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## ERNESTO CARDENAL AND NORTH AMERICAN LITERATURE: INTERTEXTUALITY AND THE FORMULATION OF AN ETHICAL IDENTITY

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In this paper, I will discuss some of the ways that Cardenal's intertextual engagement with certain works of North American literature enable him to formulate a personal and collective ethical identity. The study begins with a comparative analysis of historical figures that appear in works by Cardenal, Archibald MacLeish, William Carlos Williams and Ezra Pound. A subsequent part of the paper treats one of Cardenal's depictions of an indigenous figure (which the poet derived from his apprenticeship with Thomas Merton and his work with "primitive" songs and prayers of the Amerindian culture) and how this aspect of indigenous North America led him to postulate a "new" ethics based on spirituality, anti-materialism and agrarianism. I hope to demonstrate that these literary portraits, often in the form of the "persona" poem, are the basis for Cardenal's development of a definition of moral responsibility that governs actions leading to social change.

One of Cardenal's earliest poems, "Proclama del conquistador", written while the poet was in Mexico in 1946, is a clear indication of Cardenal's interest in historical themes as a point of departure for a literary work. This poem marks the beginning of what will develop into the principle concern of Cardenal that is both temporal and ethical: how does one utilize the past in a contemporary manner in order to create a moral platform for the prophetic? In a major recent study of Cardenal's life and work entitled *Hacia el hombre nuevo: poesía y pensamiento de Ernesto Cardenal*, critic Paul W. Borgeson, Jr. points out this particular poem's importance as an antecedent of the poet's later socio-historical verse:

"Proclama del conquistador" demuestra que Cardenal, hace mucho tiempo ya, encontró que la poesía le permitía conjurar el pasado, que era un vehículo adecuado para volver atrás en el tiempo sin aban-

donar el presente y en estilo contemporáneo... Los actos y las declaraciones del conquistador son menos los de un personaje histórico que simbólicos, más bien, del encuentro de las dos razas.<sup>1</sup>

The poem itself undoubtedly receives its impetus, its theme, as well as certain aspects of its dramatic structure from the Pulitzer prize-winning book-length series of poems entitled *Conquistador* (1932 by Archibald MacLeish. In the poems by MacLeish and Cardenal, the poets adopt a mask, a "persona", which enables them to speak in the first person as if they were the historical figure himself, a conquistador, resurrected from the dead.

The speakers in "Proclama del conquistador" and MacLeish's *Conquistador* maintain a lofty, "unnatural" diction that Cardenal rejects in later poems. Through MacLeish, Cardenal discovers an appropriate speaker (an historical figure linked to the history of the American continent) but not a suitable poetic voice.<sup>2</sup> While "Proclama del conquistador" is certainly indicative of the historical themes of future poems by Cardenal, perhaps the most striking feature of this early work is the poet's inability to reveal the psychological motivations of his character. This produces an absence of an ethical framework in which the historical figure's actions may be judged by the reader. The reader is presented with the description of an amicable meeting of two superficial racial types.

In the next series of historical poems undertaken by Cardenal in 1949, the poet appears to have discovered a plainer, less ornate system of linguistic expression than the one he uses in "Proclama del conquistador". "Raleigh", one of the first poems written by Cardenal after studying new North American poetry at Columbia University in New York from 1947-1949 with writers such as Lionel Trilling, Karl Van Doren and Babette Deutsch, is a good example of Cardenal's mature poetic voice. Cardenal's "Raleigh" is a link between the overwrought abundance of "Proclama del conquistador" and the streamlined, documentary style of "Con Walker en Nicaragua". "Raleigh", in keeping with the exteriorist tendency to include lists of names, contains an enumerative precision:

Los indios de las costas, los de las islas, los Caníbales,  
 Caníbales de Guanipe,  
 los indios llamados Assawi, Coaca, Aiai,  
 los Tuitas sobre los árboles, los Sin Cabeza  
 y al norte del Orinoco los Wiriki  
 y al sur de la boca de Orinoco los Arwaca  
 y más allá los Caníbales  
 y al sur las Amazonas.

