda a la gaviota" expresses a similar idea. In the first place the poet celebrates the elegance of flight, the grace of balance. But then what he praises above all is the bird's devouring capacity, that is its cleansing power. Again the poet celebrates the function or working elements in the bird. That is why, he says, he celebrates the transforming action of dirt into clean life, purified life.

"Todo
 lo transformas
 en ala limpia,
 en blanca geometría,..."

In both poems Neruda writes of labour whether undertaken by organs or birds. The poet celebrates in both the positive result of activity. The same happens again in "Oda a la abeja" from Tercer Libro de Odas, where the example of workmanship, the action of the multitude, organised activity are recognised as examples.

The poet now seems to have an unlimited confidence in the capacity of transformation of and by man. Even so, when he praises the beauty of the moon or the stars he believes that in the future these stars will be dominated by man and then they will produce what man could cultivate in them. Until now, he says, man has praised them for their beauty and harmony, but at the moment he believes in the creative activity of man and this power will bring them under man's rule.

Nevertheless, in "Oda a una rosa" the poet takes again the celebration of natural beauty; the poet cannot close his eyes and feelings to the call of a beauty as overwhelming as that of the rose. Here the poet rescues the symbolic message of the victorious colours over death (14).

Finally, from the Tercer Libro de las Odas in "Oda al albañil tranquilo", the poet enriches his idea of labour. The poem expresses admiration for the slow and patient work of this man. He works with neither heroism, nor quickness. His work is not intended to impress. His construction grows slowly and steadily. The poet observes that the building grows step by step, that it takes time and finally that it stands firm and high thanks to the quiet, unpretentious work of the bricklayer.

The poet discovers here that work is an activity patiently applied which has no need of grandiloquence nor heroic postures. Common labour needs time and the effort of man. This work projects the creative capacity of man.

This enrichment of the poet's conception of labour is presented here as a lesson derived from the slow working

manner of the artisan who created the wall:

"AY, qué lección
me dió con su trabajo
el albañil tranquilo!

CONCLUSION

Odas is the collection where Neruda expresses his concept of the poet as a worker; a poet who sings for all about simple and common things, offering his production as useful utensils in the existence of men. The poet brings his poems to the market place as the baker brings his bread.

These poems understood as necessary objects become entities independent of the poet and eventually act upon him and transform him. Poetry is a production with which the poet establishes a relationship of mutual enrichment and transformation. Poetry acts over its maker helping him to overcome different stages of knowledge, apart from being also a link of fraternity with the common people.

As the poet wants to reach wider sectors of the population of the common and simple people, he has to find a suitable poetic language and here the poet finds himself in the contradiction of trying to express his simple poetry in images which sometimes are highly sophisticated. A similar anomaly happens in terms of subject-matter where because the poet wishes to write of simple and common things he finds himself writing on subjects for specialists or about writers's polemics. There are then a few cases where the theory of writing in a natural manner on common things contradicts the poet's aesthetic will. Nevertheless there are a number of compositions where the poet depicts his motives in the manner of popular expression and knowledge.

Finally, the poet shows in the "Albañil tranquilo" a new and complete understanding of labour. Labour here is realised

patiently, in the safe and secure way of transforming the environment for its enrichment through practical means. The capacity of the worker plus time produces the end product in the form of the wall. These new elements shown here by the patient worker complement the concept of labour applied hitherto by the poet.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

Navegaciones y Regresos (1959) is the fourth book of Odas and starts with the poem "A mis obligaciones", recalling once again the poet's work and the duties involved,

"Cumpliendo con mi oficio

...

yo trabajo y trabajo,
debo substituir
tantos olvidos,
llenar de pan las tinieblas,
fundar otra vez la esperanza."

At the time of writing this new collection of Odas Neruda felt confident enough to commit himself to a creativity understood as work. Twice in the poem he uses the word "trabajar" and also twice "trabajo" as a verb. The poem comes under the section "Prólogo" and as in other cases summarises the general criteria of the poet's understanding about his duties. "Trabajar" for him means to create hope bringing light and illuminating those dark spaces of human life by bringing support and encouragement to human beings. The poet's work fills a gap in the needs of man's life as Neruda saw it at the time, expressing hope by relating his creativity to man's everyday life. And this was going to be his permanent duty.

By accepting the idea of the poet as one producer among others and understanding any kind of labour as a form of creativity, Neruda brings to the practice of writing a particular dignity. The poet's production is a task which is demanded by men and also by the world surrounding them. The poet becomes a respectable producer adding his results to the efforts of everyone else. The poet as a producer establishes social relationships with other producers on an equal level of respect; he is no longer a solitary figure separated from the rest. The poet has become just another worker.

But to get to this stage of understanding his own creativity

as work and other people's efforts as creativity, and this as a patient, creative transformation of the world, the poet has come through a long process of change in his way of writing and understanding.

In his early writings the young Neruda did not see other people's efforts to transform the world through labour. He was absorbed by the observation of his own self. Later in his life he would enrich his vision of the earlier years by recalling and recreating those experiences. Even towards the fifties he would recall that early writing with a definite sense of self criticism, as in "Oda al hombre sencillo" (1954). At the earlier stage, the poet considered himself a singular and different person from the rest of society, with a particular richness because he had the capacity to create. He did not see the creative contribution of labour. Crepusculario, was the poetic expression of the young writer who distanced himself to become an egocentric character.

Later in other collections such as El habitante y su esperanza (1926) the poetic world was enriched with new characters who act independently and are outside the lovers enclosure created by the poet in his previous work. Some of these new characters showed a capacity to create themselves through their social relationships as in the case of Florencio, Irene and the narrator of the story. Their world, even when situated on the outskirts of society, embraces the human effort of productivity as exemplified in Irene's housework. The book opened new possibilities by adding a new range of characters with a more complex experience where labour is concerned. Tentativa del hombre infinito on the other hand, for the first time in the poet's understanding, raised questions about the constructors and builders of the family house at the frontier.

It was at the end of the twenties that Neruda began to write about the multitude who work. But the poet was still a solitary figure observing a disintegrating world. In that context workers are seen as hostile figures alien to the central stage occupied by the poet. At that time the poet could not disguise his displeasure and annoyance as he stood in the midst of the crowd.

As the poet discovered the richness of a more complex experience he became aware too of his own possibilities. That same vociferous crowd would be represented warmly and full of life in Madrid, where the poet saw the busy multitude just before the Spanish Civil War. He recreated that experience in the poem "Explico algunas cosas" of 1940, where the poet presented the activity of people as a valuable expression of their humanity. At the same time Neruda's poetry itself was changing character, and the vision of labour appeared in the form of heroic workers acting as soldiers and "milicianos" in defence of the Republic.

Canto General contains a richer concept of labour. Here labour is a poetic theme and is presented as having social relevance. Alienated labour is depicted prominently in various sections of the collection. The poet sees the working conditions of men exploited under the capitalist mode of production, as in the case of the northern Chilean miners, where the worker loses the control of his working creative capacity.

The poet's idea of labour becomes included in a continental view of history where workers live under distorted relations of production which deny them a creative contribution.

However, in a few poems of the same collection, such as those of section "Canto General de Chile" the poet celebrates the production of useful artefacts made by craftsmen as a superior form of creativity which permit the fulfilment of their potential.

The poet's idea of labour at this stage becomes far richer and includes all those factors of labour under conditions of alienation and also as an expression of creativity. Labour in some instances is understood as a process of creating better and superior forms of life. Miners are the real creators of minerals. Also labour, as in the case of "Alturas de Macchu Picchu" and in "Los constructores de estatuas" is a form by which men prolong their life, creating a lasting expression of creativity. At the end of the collection, once again, the poet recalls the past, mentioning his travels in the East; now he could see from a new perspective the fate of workers under colonialism. Labour at this stage becomes a complex notion where alienation or fulfilment are poles of the

same concept.

But it is in Odas that the poet himself is depicted as a worker, where labour in general and the production of the poet are seen at the same level of integrity as any other form of creativity and work. Here the poet expresses a concept of labour including all those factors discovered so far. Labour is a form of creativity which transforms nature and man himself in the process for the better. In this process individuals and collectives contribute in similar ways.

Neruda acknowledged that indiscriminate activity, generating havoc and disaster; pollution, erosion and destruction made by action of man's greed, were also possible outcomes, as can be observed in "Odas a las aguas del puerto" (Navegaciones y Regresos). The poet was pointing towards another dimension of human activity. Man has an incredible power to transform the world and in doing so to transform himself, but that power, if used without thought, can also have enormous destructive potential.

Man's development is to a considerable extent the result of labour. Man has applied this transforming capacity in an attempt to humanize nature and in doing so, has improve himself. Furthermore by creating working social relationships has enabled him to achieve a sense of collective enterprise. But to the poet, particularly in his latest works, it is also true that there is a negative possibility of exercising the capacity for transformation in the destruction of the environment and posibly in the destruction of man himself.

But this enrichment and delopment of the poetic experience and its expression has its own limitations and paradoxes. For instance, even though Neruda himself came from a region whose population dedicated themselves to Agriculture and Forestry his main source of understanding labour came through the knowledge and vision of the work of miners and stonemasons and others craftsmen and from the experiences and struggles of organised workers of the cities. The agricultural workers and peasantry were not presented at least in his early poetry or even in Canto

General, where the poet praises labour's contribution to the transformation of nature and also as an expression of man's creativity together with a depiction of alienated labour under capitalism. Here peasants are not presented. Their contribution or their exploitation are not recreated. The poet, said in "Las Flores de Punitaqui" let us go back to mining, when touching unsuccessfully the theme of the small landholders' difficulties, as he felt more comfortable and knowledgeable on the subject of mining and the relationships established by the people concerned.

On the other hand towards the forties and fifties and especially at the time of composition of Las uvas y el viento (1954) Neruda found himself endorsing the vision and understanding of socialist realism and he himself ended by advocating it through poetry and in interviews. And this after he wrote in Caballo verde para la poesía (1935-1936) for example, that nothing could be denied poetic expression. Only later he expressed again his respect for all poetic and artistic expressions and his openness to appreciate all forms of creativity as I have commented in the case of Odas.

As I said in Chapter five (See note 31) he blindly praised "Constructivism" in the socialist countries at that time, believing that by working hard in improving the infrastructure of those societies, they were building a new era for mankind. He expressed also his belief that writing had a specific contribution to make to this "constructivism" and therefore he celebrated workers and writers who followed without criticism the policies of producing more according to the rules of socialist realism.

Neruda's development and his understanding of poetry did not stop with the composition of the four volumes of Odas. He went on writing and continuously transformed it. From the new expression found in Estravagario (1958) he went on to compose the political defence of the Cuban revolution in Cancion de gesta of 1960. Later he turned to universal problems in an attempt to embrace man's fate in an era of incredible transformations as a result of the efforts of man and the incredible destructive power in his hands.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.

1. Pablo Neruda: "Infancia y Poesía". Speech of 1954 at University of Chile. Santiago. See Obras Completas. (Losada. Buenos Aires. Third edition. 1967. Vol. I.) pp 25-38.
2. P. Neruda: Op cit p 25.
3. P. Neruda: "Nacimiento", in Memorial de Isla Negra. In Obras Completas. (Losada. 1973 edition. Vol II.) p 2021.
4. George McCutchen: Chile: Land and Society. (University of California at Los Angeles. American Geographical Society. Research Series No 19. New York. 1936) p 297.
5. Jaime Concha: Neruda. (1904-1936). (Editorial Universitaria. Santiago. Chile. 1972) p 33.
6. G. McCutchen: Op cit pp 291-292.
7. G. McCutchen: Op cit pp 295-296.
8. G. McCutchen: Op cit p 303.
9. G. McCutchen: Op cit p 297.
10. J. Concha: Op cit p 44. According to Concha's view the whole episode had a real and tragic dimension in Chile's history. He quotes the thesis of Bernardo Arévalo stating that: "Los indios no tenían significación económica alguna en la Nueva Araucanía. Su presencia incluso, entorpecía la buena marcha de esta naciente zona y la oportunidad de exterminarlos aprovechando la existencia del ejército regular era demasiado tentadora para no despreciarla." (See his note No 30 to chapter I "Así son las cosas por allá en la frontera" pp 43-44-45).

