THE AUTHOR AS A PRODUCER: CONSTRUCTION OF AUTHORIAL FIGURES AND CRITIQUE OF COMMODIFICATION IN COLOMBIA, BRAZIL, AND PERU (1924-1977)

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Abstract

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The Author as a Producer: Construction of Authorial Figures and Critique of Commodification in Colombia, Brazil, and Peru (1924-1977)
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I analyze the self-reflective dimension in three novels and one novella by Latin American writers from the twentieth century: *La Vorágine* (1924), by the Colombian, José Eustasio Rivera; *Macunaíma. O herói sem nenhum caráter*. (1928), by the Brazilian, Mário de Andrade; *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971), by the Peruvian, José María Arguedas; and *A hora da estrela* (1977), by the Brazilian, Clarice Lispector. In the context of the uneven and combined modernization process that characterized the Latin American region, these long narratives share a critical perspective towards the increasing professionalization of literary writing and its incorporation into a market economy in two historical junctures (the 1920s and 1970s) and three different countries (Colombia, Brasil, and Peru). Moreover, this questioning is conducted through meta-fictional and inter-medial devices, which include the construction of authorial figures and cultural producers, as well as the comparison between literary writing and other forms of material and symbolic production in a capitalist economy.

In a context of bigger circulation of commodities both material (rubber, coffee, fish meal) and symbolic (photography, folklore, culture industries), literary writing assumes a stance of resistance and negotiation towards the commodification process. Consequently, the four long narratives in my corpus highlight the importance of the politic, ethic, and ritual dimensions of the literary production. In

other words, although the work of art participate in the circulation of commodities (books are purchased in the market), literary writing can surpass rigid economic demands. For instance, in the first two novels in my corpus, *La vorágine* y *Macunaíma*, literary writers become champions of nationality in the context of resource-based economies and the modernization of nation-states. In the two following long narratives, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and *A hora da estrela*, literary writers reject the professionalization achieved during the 1960s Latin American Boom, while paying attention to the experience of marginalized populations—namely, rural-urban migrants who start participating in capitalistic economies.

Dedicado a la memoria de Eugenia Carballido, Gregorio Muñoz y Calixta Huamán.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Un poeta piensa que, por ser poeta, no puede hacer otra cosa que versos para ganarse el pan. Día y noche escribe versos. No quiere ni se esfuerza por franquear los otros campos de trabajo. ¿Hacer zapatos un poeta? ¡Qué ocurrencia! ¡Qué indignidad! ¿Conducir un coche? ¡Qué ofensa! ¡Qué vergüenza! Unas manos que escriben poemas más o menos perecederos o inmortales, se mancharían y estropearían si luego de dejar la pluma pasaran a aserrar madera. El poeta, el novelista, el dramaturgo, de este modo, se han parcializado, sustrayéndose a la hermosa pluralidad de trayectorias de la vida y amputándose así otras tantas múltiples vías de sabiduría y riquezas emocionales. Se han profesionalizado. Están mutilados. Están perdidos.
>
> (César Vallejo, "La gran piedad" 340)

STATEMENT OF TOPIC

Published in 1926, the chronicle "La gran piedad de los escritores de Francia" points out a common trope among several Latin American writers between the 1920s and the 1970s—the comparison between literary writing and other forms of material and symbolic production, most of them proletarianized and professionalized labor. Based in Paris since 1923, the Peruvian poet César Vallejo (1892-1938) wrote this chronicle as part of his regular contributions to the Lima-based magazine Mundial. In these journalistic articles, Vallejo shared with the readers his observations of the European metropolises and the latest news about their political and cultural scenes. On that note, "La gran piedad de los escritores de Francia" discusses a current literary phenomenon: the material impoverishment of French writers due to the fluctuations of the economy. In the abovementioned quotation, Vallejo summarizes the ideas of American writer Carl Sandburg (1878-1867) and French writer Pierre Hamp (1876-1962), who proposed an articulation between artistic production and proletarianized labor to reject the professionalization of art in the bourgeois society. Such an articulation between intellectual and manual labor (the

poet is like a shoemaker) was a common trope among leftist intellectuals since the 1920s and Vallejo himself, who became a member of the Communist Party in 1932, would develop this trope in his subsequent literary production. Significantly, although "La gran piedad de los escritores de Francia" specifically discussed a European phenomenon, his reflections shed light on a similar phenomenon taking place in Peruvian literature (and, by extension, in several Latin American countries).

Notwithstanding the physical distance from Perú, César Vallejo's chronicle echoes a broader discussion about the nature and function of literary writing in the context of Latin America uneven and combined modernization process. Vallejo is reflecting on his identity as a Peruvian writer and his journey: first, as a rural-urban migrant in Lima, the capital of Perú, and later in his life, as an émigré in France. The author of *Trilce* (a ground-breaking collection of Avant-garde/High-modernist poems published in 1922) worked as journalist and freelance writer to stay out of poverty. As in Vallejo's case, the modernization process throughout the twentieth century led to increasing urbanization, labor division (proletarianization and professionalization), and rural-urban migration that left their mark on the works of several Latin American writers of different nationalities, political allegiances, and artistic traditions. Among the array of literary genres these writers employed, the literary novel became the most versatile and resourceful platform to discuss the identity of literary writers and the function of their artistic labor. On that note, all along with the development of a capitalistic mode of production, novel writing deals with the following questions: What kind of product is literary writing, and how it is related to other forms of material and symbolic production that are circulating in the market? What kind of producer is a literary author?

In the 1920s, two poets contemporaneous to César Vallejo published novels that discuss

the position of literary writing in the context of resource-based economies and the consolidations of nation-states. First, Colombian poet José Eustasio Rivera (1889-1928), affiliated to the Conservative party, wrote *La vorágine* (1924), a novel that draws analogies between literary writing, rubber extraction in the Amazon rainforest, and the journalistic and photographic production that reports human exploitation in the caucherías. Second, Brazilian poet Mário de Andrade (1893-1945), one of the leaders of the 1922 *Semana de Arte Moderna*, included in the novel *Macunaíma. O herói sem nehum caráter.* (1928) a reflection on literary writing by establishing comparisons with ethnographic production about the Amazon rainforest, as well as the newer labor division during the industrialization of São Paulo. Forty years later, in the context of Import Substitution Industrialization policies and the consolidation of literary markets, the comparison between literary writing and other forms of material and symbolic production are explored throughout metafictional devices. On one hand, Peruvian writer José María Arguedas, the major exponent of Indigenism, penned before his death the novel *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971), in which he discusses his own authorial identity in connection to two parallel phenomena: the professionalization of Latin American Boom writers and the newer folkloric production of rural-urban migrants in Peru. On the other hand, Brazilian High Modernist writer Clarice Lispector published the novella A *hora da estrela* (1977), in which a male author, who identifies himself as a non-professional writer, composes a fictional story about a rural-urban migrant heavily influenced by USA mass-media. Notwithstanding the differences in historical context and poetics, these four novels share an in-depth questioning of dominant models of authorship, as well as a critique of the specialization of artistic labor and its extensive participation in market exchange.

My dissertation analyzes the construction of authorial figures and the critique of the

commodification processes in the abovementioned narrative pieces: *La vorágine*, *Macunaíma, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, and *A Hora da Estrela* (1977). These texts span 50 years of Latin American literary history—from the emergence of the Avant-garde and High Modernism to early manifestations of postmodernist literature—and encompass three South American countries, namely Colombia, Brazil, and Peru. My dissertation focuses on the self-reflective dimension of these novels, which actively include metafictional devices (the text makes the reader aware of reading a literary work, breaking conventional mimesis) as well as intermedial devices (the inclusion of references to other media such as photography). I propose that these novels depict literary writers confronting both the professionalization of literature and the formation of markets, as well as the radical transformation of the societies they seek to depict due to rural-urban migrations and industrialization. Employing an array of intermedial and metafictional devices, these novels delve into the characteristics and functions of literary writing vis-a-vis other forms of material and symbolic productions in capitalist societies. Consequently, there is an experimental drive in these novels: literary writing is searching for its self-definition by examining its system of production, distribution, and reception, as well as by questioning writing practices and institutions, the identity of authorial figures, and the range of experiences provided by artistic artifacts

CRITERIA FOR CORPUS SELECTION

The selection of the corpus is based upon the following criteria: chronological order, historical relevance, and parallel development between geographical and cultural areas that have been analyzed in isolation from one another—specifically, the Andean region and Brazil. On one hand, I must explain that my dissertation considers Latin American to be a complex and diverse

cultural area that includes literary production in Spanish and Portuguese as well as native languages such as Tupi-Guarani and Quechua. Even though critical tradition has been inclined to isolate literary production based on language or national borders—namely, the case of Brazilian literature—my dissertation proposes an analysis of the parallel development of literary production in Brazil and Latin American Spanish-speaking countries. South American countries like Colombia, Brazil, and Peru do not only share geographical proximity, but also all of them participated with different degrees in similar processes of colonization and modernization. My thesis follows the approach taken by Ericka Beckman in *Capital Fiction*: the term Latin America is questionable but relevant since it "accords unity and uniformity to an impossibly heterogeneous grouping of societies, but that nevertheless self-actualize as a real position within the global division of labor" (xii). During the Twentieth Century, the region participated in several modernization projects that introduced the region into a capitalist world-economy in a subordinate and dependent position. Beckman explains that, even though Latin America has experienced several economic transformations (in particular, three different moments explained below), the region has been consistently represented and imagined as a "storehouse of a particular order of commodities" (xii).

On the other hand, the chronological and historical pattern is based on Latin America's modes and relations of production throughout the Twentieth Century. Historians have identified three economical periods: the Export Age (1870s-1920s), the Age of Development (1930s-1970s), and a new Export Age under *neo*-liberalism (from the 1980s to present). At the beginning of the century, *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* deal with the articulation of nation-states projects when confronted with extractive and resource-based economies, namely rubber extraction in the Amazon rainforest (also, a disputed territory among Colombia, Brazil, and

Peru). By mid-century, Latin American nation-states are committed to improving national industries and internal markets through policies of Import Substitution Industrialization. This political and economic process is discussed in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, which also explore the consequences of rural-urban migration and urbanization in Peru. Finally, in the current stage of late capitalism, nation-state entities have lost relevance in the face of the expansion of service sectors and mass consumption in what is known as globalization. Early manifestations of this last economic stage appear in *A hora da estrela*, which explicitly deals with the influence of mass media on rural-urban migrants and lower-class characters. In summary, in the context of the unfolding of a globalized economy, the novels making up my corpus deal with the depiction of specialized division of labor and technification as they apply to the cultural field in Latin American societies.

Moreover, the corpus of my thesis is limited to novels and novellas (and excludes other forms of literary production, such as short-stories, plays, and poetry) because of the increasing importance of the novelistic production in Latin America during the twentieth century. Following Ángel Rama, since the 1920s, the urbanization process, the expansion of printing technologies, and the emergence of a middle-class audience made long narratives such as novels more profitable and more readily available ("Diez problemas" 46). Likewise, literary authors who had already acquired prestige in more traditional genres decided to explore novel writing—the most remarkable cases being José Eustasio Rivera and Mário de Andrade, both reputable poets before the publication of their novels. In other words, novels were the most important commodity for publishers and the novelist as a public figure acquired a relevance that had been previously enjoyed by poets. The history of the reception of the first novel making up my corpus, *La vorágine*, could clarify the increasing importance of the literary novel in Latin America

during the twentieth century. It is possible to differentiate three clear stages: first, the early reception in Colombia, which questioned the persistence of rhetorical devices from poetry in a narrative supposedly invested in reporting social inequalities; second, the construction at a regional level (Latin America) of the category of *novela de la tierra* or regionalist novel, in which *La vorágine* takes pride of place; and finally, the rejection of this sub-genre during the Latin American "Boom". What this whole process of reception makes evident is the reconfiguration of the literary system in Latin America due to the growth of publishing industries and academic institutions.

By the mid-twentieth century, the region was already undergoing major urbanization and industrialization processes, some of them spurred by Import Substitution Industrialization policies. In the decades following the publication of *La vorágine* (1924), the novel as a genre obtained prestige as the major instrument for representing and intervening in the socio-cultural realities of Latin-American States. In conjunction with other novels from the same decade—*Don Segundo Sombra* (1926) by Ricardo Güiraldes and *Doña Bárbara* (1929) by Rómulo Gallegos—*La vorágine* is regarded as the starting point of the regionalist novel. In a broad sense, this subgenre is defined by a realistic mode of representation that foregrounds the frontier as a natural and socio-cultural environment. In addition, this subgenre deals with the problem of articulating those primitive realities—the jungle, the plains, the pampas—in the projects of modernity embraced by Latin American countries at the beginning of the twentieth century. Regarding the subgenre regionalist novel and how it is rooted in projects of liberal modernity and resource-based economic, see Alonso (136-162) and Beckman (158-190). The documentary approach and the explicit political agenda of the regionalist novel are actually present in *La vorágine*—even though, in intricate and experimental way. On the other hand, the explicit political agenda and

documentary approach had a negative reception in the wave of the Latin American "Boom". In contrast to the very successful experimental novel, *La vorágine* was regarded as a primitive and conservative literary work, indebted to nineteenth century literary devices and refractory to any demand for experimentation. This negative critical opinion is epitomized by Carlos Fuentes in *La nueva novela hispanoamericana* (9-14).

The remarkable social relevance of novel production has been recognized by literary criticism, which has developed theories and methodologies to explain the nature and purpose of this narrative genre in capitalistic societies. Basically, the novel has been identified as one of the most influential cultural artifacts, which is able to represent the complexity of contemporary societies and actively participate in current debates about modernization. Among the most important approaches to novelistic production, my thesis recognizes the influence of György Lukács and Mikhail Bakhtin. Despite their differences, both critics emphasize the dialectic between historical development of societies and their artistic production—in the case of the novel, the importance of the bourgeois society and the capitalist mode of production. My thesis delves into the propositions of Lukács (a novel's mode of representation and character development are consequences of bourgeois society) and Bakhtin (a novel's structure is the ongoing interaction between contending discourses and experiences in modern societies). Based on these theoretical frameworks, in my analysis, I emphasize the standing of literary writing in relation to other cultural production (such a journalism, photography, and folklore).

POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

It is necessary to clarify that I do not consider any of the novels in my corpus to be representative or paradigmatic of the periods in which they appeared, but they are indeed

inserted into a debate about national and regional developments. On this subject, my dissertation is devoted to discussing the transformations of what is deemed to be worthy of representation and how it should be properly depicted in modern Latin American literature. Instead of reducing *mimesis* to the fictional representation of an imaginary world, I'm interested in the convergence between techniques of literary writing and the arrangement of political life.

According to Jacques Rancière, neither the political positions of writers nor the political statements included in works of art are what 'politics of representation' names. Politics of representation actually establish a link between different spheres of life: what is seen or represented (the visible and the invisible) and what is possible to be spoken in the political sphere (the difference between a rational speech and the mere expression of animal suffering). This new perspective about mimesis leads to a redefinition of the concept of literature. On that note, rather than being defined as a specific use of a language, literature is more properly described as a rapport between those spheres of life—that is to say, it's the knot between the visibility of things and the meaning of words (Rancière 17). Regarding what is called modern literature, since modernity is defined by its unstoppable revolutionary force, the principal device of literature is the rupture of any previous *decorum* or set of rules: "l'écriture signifie l'inverse de tout propre du langage, elle signifie le règne de l'impropriété" (22). Modern literature is always a bad, transgressive and experimental literature.

The revolutionary forces contained in modern literature are directly related to the expression of emergent values and perspectives in the historical development of societies. In other words, literature (as other artistic works) is able to enact what Raymond Williams has identified as structures of feeling—perceptions and values that are diffuse in nature and that could be shared by remote communities or antagonistic groups in a specific historical

conjuncture. In his description of the hegemony and the interweaving of social interaction and symbolic production, Williams differentiates between dominant, residual, and emergent formations. In contrast to traditions and institutions (which are usually clearly shaped and easy to identify), formations are "a mode of specialized practice" or "conscious movements and tendencies (literary, artistic, philosophical or scientific) which can usually be readily discerned after their formative productions" (119). Regarding emergent formations, they should not be confused with mere novelty; the emergent necessarily appears as opposite or alternative with respect to the dominant. Moreover, emergent formations originate in new social classes or areas of experiences that have been excluded by dominant formations.

Significantly, artistic production has a pivotal role in the expression and enactment of structures of feeling. Even though artistic forms rely on dominant and residual formations, artistic production is willing to display traces of the emergent: "The idea of a structure of feeling can be specifically related to the evidence of forms and conventions—semantic figures—which, in art and literature, are often among the very first indications that such a new structure is forming" (133). On that note, what is initially identified as a transgression or deviation of the proper system of literature (a bad or improper writing) is later revealed as initial manifestations of the current structure of feeling.