(*With Walker in Nicaragua*, p. 24)

Though the poem possesses an adequate descriptive strength, it lacks the capacity to give moral or immoral or amoral power to its speaker. "Raleigh", like "Proclama del conquistador" and other early poems, remains on the superficial,

fragmentary level of a travelogue, becoming little more than “una visión de América”, according to Pablo Antonio Cuadra, “desde un ojo foráneo”.<sup>3</sup>

For comparison, one might consider a different treatment of the same subject in the influential work by William Carlos Williams titled *In the American Grain* which, in 1925, was William's first commercially-published work. Reissued in 1939 with an introduction by Horace Gregory, *In the American Grain*, with its individualized portraits from American history based on original documentary sources, may very well have been a point of departure in Cardenal's initial process of assimilating North American literature. Part of the intent of Williams' book, according to Williams himself, was to create a variety of mimetic literary styles, or voices (some of which speak in the first person):

Raleigh was written in what I conceived to be Elizabethan style; the Eric the Red chapter in the style of the Icelandic saga; Boon in the style of Daniel's autobiography; Franklin was in Franklin's words; and John Paul Jones I gave verbatim. Thus I tried to make each chapter not only in content but in the style itself a close study of the theme.<sup>4</sup>

Cardenal chooses for his reduced, small-scale portrait of Raleigh a uniformly “modern” voice in accordance with the direct, unadorned poetics of new North American poetry:

Y entramos en abril  
cuando las reinas del Amazonas se juntan en las  
    márgenes  
y danzan desnudas y untadas de bálsamo y oro  
hasta el fin de esa luna —  
Entramos en abril  
los barcos muy lejos de nosotros anclados en el mar,  
a la ventura —  
100 hombres con sus balsas y sus provisiones para un mes  
(*With Walker in Nicaragua*, p. 24)

Williams opens his depiction of Raleigh with a swirling overview of his subject's complex and contradictory life:

Of the pursuit of beauty and the husk that remains, perversions and mistakes, while the true form escapes in the wind, sing O Muse; of Raleigh, beloved by majesty, plunging his lust into the body of a new world — and the deaths, misfortunes, counter coups, which swelled back to certify that ardor with defeat.

(*In the American Grain*, p. 59)

More successfully than Cardenal (in Cardenal's pre-“Con Walker en Nicaragua” stage), Williams presents what Horace Gregory calls American history's “signs

and signatures, its backward glances and, by implication, its warnings for the future".<sup>5</sup> Williams, unlike Cardenal, translates and reveals this link between the temporal and the ethical in his portrait of Raleigh.

Cardenal's early poetry, though flawed, does demonstrate an ethical progression that finally matures in "Con Walker en Nicaragua" (composed in 1950), a poem that defines — negatively — a moral position. Both "Proclama del conquistador" and "Raleigh" are persona poems that are unsuccessful in portraying even a fraction of the character-depth and historical scope of "Con Walker en Nicaragua", two qualities that are prerequisites for an establishment of acceptable and unacceptable modes of conduct. In Cardenal's "Con Walker en Nicaragua" (and even more so in "Hora O"), there exists an area in which the self and the other overlap, a sort of ontological no man's land. Critic Margaret Glynne Lloyd, in a statement concerning Williams; *In the American Grain*, defines what she calls "personal mythology", a concept that also applies to Cardenal's more mature historical poetry:

In *In the American Grain* Williams reevaluates and recreates various myths of American history; yet it is significant that he deals primarily with episodes and characters which relate to his own interior tensions or with which he can particularly empathize of mold to his own purposes. Therefore, we are justified in speaking of Williams' "personal mythology". By "personal mythology" we are referring to the personal extension of a myth to such a degree that the interpretation becomes more important than the myth itself, as well as the conferring of mythical status on to personal elements by attaching these ready-made myths.<sup>6</sup>

By adopting the sympathetic viewpoint of one of Walker's soldiers, Clinton Rollins, Cardenal transforms into literature the "tensions" of the crucial episode of Nicaraguan history that he has assimilated. The poet submerges himself in the persona of Clinton Rollins and allows the filibusters to describe and, finally, to condemn themselves:

Vi por primera vez a Walker en San Francisco:  
 recuerdo como si lo viera su rostro rubio como el de un tigre;  
 sus ojos grises, sin pupilas, fijos como los de un ciego,  
 pero que se dilataban y se encendían como pólvora en los combates,  
 y su piel de pecas borrosas, su palidez, sus modales de clérigo,  
 su voz, descolorida como sus ojos, fría y afilada,  
 en una boca sin labios.  
 Y la voz de una mujer no era más suave que la suya:  
 la de los serenos anuncios de las sentencias de muerte...  
 La que arrastró a tantos a la boca de la muerte en los combates.  
 Nunca bebía ni fumaba y no llevaba uniforme.  
 Ninguno fue su amigo.

Y no recuerdo haberlo visto jamás sonreír.

(*Antología*, pp. 22-23)

This simple, though penetrating, portrait of Walker, together with the complete scope of the poem's vividly "recalled" historical presentation, succeed in creating a negative definition of ethics. Because of the poem's aura of journalistic objectivity, ostensibly presented by a witness other than the poet himself, it is not necessary for Cardenal in "Con Walker en Nicaragua" to define the moral character of his subjects as explicitly as he does in another, more predictable, poem (written more or less at the same time) "Los filibusteros":

Hubo rufianes, ladrones, jugadores, pistoleros.

También hubo honrados y caballeros y valientes.

Reclutados por la necesidad y las ilusiones

(*Antología*, pp. 40)

Considered as a group, early poems such as "Con Walker en Nicaragua", "Los filibusteros", "Joaquín Artola", "José Dolores Estrada", "Greytown", "Squier en Nicaragua", and "Viajero del siglo xix en el río de San Juan", form an integrated series that effectively encapsulates the landscape, culture and history of Nicaragua in the nineteenth century. The unethical filibusters are juxtaposed with the highly ethical Nicaraguan heroes Artola and Estrada. Although the poet never intervenes in these poems directly as a first person speaker himself, Cardenal seems to have expanded his parameters to encompass his world in a way that resembles critic Stephen Tapscott's assessment of Whitman and Williams:

What the modern writer can emulate... is Whitman's orientation toward the new world thus encountered: the poet identifies himself with his world, gigantically, then explores "himself"... From the first Vikings in America, through Christopher Columbus, Père Sébastian Rasles, and other early American Visitors portrayed in *In the American Grain*, and even through George Washington... the consistently heroic gesture is this "turning inward", to suspend one's presumptions, so to let the American locality speak through the meditating self.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps the area of greatest similarities and differences between the poetry of Pound and Cardenal is that of the persona poem. At the beginning of their careers, both poets entered the literature of cultures other than their own by means of translation and the creation of personae. Critic K.K. Ruthven explains this strategy, as it relates to Pound, as a form of apprenticeship:

Lacking a poetic personality, the poet experiments with personae until he eventually discovers the "sincere self-expression" that gives an

individual quality to his verse. In practice Pound's personae turn out to be somewhat browningsque, although this was perhaps inevitable.<sup>8</sup>

It was inevitable because, as James F. Knapp explains, "Pound believed Browning's dramatic monologue to be the most interesting form in Victorian poetry, and he admired the older poet's concrete individuality of style".<sup>9</sup> N. Cristoph de Nagy has delineated three important differences, however, between Browning's dramatic monologue and Pound's persona poem which may prove useful in our analysis of Cardenal's poetry. According to de Nagy, Browning's monologues retain a higher degree of objectivity than Pound's personae: Browning takes "no moral responsibility for the attitudes and reactions of his speaker".<sup>10</sup> Too, Browning's characters are generally involved in a localized conflict, whereas Pound's speakers do not concentrate on any given dramatic situation. Finally, unlike Pound, Browning uses the presence of a silent listener to justify and sometimes to direct the words of his speaker. In these ways, we might consider Cardenal's "Proclama del conquistador", given the closeness of the poet to his mask, more Poundian, despite the poem's lack of Pound's technical characteristics. And, "Con Walker en Nicaragua", marked by Pound's unrheterical "new" language, is certainly more Browningsque in terms of the relationship between poet and speaker.