Modern studies confirm what has been said by writers of earlier periods. Bernard Jeannot, Sociologist at the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, Santiago de Chile, wrote in "El problema mapuche en Chile": "En resumen, el origen del problema mapuche, que se remonta a la irrupción de los españoles, es la

consecuencia lógica de la colonización de Chile por las poblaciones blancas. A la dominación violenta e impuesta sucede la dominación legalizada, que bajo la máscara del interés de la minoría nacional mapuche, no ha hecho más que radicalizar su tarea de disolución. Toda la historia de esta dominación es la historia de la incapacidad de la clase dominante, desde los conquistadores hasta los sectores medios urbanos, de resolver el problema que planteaba y plantea aun hoy día la población mapuche como minoría nacional." In Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional. (Universidad Católica de Chile. October 1972, No 14) p 9. The Lawyers H. Ormeño and J. Osses in "Nueva Legislación sobre indígenas en Chile" conclude that the law worked hand in hand with the forceful domination. They explain: "En suma, puede sostenerse que la legislación indígena en Chile ha sido esencialmente antindígena. Ha tendido sistemáticamente a privarles de sus tierras, en una primera etapa en nombre del Estado, y de sus derechos soberanos, sobre todo el territorio nacional; y en su segundo período a pretexto de incorporar al indígena a la nacionalidad... La legislación indígena, como toda superestructura social, ha servido de instrumento de dominación y explotación de los campesinos mapuches." See Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional. (Univ. Católica de Chile. October 1972, No 14) p 25.

11. G. McCutchen: Op cit p 299.

12. P. Neruda: "Infancia y Poesía". Op cit pp 32-33.

13. P. Neruda: Idem pp 32-33.

14. P. Neruda: "La copa de sangre". Text written in 1938, the year that Neruda's father died and the poet travelled to Temuco. See the complete version in H. Loyola: Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. (Editorial Santiago. Santiago de Chile. 1967) p 182.

15. P. Neruda: "Infancia y Poesía". Idem p 31.

16. P. Neruda: Idem. p 32.

17. P. Neruda: Idem. p 34.

18. P. Neruda: Idem. p 34.
19. J. Concha: Op cit p 37.
20. P. Neruda: "Primer viaje". Memorial de Isla Negra. In Obras Completas. (1973 edition. Vol. II) . p 1023.
21. P. Neruda: "Infancia y Poesía". Idem. p 30.
22. P. Neruda: Idem. p 26.
23. P. Neruda: Idem. p 27.
24. P. Neruda: Idem. p 31.
25. P. Neruda: Idem. p 31.
26. P. Neruda: Idem. p 37.
27. H. Loyola: Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. 1918-1945. (Edit. Santiago. Santiago. Chile. 1967).
28. H. Loyola: Op cit p 11.
29. H. Loyola: Op cit. Also from that date is the finding of the pen name, according to what this author writes in p 25: " En segundo lugar, la adopción definitiva del seudónimo Pablo Neruda. En el cuaderno citado, primera contratapa interior, el poeta escribió de su puño y letra con lápiz azul: Pablo Neruda desde octubre de 1920."
30. "El momento sereno" in Cuaderno Nefalí Reyes. p 61. Quoted by H. Loyola: Op cit p 12.
31. "La muerte" in Cuaderno Nefalí Reyes. p 103. in H. Loyola: Op cit p 13.
32. "Balada de la desesperación" in Cuaderno Nefalí Reyes. p 310. In H. Loyola: Op cit p 20.
33. "Iniciación" in Cuaderno Helios. p 39. In H. Loyola: Op cit p

20.

34. "Los árboles rectos" Enero de 1920. In H. Loyola: Op cit p 15.

35. "Luna" in Cuaderno Helios p 64. In H. Loyola: Op cit pp 22-23.

36. "Las manos de los ciegos" dated 12-7-1920. In H. Loyola: Op cit p 15.

37. "El ciego de la pandereta". In Crepusculario.

38. "Hombre" of october 1920. In Cuaderno Helios. p 41. In H. Loyola: Op cit p 16.

39. In the text photocopied by don Raúl Silva Castro in his book Pablo Neruda (Edit. Universitaria. S.A. Santiago. 1964) p 65. there are interesting details. For example, it is signed with the pen name of Pablo Neruda in October of 1920 and at the top of the page is a heading saying:

LA MAÑANA
Diario Regionalista
Casilla 65- Telefono 147
Temuco.

40. "Norma de rebeldía" in Cuaderno Neftalí Reyes p 285. In H. Loyola: Op cit p 18.

41. "La busca" In Cuaderno Neftalí Reyes p 287. In H. Loyola: Op cit p 20.

42. "Balada de la desesperación" Cuaderno Neftalí Reyes. p 310. In H. Loyola: Op cit p 20.

43. "El Liceo", July 1920. Quoted by H. Loyola in "Los modos de autorreferencia en la obra de Pablo Neruda". Revista Aurora. (3@ época. Año 1. Nos. 3-4. Julio -Diciembre 1964) p 69. Also see a fragment in Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. p 21.

44. Jorge Sanhueza: Bibliografía de Pablo Neruda" (Unpublished).

Quoted by M. Aguirre in Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. (Edit. Zig-zag. Santiago, 1967). pp 92-93. Also in Jorge Sanhueza: "Pablo Neruda, los poetas y la poesía". Rev. Aurora. Idem. pp 28-63.

45. "Sensación autobiográfica" in Cuaderno Nefalí Reyes. In H. Loyola: Op cit pp 17-18.

46. Rubén Darío: Autobiografía. (Marymar Ediciones. Buenos Aires. 1976). p 59.

47. Rubén Darío: Ibid. p 60.

48. D. P. Gallagher: Modern Latin American Literature. (Oxford U. Press. 1973) p 8.

49. Enrique Anderson Imbert: Historia de la Literatura Hispanoamericana. (Fondo de Cultura Económica. México. 1954. 2 tomos.) Arturo Torres-Rioseco: La gran Literatura Iberoamericana. (Emecé editores, S. A. Buenos Aires. 1945). In Gordon Brotherson's view: "Definitions of what Modernismo was or is have for the most part been either boldly comprehensive or timidly narrow. On the one hand, the movement has been stretched to the proportions of a universal crisis in human civilization. On the other, it has been restricted to the idiosyncrasies of this or that literary clique in Spain or Spanish América during the last decade of the last century and the first decade of this one." See in Spanish American Modernista Poets. (Pergamon Press. London. 1968) p IX.

50. Gordon Brotherson: Op cit p XII.

51. In Gordon Brotherson's opinion: "In Spanish América Modernismo can be described as a movement which began in the 1880's, reached its highpoint about 1895-1902 and ended effectively with the First World War, by which time all the modernistas were dead or had adapted themselves to the change in literary sensibility occasioned by the war." See Op cit p XI.

52. E. Anderson Imbert: Op cit p 13 of Vol. II. To that description of the period this author adds that : "Tristan Tzara, Paul Eluard, André Breton, Louis Aragon, Paul Morand, Blaise

Cendras, Drieu la Rochelle, Valery Larbaud, Max Jacob, fueron los escritores más conocidos en Hispanoamérica".

53. Among those authors for instance and in the Latin American context: Jorge Luis Borges (1899- 1987), Gabriela Mistral (1889- 1957), César Vallejo (1892-1938) and Vicente Huidobro (1893-1948).

54. P. Neruda: "Conferencia Inédita" delivered in the University of Chile in January 1954. Quoted by Margarita Aguirre in Genio y figura de Pablo Neruda. (Universitaria. Buenos Aires.1964). p 77.

55. Quoted by M. Aguirre in Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. p 120.

56. Pablo Neruda: Quoted by M. Aguirre in Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. pp 121-125.

57. Memorias y recuerdos. In O'Cruzeiro Internacional. 1962. Quoted by Margarita Aguirre: Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. p 127.

58. Pablo de Rokha: Neruda y yo. 1955. In Diego Arenas: Pablo de Rokha contra Neruda. (Edit. Galerna. Buenos Aires. 1978) p 38.

59. Pablo Neruda: Conferencias, 1954 at 'Universidad de Chile'. Quoted by Emir Rodríguez Monegal in El viajero inmóvil. (Losada. Buenos Aires. 1966.) p 39.

60. Jorge Sanhueza in his article "Pablo Neruda, los poetas y la poesía" says that Neruda published in the magazine called 'Juventud' of September-October 1921 a poem entitled "A los poetas de Chile" asking the Chilean writers to intercede with the authorities on behalf of Joaquín Cifuentes who at the time was in jail. The fragment quoted by Sanhueza says: "Compañeros,/ los jueces lo mantienen encerrado/ sin sol,/ sin luz,/ sin aire,/ por un delito que no cometió./ Y aunque lo hubiera cometido. Era/ un poeta...". See in Aurora. (Nos 3-4 of July-December, 1964) p 34.

61. Raúl Silva Castro: Pablo Neruda. p 29.

That event must be included in a background of general repression against the political protesting sectors of Chilean society. Carlos Vicuña in his book La tiranía en Chile. ("Libro escrito en el destierro en 1928." Soc. Imprenta y Lito. Universo. Santiago. Chile. 1938) remembers the following events which show the repressive character of the Chilean regimes at the beginning of the century: a) Massacre and repression of the 22nd of October of 1905 in Santiago against a rally and demonstration organised to protest against a new law on cattle. He writes: "El número de muertos fue grandísimo: el gobierno y la prensa guardaron sobre este particular un silencio culpable y receloso." (p 40). b) Later in 1907 during Pedro Montt's government there was a strike at the nitrate mines in the north. On the 21st of December in the city of Iquique the army gunned down strikers killing hundreds of them. Vicuña says: "La prensa, ya entonces corrompida al oro oligarca, atenuó la matanza y el Congreso Nacional cometió la indignidad de aprobar la conducta criminal de las autoridades." (p 42). c) During Juan Luis Sanfuentes 's government the author remembers at least four tragic incidents: The events at Puerto Natales, a town in Patagonia where in 1919 the "Federación Obrera" called for strike action. The government sent troops from Punta Arenas and these soldiers committed any abuse of authority to control the strikers and the city. On the 20th June of 1920 there was a meeting at the "Federación Obrera" of Punta Arenas. The police and the army surrounded the premises and set the building on fire. At the same time they shot any one coming out of the building. "El tiroteo de los soldados continuó hasta que el edificio, devorado por las llamas, se desplomó con estrépito... La prensa de Santiago, de Valparaíso y de otras ciudades importantes, no dijo una palabra sobre estos sangrientos y criminales sucesos..." (p 52). A third example of the repressive nature of that regime are the different trials of anarchist militants as in the case of the graphic workers in 1921, or the trials of the workers Argandona and Hortencia Quinio, or the trials of Antonio Ramón Ramón or Julio Rebosio. Fourthly the "Proceso contra los suversivos" an infamous judicial process against the working class started with the "Asociación Obrera de los Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo", a branch of Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). The Judge ordered the searching, raiding and ransacking of the "Federación de

Estudiantes" s premises where José Domingo Rojas was arrested and later died as a consequence of torture. He ordered intervention in the Shoe Repair Union and against the magazines Verba Roja and Numen. The whole process involved the arrest of more than 200 people in Santiago alone apart from those arrested in Antofagasta, Valparaíso and Coronel. "Debo advertir - writes Vicuña - que cien veces se reclamó en cien formas diferentes y haciendo uso de todos los recursos legales contra las monstruosas irregularidades del proceso, sin encontrar jamás ni en la prensa ni en los tribunales superiores amparo contra estos atropellos".(p 87).