Regarding the topic of my dissertation, literary writing should not be reduced to the production of commodities and cultural capital in a capitalist economy. In fact, the four long narratives making up my corpus are invested in the questioning on dominant motifs and narratives about Latin America's modernization. Following a Marxist theoretical frame, Ericka Beckman explains that political economy is, in fact, a fiction: since ideology and imagination take an important role in economic life, "modern capitalism can function only once certain

fictions come to be accepted as real; namely, that we begin to assume that labor, land and nature exist so that they might become commodities" (*Capital Fictions* xi). To this end, the four long narratives in my corpus critically incorporate those narratives and motifs in their own structure and mode of representation. By criticizing the fiction of commodification, literary writing recovers repressed or unnoticed experiences, which could be described as the "post-secular".

The question about the relationship between the sacred and the secular in historical development has given rise to the concept of "post-secular". According to Dominick LaCapra, even though the "post-secular" is an ill-defined notion, it would help to question the binary opposition between the sacred and the secular, which are usually understood as contradictory terms: "this multidimensional, contested notion [the "post-secular"] arises in the wake of debates about secularization, which often stressed either the continuity of the religious and the secular or the radical break between them… The most thought-provoking approaches to problems bearing on the post-secular are, I think, those that point to an intricate understanding of displacement, involving both repetition and change" (*History, Literature, Critical Theory* 2). On that note, Dominick LaCapra questions the persistence of traditional conceptions regarding the work of art, in particular, its tangled relationship with the sacred and violence as a source of redemption. Since the "post-secular" is neither the return of the repressed nor the persistence of the sacred in the secular but an in-depth questioning of a binary opposition, LaCapra suggests that the redemptive or regenerative force of sacrifice is just a fascinating celebration of violence, but not the crux of the sacred and the "post-secular": "A goal of critique is to disentangle the sacred from sacrifice, indeed critically to construe sacrifice that requires victimization and violence… not as the epitome or even the origin of the sacred but rather as its distortion or disastrous abuse" (10). The consequence of the abuse of violence (either an actual force or a metaphor) is its

inevitable banalization and reification. In contrast, LaCapra is interested in seeking the post-secular in other kinds of rituals and experiences characterized by displacement, namely rites of passages or crises such as the loss of faith (2). In this dissertation, I propose that *La vorágine*, *Macunaíma*, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, and *A hora da estrela* display emergent formations and structures of feeling that are dealing with the "post-secular" as it is defined by LaCapra.

PRODUCTION IN THE CAPITALIST MODE

My dissertation also takes part in the debate on the specialization of literary practices and institutions in Latin America. Following a Marxist theoretical framework, I don't regard literature as the verbal representation of fictional or imaginary worlds; on the contrary, I consider literature to be an outcome of the specialized division of labor of capitalistic societies as it applies to the cultural field. In other words, literature is a specialized work that, employing materials such as language and imagination, is inserted in circuit of distribution that establish dynamics between producers and consumers. Moreover, as any other form of specialized labor in a capitalist mode of production, literature faced the same constrains of what Lukács calls the reification process (86).

In the capitalist mode of production, human labor is constrained and has been reduced to wage labor or capital labor. Since labor is exchanged for a salary—it is objectified—its cost is the destruction of humans as producers: "the more the worker produces, the less he has to consume; the more values he creates, the more valueless, the more unworthy he becomes; the better formed his product, the more deformed becomes the worker" (Marx 73). Lukács describes this historical process of the capitalistic mode of production as the "phenomenon of

reification"—that is, the disappearance of use-value and work as the expression of human being potentialities. Within bourgeois societies, exchange value and commodities have subordinated all human interactions, including the economic, political and subjective spheres. Even the worker experiences himself as a commodity and has a "reified consciousness". Ironically, instead of attempting to transcend reified consciousness (which would imply the recognition of class struggle), the reified consciousness of the bourgeoisie strengthens its reification by means of a radical specialization: nineteenth bourgeois art and literature are remarkable examples of this reified consciousness, especially the artistic forms that still keep traditional concepts such as creativity and genius, eternal value and mystery.

On the other hand, in "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility" (1939), Walter Benjamin highlights that a qualitative change in technology has modified the nature and purpose of more contemporary artistic production, establishing a significant deviation from more traditional artistic forms (linked to bourgeois society in the nineteenth century). Traditional works of art have their basis in ritual practices (either magical, religious, or secularized as the cult of beauty) and are defined by the presence of an authentic and unique work of art, located in a specific place and time. By contrast, the new status of art is defined by its mechanical reproduction, which also implies a different experience of reception defined by multiplicity and instability (254). Basically, technological reproducibility implies the absence of an original work of art and the decay of what is called cult value or aura, "the unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be" (255). Photography and films are the current artistic forms that better expose this process: they are not only willing to be reproduced (as it happens with traditional works of art), but their own devices and structure are based in mechanical reproduction. In addition, these contemporary works of art are defined by the replacement of cult

value by exhibition value, which grows exponentially with the support of technological reproducibility. Because of the increasing predominance of exhibition value, there has been a significant change in the reception of art. The increase of stimuli for the senses and the acceleration of newer production imply the configuration of a new kind of audience—the masses—and the predominance of distraction over more prestigious attitudes towards art (269).

Regarding the topic of my dissertation, it is necessary to correlate the specialization of literary writing during the Twentieth Century with the introduction and development of technological reproducibility. The qualitative increase of modern technology should be contextualized in different historical conjunctures—that is to say, establishing distinctions between the development based on extractive economies (1870s-1930s) and the State policy of strong national economies based on Import Substitution Industrialization (1930s-1970s). Moreover, it's necessary to recognize two aspects of the development of technology in Latin America: first, technology has been mainly imported, since the region is under political and cultural domination in a globalized economy; and second, it is essential to identify the creative modes of reception of technology in the region. Throughout the twentieth century, human beings have been participating in industrialization and reification processes with different degrees of agency—in particular, the participant of internal and rural-urban migration.

In this dissertation, I discuss the specific predicament of literary writing in this whole process of modernization, tracking the effects exerted by technological reproducibility in literary writing and identifying the creative responses of writers as they face up to modernity. The predominance of authorial figures in the long narrative making up my corpus is bound up with the relationship between the development of technology, the arrangement of productive sectors, and the codification of consumer habits in Latin American societies. In this regard, my

dissertation participates in the debate about the role and functions of intellectuals and artists in communities and political entities (for instance, the notion of "letrado" in *La ciudad letrada* by Ángel Rama), even as it stresses the unavoidable correlation between literary writing, market and technological reproducibility. I propose that literary writing deals with the commodification and professionalization of labor by embracing different forms of political commitment and/or art for art's sake. Both of these alternatives are neither contradictory nor exclusive, but they have been intertwined in a variety of configurations.

AUTHORSHIP

One of the most intriguing aspects of contemporary literature is that the author is regarded as a modern figure that, nevertheless, is condemned to disappear because of the very dynamics of modernity. The revolutionary force that characterized modernity leads to the appearance of a new figure—the reader—whose predominance should be paid precisely by the erasure of rule of the author: "la naissance du lecteur doit se payer de la mort de l'Auteur" (Barthes "La mort d l'auteur" 495). Contemporary literary critics have been discussing the rationale and consequences of "the death of the author," pointing out the growing importance of the practice of reading and the image of reader. The critical approach to this phenomenon could be divided into two branches: first, a perspective concerned with the author as a hermeneutical tool or as a device used to manage the text and construct meaning (the "author function" according to Foucault); and second, the author as a producer in a capitalist mode of production, whose labor has been affected in various degrees by reification.

According to Raymond Williams, the status of authorship "carries a sense of decisive origination, rather than simply, as in 'writer' or in the more specific terms, a description of an

activity. Its most general early uses included a regular reference to God or Christ, as the authors of man's condition, and its continuing association with 'authority' is significant" (192). On that note, the author resembles God not only as original source and figure of authority, but also as a gendered figure; it is striking that God and Author always use masculine pronouns. Significantly, a widely used metaphor for describing the bond between an author and his book is the filial relationship between a father and his son –that is, artistic production is understood as an analogy of sexual reproduction, but the maternal womb is replaced by the power of an intelligent design. This relationship between fatherhood and authorship appears in several long narratives of my corpus.

Regarding authors as hermeneutical tools, Michel Foucault explains that the name of the author is not like any other proper name; this name is, in fact, an author function ("la fonction auteur") and is employed by readers in order to decode texts, classify discourses, and to establish rapports de homogeneity, filiation, and authenticity between all of them. According to Foucault, the hermeneutic tools employed by contemporaneous literary critics are based on Biblical exegesis principles established by St. Jerome: "l'auteur, c'est ce qui permet d'expliquer aussi bien la présence de certains événements dans une œuvre que leur transformations, leurs déformations, leurs modifications diverses" (802). In addition, the author function is not secluded inside books or discourses, but it also clarifies the connections between practices of reading and the social function of literature in specific societies (798). On that note, the figure of the author acquires a complete definition when a given production is identified as transgressive and punishable—in other words, when a given author can be put into jails because of his work.

This transgressive nature that distinguishes author's production is radicalized by what Foucault described as contemporary writing ("l'écriture contemporaine") –that is to say, a

writing that seized the dynamics of modernity (793). Since contemporary writing is transgressive, experimental, and enacts a displacement of meaning, it is also characterized by the erasure ("l'effacement") of authorship. The ensuing consequence is the replacement of the author function by a new paradigm: Ronald Barthes suggests that this new paradigm should be called 'writing' ("l'écriture") or 'Text' ("le Texte"), which is made of multiple writings in contestation and struggle. The vantage point for conceptualizing a Text is not its original source of production, but the phenomena of its reception: "Il y a un lieu où cette multiplicité se rassemble, et ce lieu, ce n'est pas l'auteur, comme on l'a dit jusqu'à présent, c'est le lecteur: le lecteur est l'espace même où s'inscrivent, sans qu'aucune ne se perde, toutes les citations dont est fait une écriture" ("La morte d'auteur" 495). There are remarkable resemblances between the caracteristics of Text and some proposition of Classical Marxism such as the overthrowing of property relations, estranged labor, and the reification process. Following Barthes, "Ordre du signifiant, le Texte participe à sa manière d'une utopie sociale ; avant l'Histoire (à supposer que celle-ci ne choisisse pas la barbarie), le Texte accomplit sinon la transparence des rapports sociaux, du moins celle des rapports de langage: il est l'espace où aucun langage n'a barre sur un autre, où les langages circulent (en gardant le sens circulaire du terme)" (1217).

On the other hand, focusing on the author as a producer in a capitalist mode of production, Walter Benjamin proposes a solution for the antinomy between artistic autonomy and commitment to the political sphere –in other words, between formal innovation and radical political demands: "The tendency of a literary work can be politically correct only if it is also literarily correct" (769). Benjamin clearly states that he's not concerned with the political statements of authors or the content of works of art: "Rather than asking, 'What is the attitude of a work to the relations of production of its time?' I would like to ask, 'What is its position in

them?' This question directly concerns the function the work has within the literary relations of production of his time. It is concerned, in other words, directly with the literary technique of works" (770). The difference between content and form is revoked by Benjamin, who insists that a seemingly radical work of art is, in fact, easily assimilated by reactionary forces if it does not question the relation of production in which it is inscribed. Using Raymond Williams' terms, the works of art expose a mere novelty, but not a truly emergent formation. Using György Lukács' perspective, the work of art is still trapped in the reification process and deprived of use value.

Furthermore, Walter Benjamin proposes two manners of matching political and esthetical correctness, which also announce the characteristic of the Text established by Barthes. The first manner is to transcend the specialization of literary writing established by bourgeois society and, in doing so, to promote solidarity with other producers: "The barriers imposed by specialization must be breached jointly by the productive forces that they were set up to divide. The author as producer discovers –even as he discovers his solidarity with the proletariat– his solidarity with certain other producers who earlier seemed scarcely to concern him" (775). The second is to abolish the traditional boundaries and hierarchy between writers and readers: "What matters, therefore, is the exemplary character of production, which is able, first, to induce other producers, and second, to put an improved apparatus at their disposal. And this apparatus is better, the more consumers it is able to turn into producers--that is, readers or spectators into collaborators" (777). By establishing solidarity with other producers and encouraging the conversion of consumer into producers, the author would overthrow reification and recover a revolutionary use value. This is an ethical and political justification for the experimental drive in literature and arts.

The most influential description of authorial figures and practices in Latin American

corresponds to Angel Rama's *La ciudad letrada*. In his posthumous book, Rama discusses the historical relationship between the practice of writing in Latin America and hierarchical power structures (located overseas, in the European metropolis). According to this literary critic, since the colonization of Latin America by Spain and Portugal, the practice of writing in this region is characterized by an urban setting and an antidemocratic spirit. That is to say, the practice of writing was limited to a small group of people living in cities—the "letrados," who lives in what Rama calls "la ciudad letrada" and are in charge of managing the sings, symbols, and discourses within the boundaries of the actual city. Although the modernization projects throughout the twentieth century effectively challenged the traditional notion of "letrado," these socio-economic transformations incorporated traditional authorial figures (white-creole, male, straight, and lettered in Western culture) into the newer cultural and literary markets. Nevertheless, each modernization project also provides spaces and strategies to articulate new kinds of authorships, which actively incorporate variables such as ethnicity, race, gender, and sexual orientation.

The contention between traditional and emergent kinds of authorship is embedded in the novels themselves through metafictional and intermedial devices. These devices call attention to different types of information and communication technologies, which are introduced and developed in Latin America through the same modernization projects. Significantly, while traditional authorial figures are linked to serious literary writing, emergent authorial figures introduce references to symbolic and material productions that, even though lacking in prestige, become more prevalent in the newer market economy. On the other hand, in order to overcome their obsolescence, traditional authorial figures employ metafictional and intermedial devices to establish connections between their own work and other material and symbolic production. As major components of the novelistic structure and fabric, these devices carry out two

complementary movements: first, they focus on the materiality and ongoing process of their work, and second, they unveil how literary writing is located among the bigger scheme of capitalist production. As a consequence, these long narratives articulate a critique of the commodification process: even though literature is still a commodity, the experience provided by participating in the literary production (as a writer and as a reader) recovers a hidden or forgotten dimensions of life. These recovered dimensions include political engagement, ethical responsibility, and the unveiling of transcendental or sacred experiences—what I described in a previous section as the "post-secular".

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

My dissertation is divided in four chapters, each of which is respectively devoted to the historical and literary analysis of a primary literary text: the novels *La vorágine*, *Macunaíma*, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, and the nouvelle *A hora da estrela*. Rather than an approach focused on historical phenomena or theoretical concepts, I choose to focus on the specificity of each literary text (given their symbolic complexity) and the particular questions they posit in a national and regional level. Moreover, each of the primary texts participates in relatively autonomous traditions and systems (Colombian, Brazilian, and Peruvian literary scenes) and lacks explicit intertextual relationship among them. Nevertheless, I follow a chronological order in the presentation of the primary texts because they grapple with similar modernization processes in their respective countries: from the decline of resource-based economies in the context of the consolidation of nation-states, in the 1920s, to the crisis of Import Substitution Industrialization policies in the context of increasing urbanization and mass media consumption, in the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, notwithstanding the differences in historical contexts and

artistic traditions, the four long narrations making up my corpus share a similar questioning of the professionalization of literary writing and a critique of the commodification process.

The second chapter of my dissertation, "Becoming a committed writer: *La vorágine* (1924), by José Eustasio Rivera," discusses the construction of literary authorship in the context of the Amazon rubber boom and the consolidation of the Colombian State. Rivera's only novel—regarded as a major exponent of Regionalism—depicts a Bogotá-based poet, Arturo Cova, who travels to the hinterland and frontier of Colombia—the eastern plains and Amazon rainforest. This journey produces significant changes in Arturo Cova's artistic persona, who finds an unknown and challenging reality in the rainforest. Particularly, besides an exuberant nature, Cova discovers the human exploitation of Colombian citizens in the *caucherías* (rubber woodlands and businesses). Because of the outrageous social reality in the rainforest, Cova departs from his Spanish America *modernista* persona, who is oriented to the expression of a heightened and decadent sensibility[1]. In contrast, Cova fashions himself as a committed writer who employs a documentary approach. In this chapter, I propose that the construction of Cova's authorial identity is based on a relation of competitive collaboration with Clemente Silva, a rubber worker and path-finder that introduces Cova to the human exploitation in the Amazon rainforest. In fact, Cova doesn't interact directly with human exploitation (in the 1920s, rubber extraction was in decline), but he has access to a journalistic and photographic corpus that has been reporting the crimes in the *caucherías* since the beginning of the twentieth century. Silva is the character in charge of introducing that corpus to Cova, who subsequently attempts to incorporate it in his own discourse. In other words, Cova's new authorial identity as a committed writer is taken from the journalistic articles and photographs that denounce the Amazon rubber boom. Furthermore, this new authorial identity implies a critical stance on the subordination of

literary writing to economic demands—that is to say, the commodification of literature.