Both poets, however, use personae as a way of ordering the past: Pound begins by shaping a literary history (drawing from European and Asian cultures) and Cardenal begins by giving form to a political history (revolving around the American continent). The question that must be addressed by each poet becomes one of selection. Pound's choice of speakers and subjects (with the exception of Jefferson, Adams and Mussolini) are predominantly literary figures (Cino da Pistoia, Rihaku (Li Po), Guido Cavalcanti, Sextus Propertius, etc.). Cardenal, on the other hand, consistently chooses to bring historical figures (William Walker, Sandino, Somoza, etc.) back to life in many of his poems. For Pound, politics is the equivalent of hero-worship: what Jefferson and Mussolini (as they are portrayed in the so-called "Jefferson Nuevo Mundo Cantos" (31-41), published in 1934) have in common is that they are, in critic William M. Chace's words, "men concerned with order, with new ways to envision society. (Pound) sees them—one might almost say perversely—not as men primarily concerned with power, but as artists".<sup>11</sup> Both individuals as brilliant leaders, according to Chace's assessment of Pound's views, willed the births of their respective nations, Italy and the United States, Chace explains how Pound's populist, anti-Marxist fascism evolved from his elevation of the "artistic" politician:

Pound's reliance upon the creative power of single individuals leads quite naturally to his belief that democratic procedures are inefficient and anti-artistic.<sup>12</sup>

Chace calls Pound an “Imagist of politics”: “the task was once again, and now with greater fervor, to search for and isolate the particular.”<sup>13</sup> Consequently, Pound chose to single out the Jews and specific financiers. Pound attacked the abuse of capitalism, not the system itself (see Pound’s Canto XLV); nor, as an elitist did Pound view his as being a struggle against hierarchy. Unlike Cardenal, whose poetry manifests the ways that social being determines consciousness, Pound remained convinced that each individual’s consciousness determines being. Nevertheless (and this is important common ground), both poets are acutely aware of how political and economic developments have the power to condition all aspects of life. Furthermore, both poets realize that solutions to the exploitive situation in which humanity finds itself must be, above all, **ethical**.

As in “Con Walker en Nicaragua”, the portrait of the primary historical figure in “Hora O” is the means by which a moral code is established.<sup>14</sup> Whereas in the former poem, the definition was negative, in the latter poem Sandino becomes perhaps the most ethical figure in any of Cardenal’s verse, a star by which future revolutionaries can orient their conduct:

¿Que es aquella luz allá lejos? ¿Es una estrella?  
Es la luz de Sandino en la montaña negra.  
Allá están él y sus hombres junto a la fogata roja  
con sus rifles al hombro y envueltos en sus colchas,  
fumando o cantando canciones tristes al norte,  
los hombres sin moverse y moviéndose sus sombras.

Su cara era vaga como la de un espíritu,  
lejana por las meditaciones y los pensamientos  
y serla por las campanas y la intemperie.  
Y Sandino no tenía cara de soldado,  
sino de poeta convertido en soldado por necesidad,  
y de un hombre nervioso dominado por la serenidad.  
Había dos rostros superpuestos en su rostro:  
una fisonomía sombría y a la vez iluminada;  
triste como un atardecer en la montaña  
y alegre como la mañana en la montaña.  
En la luz su rostro se le rejuvenecía,  
y en la sombra se le llenaba de cansancio  
Y Sandino no era inteligente ni era culto  
pero salió inteligente en la montaña.

(*Antología*, pp. 64-65)

Critic Victor Fariás describes the death of this mythical, immortal, Christ-like hero (“Pero el héroe nace cuando muere/y la hierba verde renace de los carbones.”) as a transcendent event that prepares the way for the future revolutionary struggle:



La persona revolucionaria deviene así ética encarnada y norma. Gracias a la vigencia y solidez de su actividad, su ser "pasado" se transforma incluso en amenaza para el presente negador y en garantía de futuro humanizado. La resurrección de la carne se anuncia ya también como promesa de la salvación histórica.<sup>15</sup>

Cardenal, in a poem such as "Hora O", may possess the vast cope of history of Neruda, but, unlike the Chilean poet, Cardenal casts a moral light on reality that is endowed with a particularly Christian spiritual sense.