62. M. Aguirre: Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. p 132. Among the contributors to the magazine could be mentioned, the editors Alberto Rojas Jiménez, Rafael Yopez Alvear, Raul Silva Castro. The writers: Sergio Atria, Gonzalez Vera, Juan Gandulfo, Roberto Meza, Rene Silva Espejo, Romeo Murga. The section "Los nuevos" published works of unknown writers such as A. Ulloa, Joaquín Cifuentes, Pablo Neruda.

63. Raúl Silva Castro: Op cit p 31.

64. R. Silva Castro: According to this author Claridad No 57 of June the 24th of 1922, published a group of three poems "Los jugadores", "El ciego de la pandereta" and " Barrio sin luz" which are included in Crepusculario in 1923. Op cit p 34.

65. R. Silva Castro: And in No 66 of the magazine of August 26th of 1922 Neruda published "Canción del adios" a poem which appears in Crepusculario with the title of "Farewell". Op cit p 34. Also it has to be added that in Claridad of the years between 1925 and 1927 Neruda published poems which are included in Primera Residencia in 1933.

66. R. Silva Castro: Both compositions are quoted in full. Op cit pp 34-35.

67. José Santos González Vera: Cuando era muchacho. (Nascimento. Santiago. Chile. 1956) p 206.

68. Idem. p 208.

69. J. Heise: "Los anarquistas" in Historia de Chile. (Edit. Andrés Bello, Santiago. 1974. Vol. I) p 384. From those anarchist groups emerged Chilean political personalities who later on were going to be well known in their own fields. Carlos Pezoa Véliz, the poet; the leader of peasants groups don Juan Chacón; Ricardo Fonseca who became the General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party; Luis E. Recabarren who in some of his pamphlets used some of the ideas of Jean Grave or Kropotkin; Julio Rebosio, who was persecuted and jailed and finally died as a consequence of the abuses and torture to which he as a political detainee was subjected.

70. P. Neruda: "Memorias y recuerdos de Pablo Neruda" O'Cruceiro Internacional. 1962. Quoted by M. Aguirre in Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. pp 134-135.

71. M. Aguirre: Las vidas de Pablo Neruda.

72. Pablo Neruda: "Conferencia inédita" Given at Univ. de Chile. January, 1954. Quoted by M. Aguirre: Ibid. p 147.

73. Pablo de Rokha: Neruda y yo. 1955.

74. Raul Silva Castro: Op cit pp 193-194.

75. Pablo Neruda: Odas elementales. "El hombre invisible". (O.C. 1967 edition. Vol. I.) p 1003. Jaime Concha in his "Introducción" to Pablo Neruda: Odas elementales (Cátedra S. A. Madrid, 1985) p 30, says that there is self-criticism in the poem but in his view this is..."Autocrítica risueña, ciertamente, que no justifica postular una ruptura completa con lo que venía haciendo..."

76. Pablo Neruda: Ibid. If one considers Neruda's later writings to clarify his earlier periods, one must be aware of the actual nature of his poetic recreations of the past. What Robert Pring-Mill writes about the meaning of Memorial de Isla Negra (1964) concerning this point is relevant to so many of Neruda's recreations of his own life; he says, "It is not a factual record of events. In spite of the presence of so much anecdotic material, it is never simply straight autobiography in verse:

truth to feelings, rather than factual accuracy, is the dominant consideration. When one goes to the Memorial for the elucidation of some earlier phase or episode, one must always remember that it is not a historical document but an interpretation of experience. It deals with the salient features of Neruda's life as he sees them at the age of sixty, and just as the balance between items is one that has been achieved only as a result of the perspective of memory, so does the precise colouring of individual items depend at least as much on what he now knows that they were leading up to as it does on the way in which he saw them at the time." R. Pring-Mill: Pablo Neruda. A Basic Anthology. Selection and Introduction. (Dolphin Book Co. Ltd., Oxford. 1975). p LVIII.

77. Pablo Neruda: "Compañeros de viaje". Canto General. (O.C. 1967. Vol I.). p 696.

78. Pablo Neruda: "La canción de la fiesta". Claridad. (Año 1.Santiago, octubre 15 1921. No 38). Quoted by M. Aguirre: Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. p 132. Also see in P. Neruda: O.C. (1973 edition. Vol. III) p 607.

79. Pablo Neruda: Ibid.

80. Pablo Neruda: Ibid.

81. Quoted by M. Aguirre in Genio y figura de Pablo Neruda. p 83.

82. P. Neruda: "Oración" in Crepusculario. O.C. (Losada. Buenos Aires. Edition 1967. Vol. I) pp 46-47.

83. J. Concha: Neruda. p 128.

84. P. Neruda: "Aquí estoy con mi pobre cuerpo". Crepusculario.

85. Hernán Loyola: Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda.

86. H. Loyola: Op cit p 51.

87. P. Neruda: "Farewell". Crepusculario. O.C. (Vol. I) p 53.

88. H. Loyola: Op cit p 51.
89. P. Neruda: "La tarde sobre los tejados" Crepusculario. O. C. (Vol. I) p 60.
90. P. Neruda: "No lo había mirado" Ibid. pp 65-66.
91. P. Neruda: "Hoy que es el cumpleaños de mi hermana". Ibid. pp 66-67.
92. P. Neruda: "Sinfonía de la trilla". Ibid. p 71.
93. Karl Marx: "Letter to Lasalle" 19 april 1859. In David Craig: Marxists on Literature. An Anthology. (Penguin Books. Great Britain. 1975). p 207.
94. Frederick Engels: "Letter to Lasalle." 18 may 1859. In D.Craig: Ibid. p 210.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.

1. El hondero entusiasta. 1923-1924. Santiago. Empresa Letras. 1933. (Enero 24) Cuadernos de Poesía, 2. See Hernán Loyola: "La obra de Pablo Neruda" Guía Bibliográfica. In Obras Completas. (Losada. Buenos Aires Vol. III. 1973 edition). p 941.
2. P. Neruda: Prólogo del autor a la primera edición de El habitante y su esperanza. (1926). Obras Completas. (Losada. Buenos Aires. Vol I. 1967 edition). p 121.
3. Rubén Azócar: "Testimonio" In Aurora. (No 3/4 Julio-Dic. 1964). p 215.
4. O. Oyarzún G.: "Testimonio" Idem. p 217.
5. R. Azócar: Idem. p 217.
6. Emir Rodríguez Monegal: "El paso de lobo" In El viajero inmóvil. Introducción a Pablo Neruda. (Losada. Buenos Aires. 1966). p 54.
7. With respect to this aspect it seems convenient to remember a comment by D. P. Gallagher: "A specific story emerges from them (Veinte Poemas) about a man who tried to fulfil himself through love and failed." In "Pablo Neruda", Modern Latin American Literature. (Oxford U. Press. 1973). p 40.
8. It must be remembered that by 1926 Neruda had written Crepusculario, Veinte Poemas... Tentativa del hombre infinito, El habitante..., El hondero entusiasta. Already published too were poems which later on would be included in Residencia. For example the poem "Galope muerto" of Residencia I appeared in Claridad No 132 of 1925 or "Serenata" published in Revista Zig-zag, (Santiago, Diciembre 12th of 1925), "El otoño en las enredaderas" of Anillos in Zig-zag (21 of June 1924). And in El Mercurio (Santiago, 19 October 1924) "Panorama del sur",

"Provincia de la infancia", "Volantín". In the same paper but on the 21st of December of that year "Atardecer" was published.

9. H. Loyola: "Guía bibliográfica" in P. Neruda: Obras Completas. (Losada. Buenos Aires. Vol. III 1973 Edition). p 936.

10. A. Cardona Peña: Pablo Neruda y otros ensayos. (Ediciones de Andrea. México. 1955). pp 20-21.

11. Jaime Concha: Neruda. (Edit. Universitaria. Santiago Chile. 1972). p 225. According to Concha these colloquial expressions are an antecedent of the "Antipoesía" poetry whose exponents in Chile are, among others, Nicanor Parra, Guillermo Blest Gana, Carlos Pezoa Véliz, Daniel de la Vega.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE.

1. Amado Alonso: Poesía y estilo de Pablo Neruda. (Sudamericana. Buenos Aires. 1974). p 19.
2. Amado Alonso: Idem p 21.
3. Jaime Concha: "Interpretación de Residencia en la tierra de Pablo Neruda". Atenea (University of Concepción. Chile. January-June 1972. No 425). p 49.
4. Hernán Loyola: Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. (Santiago Press. Santiago, Chile. 1966). In Loyola's opinion Alonso: "Solo de un modo vago registró en su análisis el ánimo voluntarioso de sobrevivir, que es la otra clave dramática de Residencia en la tierra." (p 85). Then he writes: "En términos generales Residencia en la tierra nos propone una descripción universal del derrumbe, un testimonio del mundo visto como lento y total desintegración. Al mismo tiempo a la imagen lírica de la caducidad el poeta opone su personal anhelo de perpetuación, sus sueños de permanencia." (p 115).
5. Emir Rodríguez Monegal: El viajero inmóvil. (Losada. S.A. Buenos Aires.1966). p 220.
6. Alain Sicard: El pensamiento poético de Pablo Neruda. Spanish version of Pilar Ruiz. (Gredos, Madrid, 1981).
7. Julio Cortázar: "Carta abierta a Pablo Neruda". This letter is the Introduction to the French edition of Residencia published by Gallimard in 1971. See Pablo Neruda. Edition of E. Rodríguez Monegal and Enrico Mario Sarti. (Taurus ediciones. S.A. Madrid. 1980). p 31.
8. Pablo Neruda in his interview with Alfredo Cardona Peña. See Alfredo Cardona Peña: Pablo Neruda y otros ensayos. (Ediciones Andrea. México, 1955). pp 32-33.
9. Pablo Neruda: Confieso que he vivido. Memorias. (Losada.S.A.

Buenos Aires. Third edition. 1975). p 397.

10. A. Alonso: Op. Cit. p 343.

11. P. Neruda: "Carta a Héctor Eandi" dated in Rangoon on the 8 of September of 1928. See in Margarita Aguirre: Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. (Zig-zag, S.A. Santiago, Chile. 1967). pp 178-179. Neruda wrote for a long time to this Argentinian friend.

12. Residencia en la tierra. (1925-1931). (Nascimento, Santiago. 1933). Special edition of 100 books. The second edition was of September 1935 and included the two volumens of Residencia en la tierra: I (1925-1931) and II (1931-1935) by Ediciones Cruz y Raya. Ediciones del árbol. Madrid. This is the first complete edition of the collection with the two volumes.

13. "Significa sombras". This poem in its version of Obras Completas (Losada, 1967 edition), p 207 says: "Fue esperanza considerar..." but in the version of Losada, Biblioteca Clásica y Contemporánea, sixth edition (Buenos Aires, 1976) has been corrected to: "Qué esperanza considerar, qué presagio..." text which seems to be more proper considering the poetic context. A similar problem and correction exist in the last poem of Canto General which in its version of Obras Completas (1967 edition) says "Termino aquí 1949". But in its version published by Losada in two volumes, sixth edition, 1975, p 208, says instead "Aquí termino (1949)". Also see note 20 of chapter five.

14. A. Alonso: Op. Cit. pp18-19.

15. A. Alonso: Op. Cit. p 90.

16. A. Alonso: Op. Cit. p 190.

17. The verbs "ven, examinaremos, lloremos, caigamos, rodad, venid" are not only here to clarify forms of the expression of the poetic thinking as indicated by Alonso, but they seem to propose clearly the intention of communication with someone else. (*Emphasis is my own*).