The third chapter of my dissertation, "A storyteller against businessmen: *Macunaíma* (1928), by Mário de Andrade," analyzes the construction of literary authorship in contrast to the ethnographic discourses about the Amazon rainforest and the increasing modernization and labor division of the coastal cities of Brazil. *Macunaíma* introduces the eponymous mythical entity, who leaves the rainforest in direction to São Paulo city in order to recuperate the muraiquita, a memento of her late wife. The novel's author, Mário de Andrade, was one of the major leaders of the Brazilian *modernismo*—the incorporation of Avant-garde poetics in a discourse interested in national identity[2].

and penned in *Macunaíma* an experimental narrative that breaks realistic mimesis by re-elaborating several historical sources—the most significant being the production of German ethnographer Theodor Koch-Grünberg. Besides his characterization as trickster, *malandro* (rascal), and embodiment of Brazilian national identity, in this chapter I analyze Macunaíma as an authorial figure who establishes an intense relationship with language and musical expression. In order to identify Macunaíma's authorial persona, I describe his competitive relationship with his brother Jiguê and the businessman Venceslau Pietro Pietra, as well as his brief—but significant—encounters with the painter Mendoça Mar and the photographer Hercules Florence. By means of these overall interactions, Macunaíma becomes an authorial figure that cast doubts on the commodification process—expressed in São Paulo's industrialization and the commercial exchange of photographs. In contrast, Macunaíma employs oral storytelling and musical expression to express Brazilian cultural diversity. Moreover, the anonymous narrator from the epilogue of the novel—an alter ego of Mário de Andrade—becomes heir to Macunaíma's authorial persona and interest in musical expression.

Published in the 1920s, both *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* discuss the nature and function of literary writing in the context of the consolidation of nation-states—in particular, the articulation of still distant and uncharted territories such as the Amazon rainforest. Notwithstanding the differences in modes of representation, these two novels depicts the literary writer as a champion of nationality who articulate the different territories of the nation by means of an enhanced literary production—a committed writing with a documentary approach in *La vorágine*, and a writing which evokes oral storytelling and musical expression in *Macunaína*. Forty years later, the historical conjuncture in the Latin American region has changed significantly: most countries implemented Import Substitution Industrialization policies while undergoing an unprecedented urbanization process. In addition, publishing industries and literary markets manifested a most consolidated form in consonance with the 1960s Latin American Boom, a literary current that expressed the professionalization of literary writing. The last two narrative pieces making up my corpus—the novel *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and the novella *A hora da estrela*—take critical stances vis-à-vis these two historical phenomena. On one hand, both of these narrative pieces construct authorial figures who rejects the professionalization and commodification of their labors. On the other hand, they depict networks of rural-urban migrants who, besides creating strategies to adapt to the new environment, articulate different authorial personas. As an artistic outlet, these rural-urban migrants employ either newer forms of folklore or mass-media consumption.

The fourth chapter of my dissertation, "Non-professional writers and ritual performances in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971), by José María Arguedas," analyzes the construction of authorial identities in the context of the massive rural-urban migration to the city of Chimbote, in the coastal desert of Peru. During the 1950s-1960s, Chimbote experienced an

accelerated process of industrialization due to the Boom of fishing activities, which led to a heavy influx of migrant from the Andean highlands—most of them Quechua speakers—and the disorganized urbanization of the city. The flesh-and-blood José María Arguedas inscribes himself in the novel by means of diary entries, in which he discusses the challenges of writing about the modernization of Chimbote. Famously, he compares the city's boisterous nature as an "hervor"—a 'hard boil'—that he doesn't fully understand. Significantly, Arguedas also constructs his own authorial persona in explicit dialogue and opposition to his peer writers, most of them affiliated with the 1960s Latin American Boom. On that note, Arguedas identifies himself as a non-professional writer who, instead of paying heed to economic demands, is attached to the communal values of historical marginalized communities. In this chapter, I propose that Arguedas' reflection on authorship is also projected onto the fictional narrative that he is writing about the modernization process of Chimbote. On one hand, the professionalization and commodification of literary writing resonate in the depiction of the businessman Braschi, who is the pioneering entrepreneur in the fishing industries and towers over Chimbote's social life. Moreover, as a representative of capital, Braschi is responsible for the corruption of rural-urban migrants, which is expressed in the debasement of folk music. On the other hand, Arguedas's own authorial persona as a non-professional writer re-appears in several fictional characters from the narration—the foreigner Maxwell, the Afro-Peruvian Loco Moncada, the Quechua speaker Esteban de la Cruz, the three prostitutes exploited by the pimp Tinoco, among others. Notwithstanding the different social origins of these characters, all of them participate in networks of rural-urban migrants that, in addition to providing them economic resources, give room to the reformulation of folkloric production and the expression of newer rites/performances.

Finally, the fifth chapter of my dissertation, "Authorial unease and character's performativity in *A hora da estrela* (1977), by Clarice Lispector," discusses the limits and contradictions of the authorial persona of non-professional writers. In this novella, Lispector presents an outcast male writer, Rodrigo S.M., who is writing a narrative centered on a young and female rural-urban migrant, Macabéa. Rodrigo S.M. explicitly fashions himself as a non-professional writer who undertakes his artistic labor as a search for transcendence. Nevertheless, this writer is also employing several class and gender prejudices in his depiction of Macabéa, who besides her material impoverishment is presented as ignorant, naïve, and deprived of any self-reflective dimension. By means of the unveiling of the hierarchical relationship between the lettered male character and the lower-class female character, *A hora da estrela* questions the narrative devices and ideological assumptions of Brazilian Regionalism and Neorealism of the mid-twentieth century. In this chapter, I propose that Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial identity is also constructed in contraposition to the commodification of literary writing in the context of the 1960s Latin American Boom. Significantly, although the narration supports Rodrigo's S.M. claims about the introspective/transcendental dimensions of his artistic labor, the narration also reveals the active role of Rodrigo's S.M. class status and privileges in the construction of his authorial persona. In other word, his self-fashioning as an outcast and non-professional writer heavily relies on his middle-class' material and social stability. On the contrary, given her material constraints, a rural-urban migrant and lower-class subject—such as Macabéa—lacks any outlet for personal or artistic expression. However, the narration also provides room for the progressive autonomy of Macabéa from Rodrigo S.M.' authorial rule. In direct opposition to Rodrigo S.M.' perspective of Macabéa as deprived of self-flection, she reveals herself as a character with a rich and intense inner life. Throughout the narration, Macabéa's autonomy is

expressed thanks to a sorority network of lower-class characters—her colleague Glória and the fortune teller Carlota—, as well as her mistakes in the typist labor and her mass-media consumption habits. At the end of the narration, the ultimate outlet for Macabéa's personal expression seems to be her death.

CHAPTER II

BECOMING A COMMITTED WRITER: *LA VORÁGINE* (1924) BY JOSE EUSTASIO RIVERA

> Mas lo que no puedo perdonarte nunca es el silencio que guardas con relación a la trascendencia sociológica de *La vorágine*, que es el mejor aspecto de la obra […] ¿Cómo no darte cuenta del fin patriótico y humanitario que la tonifica y no hacer coro a mi grito a favor de tantas gentes esclavizadas en su propia patria? ¿Cómo no mover la acción oficial para romperles sus cadenas? Dios sabe que al componer mi libro no obedecí a otro móvil que al de buscar la redención de esos infelices que tienen la selva como cárcel. Sin embargo, lejos de conseguirlo, les agravé la situación, pues sólo he logrado hacer mitológicos sus padecimientos y novelescas las torturas que los aniquilan. "Cosas de *La vorágine*", dicen los magnates cuando se trata de la vida horrible de los caucheros y colonos en la hoya amazónica. Y nadie me cree, aunque poseo y exhibo documentos que comprueban la más inicua bestialidad humana y la más injusta indiferencia nacional. […] Mientras tanto, la obra se vende pero no se comprende. ¡Es para morirse de desilusión!
>
> (José Eustasio Rivera, "Respuesta" 282-283)

FROM *TIERRA DE PROMISIÓN* TO *LA VORÁGINE.*

Published in the Bogotá newspaper *El tiempo* in 1926, "Respuesta de José Eustasio Rivera a Luis Trigueros" is part of a harsh debate about the artistic qualities and political effects of *La vorágine*, a novel about the human exploitation of Colombian citizens during the Amazon rubber boom. Rivera's strong emphasis on the sociological dimension of his novel, besides expressing his authorial anxieties, actually highlights the transformations so deep in nature that his literary work experienced during the 1920s. On one hand, he began as a promising poet within Bogotá literary circles, where since the turn of the century the dominant trends in poetry had been *modernista* aesthetics and nationalist themes[3]. Rivera took part in *tertulias* (literary salons), published poems in newspapers, and penned the poetry collection *Tierra de promisión* (*Promised Land*) in 1921. This is a book consisting of Parnassian sonnets extolling the

landscapes of Colombia: the jungle, the mountains, and the eastern plains that Rivera had visited for the first time in 1916. Originally from Neiva, a city surrounded by the Andean mountains, at that time Rivera hadn't visited the rainforest, but he had a bookish knowledge about those landscapes (Neale-Silva, *Horizonte* 244; Bernucci 107). During those same years, Rivera was pursuing a career as a private attorney (he came back to the eastern plains between 1918 and 1919 for a land dispute) and as a government official (in 1923 he was appointed as deputy Congressman for the Partido Conservador). In contrast to the progressive specialization of literary writing in Latin America, the established white creole Colombian *intelligentsia* still regarded literary writing and political activism as complementary duties. For instance, Bogotá had a well-known reputation as the "Latin American Athens" due to the significant number of writer-statesmen and academic-poets within its community. Since the Independence Wars, almost all the Colombian presidents had penned a book of poems[4].

On the other hand, by the end of the 1920s, Rivera had become a bestselling author with the unprecedented success of *La vorágine* (*The Vortex*), originally published in Bogotá in 1924, and whose fifth and definitive edition appeared in New York in 1928[5]. This is a novel that also deals with the above-mentioned landscapes of Colombia, but with one significant addition: between 1922-1923, Rivera had directly witnessed the socioeconomic reality of the rainforest, in particular the still disputed international border between Colombia and Venezuela. This last travel, which happened in the middle of composition of *La vorágine*, would play a significant role in its structure and mode of representation. This is a novel that deals with the frontier of Colombia—that is to say, places that were legally recognized as national territories but were the State presence was weak or nonexistent. Indeed, besides introducing the landscapes of the Orinoco and Amazon rainforests to Colombian audiences, *La vorágine* also brings attention to a

textual and iconographic corpus—travel notes, official reports, newspapers and photographs—that since the beginning of the twentieth century had recorded the destructive consequences of the Amazon rubber boom[6]. Right after its publication, Colombian and international audiences praised *La vorágine* for its reports of human exploitation due to resource-based economies—the novel incorporates a documentary approach and a political commitment shared with the abovementioned corpus. However, the novel was also criticized for the persistence of a *modernista* poetics and figures of speech—the type employed in *Tierra de promisión*—which seem to be out of place in a text dealing with social issues.

In this chapter I claim that *La vorágine* incorporates features from journalism and photography in order to re-configurate the image of the literary author as a committed writer and a champion of nationality. In the context of the Amazon rubber boom, journalism and photography acquired documentary approach and political commitment in order to report the human exploitation in the *caucherías*. Although the practice of journalism and the involvement in current politics had a significant role in the literary career of major *modernista* writers—such as the Cuban José Martí and the Nicaraguan, Rubén Dario—the journalism that influenced Rivera had a significant difference. Instead of focusing on travel chronicles or political debates, the newspapers and photographs about the Amazon rubber boom is explicitly interested in reporting cases of human exploitation. José Eustasio Rivera learned about this newer dimension of journalism and photography during his travel to the Amazon rainforest between 1922-1923, which was a decisive experience that led him to reexamine his poetics while engaged the very process of writing *La vorágine*. First, there is a movement from the expression of a heightened and decadent sensibility—dominant in Part One of the novel, written before Rivera's travel to the rainforest—to a commitment to depict harsh socioeconomic realities such as human

exploitation. Secondly, there is a progressive insertion of discourses and media more intertwined with technological reproducibility—namely, journalism and photography, which are predominant elements in Part Two and Three of the novel, written during the decisive years 1922-1923.

The novel *La vorágine* follows the convention of the found and edited manuscript, which is in itself a metafictional motif[7]. Arturo Cova writes that manuscript to recount the hazardous travel he is undertaking—departure from Bogotá, capital of Colombia, crossing the eastern plains of Casanare, to finally arrive to the Amazon rainforest between Colombia and Brazil. In addition, since Arturo Cova is a *modernista* poet, his narration is punctuated with heightened sensibility, dreamlike situations, and madness. The story follows a melodramatic plot structure: the *modernista* poet leaves Bogotá accompanied by his lover Alicia because of a sexual affair—Alicia is forcibly engaged to a wealthy old suitor, but she flees with Arturo, who is a more passionate partner. Alicia's family and local media accuse him of seduction and kidnapping, so the couple decides to avoid governmental authorities by staying at the cattle farm La Maporita (property of Griselda and Fidel Castro) in the Casanare eastern plains. In the cattle farms, the couple meets Narciso Barrera, a charming gentleman who works as *enganchador* or labor recruiter for Vichada settlement, a *cauchería* in the Amazon rainforest. Because of his unstable psyche, Arturo suspects that Alicia has fallen in love with Barrera and in the throes of jealousy slaps her. For her own safety, Alicia flees from Arturo with unknown destination. Meanwhile, the poet also learns about Barrera's duplicity and falls prey to his mendacity—the rubber contractor falsely accuses Arturo of killing Viejo Zubieta, owner of the cattle farm Hato Grande. Accompanied by Fidel Franco, Arturo Cova travels to the jungle seeking personal revenge against Barrera, who in addition to his crimes has presumably lured and kidnapped Alicia and

Griselda.

When the poet arrives to the Amazon rainforest in Part Two of the *La vorágine*, his neurasthenia intensifies and he falls victim to a tropical illness. He also meets other characters—Heli Mesa, Clemente Silva, Ramiro Estévanez, all of them white Creoles—who report their experience as rubber workers, as well as the human exploitation caused by the Amazon rubber boom. Heli Mesa introduces the deceitful hiring and actual slavering of rubber workers by recruiter Narciso Barrera. Clemente Silva provides an extensive account of the crimes committed by the Peruvian Amazon Company, the disappearance of a French photographer (Eugène Robuchon), and the first reports of human exploitation in Peruvians newspapers. And Ramiro Estévanez reveals details of the massacre in San Fernando de Atapabo, on May 8th 1913, ordered by Colonel Tomás Funes against governor Roberto Pulido's people in order to take control of rubber woodlands on the area. In this sense, because of the inclusion of all these narrators, Part Two and Part Three of L*a vorágine* are a listing of the ominous crimes committed in the rainforest during the Amazon rubber boom.

Within this roster of narrators, all of them victims or witnesses of human exploitation, the pathfinder Clemente Silva has a principal role. Clemente is originally from Pasto, a city in the Southern Andes of Colombia, and by the time he meets Arturo Cova, he has already spent a decade and a half in the Amazon rainforest, a period in which he witnesses the extent of human exploitation in rubber extraction: "Dieciséis años había vagado por los montes, trabajando como cauchero, y no tenía ni un solo centavo" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1900 243).The story of Clemente Silva also follows a melodramatic plot structure: his daughter María Gertrudis brings dishonor to the family because she flees the paternal house with her fiancé. This plot bears a significant resemblance to Arturo Cova's case—he and Alicia flee Bogotá to live their forbidden love.

Simce Clemente Silva's son, Luciano, is unable to cope with the dishonor brought by María Gertrudis, he also abandons the paternal house for an unknown destination. After several years, his father manages to trace him to the rubber woodlands on the Putumayo river. In order to find more clues about his son's whereabouts, Clemente hires himself out as a rubber worker and gains recognition due to his skills as a rainforest guide. Unfortunately, rubber entrepreneurs also deceive and manipulate Clemente—he endures slave working conditions and is unable to leave because of a huge debt. When Clemente finally learns the whereabouts of his son—Luciano has been in love with travelling salesperson Zoraida Aymar—the hopeless father only finds the buried bones of his son.