Given this highly developed ethical framework that is both personal and collective in Cardenal's poetry, a quality he assimilated from Pound, it is not exactly accurate to insist as many critics (such as Pring-Mill) have on summarizing the intertextual relationship between Cardenal and Pound as one that is based on "an extreme cult of poetic objectivity: a conscious and deliberate suppression of subjective elements".<sup>16</sup> Objectivity in Cardenal's poetry, based on an objectification of a language that expresses the things outside the self in the external, empirically-perceived world, expresses intimate moral values that are personal, mysterious, urgent. Furthermore, the creative act of constructing a poem implies choice, selection — conscious inner actions that belie any sort of true, pure "objectivity" or "exteriorism".

Perhaps Cardenal's "exteriorism" can be seen as a linguistic simplification of Pound (more reminiscent of the transfiguration of everyday American speech in William Carlos Williams' poetry) that approaches Williams' dictum "No ideas but in things" yet fails to embody it because of ethical, spiritual and, later, political considerations. Critic Stephen Tapscott's explanation of the double objectivity behind Williams' "No ideas but in things" applies to, but only partially defines, Cardenal's poetics:

When Williams summarizes this first necessity for modern writing, he is talking about the need for two kinds of objectivity, both toward the world and toward words. His belief in the power of words when they're used objectively, that is, stems from a fundamental belief in the power and significance of objective things in the physical world.<sup>17</sup>

There is, however, a third part of this definition of "Objectivism" proposed by the Objectivists (Williams, Zukofsky, Reznikoff and Oppen) in the 1920s that does include the moral, sometimes didactic, urge in Cardenal's poetry. Tapscott points out that originally the Objectivists "stressed the importance of the objective world, or the poet's personal 'objectives', and also of the mediating, 'objective' properties of the word".<sup>18</sup> Cardenal's **objectives** as a poet are unequivocally ethical, even when he presents the reader with a negative definition of morality as he does in the two persona poems "Con Walker en Nicaragua" and "Somoza desveliza la estatua de Somoza en el estadio Somoza".

This poem about the elder Somoza (Somoza García) was composed, along with the rest of the *Epigramas*, between 1952 and 1956 (presumably before Somoza was gunned down by the renegade poet Rigoberto López Pérez at a party in León in 1956). Although the *Epigramas* circulated widely (and anonymously) in mimeographed form, the poems were not published as a collection until 1961. “Somoza desveliza la estatua de Somoza en el estadio de Somoza” is a particularly effective satiric attack (against the extraordinarily cynical conduct of an authoritarian politician) that the poet achieves by letting the political figure condemn himself in his own words:

No es que yo crea que el pueblo me erigió esta estatua  
 porque yo sé mejor que vosotros que la ordené yo mismo.  
 Ni tampoco que pretenda pasar con ella a la posteridad  
 porque yo sé que el pueblo la derribará un día.  
 Ni que haya querido erigirme a mí mismo en vida  
 el monumento que muerto no me erigiréis vosotros;  
 sino que erigí esta estatua porque sé que la odiáis.

(*Antología*, p. 16)

The “persona” poem enables Cardenal to engage in an intense dialogue with the past, hoping to manipulate history in order to create a more ethically-sound future. Pound also uses this poetic strategy. But one has reservations about unconditionally praising Pound’s verse precisely because there is a certain lack of focus, a lack of overall organization in Pound’s work — a quality that may make him ultimately less effective than Cardenal as an author:

What we miss in the bulk of *Personae* (1926) is a sense of involvement, a feeling that the translations and pastiches are there for any other reason than that Pound happened to admire the writers he imitated... In every great writer there is a center from which the total work is organized, some insight into the human condition which shapes the course of individual works. This is one of the reasons why Pound is not a great writer.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the ethical center organizing Cardenal’s poetry, there is also an historical center — the history of Nicaragua. Together, like binary suns, they enable Cardenal to illuminate the human condition at least as effectively, if not more so, as any of the twentieth-century North American poets whose work Cardenal has assimilated.