18. There is a letter written by Neruda to his father dated in Madrid on the 25 of August of 1934 informing him that his daughter Malva Marina Trinidad was born and that the child's health is precarious and must be attended permanently. The girl died a few years later. The letter is reproduced in Loyola's Book. (Op. Cit. pp 145-146).

D. P. Gallagher has said that the real weight of Neruda's life in the East is not important to his writings nor has it any influence on his religious or philosophical understanding as happened with other writers. He writes: "The East, in Residencia en la tierra, where it is mentioned at all, is never more than a squalid back cloth for the expression of a tormented soul - of a soul uprooted more fearfully than ever from the forests of the south of Chile." Modern Latin American Literature. (Oxford U. Press. 1973) p 43. So, according to Gallagher the forest of the south of Chile would be present in the collection. And, as has been already said regarding the poem "Enfermedades en mi casa" the poetic call to the vegetable world and especially to the winters of the south contains a call for help to those elements to alleviate the pain.

Jorge Edwards in "L'évolution de la poésie de Pablo Neruda" in Europe (Revue mensuelle, Mars-Avril 1964, p 85) proposed that the feeling of man and nature brings a fundamental element to Neruda's poetry. Even more, he says that this element gives unity to the whole of the poet's production: "L'attitude de Neruda face a la nature dans toutes ses manifestations, permet mieux que tout de comprendre l'évolution de sa poésie." In his view even when there are different opinions and approaches to Neruda's poetry, there seems to be a consensus of opinion on the point of nature in this poetry. The poet had from a very early age contact with nature and from the observation of it he took a valuable poetic lesson. From the interpretative possibilities of Residencia, he believes that this is the poetry of a man separated from his natural environment. The collection is the poetic expression of a desperate and anguished exiled man. Later on this man finds those lost fundamentals expressed in the Residencia Tercera. The process is one of finding and meeting again nature and man and making communication possible.

19. According to Loyola the poem was written once Neruda was in Santiago in 1932, after his long residence in the East. It was a period of economic difficulties, bureaucratic and work problems. (Op. Cit. p 130).

20. D. P. Gallagher: Modern Latin American Literature. (Oxford U. Press. 1973). p 48.

21. D. P. Gallagher: Idem.

22. A. Alonso: Op. Cit. pp 249-250.

23. 'Paloma' has a positive meaning in A. Alonso's view and also in J. Concha interpretation.

24. Among Neruda's contributions to La Nación are: "Imágen viajera" (Dated July 1927 and published on August 14 1927). "Port Said" (Dated 24th August of 1927 and published on the 29th of January 1928). "Danza de Africa" (Dated Djibouti September 2nd 1927 and published on the 20th of November of that year.) "Colombo dormido y despierto" (Dated in the Indian Ocean on the 8th September 1927 and published on the 4th December 1927). "El sueño de la tripulación" (Golfo de Bengala September 1927, and published on 26th February 1928). "Invierno en los puertos" (Dated Shanghai 28th February and published April 8th 1928). "Contribución al dominio de los trajes" (Published March 4th 1928. In Vol.III of Obras Completas,(1973 Edition), "Madrás, contemplaciones del acuario" (Dated Madrás November, 1927 and published on February 12th 1928) and "Diurno de Singapore" (Singapore 27th October and published 5th February 1928) can be seen.

In April of 1927 Neruda was nominated Consul ad honorem of the Chilean Government in Rangoon. He started the journey on the 14th of June of that year, and travelled via Buenos Aires, Madrid, París and then Port Said, Djibouti, Colombo, Singapore. He stayed as Consul in Rangoon (Burma) until the end of 1928, then in Colombo (Ceylon) until the middle of 1930 and finally in Java until the beginning of 1932.

25. Pablo Neruda: "Madrás. Contemplaciones del acuario". In Obras Completas. (Losada. 1973 edition. Vol. III.)

26. Pablo Neruda: "Diurno de Singapore". Idem.

27. Pablo Neruda: "Primeros viajes". Memorial de Isla Negra. See in Obras Completas. (Losada. Vol. III, 1973 edition). p 1069.

28. Pablo Neruda: Memorias y Recuerdos de Pablo Neruda. Published by O Cruceiro Internacional. (1962).

29. Pablo Neruda: "Sabor" Residencia I.

30. Walter Benjamin: "On some motifs in Baudelaire". In Illuminations. (Fontana-Collins. Second Impression. Glasgow. 1977). p 167.

31. The poem in its English version included in the book says:

"The deafening street was screaming all around me.
Tall, slender, in deep mourning-majestic grief-
A woman made her way, with fastidious hand
Raising and swaying festoon and hem;
Agile and noble, with her satue' limbs.
And there was I, who drank, contorted like a madman,
Within her eyes-that livid sky where hurricane is born
Gentleness that fascinates, pleasure that kills.

A lightning flash... then night!- O fleeting beauty
Shall I see you again only in eternity?

Far, far from here! Too late! or maybe, never?
For I know not where you flee, you know not where I go
O you I would have loved (o you who knew it too!)". (See

W. Benjamin: Op. Cit p 171).

32. W. Benjamin: Op. Cit. p 170.

33. W. Benjamin: Op. Cit. p 174.

34. W. Benjamin: Op. Cit. p178.
35. W. Benjamin: Op. Cit. p 199.
36. W. Benjamin: Op. Cit. p175.
37. M. Aguirre: "Cartas a Eandi" Op. Cit. p 184.
38. M. Aguirre: Idem p 181.
39. P. Neruda: "Diurno de Singapure" Obras Completas. (Vol. III 1973 edition). p 627.
40. W. Benjamin: Op. Cit. p 174.
41. A. Lozada: El monismo Agónico de Pablo Neruda. (B. Costa-Amic, editor. México, 1971). p 288.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

1. Tercera Residencia [1935-1945] is published for the first time in Buenos Aires (Losada, August 15 1947). The version included in Obras Completas (Losada) as well as the separate edition of the collection by the same publishing house has that date in square brackets. However one has to remember the note to the poem "Las furias y las penas" saying that the poem was written in 1934.
2. Among those friends: Alberto Rojas Jiménez, Tomás Lago, Diego Muñoz, Rubén Azócar, Juvencio Valle, Waldo Vila, Víctor Bianchi.
3. At that time Pablo de Rokha published his "Epitafio a Neruda" (La Opinión, Santiago, May 22 1933).
4. Among his friends in Buenos Aires: María Luisa Bombal, Pablo Rojas Paz, Oliverio Girondo, Norah Lange, Raúl Gonzalez Tuñón, Gonzalez Carvalho, Federico García Lorca.
5. This speech was published by El Sol (Madrid, December 1934) and was read in the Pen Club of Buenos Aires at the end of 1933. See P. Neruda: Obras Completas. (Losada, Vol. III 1973 edition) p 629. From the point of view of its composition this speech differs from Anillos, also composed by two authors. In the speech there is a collective approach to the content and organisation of the text. The book on the other hand was composed of independent texts without an organic purpose to the whole.
6. "Discurso al alimón". Idem.
7. While Consul in the East, Neruda wrote a large number of letters. One of the people to whom he wrote was Rafael Alberti. This author remembered in "Europe" (Revue mensuelle, Paris, Mars-Avril, 1964) that he received in Madrid a manuscript of Residencias and that he tried unsuccessfully to publish it: "Je fis circuler le livre dans tout Madrid. Pas une tertulia litteraire qui

ne le connut. José Herrera Petere, Arturo Serrano Plaia, Luis Felipe Vivanco et d'autres jeunes écrivains nous soutenaient mon enthousiasme. Je voulais qu'on le publie. Une si extraordinaire révélation devait apparaître en Espagne. Je le proposai aux quelques éditeurs amis". (p 72). Also in "Índice Autobiográfico", (Poesía (1924-1967) Aguilar, Madrid, 1972) p XIII, Alberti wrote: "1929... Pablo Neruda, a quien no conozco todavía, me escribe desde la Isla de Java. Conozco en manuscrito, su Residencia en la tierra".

8. Alfredo Cardona Peña: Pablo Neruda y otros ensayos. (Ediciones Andrea. México, 1955) p 31.

9. Luis Enrique Délano: "Testimonios" Section, Aurora. (Nos 3-4, July-December 1964. Horizonte Press. Santiago. Chile) p 218.

10. Luis Enrique Délano: "Neruda en España". Idem, pp 218-219. Then this writer adds that Neruda suffered a change in his social attitudes. From very young he was an individual with few friends, always silent and shy. Then he writes: "Cuando regresó a Chile, en 1932, por el contrario, empezó a vérselo rodeado de gentes nuevas, en su casa o en los cafés... Siempre he pensado que los años de Rangún, Colombo y Batavia - atmósferas extrañas en las cuales la comunicación era difícil por las barreras de la lengua y de las naturales diferencias - marcaron en Neruda ese cambio hacia la sociedad, las nuevas amistades y el deseo de sentirse continuamente rodeado de gentes."

11. This homage to Neruda was published by Plutarco (Madrid, 1935). Emir Rodríguez Monegal quotes: "Chile ha enviado a España al gran poeta Pablo Neruda, cuya evidente fuerza creadora, en plena posesión de su destino poético, está produciendo obras personalísimas, para loor del idioma castellano."

"Nosotros. poetas y admiradores del joven e insigne escritor americano, al publicar estos poemas inéditos - últimos testimonios de su magnífica creación - no hacemos otra cosa que subrayar su extraordinaria personalidad y su indudable altura literaria. Al reiterarle en esta ocasión una cordial

bienvenida, este grupo de poetas españoles se complace en manifestar una vez más y públicamente su admiración por su obra que, sin disputa, constituye una de las más auténticas realidades de la poesía de lengua española".

"Rafael Alberti, Vicente Aleixandre, Manuel Altolaguirre, Luis cernuda, Gerardo Diego, León Felipe, Federico García Lorca, Jorge Guillén, Pedro Salinas, Miguel Hernández, José A. Muñoz, Leopoldo y Juan Panero, Luis Rosales, Arturo Serrano Plaja, Luis Felipe Vivanco." E. Rodríguez M.: El viajero inmóvil. (Losada, S.A. Buenos Aires, 1966), p 85.

Miguel Hernández also wrote at the time his article "Residencia en la tierra", published by El Sol. (Madrid January 2 1936). And Guillermo de Torre published "Un poeta chileno en Madrid: Pablo Neruda y su último libro Residencia en la tierra". (Luz, Madrid, August 17 1934).

12. F. García Lorca's "Presentation" can be seen in his Obras Completas. (Aguilar, Madrid, edition XV. 1969), pp 147-148. And according to Juan Cano Ballesta's book La poesía de Miguel Hernández (Gredos, Madrid, 1971) p 271: "Pablo Neruda, en calidad de Cónsul de Chile, llegaba a Barcelona procedente de Buenos Aires, en mayo de 1934. Desde allí comenzó a estrechar sus contactos con los poetas y escritores de la capital española. El 6 de diciembre de 1934 ofrece en la Universidad de Madrid una conferencia recital, en la que es presentado por Federico García Lorca."

13. Jaime Concha: Neruda. (1904-1936). (Edit. Universitaria. S.A. Santiago. 1972) p 245.

14. Four issues of the magazine Caballo verde para la poesía are known to be published between October 1935 and January of 1936 in Madrid. The issue number 5-6 projected as a double one would not appear even when already printed according to Neruda's "Palabras preliminares" to the special edition prepared by J. Lechner in 1974. The publication was by Concha Méndez and Manuel Altolaguirre. Its Editor ("Director") was Neruda.