Besides the elements of melodrama in Clemente's story, it is important to point out that he is referring to historical events that had happened almost two decades before the publication of *La vorágine*; that is to say, when the Amazon rubber boom was at its peak, rubber investments were extremely profitable and large numbers of immigrants arrived in the Amazonia basin to hire themselves out to rubber woodlands. This is the time when government officials and journalists made the first reports of slavery-like working conditions, human exploitation, and genocide of indigenous population due to rubber extraction. On the other hand, during the 1920s, when the fictional travel of Arturo Cova takes place, the Amazon rubber boom is reaching its end. While Arturo is definitely a newcomer in the jungle, Clemente Silva witnesses this economic process in its entirety and experiences its consequences—the rainforest guide is clearly a victim of human exploitation, forced to work because he is unable to pay debts. But more significantly, he establishes direct contact with the media used for reporting cases of human exploitation. The pathfinder knows about the dissemination of newspapers denouncing the crimes in the Putumayo river, and witnesses the arrival of a *visitador*, a governmental official in charge of investigating

those accusations. Furthermore, a French naturalist (Eugène Robuchon) takes photographs of Clemente Silva's whipped back.

José Eustasio Rivera was also a governmental official on duty in the rainforest. From September 1922 to October 1923, he traveled to the Orinoco drainage basin to delimitate the borders between Colombia and Venezuela (which had been under dispute since the dissolution of Gran Colombia in 1831). Even though Rivera had a negative experience working within this specific governmental commission, he visited several cities (such as San Fernando de Atabapo, Manaus, and Belém) and had access to a significant number of first-hand accounts describing the Amazon rubber boom. Although the boom had its apex almost two decades before, the consequences of human exploitation endured in the region. Significantly, this travel also occurred in the middle of the composition of *La vorágine*: Rivera finished the first complete draft of Part I—the one taking place in the eastern plains of Casanare—by mid-1922 in Sogamoso, a town in the Andes (Neale-Silva *Horizonte* 228-229). After finishing his duties in the governmental commission, in 1924 Rivera made a new expedition at his own expense to the Putumayo region, near the also dispute border between Colombia and Peru, in order to gather more information about the crimes committed by the Peruvian Amazon Company (also known as Casa Arana) and his general manager, Julio César Arana. In addition, throughout this whole period, Rivera wrote several official reports and newspaper articles about the social reality he directly witnessed and the documentation he gathered in the rainforest. In Manaus, on July 19th 1923, Rivera sent to the Colombian Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores an official account of his denoucements titled "Informe de la Comisión Colombiana de Límites con Venezuela"; and from August 19th to September 24th 1924, Rivera published in *El Nuevo Tiempo* of Bogotá a series of articles titled "Los falsos postulados nacionales," in which he discussed the navigability of the

rivers on the international border with Venezuela. This was a moment of intense political commitment in José Eustasio Rivera's career.

During these same years, Rivera actively read a textual and iconographic corpus that, from the beginning of the twentieth century, has been reporting the human exploitation in the Amazon rainforest. The corpus started with the denouncements made by Peruvian journalist Benjamín Saldaña Roca in newspapers *La Sanción* and *La Felpa* between 1907-1908. Walter Handenburg reproduced these denouncements in the British magazine *Truth* and, after an official investigation conducted in Great Britain by the House of Commons, they were included in the official records *Report and Special Report from the Selected Committee on Putumayo* (also known as *White Paper*) and *Slavery in Peru* in 1913. This corpus includes other titles published during those years, such as *Las crueldades en el Putumayo y en el Caquetá* (1911), by Vicente Olarte Camacho, *De París al Amazonas; las fieras del Putumayo* (1912), by Cornelio Hispano, and *El libro rojo del Putumayo* (1913), by Norman Thomson. Even though Rivera had already read some of these titles as early as 1911 (Neale-Silva *Horizonte* 103; Peña Gutiérrez *Breve historia* 20)[8], the textual and iconographic corpus about the Amazon rubber boom acquired a decisive importance during his travel to Venezuela and Brazil in 1922-1923, when he also had access to the titles *O Inferno Verde* (1908), by Alberto Rangel, *Contrastes e Confrontos* (1907) and *À Margem da História* (1909), by Euclides da Cunha, and *Os Seringaes* (1914), by Mário Guedes (Bernucci 53, 104-105).

Significantly, Rivera rediscovered this textual and iconographic corpus when those denouncements of human exploitation had lost public attention. Among the reasons of this oblivion, it could be mentioned the counter-propaganda by rubber entrepreneurs, such as the book *Las cuestiones del Putumayo* (1913) by Pablo Zumaeta, general manager of the Peruvian

Amazon Company. In addition, three years later, British officer Roger Casement, who was precisely the major accuser of Peruvian Amazon Company in the House of Commons' investigation, was executed for treason (Bernucci 21). In this sense, *La vorágine* is widely recognized for reopening the public debate about the crimes of the Amazon rubber boom.

Rivera's interaction with the abovementioned corpus explains the transformations in his poetics after the publication of *Tierra de promisión* and during the composition of *La vorágine*. The narrator-protagonist of this nove, Arturo Cova, is a Colombian *modernista* poet who faces an unknown social reality in the Amazon rainforest and modify his poetics in order to depict it sucessfully. To a certain extent, *La vorágine* is an autobiographical account of a formative experience taking place in the jungle; this is a goal explicitly pursued in other contemporary texts such as *Don Segundo Sombra* by Ricardo Güiraldes and *El juguete rabioso* by Roberto Arlt, both published in 1926. Nevertheless, *La vorágine* is also explicitly concerned with contemporaneous reality and urgent social issues taking place in the jungle. On that note, the novel resembles a reportage approach to reality: the human exploitation registered in these pages demands that committed readers take action immediately. And as I mentioned before, this is the same poetics and ethics of textual and iconographic corpus about the Amazon rubber boom that Rivera collected between 1922-1924.

In this chapter, I claim that *La vorágine* deals with issues of representation and production that raise the following questions: How should a literary author—a *modernista* poet, a committed novelist—depict the social and cultural transformation taking place in the jungle? What specific kind of knowledge is provided by literary writing about those cultural and socio-economic realities? My responses to these questions could be summarized as follows. Regarding the first questions, based on the structure of *La vorágine*, the poet Arturo Cova is presented as

not reliable enough to depict the rainforest transformed by rubber extraction. This is the reason for the introduction in Part Two of rubber worker and pathfinder Clemente Silva, who as narrator makes explicit references to discourses and media—journals and photographs—that have been recording the exploitation caused by rubber extraction. These references and Clemente's style of narration stand in striking contrast with the *modernista* figures of speech employed by Arturo Cova in Part One. In other words, when the poet Arturo Cova meets the guide Clemente Silva, a decisive shift occurs in the depiction of the fictional world. Arturo's movement from Casanare plains to the Amazon basin, besides a change of geographical location, essentially implies the discovery of ruthless human exploitation in a resource-based economy. Since conventional rhetorical devices of *modernista* poetry are deemed to be inadequate for a narrative concerned with social issues—the suffering of rubber workers and the devastation of nature caused by rubber extraction—the inclusion of Clemente Silva as narrator implies the appeal to a different mode of representation (grounded in a different textual and iconographic tradition).

Regarding the second question (the specific knowledge provided by literary writing), in this chapter I analyze the changes of narrative voice (from Arturo Cova to Clemente Silva) as a breach of decorum in *La vorágine* and an in-depth questioning of the politics of representation. Arturo Cova's goal is to provide the experience of some sort of transcendental dimension, while Clemente Silva is invested in depicting the socioeconomic reality in the jungle. In this respect, the changes of narrative voice in *La vorágine* imply a coexistence of the *modernista*'s expression of a heightened sensibility and the socio-political dimension of committed literature. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Latin American literature has other examples of this kind of combination between an aestheticized perspective and a political commitment, as it is the case of the Venezuelan writer, Manuel Díaz Rodríguez (1871-1927), author of the novel *Ídolos Rotos*

(1901). Nevertheless, *La vorágine* implies a new combination of these literary trends in the context of the expansion of resource-based economies. The last stage of this process, which I am going to develop in the following pages, is that *La vorágine* employs metafictional devices in order to reject its identification as a simple commodity. Even though books, newspapers, and photographs are bought and sold in economic exchange, the experience of reading *La vorágine* should lead, first, to an ethical bonding against human exploitation, and second, to a political commitment to the consolidation of Colombian State. In addition, even though ideologically *La vorágine* advocates for the capitalistic modernization of rubber extraction (*caucherías* must be organized as an industry; de facto slaves must be replaced by salaried workers), the novel still regards literary writing as a prestigious medium for personal expression and political discussion beyond the economic structure.

I aim to demonstrate that the intertextuality between *La vorágine* and the Amazon rubber boom's textual and iconographic corpus goes beyond facts and historical information: this intermediality shapes the style and politics of representation of *La vorágine* .In contrast to Arturo Cova's narration in Part One, which is focused on the turmoil of his own emotions and "visión imaginativa" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 131), the pathfinder Clemente Silva is more concerned with the material and socio-economic dimensions. Arturo is aware of the differences between their literary styles, and commands Clemente to deliver a narration in explicit contrast to his own: "No resucite esos recuerdos que hacen daño. Procure omitir en su narración todo lo sagrado y lo sentimental. Háblenos de sus éxodos en la selva" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 253). Without dispensing with the melodramatic plot structure (which involves the relationship with his son Luciano), Clemente Silva's narration incorporates the documentary approach and political commitment of newspaper articles and photographs that had denounced human exploitation. At

this juncture, *La vorágine* shifts its mode of representation. It could be argued that the whole narration of *La vorágine* is a record of this dispute between Arturo Cova's and Clemente Silva's narrations—a dispute that echoes the changes in José Eustasio Rivera's literary career after the decisive years 1922-1923.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

In the years following the publication of *La vorágine*, José Eustasio Rivera complained in a newspaper interviews that Colombian readers had not appropriately grasped the sociological content and the political intentions of his novel. He disregarded the excessive attention to rhymed paragraphs and structural inconsistencies because of the urgent reports made in the novel—namely, Colombian nationals were enslaved to work in the Amazon rainforest by rubber entrepreneurs (Neale-Silva *Horizonte* 306, Pineda Camacho *Novelistas y etnógrafos* 486-487). On that note, Rivera worked on several paratexts to *La vorágine* in order to highlight the socio-economic dimension of the novel and its urgent reports about human exploitation. For instance, On August 29th 1924, Rivera published an advertisement of his forthcoming novel in *El Nuevo Tiempo* of Bogotá: "Trata de la vida de Casanare, de las actividades peruanas en La Chorrera y en el Encanto y de la esclavitud cauchera en las selvas de Colombia, Venezuela y Brasil. Aparecerá el mes entrante". (Peña Gutierrez, *Breve historia* 50; Bernucci 102). It is important to highlight that this advertisement of *La vorágine* is focused on geographical settings and historical facts with political relevance. That is to say, the advertisement obliterates the melodramatic and adventure exploits of the novel in order to highlight its documentary approach and political commitment.

Following this documentary approach, the first edition of *La vorágine* included three

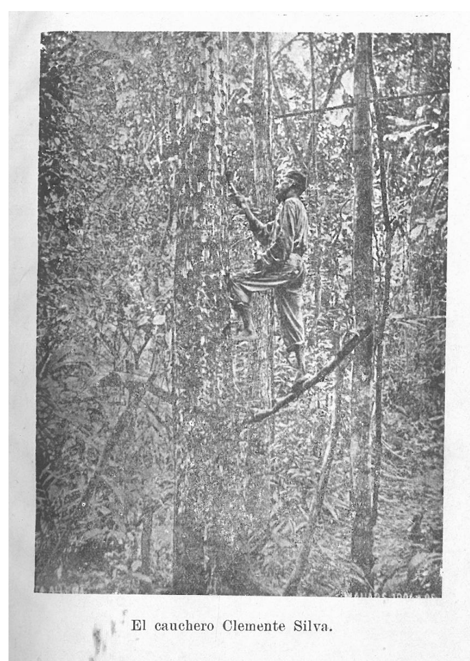
photographs depicting the main characters, the poet Arturo Cova and the pathfinder Clemente Silva, within the Amazon rainforest (Rivera *La vorágine* 1924 1-9). The three photographs have the following captions: "Arturo Cova, en las barracas de Guaracú. (Fotografía tomada por la madona Zoraida Ayram)" (Figure 1), "Un cauchero" (Figure 2) and "El cauchero Clemente Silva" (Figure 3). After analyzing the blurred margins of the last two photos, Neale-Silva suggests that they could probably be photo cards that Rivera acquired in Manaus in 1923 (*Horizonte* 297); Leopoldo Bernucci confirms this hypothesis by presenting the original postcards, which were produced by a photographic studio in Manaus and published in the magazine *Kosmos* (254-257) (Figure 4). Regarding to the first photo (the one depicting "Arturo Cova"), Neale-Silva explains that this is actually a portrait of José Eustasio Rivera himself: Luis Franco Zapata, a close friend of Rivera, took the photo at a fishing settlement in Orocué, a town in the Colombian eastern plains that Rivera visited between 1918-1920 (*Horizonte* 151). In other words, Rivera is using a previously existing photo of himself to depict the fictional character Arturo Cova; subsequently, he is fictionalizing the setting of the photo (Guaracú is actually 400 km. away from Orocué) and the photographer (fictional character Zoraida Ayram replaces Luis Franco Zapata).

Arturo Cova, en las barracas del Guaracú.
(Fotografía tomada por la madona Zoraida Ayram).

Figure 1: Rivera, José Eustasio. *La vorágine*. First edition. Cronos, 1924. Print.

Un cauchero.

Figure 2: Rivera, José Eustasio. *La vorágine*. First edition. Cronos, 1924. Print.



El cauchero Clemente Silva.

Figure 3: Rivera, José Eustasio. *La vorágine*. First edition. Cronos, 1924. Print.

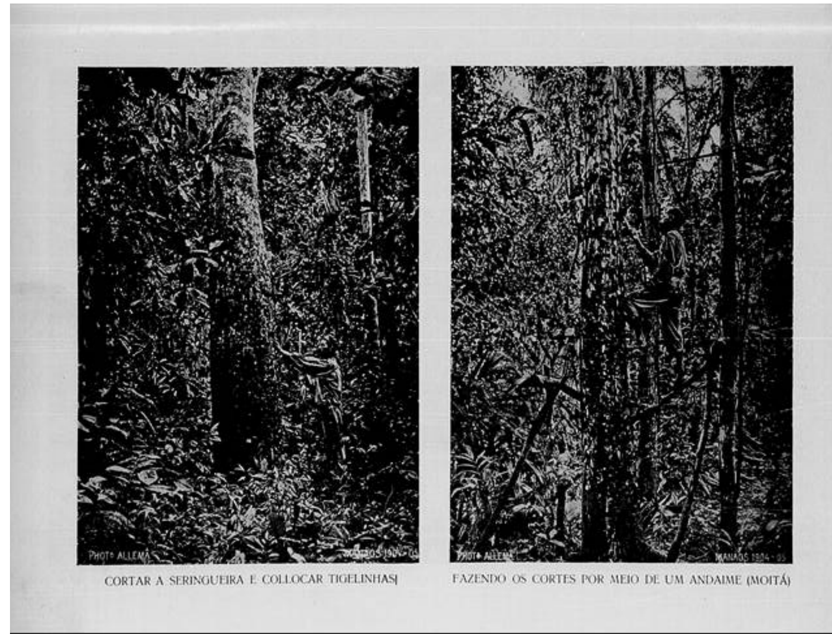


Figure 4: *Kosmos. Revista Artistica, Scientifica e Litteraria*, 5 (3), March 1908, p.42. Print.

Carlos Páramo has recently suggested that this first photo is actually a montage prepared by José Eustasio Rivera in order to highlight the playful aspect of the novel (in Bernucci 250). I found the argument about the montage very compelling and plausible; in fact, the first photograph from the first edition of *La vorágine* (Figure 1) bears a striking resemblance to another photograph published in the magazine *Kosmos*, the one with the caption "O defumadouro do leite da seringueira" (Figure 5). Both images share the same composition: a hut on the background, with the door open and the interior in darkness, and rubber workers on the foreground and the margins.