Cardenal’s interest in North American poetry, however, is not confined to the usual modern writers that one finds in a standard poetry anthology. Cardenal and co-translator José Coronel Urtecho begin their excellent *Antología de la poesía norteamericana* (1963) with a selection of thirty-six native American poems and songs in Cardenal’s Spanish translation. Later, Cardenal expands

this section to include more indigenous material from the American continent as well as "primitive" poems from around the world in *Antología de poesía primitiva* (1979).

Like Cardenal's *Salmos*, in which the poet adopts the voice of a contemporary Hebrew prophet,<sup>20</sup> *Homenaje a los indios americanos* (first published in 1969) can be read as a book-length persona poem. Spiritual fulfillment is the subject of the long speech by Tahirassawichi in one of these poems, "Tahirassawichi en Washington". Critic Boris de Rachewiltz's analysis of some of the pagan and magic elements in Pound's various poetic guises (or personae) also defines Cardenal's verse in *Homenaje*:

A mask, by virtue of its function, may be said to have a certain wavelength over which its wearer is attuned to and in communication with the character of the person or deity it represents and so acts as both transmitter and receiver. This applies no less to the immaterial masks of poetry than to real masks, the function of which has been the subject of ethnological study.<sup>21</sup>

In this way, Cardenal, by assuming the mask of Tahirassawichi, is possessed by the spirit of the indigenous figure he resurrects. The poet becomes an intermediary, receiving signs, transforming these signs and transmitting them as meaningful speech in a poem. According to José Miguel Oviedo, each poem in *Homenaje* contributes to the reaffirmation of "el comunismo agrario, la inexistencia de la libertad burguesa y la síntesis (para (Cardenal) suprema) de una religión y una política".<sup>22</sup> Individually, Tahirassawichi embodies the moral values of an entire indigenous culture that Cardenal projects both as an antidote to present ills and as a paradigm for the future.

One assumes, finally, that Cardenal would share Meron's conviction that it is pointless to idealize indigenous society on the basis of the spiritual and material benefits that each individual member derived from society:

There would be no point in merely idealizing primitive men and archaic culture. There is no such thing as a charismatic culture. Though the life of an Indian was much more individualistic than we have imagined, it was integrated in the culture of his tribe and in its complex rituals. "Vision" was perhaps more often a deepening of the common imagination than a real breakthrough of personal insight.<sup>23</sup>

For this reason, the personal actions of the moral figures that constantly appear in Cardenal's poetry (in opposition to the immoral actions of other individuals) must eventually be fulfilled or redeemed in the collective actions of an entire population. This is especially true in the later poems by Cardenal, in which, for example, there are individuals such as Leonel Rugama in "Oráculo sobre Managua":

Por eso vos Leonel Rugama poeta de veinte años  
 te metiste a la guerrilla urbana.  
 Ex-seminarista, marxista, decías  
 en la Cafetería La India que la revolución  
 es la comunión con la especie.

(*Antología*, p. 214)

The “communion with the species” is complete when the actions of ethical individuals transform the people of a country into a revolutionary force (in which the poet includes himself) as in “Barricada”, a poem written after the Sandinista victory:

Esto fue una tarea de todos.  
 La verdad es que todos pusimos adoquines en la gran barricada.  
 Fue una tarea de todos. Fue el pueblo unido.  
 Y lo hicimos.

(*Antología*, p. 268)

Cardenal's formulation of an ethical identity for Nicaragua that possesses the capacity to set a global standard is based, to a certain extent, on the intertextual relationship of his poetry and literature from the United States. As we have seen, the impetus for Cardenal's poetry is derived from his assimilative dialogue with works of MacLeish, Williams, and Pound, as well as the songs/prayers of the Amerindian culture. The portraits of the historical figures in Cardenal's poetry, from the **filibustero** to the **guerrillero**, are protagonists related to the historical evolution of Nicaragua. They all define an ethical framework — either negatively, for example in the case of Walker, or positively in the case of Sandino — that achieves its maximum definition in the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979.