15. Profesor J. Lechner: Edición en homenaje a Pablo Neruda de Caballo verde para la poesía. (Nos 1-4, Madrid. October 1935-January 1936) Includes also "Nota preliminar" of J. Lechner. (Verlag Detlev Auvermann KG. Glahütten im Taunus. Kraus Reprint. Nendeln- Liechtenstein. Printed in Germany 1974). The example used on this occasion came from Camilo José Cela's Library..

16. J. Lechner: Idem. In his opinion Caballo Verde... was not a magazine of political commitment. "Lo que llama la atención - he writes - es la diversidad de colaboraciones, diversidad que queda manifiesta en más de algún terreno". For example, the diverse nationalities of the collaborators in addition to their different poetic style: The french authors: Robert Desnos and Andre Bernod D. One swiss: Hans Gebser. Three Argentinien: Raúl González Tuñón, González Carbalho and Miguel Angel Gómez. The Chileans: Luis Enrique Délano, Angel Cruchaga Santa María and Pablo Neruda. Félix Pita R., Cuban. The Spaniards: Vicente Aleixandre, F. García Lorca, Miguel Hernández, A. Serrano Plaja, Leopoldo Panero, Luis Cernuda, Jorge Guillén, Rafael Alberti, Manuel Altolaguirre.

17. J. Guillén: In "Prólogo" to F. García Lorca Obras completas (Aguilar, Madrid, 1965) and writing on the "Generación del 27" Guillén says that on his view that generation of writers was rather a group of friends united by friendship and literary gathering, than a ideological community, a programme or a manifest. There was not according to him any common programme: "Algunos firmamos", he writes, "la invitación a celebrar un centenario, el de Góngora. Pero nada más remoto de un manifiesto." That generation of writers was formed by heterogeneous creators. So the same kind of heterogeneity observed by Guillén regarding the "generación del 27" is to be seen in the collaborators of Caballo Verde. Finally to reinforce his opinion he says: "¿Nuestros padres? Desde Gonzalo de Berceo hasta Rubén Darío y sus descendientes, ya inmediatos a nosotros. Góngora no excluía a San Juan de la Cruz ni a Lope ni a Bécquer." Op cit p LXI . On the other hand for many writers the magazine Caballo verde... was surrealist. For example Jacinto Luis Guereña writes: "La proclamación de Neruda de un ideario

deliberadamente rompedor, un surrealismo que se expresa de manifiesto bajo el título de "Poesía sin pureza" en la revista nerudiana que en Madrid y en octubre de 1935 apareció: "Caballo verde para la poesía". J.L. Guereña: "Estudio Crítico". In Miguel Hernández: Poesía. (Narcea, S.A. de ediciones. Madrid, 1976). And for C.B. Morris in Surrealism and Spain (1972), Neruda is one of the surrealist poets. According to this critic Neruda had shown a tendency towards that literary current with his book Tentativa del hombre infinito (1926). Morris wrote: "Social attitudes that surrealists had publicised unambiguously in Spain through their outspoken, if not aggressive, lectures and relayed through their other, less formal, visits thus found in Neruda an eloquent and imaginative interpreter and advocate." Op cit (Cambridge U. Press. 1972) p 34.

18. Because J. M. Hernández published some poems in Caballo verde... he received some criticism from old friends and poets of his native Orihuela. His friend Ramón Sijé, founder of the magazine El gallo gris wrote to him criticising his new poetic venture. Sijé said: "Es terrible lo que has hecho conmigo. Es terrible no mandarme Caballo verde... Por lo demás, Caballo verde no debe interesarme mucho. No hay en él nada de cólera poética, ni cólera polémica. Caballo impuro y sectario; en la segunda salida juega al caballito puro y de cristal... Quien sufre mucho eres tú Miguel. Algún día echaré a "alguien" la culpa de tus sufrimientos humano-poéticos actuales. Transformación terrible y cruel. Me dice todo esto la lectura de tu poema "Mi sangre es un camino". Efectivamente, camino de caballos melancólicos. Mas, no camino de hombre, camino de dignidad de persona humana. Nerudismo (que horror, Pablo y selva, ritual narcisista e infrahumano de entrepiernas, de vello de partes prohibidas y de prohibidos caballos!); alexandrismo; albertismo. Una sola imagen verdadera; la prolongación eterna de los padres. Lo demás, lo menos tuyo." (Quoted by Juan Cano Ballesta: La poesía de Miguel Hernández. p 40).

19. R. González T.: "Poema caminando" Caballo verde... No 1 p 18.

20. A. Serrano P.: "Estos son los oficios" Caballo verde... No 1 y

2.

21. P. Neruda: "Los temas". Editorial. Caballo verde... No 2.

22. P. Neruda: "Conducta y poesía". Editorial. Caballo verde... No 3.

23. P. Neruda: Idem.

24. Tercera Residencia is divided into five sections: The first one has six poems. The last one has nine. The second section "Las furias y las penas", and the third "Reunión bajo las nuevas banderas", have a poem each. But the fourth "España en el corazón" was published as a book in 1937 in Santiago by Ercilla, November 13.

25. Alain Sicard: El pensamiento poético de Pablo Neruda. Spanish version of Pilar Ruiz Va. (Gredos. Madrid. 1981). See chapter IV "Temas dialécticos (II)". "Tema de la gota y de la semilla".

26. P. Neruda: "Las furias y las penas" published for the first time by Nascimento, (Santiago, 12 May 1939). H. Loyola described as: "Edición de 120 ejemplares numerados. El poema va encabezado por un epígrafe de Quevedo: "Hay en mi corazón furias y penas". En página 27 viene esta nota del autor: "En 1934 fue escrito este poema. Cuántas cosas han sobrevenido desde entonces! España donde lo escribí es una cintura en ruinas. Ay! si con sólo una gota de poesía o de amor pudiéramos aplacar la ira del mundo, pero eso sólo lo pueden la lucha y el corazón resuelto. El mundo ha cambiado y mi poesía ha cambiado. Una gota de sangre caída en estas líneas quedará viviendo sobre ellas, indeleble como el amor. Marzo de 1939." See H. Loyola: "La obra de Pablo Neruda. Guía bibliográfica". In P. Neruda: Obras Completas. (Losada. Fourth edition. 1973. Vol.III) p 951.

27. H. Loyola: According to Loyola the poem was first published by the Magazine España Peregrina. (México, Vol. II, Nos 8-9 Oct. 12th, 1940). Idem. p 951.

28. In H. Loyola's opinion this is the first time that Neruda uses an historical non personal perspective, an objective point of view. According to this critic Neruda discovered here that "...el hombre no sólo es naturaleza sino también historia." Since then the poet applied a new vision to his poetry. See: Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. (Edit. Santiago. Santiago, Chile. 1967) p 169).

29. "Canto sobre unas ruinas" a poem which following H. Loyola "Guía bibliográfica" appeared dated "Madrid,1936" in the magazine Los poetas del mundo defienden al pueblo español. (Nancy Cunard, P.Neruda. Madrid, N 1, November 1936) See H.Loyola: Idem. p 949).

30. In A. Sicard's opinion Neruda wrote here on labour as a natural process. See: A.Sicard. Idem pp 260-261.

31. Without any doubt the labour process includes many more aspects. On top of those already mentioned the social aspect of it has to be added. That is, man works with other men and his action over nature goes hand in hand with the interrelationships among men. "In production - wrote Marx - men not only act on nature, but also on one another. They produce only by cooperating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place." K. Marx, F. Engels: Selected Works, 2 Volumes. (Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. London, 1950. Vol. 1) p 83.

32. "Antitanquistas". In magazine Repertorio Americano. (San José, Costa Rica, N 823, Octubre 16, 1937) Also in Expresión. (Santiago, N 1, Noviembre 1937).

33. The German troops started the invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 of June of 1941. At the end of July they were already on the outskirts of Stalingrad. The battle for the city lasted until the surrender of F. Paulus, Field-Marshal and Comandant of the German forces on the 31 of January of 1943. In the meantime the Soviet Army and Stalin pressured Churchill and Rosevelt to create a second front in the west. But the western leaders

postponed their invasion of France waiting for a better time. As A. J. P. Taylor put it: "The capture of Stalingrad would sever Russia's oil supplies. Besides, as the city of Stalin its capture could symbolize Stalin's defeat" See The Second World War, (Hamish Hamilton Ltd. Publisher, 1975. Great Britain) p 146. To be exact, the capture of the city and the region could mean a significant blow to combustible supplies to keep the war effort going. Albert Seaton also understood events in this way: "The seizing of the Caucasus oilfields was of obvious advantage to Germany, and their loss would have been a most serious blow to the Soviet Union." See The Ruso-German War 1941-1945. (A. Baker Limited, London, 1971) p 266.

34. "Canto a Stalingrado". The poem was published by Sociedad de Amigos de la URSS, in October 1942, México. "El poema fue leído por primera vez el día 30 de septiembre de 1942, en un acto organizado por la SAURSS en el teatro del Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas". See H. Loyola: "La obra de Pablo Neruda" in P. Neruda: Obras Completas. Idem p 952. The next poem, "Nuevo canto de amor a Stalingrado" was published according to Loyola in México, 25 February of 1943, by the 'Comité de ayuda a Rusia en Guerra'. That is to say a few weeks after the surrender of the German troops besieging Stalingrad. And a third poem on Stalingrad, entitled "Tercer canto de amor a Stalingrado" can be seen in Section VI of Las uvas y el viento, (Nacimiento, Santiago, July 1954).

35. "Canto al ejército rojo a su llegada a las puertas de Prusia" In magazine Literatura Soviética. (Moscow, N 2, 1946).

36. "Discurso al alimón sobre Rubén Darío, por Federico García Lorca y Pablo Neruda". A speech read by the poets in the Buenos Aires Pen Club in December 1933. Published by El Sol (Madrid, 30 December 1934). See in Neruda: Obras Completas. (Losada, B. Aires. 1973 edition Vol. III) p 629.

37. P. Neruda: "Para una poesía sin pureza". In Caballo verde para la poesía. (N 1, Madrid. October 1935, p 5. Reedition prepared by J. Lechner in 1974 based on the Madrid edition. Printed in Germany).

38. P. Neruda: "Los temas" Idem. N 2. November 1935. p 29.
39. P. Neruda: "Conducta y poesía" Idem N 3, December 1935 p 49.
40. P. Neruda: Idem.
41. P. Neruda: "G. A. B." Idem. N 4, January 1936. p 69. ***(Underscoring is my own to stress the poet's indication of present time).***
42. In the meantime Neruda wrote for the magazine Cruz y Raya. There he published translations such as William Blake's : "Visiones de las hijas de Albión" and the "El viajero mental" (No 20, November 1934). In issue number 33 of December 1935 appeared his presentation of "Los sonetos de la muerte de Quevedo", and also presented in issue 28 of July of 1935 the "Poesías de Villamediana" which were preceded by his poem "El desenterrado". Also he published by Cruz y Raya the two volumes of Residencia en la tierra (1925-1935) in September 15 of 1935.
43. Luis Enrique Délano: "Testimonio: Neruda en España". Aurora. (Santiago, Chile, Nos 3-4, July-December 1964) p 218. Délano also contributed to Caballo verde... In issue No 2 appeared his poem "Oda a Lautreamont" (pp 36-39).
44. "Canto sobre unas ruinas" a poem dated Madrid 1936 was published by the magazine Los poetas del mundo defienden al pueblo español founded and edited by N. Cunard and P. Neruda, the first issue appeared on November 7 of 1937 in Madrid. Later the magazine will be Les poètes du monde défendent le peuple espagnol. (Paris).
45. P. Neruda: "Madrid (1936)". In España en el corazón.
46. P. Neruda: "Conferencia sobre Federico García Lorca" (París, February of 1937). Published by Hora de España. (Valencia N 3 in March of 1937). See it in P. Neruda: Obras Completas (1973)

edition Vol. III) p 644.