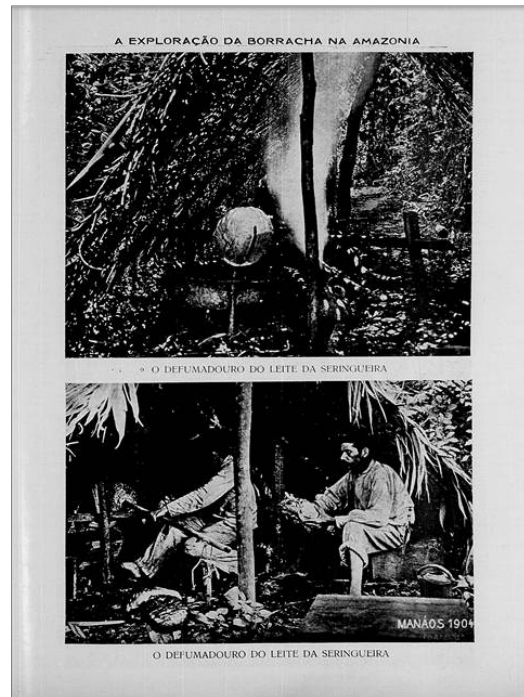


Figure 5: *Kosmos. Revista Artistica, Scientifica e Litteraria*, 5 (3), March 1908, p.44. Print.

José Eustasio Rivera might have realized that, because of the manipulation and montage of the photographs, their reception could be very problematic. In the fifth and definitive edition of *La vorágine*, Rivera suppressed the three photos and replaced them by four maps: a map of Colombian (Figure 8) and three maps tracing the journeys of fictional characters Arturo Cova (Figure 9), Narciso Barrera (Figure 10) and Clemente Silva (Figure 11).

Figure 6: Rivera, José Eustasio. *La vorágine*. Fifth edition. Editorial Andes, 1928. Print.

Figure 7: Rivera, José Eustasio. *La vorágine*. Fifth edition. Editorial Andes, 1928. Print.

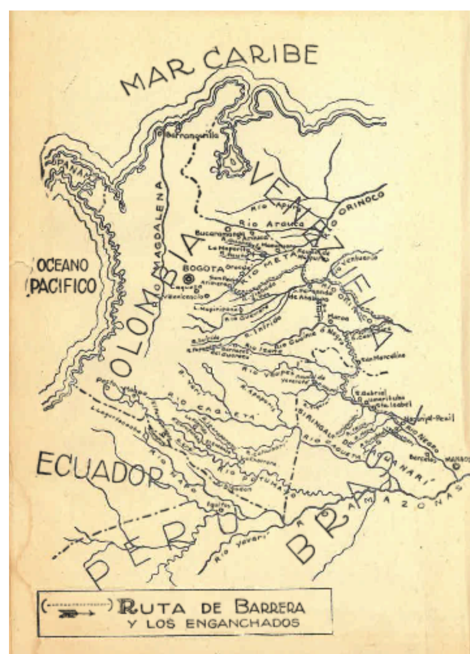


Figure 8: Rivera, José Eustasio. *La vorágine*. Fifth edition. Editorial Andes, 1928. Print.

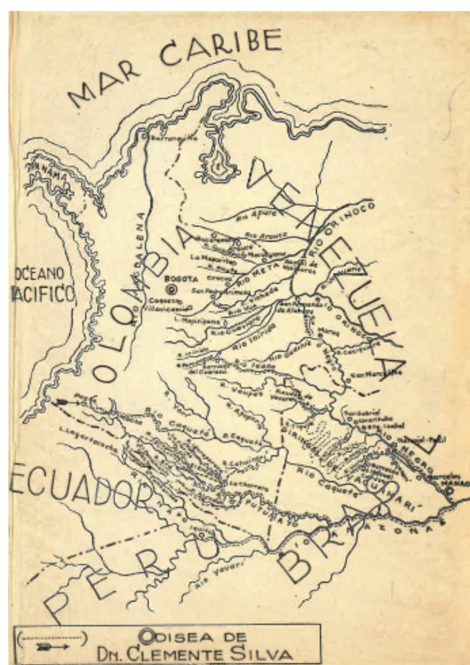


Figure 9: Rivera, José Eustasio. *La vorágine*. Fifth edition. Editorial Andes, 1928. Print.

At this stage of his literary career, Rivera was deeply concerned with the documentary quality and political effect of his writing. Instead of enhancing the documentary quality of *La*

vorágine, the three photos published in the first editions (Figure 1-3) could lead to lack of verisimilitude and a diminishment of the political dimension of his novel. First, Arturo Cova has been consistently understood as an alter ego of José Eustasio Rivera due to biographical coincidences—specifically, that both are *modernistas* poets. In this sense, the coincidence of faces between main character and author in the first photo (Figure 1) establishes an ambiguity between fiction and non-fiction. Second, it could be argued that these photos don't appropriately depict the human exploitation that characterized the Amazon rubber boom, but instead they offer a picturesque or folkloric portrayal of the jungle. In addition, in a letter to American businessman Henry Ford written in New York in 1928, Rivera described a very different set of photos: "He tenido en mis manos fotografías de capataces, que regresaban a sus barracas con cestas o mapires llenos de orejas, senos y testículos, arrancados a la indiada inerme, en pena de no haber extraído todo el caucho de la tarea que le imponían sus patronos" (*Una vida azarosa* I 142). Rather than picturesque images, the set of photographs mentioned in the letter to Ford depicts macabre images of graphic violence and cruelty. I don't know if the photographs mentioned in the letter to Henry Ford actually exist or are just a rhetorical strategy to emotionally impact the businessman. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that, right after writing this letter, Rivera started editing the fifth edition of *La vorágine* and suppressed those controvertial photographs that do not properly depict the violence of the Amazon rubber boom.

On the other hand, even though public opinion regarded photography as capable of depicting reality as accurately and objectively as possible, montage and manipulation of photographs were common practices since the mid-nineteenth century. These practices of photographic alteration even happened within the Amazon rubber boom's textual and iconographic tradition; according to Leopoldo Bernucci, the scarcity of images explicitly

depicting human exploitation led to a retouching of the photos actually available. For instance, a photo depicting a group of chained indigenous workers was retouched for *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise* (1912) by Walter Hardenburg; a second photograph originally taken by Eugène Robuchon, which depict an indigenous worker being whipped, was also retouched for *The Lords of Devil Paradise* (1913) by Sidney Paternosters. Additionally, in the context of the investigation conducted in the House of Commons against the Peruvian Amazon Company, Pablo Zumaeta discussed a photo presented by Roger Casement, which depicts a woman condemned to death by starvation; according to the general manager of Peruvian Amazon Company, a bunch of plantains below the woman demonstrate that the accusation of murder is false (Bernucci 142-147). Rivera might have taken into account all the controversy about retouched images before deciding to suppress the three photographs from the first edition.

The four maps that indicate the journeys of the fictional characters (Figures 6-9) constitute a less controversial media to establish the sociological dimension of his novel. In addition, since the maps clearly mark the frontier of Colombian State, the political dimension acquire even more relevance. However, the novel also includes harsh critiques to Colombian governmental officials for creating maps that lack accuracy and are useless to navigate the Amazon rainforest. According to Neale-Silva, Rivera had a negative opinion of the maps designed by Oficina de Longituded because of a series of personal issues during his term as a governmental official in the Venezuela-Colombia border (Horizonte 295). These personal experiences clearly resonate in the following passage from *La vorágine*: "Tal vez, al escuchar la relación de don Clemente, extienda sobre la mesa aquel mapa costoso, aparatoso, mentiroso y deficientísimo, que trazó la Oficina de Longitudes de Bogotá, y le responda tras de prolija indignación: '¡Aquí no figuran ríos de esos nombres! Quizás pertenezcan a Venezuela. Diríjase

usted a Ciudad Bolívar.' Y, muy campante, seguirá atrincherado en su ignorancia, porque a esta pobre patria no la conocen sus propios hijos, ni siquiera sus geógrafos" (Rivera La vorágine 1990 361). Maps designed by Colombian officers are inaccurate and useless because of their incompetence as geographers. However, it could be argued that the very reality of the Amazon rainforest surpasses any human's attempt to describe and control it. Notwithstanding all his personal experience, pathfinder Clemente Silva expresses this anxiety:

> Concentrando en la memoria todo su ser, mirando hacia su cerebro, recordaba el mapa que tantas veces había estudiado en la casa de Naranjal, y veía las líneas sinuosas, que parecían una red de venas, sobre la mancha de un verde pálido en que resaltaban los nombres inolvidables: Teiya, Marié, Curí-curiarí. ¡Cuánta diferencia entre una región y la carta que la reduce! ¡Quién le hubiera dicho que aquel papel, donde apenas cabían sus manos abiertas, encerraba espacios tan infinitos, selvas tan lóbregas, ciénagas tan letales! ¿Y él, rumbero curtido, que tan fácilmente solía pasar la uña del· índice de una línea a otra línea, abarcando ríos, paralelos y meridianos, ¿cómo pudo creer que sus plantas eran capaces de moverse como un dedo? (Rivera *La vorágine* 1900 306).

The maps are problematic in themselves because of the incommensurability of the rainforest and the extreme variation within its landscapes. Rivers in particular are especially difficult to map since they change their flow and current seasonally. To this effect, it is significant that, at the end of the novel, Arturo Cova compares his writing with a river, the natural features that maps can't properly represent:

> Y aunque el Váquiro ebrio y la madona concupiscente me esperaban para yantar, me encerré en la oficina del patrón [El Cayeno], y, en compañía de Ramiro Estévanez, redacté para nuestro cónsul el pliego que debía llevar don Clemente Silva, una tremenda

> requisitoria, de estilo borbollante y apresurado como el agua de los torrentes (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 342-3)

Literary writing, as it is developed by the *modernista* poet through his competitive collaboration with Clemente Silva, is one step ahead of maps, photography and other symbolic production in the duty of documenting the rainforest. Nevertheless, during the whole narration, the literary writing of Arturo Cova is constantly questioned by other characters because of his suspicious reliability as source of information. This questioning is what the Prólogo [Preface] calls the "incorrecciones" in his manuscript.

"INCORRECCIONES" IN ARTURO COVA'S MANUSCRIPT

In his article "Respuesta a Luis Trigueros," published on November 25th 1926, Rivera offered his poetics of literary writing:

> La novela […] es el género literario más difícil de someter a normas especiales. Narrar una acción fingida en todo o en parte, donde entren en juego personajes que si son reales pasen a ser imaginarios y si imaginados, adquieran ciudadanía en la realidad […] es algo tan complejo y tan satisfactorio que aunque todos probamos intentarlo sólo a pocos es dado cumplirlo porque el don de crear almas es un don de Dios (*Una vida azarosa* I 282).

For José Eustasio Rivera, the most important aspect of the novelistic genre is the creation of characters. Moreover, he is linking the sociological content of the novel—the report of human exploitation—with the verisimilitude of complex and compelling characters, who must persuade the readers of the importance of the novel's subject matter. On that note, the significance of Arturo Cova and Clemente Silva, main characters of his novel, is established by the photographs in the first edition and the maps in the fifth edition. The characters' portraits highlight the differences between them: on one hand, the melancholy and heightened sensibility of Arturo

Cova, sitting in a corner and sunken into his inner world (Figure 1); on the other hand, the dynamism of Clemente Silva, who appears climbing a tree and working (Figure 3). Both interact with the landscape, but in markedly different ways. By means of these photographs, Rivera wanted the reader to pay attention to the journeys and attributes of these specific characters. Nevertheless, as I mentioned before, it seems plausible that, in order to preserve the verisimilitude of the main characters, Rivera suppressed the photographs of the first edition and replaced them with maps. However, the issue of the reliability of the character narrators—in particular the case of Arturo—is actually more complicated and requires an analysis of the paratexts and narrative shifts.

In the fifth and final edition of his novel, besides removing the three abovementioned photos (figures 1-3) and editing several rhymed paragraphs, Rivera didn't introduce changes in plot structure or character development. Significantly, he also kept the paratexts of *La vorágine* unmodified: a Prólogo [Preface] signed by a fictional José Eustasio Rivera, a fragment of a letter by Arturo Cova, and an Epílogo [Epilogue] . The nature and function of these paratexts are very important in understanding the dynamic and unstable poetics of *La vorágine*. In the Preface, fictional José Eustasio Rivera informs "señor Ministro," a high-level official of the Colombian State, that he has completed the edition of Arturo Cova's manuscript. It is implied that this manuscript has factual and relevant information of national interest: the reports of human exploitation in the *caucherías* of the Orinoco and Amazon rainforests. However, fictional José Eustasio Rivera is also cautious about printing the manuscript since they are still waiting news from the Colombian Consul in Manaos, Brazil, about Arturo's whereabouts.

The Preface doesn't mention the name of the Minister or the Consul in order to avoid explicit identification between the fictional characters and the historical individuals. However, it

is possible to identify the Consul in Manaos as Demetrio Salamanca Torres, who occupied that office from 1922-1923, and the anonymous Minister as the Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores Jorge Vélez, who was in office from 1922-1925. Significantly, in November 1923, the recently appointed congressman José Eustasio Rivera accused Jorge Vélez of negligence and breaking confidentiality in the Colombian House of Representatives—Jorge Vélez was responsible for the hardships endured by Rivera during his travel to the Colombian-Venezuelan border in 1922-1923 (Neale-Silva *Horizonte* 264-265). Following Bernucci, it is possible that, by means of omitting the name Jorge Vélez or any other in the Prólogo, the novel wants to bring attention to the institution of Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores rather than a specific individual in office (97-98). José Eustasio Rivera was strongly concerned with political issues of the Colombian State after 1922-1923; hence, it is understandable that *La vorágine* points out structural problems in the State machinery.

Additionally, the Preface signed by fictional Rivera bears a striking resemblance to a letter signed by Carlos Rey de Castro, Peruvian Consul of Manaos, on July 19, 1907 and included in *El Putumayo y sus afluentes* (1907) by French explorer Eugène Robuchon (XVII). According to Bernucci, the Preface in *La vorágine* seems to be a parody of the abovementioned letter: they share the same structure, language, and addressee, "señor Ministro," who in Rey de Castro's letter is explicitly identified as "de Relaciones Exteriores" (98-99). In fact, *El Putumayo y sus afluentes* is a very controversial book. In 1903, the Peruvian government hired Robuchon to prepare a map of the Putumayo region so Julio César Arana, owner of Peruvian Amazon Company, could exploit the rubber woodlands in that area. After establishing a photography studio in Iquitos, Peru, Robuchon mysteriously disappeared at the end of 1905 near the confluency of the Caquetá and Cahuinarí rivers, in the Putumayo region. Because of the

disappearance of Robuchon, the Peruvian Amazon Company commissioned Carlos Rey de Castro to edit the materials (travelogue and photographs) that the French explorer left behind. Accordingly, Rey de Castro's letter explains how Robuchon's materials were recuperated and what could have been his fate in the rainforest: he was probably killed by anthropophagous Indians. However, several writers such as Roger Casement (137-138) questioned this version and suggested that Robuchon was actually murdered by the Peruvian Amazon Company's henchmen. From this viewpoint, the Peruvian Consul of Manaos, Carlos Rey de Castro, edited *El Putumayo y sus afluentes* to cover up Julio César Arana's and the Peruvian Amazon Company's involvement in Robuchon's disappearance. Certainly, José Eustasio Rivera had the same opinion while writing *La vorágine*, as it is evident in the fate of the French naturalist and photographer (265-268) and the Preface signed by fictional Rivera. Following Leopoldo Bernucci, Rivera is using a metafictional device to protest the impunity of rubber entrepreneurs: while the original letter by Rey de Castro conceals the murder of Robuchon, its parody in the Preface introduces a manuscript written by Arturo Cova that reveals the crimes committed by rubber entrepreneurs (101). Additionally, I argue that this intertextual relationship makes evident the importance of the textual and iconographic tradition of the Amazon rubber boom for the documentary approach and political commitment of *La vorágine*.

In order to analyze how the paratexts of *La vorágine* establish that Arturo Cova's manuscript is a reliable source of information, it is important to pay attention to the composition of this manuscript within the plot. Due to a suggestion of his friend Ramiro Estévanez, Arturo begins to write his manuscript in a ledger while staying in Guaracú, operational base of El Cayeno. Significantly, this is the same place where Zoraida Ayram takes his photo included in the first edition of *La vorágine* (Figure 1). At the end of the novel, after rescuing Alicia and

Griselda from slavery in Barrera's hiding place, the poet leaves his manuscript behind so that Clemente Silva will send it to the Consul of Colombia in Manaus, Brazil; the manuscript is a detailed account of all the crimes committed by rubber entrepreneurs and labor recruiters. Finally, the Consul sends the manuscript to a Ministro (probably of Relaciones Exteriores), who is supposed to take action to remedy the outrages perpetrated against Colombian nationals. In this regard, when Arturo's manuscript is edited by fictional José Eustasio Rivera and is addressed to a high-level functionary of the Colombian State, the socio-economic dimension and political commitment are fully achieved. Arturo Cova's manuscript becomes a document of barbarism: it discloses the human devastation directly caused by rubber extraction.