## NOTES

1 Paul W. Borgeson, Jr., *Hacia el hombre nuevo: poesía y pensamiento de Ernesto Cardenal* (London: Támesis, 1984) p. 30.

2 One remembers that Cardenal has not allowed “Proclama del conquistador” to be published in any anthologies of his work, not even in Jonathan Cohen's recent collection of translations of Cardenal's early poems *With Walker in Nicaragua* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1984).

3 Pablo Antonio Cuadra, “Sobre Ernesto Cardenal”, *Papeles de Sons Armadans* 187 (1971): p. 10.

- 4 William Carlos Williams, *The Autobiography of William Carlos Williams* (New York: New Directions, 1951), pp. 183-184. Although *In the American Grain* is written in prose, most chapters retain a highly poetic use of language. Evidence of this is the fact that Seldon Rodman includes "Sir Walter Raleigh" in the anthology *One Hundred Modern Poems*.
- 5 Horace Gregory, introduction, *In the American Grain* by William Carlos Williams (New York: New Directions, 1956, p. xii).
- 6 Margaret Glynne Lloyd, *William Carlos Williams's Paterson: A Critical Reappraisal* (New Jersey: Associated UP, 1980), p. 130.
- Stephen Tapscott, *American Beauty: William Carlos Williams and the Modernist Whitman* (New York: Columbia UP, 1984), pp. 61-62.
- 8 K.K. Ruthven, *A Guide to Ezra Pound's Personae (1926)* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1969), p. 8.
- 9 James F. Knapp, *Ezra Pound* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979), p. 28.
- 10 N. Christoph de Nagy, "Pound and Browning", *New Approaches to Ezra Pound*, ed. Eva Hesse (Berkeley: U of California P, 1969), pp. 96-97.
- 11 William M. Chace, *The Political Identities of Ezra Pound & T.S. Eliot* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1973), p. 63.
- 12 Chace, p. 64.
- 13 Chace, p. 33
- 14 See James Saxon Childers, *Sailing South American Skies* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), pp. 13-15. In a separate study, it would be worthwhile to examine Cardenal's compartmentalization of ethics as an artist. I am referring to a flagrant case of plagiarism in "Hora O", beginning with the line "Cuatro presos están cavando un hoyo: through "y un hombre al que le faltaba el brazo gritó: "Fuego!"
- 15 Victor Farías, "La poesía de Ernesto Cardenal: historia y trascendencia", *Araucaria* 15 (1981): p. 107.
- 16 Robert Pring-Mill, introduction, *Marilyn Monroe and Other Poems*, by Ernesto Cardenal (London: Search, 1975), p. 13.
- 17 Tapscott, p. 126.
- 18 Tapscott, p. 138.
- 19 Ruthven, p. 20.

20 See Lilia Dapaz Strout, "Nuevos cantos de vida y esperanza: los *Salmos* de Cardenal y la nueva ética", *Ernesto Cardenal: Poeta de la liberación latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Fernando García Cambeiro, 1975), pp. 109-131. The critic, in her Jungian approach to the *Salmos*, takes the persona poem into the realm of modern psychology and the process of individuation:

Este enfrentamiento con los impulsos oscuros se realiza por medio de una proyección de los mismos. Al reconocer al **alter ego** en sus diferentes formas y disfraces da el primer paso para unificar su ser dividido y ello le permite el equilibrio entre lo consciente y lo inconsciente. Merced a cierto género de duplicidad interna los *Salmos* son un intento de integrar las partes complementarias de la personalidad que sin embargo aparecen como enemigas. (pp. 119-120)

In this sense, the poet internalizes the positive and negative definitions of ethical behavior as exemplified in the external world.

21 Boris de Rachewiltz, "Pagan and Magic Elements in Ezra Pound's Poetry", *New Approaches to Ezra Pound*, ed. Eva Hesse (Berkeley: U of California P, 1969), p. 183.

22 Oviedo, p. 44.

23 Thomas Merton, "War and Vision", *Ishi Means Man: Essays on Native Americans* (Greensboro, NC: Unicorn, 1976), p. 20.