47. P. Neruda: Idem. p 640.

48. P. Neruda: España en el corazón. (Ercilla editions. Santiago, Chile, November 13, 1937).

49. P. Neruda: "Las furias y las penas". Published by Nascimento in May 12 of 1939. See note number 26 of this chapter.

50. Soon after the Civil War started in July and after the murder of Federico García, Neruda was sacked from his post as a Consul. He went to Valencia and then to Paris. Here he and N. Cunard founded the magazine in defence of the Spanish Republicans and with the poet César Vallejo a group called: "El grupo Hispanoamericano de ayuda a España". Also he attended the Congreso de las Naciones Americanas (Paris,1937). During this Congress Neruda read a speech on July 12th which is published as "Influence de la France et de l'Espagne sur le literature Hispanoamericaine" by Institut des Etudes Americaines, 1938. (Folleto de Cahiers de Politique étrangère. N 21). Then in October (1937) he went back to Chile. Here he participated in the formation of "Alianza de intelectuales de Chile para la defensa de la cultura" and also in the creation of a magazine for that group: Aurora de Chile, which appeared in August of 1938. At the end of that year the Presidential candidate Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda won the elections. This new Chilean President nominated Neruda in 1939 Special Consul for the Spanish Emigration with its headquarters in Paris. In March of 1939 Neruda travelled to Buenos Aires and Montevideo as a Delegate of the Alianza de Intelectuales and in those cities read his speeches: "Homenaje a A. Machado" and "España no ha muerto".

51. P. Neruda: "César Vallejo ha muerto". Aurora de Chile. (Santiago N 1, August 1938).

52. P. Neruda: "La educación será nuestra epopeya" In Aurora de Chile. (Santiago, N 6, December 3 of 1938). The same text was read at the first anniversary of the Alianza de Intelectuales.

53. "La educación será nuestra epopeya" Also in Les poètes Latino-Américains et la guerre d'Espagne. (CRICCAL. Service des publications. Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle. Paris III. 1986) pp 43-49.
54. P. Neruda: "España no ha muerto", in Les poètes Latino-Américains et la guerre d'Espagne. pp 33-39. Originally published by Aurora de Chile. (N 10, May 6 of 1939).
55. P. Neruda: "España no ha muerto" . Idem. p 37.
56. Margarita Aguirre: Genio y figura de Pablo Neruda (Edit. Universitaria, Buenos Aires, 1964). See tittle "España en el corazón".
57. Margarita Aguirre: Las vidas de Pablo Neruda. (Edit. Zig-zag, S.A. Santiago, Chile, 1967). See section entitled "España en el corazón." This chapter repeats the section of the previous book dedicated to the theme of España en el corazón.
58. Volodia Teitelboim: "Neruda, 60 años" In Aurora. (Segunda época. N 3-4. July-Dec. 1964) pp 5-27).
59. Hernán Loyola: Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. Ed. cit.
60. Jaime Alazraki: Poética y poesía de Pablo Neruda. (Las Américas publishing Company. New york. 1965) p 174. The poem "A Rafael Alberti" appears in Canto General. See Obras Completas (Vol I, third edition 1967). pp 625-629. "La oda a César Vallejo" appears in Odas elementales. (Losada, Buenos Aires, 1954.) See in Obras Completas. (Vol. I third edition 1967) p 1189.
61. Raúl Silva Castro: Pablo Neruda. (Edit Universitaria. S.A. Santiago, Chile. 1964) pp 91-92.
62. Amado Alonso: Poesía y estilo de Pablo Neruda. (Edit. Sudamericana. Buenos Aires. 1974). This book was published for the first time in 1940. Later Alonso added his chapter "La conversión poética de Pablo Neruda".

63. A. Alonso: Op cit p 349.
64. C. D. Hamilton: Pablo Neruda. Poeta chileno universal. (Lord Cochrane Press. Santiago. Chile. 1972) p 33.
65. C. D. Hamilton: Op cit p 76.
66. C. D. Hamilton: Op cit pp 80-81.
67. J. Alazraki: Op cit p 184.
68. Emir Rodríguez Monegal: "El sistema del poeta" In Pablo Neruda. Selección de ensayos de diversos autores. (Serie: El escritor y la Crítica. Taurus. Madrid. 1980) p 75.
69. Raúl Silva Castro: Pablo Neruda. (Edit. Universitaria, S.A. Santiago, 1964) p 216.
70. R.Silva Castro: Op cit p 80.
71. A. L. Lloyd: "Action that makes you think". Background to Pablo Neruda. In Our time, (No 10, July 1948 Vol. 7). pp 259-260.
72. D. P. Gallagher: Modern Latin American Literature. (Oxford University Press. 1973) p 53.
73. D. P. Gallagher: Op cit p 54.
74. Hernán Loyola: Ser y morir en Pablo Neruda. p 166.
75. H. Loyola: Op cit p 169.
76. H. Loyola: Op cit p 186.
77. Jaime Concha: "El descubrimiento del pueblo en la poesía de Neruda". In Aurora, (N 3-4. July-December, 1964. Santiago). pp 126-138.
78. Jaime Concha: Op cit p 138.

79. Alain Sicard: El pensamiento poético de Pablo Neruda. (Edit. Gredos, Madrid, 1981). Spanish version of Pilar Ruiz p 127.
80. A. Sicard: Op cit See his footnote N 104 on page 133.
81. A. Sicard: Op cit pp 224-225.
82. Jean Franco: See section "Three major figures. Pablo Neruda" In An Introduction to Spanish American Literature. (Cambridge University Press, 1969). pp 279-290.)
83. Robert Pring-Mill: A Basic Anthology. Selection and Introduction. (Dolphin book Co. Ltd. Oxford. 1975). p XXV.
84. A. Alonso: Op. cit p 339.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE.

1. Alfredo Cardona Peña: Pablo Neruda y otros ensayos. (Andrea, México, 1955), p 36.

2. It has to be remembered here that Neruda came back to Chile from Spain via Paris in 1937. He founded and presided in November of that year over the "Alianza de Intelectuales de Chile para la defensa de la Cultura". In August of 1938 the magazine of that group Aurora de Chile appeared. In Temuco his parents died in the same year. In October 1938 the Frente Popular candidate Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda was elected President and in 1939 Neruda was nominated "Consul para la Emigración Española". He travelled to France to put into practice the new policy of the recently inaugurated Chilean Government. On his way to Paris he gave talks in defence of the Spanish Republicans in Buenos Aires and Montevideo and returned home to Chile in 1940. He was nominated Consul in México where he stayed until 1943. Back to Chile via a long journey through Panamá, Colombia, Lima, Cuzco and Arequipa. In 1945 Neruda was elected Senator by the northern provinces. That year he joined the Chilean Communist Party. New travels followed, to Brazil, Buenos Aires, Montevideo and at that time he wrote "Alturas de Machu Picchu". In 1946 a new presidential candidate appeared and Neruda was named the National Secretary for Propaganda to the Presidential Campaign of Gabriel González Videla. That year he made oficial his pen name Pablo Neruda. Towards the end of 1947 he had political problems with the President González Videla. Neruda published in Caracas his letter "Carta íntima para millones de hombres" denouncing the repressive nature of the Chilean Government. The President started legal action against Senator Neruda. In February of 1948 the Supreme Court of Chile endorsed the removal of Neruda's privileges and status as Senator, and ordered his arrest. Neruda escaped and went abroad at the beginning of 1949. He participated later in the First Congress for Peace. He travelled later to the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, México. In 1950 Neruda published in México his new book Canto General.

3. "Amor América (1400)".

4. A. Sicard: El pensamiento poético de Pablo Neruda. (Gredos , Madrid, 1981). p 246.

5. ***Underscoring in the last two quotations is my own to stress the poet's indication of past.***

6. ***Underscoring is my own.***

7. According to Françoise Perus "Alturas de Macchu Picchu" has a thematic structure in two parts: first, a poetic view of individual ontological anguish and then a presentation of collective historical events. In the first part there is the metaphysical view of the lack of meaning in man's existence and in the second a materialist view of man as a social being able to overcome situations by working creatively. The poem in her view depicts a personal evolution and also a collective one. "Neruda- she says- plasma dos concepciones del mundo sucesivas y resuelve su antagonismo en el plano poético". See in "Arquitectura poética de Alturas de Macchu Picchu" in Atenea, (No 425. 1972. Universidad de Concepción, Chile.) In A. Sicard's opinion "Desde 1936, Neruda escribe según una concepción materialista de la Historia" but this was not always well understood by critics. In his view "El punto de vista metafísico que adopta en esas primeras páginas de "Alturas de Macchu Picchu" se justifica por el hecho de que se integra en un recuento: el que hace Neruda de 1948 de su pasado de hombre y de poeta..." A. Sicard: El pensamiento poético de Pablo Neruda. p 234.

8. ***Underscoring is my own to stress the poet's indication of place.***

9. The idea of death has in "Alturas..." a special meaning. Sicard, likewise, holds this view. According to Sicard, Neruda recognises two concepts of death: one is the fruitless death of individuals and the other a "poderosa muerte" of a community, which enables, thanks to a dialectical process, the individual's death to be overcome by the permanence of the work of the community. The Macchu Picchu ruins represent this powerful

death of the community and guarantees a permanent place in history for the builders.

10. In Sicard's opinion a poetic view of the ruins presents to the poet the temptation of the "Trap of aesthetic contemplation", where the poet pleases himself in the humanist traditional view, celebration and assessment of the buildings. Here, however, this possibility of contemplation is overcome by the poet asking about the real common men who built it: A. Sicard: Op. cit. p 253.

11. Don Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga was born in Madrid in 1533, in 1548 was accepted as a page to Prince Felipe. In the Corte he finished his studies according to customs of the epoch. As a page he accompanied the Prince to various places during a period of seven years. He visited Flanders, Barcelona, Genoa, Milan, Trento, Innsbruck, Munich, Brussels, Vienna, London. In London he met Jerónimo de Alderete who had been named Governor of Chile and was preparing an expedition to América. Ercilla joined this expedition which started in San Lúcar de Barrameda on October 15th of 1555. Alderete died in the island of Tabago and his post was given to the son of the Viceroy of Perú don García Hurtado de Mendoza who as the new Governor of Chile was preparing a punitive expedition to Chile to avenge the death of Pedro de Valdivia and suppress the last Araucanian rebellion. Ercilla joined this military expedition which started in Callao on February of 1557. Once in the south of Chile Ercilla participated in military life and in various battles against the Mapuches. In 1558 he joined the expedition to the far south of the country. In that year as a result of enmities and quarrels with other members of the military force Ercilla was arrested and sentenced to death by the Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza. Afterwards his sentence was changed to deportation. In January of 1559 Ercilla left Chile for Callao, Perú. In Lima he was later named a member of the Viceroy's Special Guard. In 1563 he went back to Spain and in 1569 published the first part of La Araucana. Ercilla died in 1594. According to this account, part of his life was spent in military service to the Crown and his loyalty to Philip II was never in doubt. See Ofelia Garza de del Castillo "Introducción" to Alonso de Ercilla: La Araucana.

(Porrúa, S.A. México, 1968). Also see José Toribio Medina: Vida de Ercilla. (Fondo de Cultura Económica, México. 1948).

12. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas was born in Seville in 1474. He visited the American continent as early as 1493 accompanying his father who was a captain in one of Christopher Columbus' expeditions. He then studied Canonical Law at Salamanca University. Later he went to Santo Domingo and The Antilles. Fray Bartolomé became interested in the well-being of the natives and travelled to Spain on numerous occasions on their behalf. He joined the "Orden de Santiago" in 1519. Later he worked in México and Guatemala. He became Bishop of Chiapas in 1547 and died in Madrid in 1566. He wrote: Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias. The book was presented to the King in 1542 and published in 1552. See: Emilia Romero del Valle: Diccionario Manual de literatura peruana y materias afines. (Univ. Nacional de San Marcos. Lima. Perú. 1966). p 73.