As a result of the paratexts provided by the fictional editor, a politics of representation that marks off the narration of Clemente Silva (and other characters such as Ramiro Estévanez) is allegedly extended to the entire novel. On the other hand, the reliability of Clemente Silva—due to his personal experiences and his direct contact with photography and journalism—is transferred to the poet Arturo Cova. However, the Preface itself also provides some clues to question the reliability of Arturo Cova – particularly, some problematic aspects of his manuscripts. In the Preface, fictional José Eustasio Rivera declares that, while editing Arturo Cova's manuscript, he has respected his peculiarities and has only highlighted some idiosyncratic expressions: "En esas páginas respeté el estilo y hasta las incorrecciones del infortunado escritor, subrayando únicamente los provincialismos de más carácter" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 75). In this sense, it is necessary to discuss the nature of those "incorrecciones" presented in Arturo's narration. Are those improprieties only referring to a breach of decorum, an unusual vocabulary such as the colloquial and regional expressions in italics? Effectively, the sections in italics in *La vorágine* point out vocabulary that that departs from Spanish standard

norm and prestigious *modernista* vocabulary. The fifth edition of the novel even included a vocabulary in order to explain the meaning of these idiosyncratic expressions.

Significantly, documentary reports of human exploitation in the Putumayo region also dealt with similar issues of vocabulary's referentiality and reliability. According to Pineda Cabrera, in 1913-1914, during the investigation conducted in the House of Commons against the Peruvian Amazon Company, there were several debates about the actual meaning of words such as "indio de correría," "avance," and "conquista". Despite the efforts of Peruvian Amazon Company's defense, who tried to link those expression to legal economic activities or idiosyncratic traditions in the jungle, British officers ultimately translated them as hunting of indigenous population, slavery labor, and murder (Pineda Cabrera *Novelistas y etnógrafos* 490-491). Nevertheless, the readers of *La vorágine* didn't criticized the newer vocabulary since it was inserted into a nationalistic project and it expresses the particularity of Colombian people. In fact, the vocabulary at the end of Rivera's novel was followed by other Latin American writers and constitutes a characteristic of Regionalism. What the first readers of *La vorágine* heavily criticized was the presence of rhymed paragraphs and *modernista* figures of speech that seemed to be in discord with the documentary approach of the novel. In the following editions, Rivera rewrote several sections of his novel to eliminate those unexpected "incorrecciones," which constitute almost 3,000 variants all the way until the fifth edition in 1929 (Herrera 19)

In this chapter, I discuss whether the "incorrecciones" of Arturo Cova's manuscript actually refer to his reliability as narrator—in other words, his capacity to appropriately report, perceive, and judge his reality. Following a structuralist approach, James Phelan establishes a range of reliability based on the rapport between the implied author (not the flesh-and-blood author, but its construction throughout the text) and a character narrator:

> At one end of the spectrum is what I call mask narration, a rhetorical act in which the implied author uses the character narrator as a spokesperson for ideas that she fully endorses. Indeed, the implied author employs the mask of the character narrator as a means to increase the appeal and persuasiveness of the ideas expressed. At the other end of the spectrum is narration that is unreliable along more than one of the three axes of communication, that is, the axis of facts and events (where we find misreporting or underreporting), the axis of understanding/perception (where we find misreading or misinterpreting/underreading or underinterpreting) and the axis of value (where we find misregarding or misevaluating/underregarding or underevaluating (9-10).

Following the paratexts in *La Vorágine*, Arturo Cova and Clemente Silva are spokespersons or mask narrators for the author. It is true that, in the Preface, fictional editor José Eustasio Rivera expresses some concerns about its publication: “Creo, salvo mejor opinión de S.S., que este libro no se debe publicar antes de tener más noticias de los caucheros colombianos” (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 75). However, it seems that fictional Rivera is not questioning the reliability of Arturo Cova’s testimony (there is no doubt about his skills of reporting, perceiving and judging), but the fictional editor is actually asking for the whole picture of the events taken place in the Amazon rainforest. The brief note in the Epílogo resolves that demand—Arturo Cova and his whole party have disappeared and are presumably dead, apparently swallowed by the jungle. On the other hand, after the publication of *La vorágine*, flesh-and-blood author José Eustasio Rivera declared that he fully endorsed the ideas expressed in this novel. As Rivera would declare until his death, the main goal of publishing *La vorágine* – Arturo’s manuscript – is to rescue Colombian nationals kidnapped and forced to work by labor recruiters such as Narciso Barrera.

Interestingly, current debates in literary criticism discuss the place in which unreliability

of character narrations must be located, whether "in the reader, in the text, in the author, or in some interrelation among them" (Phelan 10). Notwithstanding the authorial opinion of José Eustasio Rivera and the accurate historical facts provided in *La vorágine*, I think it is important to understand unreliability within a cultural and contextualized approach, specifically regarding the issue of characterization and verisimilitude. According to Ansgar Nünning:

> Unreliable narrators are those whose perspective is in contradiction to the value and norm system of the whole text or that of the reader. The phenomenon of unreliable narration can be seen as the result of discrepant awareness and dramatic irony. The general effect of what is called unreliable narration consists of redirecting the reader's attention from the level of the story to the speaker and of foregrounding peculiarities of the narrator's psychology. […] In unreliable narration it is often very difficult to determine whether what the narrator says provides facts about the fictional world or only clues to his distorted and evaluating consciousness. Consequently the answer to the question 'reliable, compared to what?' may vary dramatically depending on whether the standard according to which we gauge the potential unreliability of the narrator involves the events or the narrator's subjective view of them (38-39).

The entire text of *La vorágine* provides enough clues to consider Arturo Cova as unreliable narrator, a person who underreports, misperceives and undervalues different aspects of what he witnesses in the Amazon rainforest. For instance, the emotions of Arturo Cova are very twisted—he mingles boredom and disdain for Alicia with acute jealousy crisis and delusions of grandeur. And Fidel Franco describes him as "un desequilibrado tan impulsivo como teatral" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 235). Even though Arturo rejects this assessment right away, the whole narration provides extensive evidence to support his characterization as egocentric,

unstable, and violent—that is to say, the reader has enough clues to find Arturo Cova less than trustworthy.

The oscillating and unstable mind of Arturo Cova produced several contradictions regarding the social commitment of the novel. In this regard, I propose an alternative procedure to analyze the issue of Arturo Cova's reliability and the inclusion of other characters such as Clemente Silva. Following Silvia Molloy and Montserrat Ordóñez, it is useful to focus on the authorial figures—Heli Mesa, Clemente Silva, Ramiro Estévanez—who interact with Arturo Cova in both a collaboratively and competitive way[9]. For instance, the plot of *La vorágine* includes the mutual collaboration between Arturo Cova and Clemente Silva in order to overthrow the tyrannical power exerted by labor recruiters such as Narciso Barrera and El Cayeno. At the same time, besides the different styles the poet's and pathfinder's narrations, there is also a competitive relationship about who depicts more appropriately the socioeconomic reality in the rainforest.

THE STAGES OF POETRY

La vorágine was the first narrative attempt of a writer who had previously obtained recognition by his poetry. Part I of the novel, written before his governmental commission to the Colombia-Venezuela border between 1922-1923, is the section that most consistently deploys rhymed paragraphs and figures of speech criticized by first readers. Parts II and III, written after his travel to Amazon rainforest, include the stories told by Heli Mesa, Clemente Silva and Ramiro Estevánez, in which the novel departs the most from the figures of speech that characterized *modernista* poetics. However, the whole novel maintains a feature that, originally from Romanticism, is also a common trait among *modernista* writers: the celebration of a

subjectivity, the poet's, who is regarded as an original individual and in deep connection with the forces of nature. Arturo Cova, the leading authorial figure in *La vorágine*, embodies this poetic tradition—he is extremely conscious about the value of poetry and considers himself a larger than life character. While crossing the rainforest, the poet imagines himself as the heir to Spanish Conquistadors. His ambition is colossal, as is his frustration: "Bastante rencor le tengo a la vida. Lloré por mis aspiraciones engañadas, por mis ensueños desvanecidos, por lo que no fui, por lo que ya no seré jamás" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1900 98). In this sense, the manuscript of Arturo Cova, in addition to being a reconstruction of a formative experience, could also be considered a stage upon which he performs the roles of different characters—a civic poet, a *poète maudit*, a literary salon entertainer, a champion of human rights, etc. In the following pages, I discuss the construction of these roles in Arturo's narrations, who enacts them strategically in order to achieve his goals: the revenge plot against Narciso Barrera and Arturo's own delusions of grandeur.

It is necessary to highlight that ethnicity, class, and gender differences shape the image of authorship in *La vorágine*. On one hand, the majority of authorial figures are Creole men—in this sense, male figures tend to take initiative and speak out. Significantly, Arturo Cova legitimized his authoritative position by stressing his masculinity—his anxiety is expressed by an aggressive behavior and constant fantasies of emasculation: "¿Y por qué me lamentaba como un eunuco? ¿Qué perdía en Alicia que no lo topara en otras hembras?" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 199). On the other hand, notwithstanding the significant exception of salesperson and musician Zoraida Ayram, women are relegated to a more passive and reproductive position, as objects of masculine desire of possession and control. This role is clearly played by Alicia, who is pregnant with Arturo Cova's child, and the Amazon rainforest itself, which is feminized as an exuberant

and tantalizing entity. In addition, non-white creole characters, such as indigenous populations, are feminized and deprived of qualities of authorship.

During Part I of La vorágine, Arturo Cova's authorial persona is based in two archetypes—the writer-stateman and *poète maudit*. In the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth century, Bogotá had been called "Latin-American Athens" because of its long tradition of academic poetry and writer statesmen—that is to say, a writer who seeks for the interconnection between lettered knowledge and political activity. *La vorágine* acknowledges this prestigious tradition but includes nuances of irony: right after leaving Bogotá, Arturo Cova pretends to be an "Intendente" in order avoid Bogotá's police officers. This impersonation made by Arturo Cova could be understood as a ruse, but it is also the first symptom of his delusions of grandeur. In addition, although the legality of Colombia State still reaches Casanare plains, it is very weakened. Legal authorities in the plains—as the "Juez de Orocué"—are ridiculed, stripped of legitimacy, and subjected to the economic power of rubber investments. In Casanare plains, official legal documents are even compared with "letras de cambio" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 169). The analogy between law and money implies that legality is not serving the whole community, but private interests. Moreover, in strong connection to the role of the writer statesman, Latin America upper-class young intellectuals were expected to travel to Europe in order to complete their education and acquire an artistic identity, as it is depicted in the novels *María* (1867), by the Colombian Jorge Issacs (1837-1895); *Música sentimental*, by the Argentinian Eugenio Cambaceres (1843-1888); and *De sobremesa* (1925) by Colombian poet José Asunción Silva (1865-1996). On the contrary, in *La vorágine* the voyage of initiation doesn't lead to the metropolis or center of world culture, but rather to the hinterland, towards the frontier of Colombia State. As a result of the social realities that Arturo Cova discovers in the

plains and in the jungle, he constantly revisits the characteristics and significance of his persona and his literary writing.

On the other hand, it is important to highlight that the questioning of the writer statesman is intertwined with several references to another important tradition in the Colombian literary system—the role of a *poète maudit* and a D'Annunzian poet. The Decadentism of late-nineteenth poets, such as the Italian Gabriele D'Annunzio, provided important traits or features to the characterization of Latin American *modernism*—a heightened sensibility and an aristocratic ethos[10]. Following this poetics, Arturo justifies his treatment of Alicia by claiming:

> El más grave problema lo llevo yo, que sin estar enamorado vivo como si lo estuviera, supliendo mi hidalguía lo que no puede dar mi ternura, con la convicción íntima de que mi idiosincrasia caballeresca me empujará hasta el sacrificio, por una dama que no es la mía, por un amor que no conozco (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 97).

During his jealousy crisis and delusions of grandeur, Arturo openly expresses the social behavior attached to a *poète maudit*: he gets drunk, expels Alicia from the cattle ranch, destroys furniture and has hallucinations of turning himself into an animal. Part One of the novel, which entirely takes place in the plains, ends with the possession of Arturo by his demonic persona: "¡En medio de las llamas empecé a reír como Satanás!" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 187). The *poète maudit* is facing the destruction of his ambitions in the Casanare plains and the inevitability of his journey into the rainforest.

What is important to highlight is that, even though Arturo is a libertine, the aesthetic experience of his poetry is strongly connected with a political goal: to create a national community. Ironically, Arturo's poetic persona is recognized by debased characters and corrupted authorities—for instance, the alcoholic General Gámez y Roma, who attempts to rape

Alicia. On that note, the antagonist in the melodramatic plot of the novel, labor contractor Narciso Barrera, lavishes praise on Cova´s poetry:

> Alabada sea la diestra que ha esculpido tan bellas estrofas. Regalo de mi espíritu fueron en el Brasil, y me producían suspirante nostalgia, porque es privilegio de los poetas encadenar al corazón de la patria los hijos dispersos y crearles súbditos en tierras extrañas. Fui exigente con la fortuna, pero nunca aspiré al honor de declararle a usted, personalmente, mi admiración sincera (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 114).

Even though Narciso's appraisal could be considered a cynical statement made by a rubber contractor—a character that epitomizes duplicity in the novel—it is remarkable that he employs a well-structured assessment of Arturo's poetry. In fact, Narciso's appraisal reproduces the style and literary devices of the very poetry he's celebrating—hyperbatos and rhymed sentences that were even more evident in the first edition[11]. Moreover, when Narciso fawns on Arturo, he dresses up as a gentleman and follows codes of courtesy, as if he strategically performs the role of an aristocratic landowner. In addition, Narciso is well-informed that, according to *modernismo* and other art for art's sake movements, poetry is an elevated activity that is not supposed to be combined with mundane business. In a subsequent letter to Arturo, the labor recruiter writes: "No ha de parecerle extraña la condición lamentable en que a usted llego, convertido en mercachifle común, que trata de introducir en los dominios de la poesía la propuesta de un negocio burgués" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 150). As the main antagonist in the novel, Narciso is recognized as a brilliant trader, very skilled at closing deals and charming people

Arturo is well-aware of the fakeness of Narciso's demeanor, but the *modernista* poet falls prey to the alluring qualities of the labor recruiter. On that note, his boastful appraisals are directly linked to Arturo's delusions in which he imagines himself as a wit in literary salons:

"Me vi de nuevo entre mis condiscípulos, contándoles mis aventuras de Casanare, exagerándoles mi repentina riqueza, viéndolos felicitarme, entre sorprendidos y envidiosos. […] Poco a poco, mis buenos éxitos literarios irían conquistando el indulto" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 125). In his compensatory fantasy, the sex scandal that has caused the departure of Arturo and Alicia from Bogotá would be resolved by the artistic mastery of the poet. In the nineteenth century, literary salons were an important institution for the professionalization of writers; however, in contrast to institutions such a journalism, literary salons still maintain class distinctions and aristocratic values. On the other hand, journalism is understood as a business and appeals to a broader audience, which means that the information becomes democratic. José Eustasio Rivera was part of Colombian *Generación del Centenario*, who still keeps the tradition of literary salons and a hierarchical perspective of decorum; these trends would be definitely debunked by the following generation called *los nuevos*, who are inserted in international Avant-garde movements (Peña Gutiérrez, *José Eustasio Rivera* 13-15). In this regard, the dream of the *modernista* poet has a reactionary nuance: after fleeing Bogotá due to a sex scandal spread by newspapers, Arturo Cova would recover his lost class status and privileges by participating in literary salons.

While upper-class individuals are able to recognize the civic values of Arturo Cova's poetry, the same ability does not reach characters from other classes or cultural realities. For instance, the dwellers of the eastern plain—both white-creole and mix-raced—are immune to the aesthetic effect and the social prestige of *modernista* poetry. This situation is clearly expressed in the following exchange between Arturo Cova, Narciso Barrera, and Viejo Zubieta, owner of a cattle ranch and plantation:

> —Es un honor que no merecemos—afirmó Barrera—. El señor Cova es una de las glorias de nuestro país.

—¿Y gloria, por qué?—interrogó el viejo—. ¿Sabe montá? ¿Sabe enlazá? ¿Sabe toreá?