13. Francisco Javier Mina was born in Navarra, Spain in 1789. He participated in the war of Spain against France at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1816 he was in England to organise an expedition in favour of the movement for independence in América. Mina went to México and his forces were defeated at the battle of Fuerte Sombrero. In October of 1817 he was made prisoner and taken to the camp of Mariscal Pascual Liñán, leader of the Spanish forces. Mina was executed on November 11 of 1817. See: Diego Barros Arana: Historia de América. (Futuro Press. Buenos Aires. 1962). pp 325-326.

14. In Alvaro Yunque's view the struggle for independence in América was not purely a confrontation between Europeans and Americans. Among the rebels there were individuals who came from different European countries, and also among the forces loyal to the Spanish Crown there were natives and creoles. He writes: "Desde norteamérica a la Argentina, cabe apuntar un fenómeno idéntico: la aparición de nativos que luchaban por conservar lo establecido, o sea, la adhesión al Rey, y la aparición de europeos - ingleses, portugueses, franceses, españoles, que se adhirieron a la revolución de los países donde vivían. La lucha fue así, no entre norteamericanos e ingleses, no

entre hispano-americanos y españoles, no entre negros y franceses; sino entre rebeldes y realistas" See: Alvaro Yunque's "Introducción y notas" to Historia de América of Diego Barros Arana.

14. A. Sicard: Op. cit. pp 291-292.

15. It is worthwhile remembering here some examples of the sort of expeditions organised at the time: The expedition of Almagro to Chile from Cuzco in 1535. The Andes crossing took a very high number of casualties. "El frío y el hambre mataban a los indios por docenas, y los castellanos veían desprendérseles los dedos de las manos y de los pies helados por el frío, y tenían que alimentarse con la carne de los caballos que morían en la nieve." See: Diego Barros Arana: Op. cit. p 175. Or Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition to the East of Quito in 1540. Of a total of 350 Spanish soldiers and 4.000 natives only 80 Spaniards and less than a half of the natives came back to Quito in June of 1542. The Castilians came back in a sorry state: "éstos a pié, descalzos, vestidos con pieles de fieras, cubierto el cuerpo de cicatrices y convertidos en espectros con dos años y medio de desventuras contínuas." (See: D. Barros A: Op. cit. p 184). Or for instance the expedition organised by Pánfilo de Nárvaez to conquer Florida in 1528 which started in Cuba in that year. From it just a handful of men made it to the North American coast among them Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca who wrote the incidents of his ordeal in La Relación y comentarios del Gobernador Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca de lo acaecido en las dos jornadas que hizo a las Indias. Published as Naufragios by (Colección Testimonio. Instituto del libro. La Habana, Cuba. 1970). According to Cabeza de Vaca only after nine years of wandering among the natives of Florida and the Mississippi river area as the only survivor could he make his journey back to México.

16. It has been argued that the symbols of Neruda's poetry have a multiple meaning and that at the same time these symbols have meanings in themselves. Sicard says that in the case of the symbol of the tree this appears in two supplementary versions: a) the unity which carries the sum of individual

heroisms, or b) a symbol of the individual heroes. Sicard: Op. cit. pp 296-297.

17. The word "Mapuche" contains two terms: "Mapu" which means "land" and "Che" which means "people". Its literal meaning then could be "People of the land". The Mapuche people believe that the voice "Araucanos" was the name given to them by the Spaniards as they prefer to call themselves Mapuches. See: Mapuche Voice, (No 3), p 27. A magazine published by exiled mapuches in Britain. Published by Indigenous Minorities Research Council, Bristol. Printed in Sheffield Women's Printing Co-op. The issue has no date of publication but was printed in the mid 1980s.

18. Note should be taken of the liberty taken by the poet with the historical facts. A. Sicard points out that Lautaro was already dead when the Chief Caupolicán was executed in 1558. (A. Sicard: Op. cit. p 226.) Diego Barros Arana wrote that Lautaro died in the battle of Mataquito river in April the 29th, 1557 after he and Caupolicán decided to split the native forces and one of them would travel to the north and attack Santiago itself and the other would go south. Lautaro took the expedition to the north and died at Mataquito. Caupolicán attacked cities of the south and was taken prisoner in Cañete and executed in 1558. See D. Barros A. : Op. cit. p 211.

19. *Underscoring is my own .*

20. For instance the poem "Artigas" of this section. In the eighth stanza the poet explains why he did not include in the first edition of Canto General a poem in honour of the national hero of the Uruguayan War of Independence. This omission was criticised by, among others, the author Don Eduardo Galeano. The poet explains:

"Y si Pablo Neruda, el cronista de todas las cosas te
debía, Uruguay, este canto,
este canto, este cuento, esta miga de espiga, este
Artigas,
no falté a mis deberes ni acepté los escrúpulos del

intransigente:

esperé una hora quieta, aceché una hora inquieta,
recogí..." (Artigas").

The poet explains his role as a chronicler and in that position he feels he can assess and examine historical facts and men. Even after some criticisms because he did not write a poem in honour of one of the heroes of the War of Independence, he can state the reasons for that omission and feel free to rectify the mistake. Also one could add that it was not an isolated adjustment. See and compare editions of Obras Completas by Losada (Editions of 1967 and 1973) with editions of Canto General of later years by the same publishing house such as the sixth edition (Losada, Buenos Aires, 1955) where in page 110 the editor included the following note to the poem XXVI "Artigas": "Aunque escrito varios años después "Artigas", Octavo episodio del libro La barcarola (Losada, 1967), su tema corresponde al Capítulo IV, "Los libertadores". Por esta razón se incluye en esta edición revisada del Canto General". Or compare them to earlier editions such as for instance, Canto General by Imprenta Juárez. (Reforma 75, Ciudad de México, D.F.1950, with a presentation by Galo González D). Curiously this last edition is described as a special one by Robert Pring-Mill in his book Pablo Neruda. A Basic Anthology. (Dolphin, Oxford, 1975) p XXXIX. He wrote: "A volume of 448 pages, with a photographic frontispiece showing Neruda with a beard, fifteen full-page illustrations and fifteen smaller ones (at the beginning and end of each part, respectively) by José Venturelli, and a photograph of Pablo and Delia in hiding. This was printed in sections, assembled, bound, and distributed from inside Santiago by the Partido Comunista de Chile. It bears a false imprint: "Impreso: Imprenta "Juárez/ Reforma 75/ ciudad de México D.F." There were apparently various clandestine impressions during 1950, including a special printing on papel pluma." How ironic to find this clandestine edition of Canto General during the nineties in Glasgow University Library and discover that was donated to the University by the Rockefeller Foundation during the fifties. See note 23 of this chapter and also see note 13 of chapter three.

21. B. Keen, Mark Wasserman: A short History of Latin America. (Copyright 1980. Houghton Mifflin Company. Printed USA). p 128.

22. B. Keen, Mark Wasserman: Idem. P 126

23. Regarding this theme and others very closely linked it is worthwhile recalling Eduardo Galeano 's opinion. He wrote in Open veins of Latin America (Five centuries of the pillage of a continent), in chapter 4 "Tales of premature death": "The optical distortions imposed by liberalism are not a monopoly of Latin America's ruling classes; many left intellectuals who look at our countries history through alien spectacles accept certain myths, cannonizations, and excommunications of the Right. Pablo Neruda's Canto General pays moving homage to the Latin American peoples, but clearly reveals this disorientation. Neruda pays no attention to Artigas, or to Carlos Antonio or Francisco López and instead identifies with Sarmiento. He calls Francia a "leprous king" and is no more amiable with Rosas." E. Galeano: Op. Cit. (Monthly Review Press. New York. 1973). pp 207-208. Also see note 20 of this chapter.

24. Karl Marx and F. Engels: Manifesto of the Communist Party. In Selected Works in two volumes. Published in Great Britain by (Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. London. 1950. Volume I). p 35.

25. Op. cit. p 35.

26. K. Marx, F. Engels: Op. cit. p 37.

27. K. Marx, F. Engels: Op. cit. P 38.

28. In Versos del Capitán, a book published in 1952 in Italy anonymously, Neruda shows a conception of the stable, mature, conscientious couple who participate in the social struggle. The Captain imposes his criteria and rules in the love relationship and the lover neither argues nor opposes his actions. The poet intends to portray a common couple who wish to establish their place in the community. This is a couple who want to be near and in touch with the rest of the world. They do not regard isolation as a desirable situation, and they are not belligerent towards

others. This is the couple in a social context, integrated in the community's struggle for better conditions. This is man and woman so differently portrayed from lovers in the earlier collections, where there was a desirable isolation of the poet and his lover and where the couple demonstrated a certain hostility towards the rest of society. In Los versos del Capitán however, in poems like "El olvido" or "El monte y el río" the poet shows this notion of the amorous couple incorporated with the social struggle of the community: "No me detuve en la lucha./ No dejé de marchar hacia la vida,/ hacia la paz, hacia el pan para todos,". In the second poem he says: "Oh tú, la que yo amo,/ pequeña, grano rojo/ de trigo,/ será dura la lucha,/ pero vendrás conmigo." The lovers face a world where there are other humans like them. There is the intention of accepting the challenge of that world by integrating themselves into it. Now the poet does not look for hidden meanings, or for hidden superior realities in the objects. "Al pan no le pido que me enseñe/ sino que no me falte/... Yo no pido a la noche explicaciones,/ yo la espero y me envuelve," (Poem VI from section "Oda y germinaciones").

29. According to K. Marx's writing in Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts in 1844 on alienated labour, there are alienation of the activity of labour itself, alienation of the worker in relation to his employer and fellow workers, alienation of the product in relation to its producer. The worker becomes poorer as he is producing wealth. Wealth increases and extends power. The product becomes something alien and hostile, a powerful enemy of the producer. The worker ends up dominated by the product. In the second place one finds the alienation of the activity itself. His work is no longer his own. It belongs to the man who pays him a salary. "Estrangement - wrote Marx - manifests itself not only in the result, but also in the act of production, within the activity of production itself." (Op. Cit. p 326). As the activity of production itself is alienated, the worker feels unhappy, miserable. He does not develop his mental and physical abilities to the full. That activity is directed against himself, it does not belong to him as it works independently of him. Thirdly, estranged labour denies the natural expression of man which will be to produce in accordance with the laws of beauty and in relation to nature and

other men. That estranged labour denies the essential being of man. "What is true of man's relationship to his labour, to the product of his labour and to himself, is also true of his relationship to other men, and to the labour and the object of the labour of other men" (K. Marx: Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts. See in Early Writings. (Penguin Books Limited. England. 1981). p 330).

30. Jean Franco offers a different interpretation of this section of Canto General. In her view what Neruda proposes as a better society, is a return to a society similar to that of the frontier, that of the Chilean pioneers of the south. She writes: "Not surprisingly his vision of the good society which comes at the end of the section 'Las flores de Punitaqui' is of man's return to an organic life:

"Sobre esta claridad irá naciendo
la granja, la ciudad, la minería,..."

And she adds: "In this section, work is not seen as a form of alienation but as an extension of man's relation with nature; like bread coming from corn, so will the country be 'Kneaded' by the hands of workmen; its new order will be that of fishermen 'como un ramo de mar'. Neruda's vision is a coherent one, and is, in short, that of a return to a society very near that of Temuco." J. Franco: Spanish American Literature Since Independence. (E. Benn Limited. London. 1973) p 199.