—¡Sí, sí! –grité—. ¡Lo que usted quiera! (Rivera *La vorágine* 141)

The quotation provides three different utterances from characters separated by geographical origin and class distinctions. Since Narciso is still feigning the role of aristocratic landowner, he maintains the pompous tone of his appraisal of Arturo's poetry. On the other hand, the Viejo Zubieta, owner of a ranch in Casanare plains, contradicts him with an urgent and simple tone. The spontaneity of his response is also clearly established by the anaphora in the questions and the reproduction of a sociolect—the elision of the last consonant in each verb. In addition, Viejo Zubieta refers to economy activities that are idiosyncratic of the plains and involve physical strength. Finally, Arturo is also part of the upper-class, but his reply to Viejo Zubieta doesn't recuperate the pompous tone of Barrera; in contrast, the poet's utterance echoes the intensity of Viejo Zubieta's speech. Throughout the narration of *La vorágine*, the utterances and speeches of Arturo Cova have a similar pace. The anxiety expressed in his response is an evidence of the strong demands posited to his poetry and the willingness to fulfill them. At this moment of the narration, Arturo is far from feeling any empathy towards the lower-classes and indigenous populations. On the contrary, he is invested in demonstrating the superior qualifications of his poetry.

In connection to Arturo's anxiety to establish his authority as literary writer, he is also portrayed as a decadent poet—his behavior is defined by weariness, boredom and selfishness. When Arturo Cova faces life-threatening situations, such a physical danger, this is represented in *La vorágine* as an emotional impact and an experience of the limits. In this sense, violence is represented as exaggerated and gruesome, without moral perspective, just as an event that is

meant to shock the reader. As a version of a decadent poet, Arturo Cova uses in conjunction adjectives such as beautiful and frightening—the poet is concerned with the beauty of death and destruction, as it appears in the following description of the sudden death of two oarsmen:

> La visión frenética del naufragio me sacudió con una ráfaga de belleza. El espectáculo fue magnífico. La muerte había escogido una forma nueva contra sus víctimas, y era de agradecerle que nos devorara sin verter sangre, sin dar a los cadáveres livores repulsivos. ¡Bello morir el de aquellos hombres, cuya existencia apagóse de pronto, como una brasa entre las espumas, al través de las cuales subió el espíritu haciéndolas hervir de júbilo! (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 233-234).

This passage is presented as an intense and compelling vision: death is personified as the author of a play that stirs the feelings of the witnesses, while allowing them to access to unknown experiences. The description attempts to be dynamic as well as evoke the theatrics of Cova's response to Viejo Zubieta, but his discourse still relies on *modernista* rhetoric. In addition, after celebrating the beauty of death in the jungle, Arturo Cova is directly scolded by Fidel Franco, his fellow traveler into the jungle, as a hateful and inhuman individual. The legitimacy of the *modernista* poet is under question.

When Arturo Cova enters deeper in the Amazonian jungle, the number of life-threatening situations increases exponentially. Moreover, in the jungle the typical and innocuous neurasthenia is revealed to be a severe illness—catalepsy.

> Me burlé de la enfermedad, achacando a la neurastenia mis aprensiones pretéritas. Mas de pronto empecé a sentir que estaba muriéndome de catalepsia. En el vahído de la agonía me convencí de que no soñaba. ¡Era lo fatal, lo irremediable! Quería quejarme, quería moverme, quería gritar, pero la rigidez me tenía cogido y sólo mis cabellos se

> alborotaban con la premura de las banderas durante el naufragio (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 229).

In this unfamiliar scenario, not only the organs are in danger, but also the mind of a person, his cognitive abilities and capacity of judgment. According to Arturo Cova, under the influence of the jungle, “los nervios del hombre se convierten en haz de cuerdas, distendidas hacia el asalto, hacia la traición, hacia la asechanza. Los sentidos humanos equivocan sus facultades: el ojo siente, la espalda ve, la nariz explora, las piernas calculan y la sangre clama: ¡Huyamos, huyamos!” (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 297). It is important to connect this quotation with the issue of Arturo Cova’s reliability. The *modernista* poet is clearly stating that the jungle disturbs the normal perception of human beings, mixing the senses to the point of synesthesia, and crossing the borders of reality. Human beings are at their most vulnerable within the rainforest. However, the same fragment also states that survival instincts are activated and the blood claims for its self-preservation. Even though the jungle is an extremely dangerous environment, the body is able to react to the challenges and overcome them. The confusion of perception and thought—which are the reasons for disorientation and death—are also the opportunity for survival.

Significantly, the appearance of Clemente coincides with the moment of most vulnerability of Arturo Cova in the Amazon rainforest. In Part II of *La vorágine*, because of the death of the indigenous oarsmen, Arturo Cova and his companions face a major crisis: they don’t have any guide to continue their journey, nor any resource to settle down in a place. In such a difficult situation, the *modernista* poet gives a very formal and embellished speech to apologize for his conduct:

> Amigos míos, faltaría a mi consciencia y a mi lealtad si no declarara en este momento,

como anoche, que sois libres de seguir vuestra propia estrella, sin que mi suerte os detenga el paso. Más que en mi vida pensad en la vuestra. Dejadme solo, que mi destino desarrollará su trayectoria. Aún es tiempo de regresar a donde queráis. El que siga mi ruta, va con la muerte (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 237-238).

The moment of major despair coincides with an out-of-place discourse. Arturo Cova is unfamiliar with the landscape of the jungle, lacks tools to survive, and is in imminent danger; additionally, he employs a language that resembles overwrought poetry, literary salons and even the appraisal given by Narciso Barrera in Part One. While Viejo Zubieta, in his quick reply to Narciso and Arturo, has implied that *modernista* conceits do not correspond with the social reality of Casanare plains ("¿Sabe montá? ¿Sabe enlazá? ¿Sabe toreá?"), the *modernista* poet is about to discover that the Amazon rainforest present more challenges. On this subject, the introduction of Clemente Silva performs a double function. On one hand, Clemente saves Arturo and his party from getting lost and dying in the jungle. The pathfinder is defined by his mastery in surviving skills, which he employs to diagnose the undermining influence of the jungle in a newcomer such as Arturo: "El anciano sabía que no lo amenazaba por broma. Ni sintió sorpresa ante mi amenaza. Comprendió que el desierto me poseía. […] Y por este proceso—¡oh selva!—hemos pasado todos los que caemos en tu vorágine" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 300-301). On the other hand, through the narration of his personal experiences, the pathfinder provides tools to depict and communicate the social reality in the Amazon rainforest. For the rest of Part II of *La vorágine*, in addition to guiding Arturo's party through the jungle, Clemente becomes the principal narrator. In other words, he brings a literary style and a politics of representation suitable to the jungle.

Interestingly, Clemente Silva, the character who most effectively challenges Arturo

Cova's authority as narrator, is simultaneously recognized by Arturo as a feminized individual and father figure. Clemente is first introduced as an aged and weakened character, who speaks with "acento humilde" and moves awkwardly because of his "canillas llenas de úlceras" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 242). Arturo brutally attacks and reduces Clemente because he is mistaken for a henchman of rubber entrepreneurs. However, the poet immediately regrets his aggressive behavior after recognizing in Clemente's look the face of his own father. The allusion to filial bond conveys all the ambiguity of the relationship between these two characters. Arturo feels empathy and kindness toward Clemente, but he also explicitly expresses his jealousy and distress. According to several characters, the pathfinder is a knowledgeable rainforest guide and man of letters—that is to say, the most skilled authorial figure after Arturo Cova. One rubber worker describes him as "letrado, ducho en números, perito en tratos de goma, conocedor de barracas y de siringales, avispado en lances de contrabando, buen mercader, buen boga, buen pendolista" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 278). After listening the long narrative made by Clemente and realizing his talent as a rainforest guide, Arturo explicitly declares his rivalry in Part Three: "Esta situación de inferioridad me tornó desconfiado, irritable, díscolo. Nuestro jefe en tales emergencias era, sin duda, el anciano Silva, y principié a sentir contra él una secreta rivalidad" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 299). The poet even wants the rainforest guide to be his enemy, as part of his self-destruction fantasies: "¿Por qué don Clemente Silva no me descerrajó un tiro, si con esa ilusión lo asalté?" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 242).

Following the thread of competitive collaboration between the poet and the pathfinder, it is significant that Arturo recuperates the leading role to depict the moment of most apparent vulnerability of Clemente. Positions have been traded one more time. At the beginning of Part Three, the pathfinder, who has been lost in the jungle for several days, faces an intense suffering

and prays to God.

> Don Clemente, con las manos en la cabeza, estrujaba su pensamiento para que brotara alguna idea lúcida. Sólo el cielo podía indicarle la orientación. [...] ¡Ver el sol, ver el sol! Allí estaba la clave de su destino. ¡Si hablaran aquellas copas enaltecidas que todas las mañanas lo ven pasar! ¿Por qué los árboles silenciosos han de negarse a decirle al hombre lo que debe hacer para no morir? ¡Y, pensando en Dios, comenzó a rezarle a la selva una plegaria de desagravio! (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 309-310).

In this passage, Clemente Silva lost and is about to die close to Marié River; interestingly, this is the same location in which Arturo Cova and his party mysteriously disappear at the end of the novel. It seems that the training provided by the pathfinder is sufficient to overthrow corrupt labor recruiters (Narciso Barrera, El Cayeno), but not enough to prevail against the forces of nature. Nevertheless, the influence of Clemente Silva has been extremely important for the self-fashioning of Arturo Cova, who explicitly questions his former poetics in Part III. The jungle is a place where life is in constant danger and in transformation:

> ¿Cuál es aquí la poesía de los retiros, dónde están las mariposas que parecen flores traslúcidas, los pájaros mágicos, el arroyo cantor? ¡Pobre fantasía de los poetas que sólo conocen las soledades domesticadas! ¡Nada de ruiseñores enamorados, nada de jardín versallesco, nada de panoramas sentimentales! Aquí, los responsos de sapos hidrópicos, las malezas de cerros misántropos, los rebalses de caños podridos. Aquí, la parásita afrodisíaca que llena el suelo de abejas muertas; la diversidad de flores inmundas que se contraen con sexuales palpitaciones y su olor pegajoso emborracha como una droga: la liana maligna cuya pelusa enceguece los animales; la pringamosa que inflama la piel, la pepa del curujú que parece irisado globo y sólo contiene ceniza cáustica, la uva purgante,

el corozo amargo (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 296).

One of the last stages of this questioning and redefinition of poetry in the jungle is its relationship with music. In El Cayeno's rubber settlement, Arturo Cova listens to the music of salesperson Zoraida Ayram; even though she is a foe in his revenge plot (Luciano Silva, the son of Clemente, commits suicide because of his unrequired love for Ayram), the *modernista* poet immediately celebrates her musical expertise. Zoraida's music is described as simple and exotic—she is from the Middle East and has been living in Brazil for a long time—but her music is successful in creating a mobilizing memory and delivering a knowledge of the transcendental: "En breves minutos volví a vivir mis años pretéritos, como espectador de mi propia vida. ¡Cuántos antecedentes indicadores de mi futuro! ¡Mis riñas de niño, mi pubertad agreste y voluntariosa, mi juventud sin halagos ni amor! ¿Y quién me conmovía en aquel momento hasta ablandarme a la mansedumbre y desear tenderles los brazos, en un ímpetu de perdón, a mis enemigos? ¡Tal milagro lo realizaba una melodía casi pueril! ¡Indudablemente, la madona Zoraida Ayram era extraordinaria!" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 327). Moreover, her music succeeds in establishing bonds between the listeners and in creating a sense of community. Following the general rule of Cova's behavior, the poet is competing with Zoraida Ayram's music: he is seeking to reproduce the same effect in his own writing: "Mi psiquis de poeta, que traduce el idioma de los sonidos, entendió lo que aquella música les iba diciendo a los circunstantes. Hizo a los caucheros una promesa de redención, realizable desde la fecha en que alguna mano (ojalá fuera la mía) esbozara el cuadro de sus miserias y dirigiera la compasión de los pueblos hacia las florestas aterradoras" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 327). This declaration made by Arturo Cova could be considered another delusion: through his conversion into a committed writer, the poets finds another stage to satisfy his megalomania. Nevertheless, Arturo

Cova want to replicate the effect of Zoraida Ayram's music by means of different media and genre. The poet is seeking a new poetics of writing that must deliver an accurate depiction of reality, mobilize emotions such as outrage and commitment, and create a sense of community between readers. In order to achieve these goals, Arturo Cova replaces *modernista* poetics with the textual and iconographic tradition incorporated by Clemente Silva.

RECORDING BODIES AND CRIMES

Narciso Barrera, the corrupt labor recruiter for rubber entrepreneurs, introduces the discourses of modernity in *La vorágine*: first, he is regarded as an opportunity for economic development and prosperity in rubber woodlands; and second, he is the first character that explicitly refers to State identities, a topic that is central in Parts II and III of the novel. However, although businessmen justify the depredation of woodlands with the defense of national sovereignty, they only seek profitability and are not really interested in any ethical or political concern. In contrast, the main ends of journalism and photography—as they are invoked by Clemente Silva in Part Two of *La vorágine*—are to create ethical bonding against human exploitation and political commitment towards the consolidation of the Colombian State. In contrast, Printed artifacts such as newspapers and postcards are commodities subjected to economic exchange, but the commodification process does not affect the materiality of literary writing and photographic composition, as well as the experiences provided by engagement in reading. In order to properly depict the socio-economic reality in the jungle, *La vorágine* pushes the boundaries of the commodification process by means of explicit references to the textual and iconographic tradition that, since the beginning of the twentieth century, had been reporting human exploitation in the context of the Amazon rubber boom. A movement towards *l'art pour*

l'art poetics such as Latin Amerian *modernismo* is not an option, since Arturo Cova explicitly disavows this poetics in Part III of the novel. In the same vein, because of the inclusion of Clemente Silva, the novel stresses that journalism and photography are sources of political engagement and ethical obligations. And these dimensions are established through an exploration of very materiality of writing, which is precisely the metafictional dimension of *La vorágine*.

The first reference to photography appears early in the novel, when the main characters have just settled down in Casanare plains and receive the first news of rubber extraction in the rainforest. A joyful Griselda, owner of a ranch and wife of Fidel Franco, shows to Arturo and Alicia a set of colorful post cards brought by Narciso Barrera.

> —Puros cortes de sea, don Rafo. Barrera es rasgaísimo. Y miren las vistas del fábrico en el Vichada, a onde quere yevarnos. Digan imparcialmente si no son una preciosidá esos edificios y si estas fotografías no son primorosas. Barrera las ha repartío por toas partes. Miren cuántas tengo pegáas al baúl.
>
> Eran unas postales en colores. Se veían en ellas, a la orilla montuosa de un río, casas de dos pisos, en cuyos barandales se agrupaba la gente. Lanchas de vapor humeaban en el puertecito.
>
> —Aquí viven má de mil hombres y tóos ganan una libra diaria. Ayá voy a poné asistencia pa las peonáas. ¡Supóngase cuánta plata cogeré con el solo amasijo! ¿Y lo que gane Fidel?... Miren, estos montes son los cauchales. Bien dice Barrera que otra oportunidad como ésta no se presentará (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 102-103).

Griselda enthusiastically presents the post cards themselves and what they are portraying—a big crowd, tall buildings, steam launches—as evidence of economic and technological development. In addition, those postcards establish a striking contrast with the socio-economic reality in

Casanare plains, where a similar economic prosperity is currently unavailable. Through traveling to the Amazon rainforest and becoming a rubber workers, lower class and mix-raced subjects like Griselda find an opportunity to improve their life conditions. On the other hand, this phenomenon is negatively appraised by ranch owner Fidel Franco, who declares that rubber extraction is responsible for the disruption of traditional labor relations in the plains. Because of those false promises of prosperity, the countryside is abandoned (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 109-110).

After hearing for the first-time news about rubber woodlands and seeing the colored postcards, Arturo Cova has a premonitory dream that anticipates details of the plot and establishes an important analogy between the human body and the natural landscape.

> Pasé mala noche. Cuando menudeaba el canto de los gallos conseguí quedarme dormido. Soñé que Alicia iba sola, por una sabana lúgubre, hacia un lugar siniestro donde la esperaba un hombre, que podía ser Barrera. Agazapado en los pajonales iba espiándola yo, con la escopeta del mulato en balanza; mas cada vez que intentaba tenderla contra el seductor, se convertía entre mis manos en una serpiente helada y rígida. […]
>
> Veía luego a la niña Griselda, vestida de oro, en un país extraño, encaramada en una peña de cuya base fluía un hilo blancuzco de caucho. A lo largo de él lo bebían gentes innumerables echadas de bruces. Franco, erguido sobre el promontorio de carabinas, amonestaba a los sedientos con este estribillo: "¡Infelices, detrás de estas selvas está el más allá!" Y al pie de cada árbol se iba muriendo un hombre, en tanto que yo recogía sus calaveras para exportarlas en lanchones por un río silencioso y oscuro.
>
> Volvía a ver a Alicia, desgreñada y desnuda, huyendo de mí por entre las malezas de un bosque nocturno, iluminado por luciérnagas colosales. Llevaba yo en la mano una

> hachuela corta, y, colgando al cinto, un recipiente de metal. Me detuve ante una araucaria de morados carimbos, parecida al árbol del caucho, y empecé a picarle la corteza para que escurriera la goma. ¿Por qué me desangras?, suspiró una voz desfalleciente. Yo soy tu Alicia y me he convertido en una parásita (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 111-112).