31. Four poems about the East are included in this section: El viajero (1927)", "Lejos de aquí", "Las máscaras de yeso", "El baile (1929)". In them the poet remembers the poverty of the crowd, the resignation to poverty, the submission of the majority, the religious alienation, the false idols, the corrupt monarchs, the brutalised monks, the dirt, the terrible effects of European colonization. Now, in the 40s the poet remembers: "Vi el miserable acumulado, encima/ de otro, del sufrimiento de su hermano,/ las calles como oios de congoja/ las pequeñas aldeas aplastadas.../ Y fui en la muchedumbre, centinela/ del tiempo..." (Lejos de aquí). It has already been noted how this vision differs from the one depicted in the writings of 1927-1932. Now the

poet sees clearly a world of inequalities, with strict social strata.

But this reflective vision of India will suffer a new change. Between 1949 and 1952 Neruda travelled extensively as a member of the "World Council for Peace". These travels and the new experiences are depicted in Las uvas y el viento published in 1954. Here the poet again writes about India with a new understanding. For example: "Ahora/ con parlamento propio,/ sin ingleses,/ y la vieja miseria,/ y el hambre/ aullando en las aldeas."(India,1951). But apart from showing the political changes the poet observes a new mood in the crowd. Now this is a crowd in struggle.

It has to be pointed out that the poet wrote this poetry in the context of his visits to countries where the effort was to rebuild from the destruction of war and also poems about the poet's uncritical view of the socialist 'triumphalism' of the forties. The poet declares his absolute and blind conviction in the success of socialist construction. He believes that this socialist effort in Eastern Europe will bring new hope and a fuller life to man. In this context then he wrote about the raising and exploding Indian crowd, of the rebellious Indian new poets, of the belligerent young Indians. "Yo supe ahora,/ escuchando los cantos de los pueblos,/ las iras desgranadas,/ los puños en el viento,/ supe/ que se levantarán tus estaturas,/ que se acumulará tu poderío,/ que darás a tu pueblo el pan que le negabas,/ y que ya no veremos/ pasar detrás del oro,/ cruzar detrás del rito deslumbrador de la teogonía,/ el hambre con su escoba... india, levanta/ tu juventud, invita/ tu reloj a marcar la hora que viene." (India 1951). This poem shows the poet's belief in the effort of man. The same happens in poems about the construction of the USSR or Eastern Europe, about men diverting a river in Rumania or those who build a bridge in Prague. All of them show the poet's admiration in the building capacity of man, in the construction of the new socialist society. This is exemplified also in the poem to Stalin's death in 1953.

The poet is in this collection a militant internationalist (The problems of man have to be seen in a world context) and an

uncritical defender of socialist 'constructivism'. He blindly follows the guidance of the leaders. Art and literature are for him, in this new context the means to build the new era of man. On his arrival at Santiago the poet declared in a journal publication: "Sobrepasando los cánones antiguos, el realismo socialista muestra la transformación del hombre en el período de nacimiento de la nueva sociedad. Es decir, no se reduce a retratar al hombre y al paisaje, sino que contribuye a la formación y a la construcción del porvenir. De esta manera, el arte de nuestra época llega a cumplir un rol fundamental, como una materia tan necesaria como el acero y el ladrillo de las nuevas construcciones. El libro y la pintura deben señalar la proximidad y la fecundidad de la época socialista que viene, y deben mostrar los fundamentos humanos, sociales y naturales de la esperanza contemporánea. De esta manera, el escritor se convierte en creador de la historia, asumiendo por primera vez, un papel directo en la construcción de la época." (Pro Arte 28 November 1952). Quoted by E. Rodríguez Monegal: Op. cit. pp 142-142.

This defense of 'constructivism' celebrates first the work effort of the new socialist societies, the celebration of the new rebellious mood in the crowd and among the poets in India and then the poet goes on to dictate the norms and rules of creativity as in his poem to the Italian painter Gutuso. Here he celebrates the Italian creator but denounces and condemns the non figurative art of a Nicaraguan painter. And he ends by dictating which should be the themes and motifs of modern painting. Neruda brings here to the extreme his ideas of socialist realism and ends in dictating rules for an acceptable way of painting.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX.

1. Neruda published four books of Odas. Odas elementales in 1954, Nuevas Odas elementales in 1956, Tercer Libro de Odas in 1957 and Navegaciones y regresos in 1959. These four books were published as one entitled Libro de odas. (Losada, Buenos Aires, 1972). Also he included many Odas in later books.

2. Emir Rodríguez Monegal: El viajero inmóvil. (Losada, Buenos Aires, 1966) p 146.

3. Pablo Neruda: Confieso que he vivido. Memorias. (Losada, Buenos Aires, 1974. Third edition, 1975) pp 359- 360. Later when Neruda received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1971 he repeated in his speech his notion of the poet as a craftsman. It can be seen that the concept took roots in Neruda's vision till the very end. He said in that speech: "El poeta no es un 'pequeño dios'. No, no es un 'pequeño dios'. No está signado por un destino cabalístico superior al de quienes ejercen otros menesteres y oficios. A menudo expresé que el mejor poeta es el hombre que nos entrega el pan de cada día: el panadero más próximo, que no se cree dios. El cumple su majestuosa y humilde faena de amasar, meter al horno, dorar y entregar el pan de cada día como una obligación comunitaria." See Discurso de Neruda al recibir el Premio Nóbel. In Atenea. (Universidad de Concepción, Chile. No 425, June, 1972) p 15. The idea of the poet being a worker is explained with quite similar words in the texts of that quoted speech and that of the Lecture of January of 1954. The poet according to these writings is not a celestial creature. He is a worker and his duties are similar to that of the baker or that of the boatman. He produces an object and to express it has to be alert to the direction that humanity follows during his days.

4. Pablo Neruda: Conferencias de enero de 1954. (Given at Universidad de Chile. Santiago). Quoted by Emir Rodríguez Monegal: Op cit. pp 154-155.

5. Pablo Neruda: Discurso Congreso Continental de la Cultura. Santiago, may 1953. Quoted by Emir Rodríguez Monegal: Op cit. p

146.

6. Pablo Neruda: Discurso... Quoted by E. Rodríguez Monegal: Op cit. p 147.

7. Pablo Neruda: Discurso... Quoted by E. Rodríguez Monegal: Op cit. p 146.

8. Pablo Neruda: Conferencias de enero de 1954. Quoted by E. Rodríguez Monegal: Op cit. p 155.

9. The poems "La casa de las Odas" (the first poem from Nuevas Odas elementales), "Odas de todo el mundo" (the first one from Tercer libro de Odas), and "El hombre invisible" (from Odas elementales), are presented as declarations of principles or introductions to each one of the collections. These poems depict the main notions which preside over the books and the attitude of the poet as creator. Jaime Concha in his "Introduction" to Odas elementales (Catedra, Letras hispánicas, Madrid, 1985), also interprets the poem "El hombre invisible" as the poet's critical view of earlier attitudes. He writes: "... algo que bien se ha percibido como risueña actitud autocrítica frente a su poesía anterior. Esos "viejos poetas", ese "antiguo hermano" de que habla en su poema inicial es el rostro del poeta tradicional, qué duda cabe...". Concha however believes that this self-criticism of Neruda should not be interpreted as a radical change of attitude. In his view, this is just a slight ironic criticism which shows Neruda's flexibility and dynamic creation. Robert Pring-Mill in his article "El Neruda de las Odas elementales" included in Coloquio Internacional sobre Pablo Neruda. La obra posterior al Canto General. (Centre de Recherches Latino-Americaines de l' Université de Poitiers, 1979), wrote that one of the main characteristics of Odas elementales is the use of changes of tone in their style and that "El hombre invisible" contains many of these changes. He also believes that Neruda employs some degree of selfcriticism and also provides a critique of other egocentric writers. In his view this selfcriticism is expressed in one of the ironic uses of the language found in the collection. In the end one could say that there are two critical messages contained in an ironic poetic

language.

10. To understand the practicality of this intention and the difference between the poetic and fictitious level of it compared with the political meaning, one has to bring to memory a similar situation faced by Luis Emilio Recabarren in his parliamentary intervention in the session of July the 15th, 1921. He said: "Yo voy a hablar con sinceridad y me van a disculpar por cierto mis honorables colegas si digo que siento más respeto cuando hablo en un tabladillo que cuando hablo en la Cámara." L.E. Recabarren: Obras escogidas. (Recabarren publishing house. Santiago, 1965) p 47. Quoted by J. Concha in Neruda. (Universitaria. Santiago Chile. 1972) p 164. Recabarren's was a realistic and permanent one, his attitude based on his involvement in the political and unionist activities among the rank and file of the Chilean working class. He clearly establishes the respect he felt for the popular feelings of his time and where the main direction of his loyalty lay. Neruda in comparison expresses at this moment wishful thinking only.

11. Juan Larrea was born in Bilbao, Spain, in 1895. In the mid-twenties he moved to Paris where together with César Vallejo he created the magazine "Favorable Paris Poema". From Paris he and Vicente Huidobro collaborated on a the newly created Spanish magazines of poetry. He wrote first 'poesía creacionista' in Spanish but soon started to write in French. He and Gerardo Diego are considered among the earlier Spanish poets who brought to Spain those new poetic practices. Later he travelled to Latin América and in Perú he collected a selection of archeological items which he donated to the Spanish Republicans in Madrid in 1935. In 1939 he was in México where he created two magazines: España Peregrina and later Cuadernos Americanos. Larrea was one of the Spanish writers who went into in exile after the Civil War. His earlier writings are seen as an expression of the new poetry around the 20s but later in life he wrote essays on a variety of Latin American and Universal subjects. According to C.B. Morris, Larrea became a polemical writer and he states that: "Larrea's writings of recent years, which bristle with aggressiveness most frequently directed at Vallejo's detractors, surrealism in general and Breton in

particular, reveal his antipathy to the label 'surrealist". C.B. Morris: Surrealism in Spain. 1920-1926. (Cambridge University Press, 1972) p 25. In effect, Larrea is a writer who, where he can, inserts into his works incisive epithets against writers he sees as enemies or hostile as for instance when praising the stone city of Cuzco he writes: "No en vano se ha reconocido al Cuzco la capitalidad arqueológica de esta América del Sur que- sépanlo o no los aspirantes a escribanos, a adoctrinantes y a encomenderos ..." (J.Larrea: "Reconocimiento al Perú", an essay written in 1956. See it in Corona Incaica. (Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina, 1966) p 30. But his polemic with Neruda started at the beginning of the 40s. They were both in México at the time. Neruda as Consul of the Chilean Government from 1940 to 1943 and Larrea as Editor of the magazine Cuadernos Americanos. It was in this periodical that Larrea published his article "El surrealismo entre el Viejo y el Nuevo mundo" (III year, Num. 3-5, May- October, 1944) where he staunchly disapproves of Neruda's poetry and strongly criticises Neruda's political stance. According to Larrea Neruda subordinates his poetry to his masters in the USSR. This crude criticism was almost certainly answered years later by Neruda in his Nuevas Odas Elementales.

12. Neruda clarified the poet's duties again at the age of 68 in 1971 when receiving the Nobel Prize. At this stage he could summarise his ideas and state what he considered the poet's obligations regarding the two main themes of beauty and his responsibilities within the community. He wrote: "Porque creo que mis deberes de poeta no sólo me indican la fraternidad con la rosa y la simetría, con el exaltado amor y con la nostalgia infinita, sino también con las ásperas tareas humanas que incorporé a mi poesía." See Discurso al recibir el premio Nobel. Op cit. p 17.

13. Pablo Neruda: Infancia y Poesía. See in Obras Completas. (Losada, Buenos Aires, Third edition, 1967. T. I.) p 30.

14. See note number 12 of this chapter.

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