Cova's dream reveals what is hidden behind the colorful and glossy photo shown by Griselda—in other words, a glimpse of the socioeconomic reality of *caucherías* beyond the advertisement that Narciso Barrera hands out. Arturo's dream demonstrates that he is a very perceptive reader of photographs. Instead of fulfilled aspirations of economic prosperity, rubber workers appear gathering skulls. Arturo also appears in his own dream tapping a rubber tree; however, rather than obtaining the precious commodity, the poet receives the very suffering of his beloved. It is important to recognize that a rubber worker (*cauchero*) tapping a tree was actually a stereotypical image used for advertisement during the Amazon rubber boom; that is to say, Cova's dream is revealing what is hidden behind such as picturesque image. Interestingly, two of three photos included in the first edition—actually post cards bought by José Eustasio Rivera in Manaus, Brazil—depict exactly the same image (Figures 2 and 3). However, notwithstanding its capacity to reveal the suffering and death in rubber extraction, Arturo Cova also reflects the *modernista* imagination that appears throughout his narration. There is a theatrical arrangement of the elements and an excess of pathos. Before actually knowing the socio-economic reality of the Amazonian rainforest, Arturo Cova imagines the jungle using tropes of late Romantic and *modernista* Latin American poetry: a space defined by its mysterious and sensuous dimension in which the convoluted natural landscape is a projection of the impassioned character's subjectivity. The jungle is the space in which human beings' desires are expressed with freedom and intensity.

On the other hand, when the French naturalist appears in Part II of *La vorágine*, instead of taking picturesque photos to advertise Julio César Arana's investments in the *caucherías*, he becomes a journalist and records the suffering of human bodies and the devastation of nature caused by rubber extraction—in particular, the damage back of Clemente Silva. The pathfinder refers his encounter with the French naturalist by saying:

> Le referí la vida horrible de los caucheros, le enumeré los tormentos que soportábamos, y, porque no dudara, lo convencí objetivamente:
>
> —Señor, diga si mi espalda ha sufrido menos que ese árbol.
>
> Y, levantándome la camisa, le enseñé mis carnes laceradas.
>
> Momentos después, el árbol y yo perpetuamos en la Kodak nuestras heridas, que vertieron para igual amo distintos jugos: siringa y sangre.
>
> De allí en adelante, el lente fotográfico se dio a funcionar entre las peonadas, reproduciendo fases de la tortura, sin tregua ni disimulo, abochornando a los capataces, aunque mis advertencias no cesaban de predicarle al naturalista el grave peligro de que mis amos lo supieran. El sabio seguía impertérrito, fotografiando mutilaciones y cicatrices. "Estos crímenes, que avergüenzan a la especie humana—solía decirme—deben ser conocidos en todo el mundo para que los gobiernos se apresuren a remediarlos". Envió notas a Londres, París y Lima, acompañando vistas de sus denuncias, y pasaron tiempos sin que se notara ningún remedio. Entonces decidió quejarse a los empresarios, adujo documentos y me envió con cartas a La Chorrera [a rubber settlement owned by the Peruvian Amazon Company] (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 266-267).

As in the case of the *modernista* dream of Alicia in the jungle, an analogy is established between

the character and the landscape, but the style and the meaning are strongly different. In contrast to Arturo Cova's diction, Clemente Silva's narration employs few figures of speech and metaphors. Even though this passage is still characterized by a melodramatic pathos in a minor key, Clemente Silva's account is not pervaded by neurasthenia and highlighted sensibility. There is an effort for providing accurate referentiality, accountability, and rational argumentation—the adverb "objetivamente" implies a narration more focused on the depiction of actual facts.

In addition, the suffering of Clemente Silva's body immediately acquires a social dimension, since the same violence is inflicted against a whole group of rubber workers. In this sense, photography becomes the most accurate medium for denouncing the violence and destruction provoked by rubber extraction. Rather than advertising picturesque images, the French records a hidden reality that must be known by the entire world. Driven by a humanitarian ethos, he sends urgent notes to cities such as London—centers of economic power and what is called civilized world at the time—to report those crimes against humanity. Even though the photographs present an artistic composition and provide an aesthetic effect (the comparison between human body and nature), this dimension is only relevant to the extent that it allows a most effective transmission of the reports of human exploitation. Significantly, because of this commitment to unveil the crimes of businessmen, photography is also a dangerous job. This last aspect is stated by the final fate of the French photographer, who disappears in the jungle because of the revenge inflicted by the rubber entrepreneurs. The fate of this anonymous French photographer is clearly referring to the whereabouts of Eugène Robuchon, whose mysterious disappearance was never resolved. In this sense, *La vorágine* echoes what it was believed to be the actual reason of Robuchon's disappearance (Beckman 168-169; Bernucci 99-100).

In addition, Clemente Silva's narration refers to newspapers that were circulating among the enslaved rubber workers. In contrast to Bogotá newspapers' sensationalist approach to Arturo and Alicia sex scandal, journalism in the Amazon rainforest has acquired a political and social function. At the beginning of the novel, Arturo Cova leaves Bogotá because of a sex scandal with Alicia that becomes fodder for the press: "El escándalo ardía, avivado por las murmuraciones de mis malquerientes; comentábase nuestra fuga y los periódicos usufructuaban el enredo" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 82). At the beginning of the twentieth century, journalism and printing industries in Bogotá had a significantly increase in readership (Uribe Celis 38-41). During his lifetime, José Eustasio Rivera actively contributed with poems and articles in newspapers (such as *El Tiempo*, *Cromos* and *Gil Blas*) and was involved in several debates and scandals promoted by sensationalist journalists from both the Conservative and Liberal parties. (Neale Silva *José Eustasio Rivera, polemista*). These personal experiences could explained the depiction of journalism in Part I of *La vorágine*, given that Bogotá's newspapers are focused on sensationalism (the private life of two distinguished members of Bogotá society) rather than on political or socio-economic issues that affect the national community. On the contrary, the circulation of newspapers in the *caucherías* is clandestine and is connected with the report of human exploitation:

> El año siguiente fue para los caucheros muy fecunda en expectativas. No sé cómo, empezó a circular subrepticiamente en gomales y barracones un ejemplar·del diario La Felpa, que dirigía en Iquitos el periodista Saldaña Roca. Sus columnas clamaban contra los crímenes que se cometían en el Putumayo y pedían justicia para nosotros. Recuerdo que la hoja estaba maltrecha, a fuerza de ser leída, y que en el siringal del caño Algodón la remendamos con caucho tibio, para que pudiera viajar de estrada en estrada, oculta

entre un cilindro de bambú que parecía cabo de hachuela" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 268) Journalism that explicitly reports human exploitation is shared secretly between rubber workers, hidden from authorities in the rubber woodlands. Significantly, a newspaper sheet becomes an extremely valuable object and rubber workers invest all effort in its preservation. As it is also implied in the French photographer's speech, photography and journalism made denouncements that can easily reach national and international audiences. The dissemination of these claims about human exploitation is even able to reach the rubber woodlands and overcomes the censorship of rubber entrepreneurs. In addition, that single sheet of a newspaper in the rubber woodlands create a bond between the readers, who realize that they are suffering injustices shared by a broader group. That is to say, rubber workers such as Clemente Silva become competent readers and acquire awareness of about the socioeconomic dimension of the rubber extraction.

Through quotations like the abovementioned, *La vorágine* is discussing the role of journalism in Colombian literary scene. From a *modernista* perspective, journalism is not a practice that involves explicit political intervention. In contrast, in Clemente Silva's narration, journalism deals with political issues and subjects that need to be discussed within the entire nation-sate. On the other hand, while at the beginning of the novel, journalism is characterized by its sensationalist approach to Arturo and Alicia's affair, at the end of the novel journalism acquires a clear political commitment. Technological reproducibility plays a significant role in this new kind of journalism: the documentary approach is guaranteed by the inclusion of photographs, and a broader audience is reached by means a modern system of printing and distribution – those newspapers are not luxury objects since anybody can buy them.

THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY IN *LA VORÁGINE*

Finally, it is necessary to link all the discussion about the characteristics of poetry and journalism in *La vorágine* with what I also considered the main concern of the novel: what does it means to be modern? This is a question that reaches out all the elements I have discussed so far in this chapter. First of all, the poet Arturo Cova is trying to modernize his own literary writing through the narrative device of collaborative competition. At the beginning of the novel, Arturo Cova recognizes himself as a modern poet following the available codes in Bogotá's literary scene: the writer-statesman and the *poète maudit*. Throughout the novel, Arturo Cova changes his style and politics of representation in order to appropriately depict the socioeconomic reality of the Amazon rainforest. Having received the influences of Clemente Silva and Ramiro Estévanez, the *modernista* poet becomes a committed writer aiming at a documentary approach. On the other hand, Colombian State is required to modernize its bureaucracy and actually take control of its territory, while rubber extraction is required to become a modern industry, in the sense of replacing de facto slaves with salaried workers. José Eustasio Rivera provided a further development of this last idea in the letter he wrote to American businessman Henry Ford in 1928.

Since *La vorágine* is concerned with the function of literary writing within the modernization of Colombia State (and in the context of a resource-extractive economy), the novel has to deal with the challenges of creating a national community. There are several episodes in which different characters attempt to recognize each other as countrymen; however, the possibility of becoming a Colombian citizen is limited to white creole man; lower class individuals, such as mixed race and African descendants in the plains or indigenous population in the jungle, are not suitable to be citizens[12]. In this sense, it is significant that the narration

introduces Clemente Silva as an unprotected Colombian citizen in the Amazon rainforest:

> El anciano púsose en pie para convencerse de que no soñaba. Sus ojos incrédulos nos medían con insistencia y, tendiendo los brazos hacia nosotros, exclamó:
>
> —¡Sois colombianos! ¡Sois colombianos!
>
> —Como lo oye, y amigos suyos.
>
> Paternalmente nos fue estrechando contra su pecho, sacudido por la emoción. Después quiso hacemos preguntas promiscuas, acerca de la patria, de nuestro viaje, de nuestros nombres (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 247).

In addition to guiding Arturo Cova's party in the jungle and offering them tools for surviving, Clemente Silva provides very explicit references to the Colombian State and the challenges it faces in the Amazon rainforest. Significantly, the only other character in *La vorágine* that makes a similar remark is Narciso Barrera, the labor recruiter that is the enemy of Arturo Cova because of the kidnapping of Alicia and Griselda. Since the pathfinder is a decisive ally for the *modernista* poet in his revenge plot against the rubber contractor, it is significant that both Clemente Silva and Narciso Barrera are the characters who most explicitly refer to Colombian State citizenship. This is a fact that explains the overlapping between the revenge plot of Arturo Cova and his political commitment against human exploitation: killing Narciso Barrera at the end of the novel is not only a personal vendetta, but an act of patriotism.

Clemente Silva's ideals of patriotism and protection of Colombian citizens are also evident in narration of the massacre of La Chorrera, a rubber settlement owned by Peruvian Amazon Company (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 256-258). Clemente Silva narrates a luxurious party where, as an act of entertaining, several indigenous are burned alive. According to Bernucci, this passage is based on a real incident on February 1903 and described by several

writers such as Saldaña Roca, Thomson, Hardenburg, Hispano and Camacho. Significantly, in the narration made by Clemente Silva in *La vorágine*, Rivera combined the February 1903 incident with a second one that happened in September of the same age; in addition, Rivera replace the names of the actual criminals (Fidel Velarde, Víctor Macedo and Miguel Loayza) with the names of people who didn't participate in the event (Larrañaga, Juan B. [Juancito] Vega, e Isaac Jabobó Barchilón). Bernucci explains that Rivera modifies the historical account to make a direct indictment of Larragaña and Vega, Colombian nationals from Pasto who were considered traitors for being business partners of Peruvian rubber entrepreneur Julio César Arana (Bernucci 131-132). In my opinion, it is important that Clemente Silva, who is also from Pasto, is in charge of narrating the crimes committed by Pastuso traitors Larragaña and Vega. That is to say, the historical accuracy of *La vorágine* is fictionalized in order to deliver a political message and morally judge the traitors of Colombian State.

Since *La vorágine* is concerned with the modernization of State apparatus and its control of the economic activities in its territory, rubber entrepreneurs such as Narciso Barrera, Larragaña, and Vega embody the major challenges for Colombia nation state. The Amazonian rainforest is characterized as a territory without any kind of State control (even though the region is claimed by Colombia, Peru and Brazil), and the jungle seems to be a region for all transgressions to take place. The Amazon rainforest is actually dominated by rubber entrepreneurs, who control the means of production and exert local power as tyrannical figures. In this sense, it is significant that rubber entrepreneurs justify their criminal behavior as acts of patriotism: because of the rubber extraction commanded by Colombian entrepreneurs, the jungle is recognized as part of Colombian State and Peruvian claims are rejected:

Tiene tantas rémoras este negocio, exige tal patriotismo y perseverancia que si el

> gobierno nos desatiende quedarán sin soberanía estos grandes bosques, dentro del propio límite de la patria. Pues bien: Ya su señoría nos hizo el honor de averiguar en cada cuadrilla cuáles son las violencias, los azotes, los suplicios a que sometemos las peonadas, según decir de nuestros vecinos, envidiosos y despechados, que buscan mil maneras de impedir que nuestra nación recupere sus territorios y que haya peruanos en estas lindes, para cuyo intento no faltan nunca ciertos *escritorcillos asalariados* (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 270; my italics).

This fragment is the response given by a Colombian rubber entrepreneur to the Visitador, a governmental official in charge of investigating the human exploitation recorded in newspapers and photographs. From the whole quotation, it is important to highlight the reference to "escritorcillos asalariados". At first, this is an accusation about the lack of accuracy and honesty in those reports of human exploitation. People who make such denouncements are not really committed to social issues, but they are in fact venting personal vendettas. In addition, the enemies of Colombian rubber entrepreneurs hire and subsidize hack writers in order to disseminate those false accusations. Neither documented accuracy nor actual political commitment could be expected from those newspapers. Nevertheless, the same phrase "escritorcillos asalariados" also points out to the economic dimension of modern journalism: journalists are salaried workers, and the success of their careers increasingly relies on the market rather than patronage. Rubber entrepreneurs are actually complaining about professional writers, who are supported by the number of readers they have—in other words, the number of consumers of their texts.

Throughout the whole narration of *La vorágine*, Arturo Cova has several fantasies of becoming a wealthy man with a cattle farm in the plains or as rubber worker in the jungle;

nevertheless, Arturo Cova never dreams about getting rich through literary writing. The poet imagines himself either within a prestigious literary salon in Bogotá or as a committed writer serving Colombian interests. That is to say, Arturo Cova perceives his own literary writing beyond the commodification process and ruled only by political concerns. It is important to highlight that Arturo Cova begins the narration as a law offender, since he is accused of luring and kidnapping Alicia; however, during his voyage to the frontier of Colombia State, he becomes the advocate and champion of a new kind of law. Because of this new legality, Colombia would achieve effective political control over the jungle and rubber entrepreneurs would abandon their current extractive mode of production for an industrialized one.

The texts that Arturo Cova writes in the jungle are the tools for this aspiration of modernization. Besides the pathfinder Clemente Silva, there is another character that heavily influences the documentary approach of Arturo Cova's writing. After sending Clemente Silva to Manaus with a letter reporting crimes at El Cayeno's rubber settlement, Arturo Cova begins to write a manuscript in order to idle the time away. This activity was suggested by Ramiro Estévanez, an old friend who is hiding in the jungle after witnessing the crimes of Colonel Tomás Funes in the borders between Colombia and Venezuela, in particular the massacre of San Fernando de Atapabo on May 8th 1913. Arturo Cova describes Ramiro Estévanez as a different but complementary character—while the poet is a passionate and dissatisfied character always seeking extreme experiences, Ramiro Estévanez is a plain individual, with an inferior and uninspiring life. It can also be argued that Arturo Cova describes his friend as a feminized figure.

> Erraría quien imaginara que mi lápiz se mueve con deseos de notoriedad, al correr presuroso en el papel, en seguimiento de las palabras para irlas clavando, sobre las líneas. No ambiciono otro fin que el de emocionar a Ramiro Estévanez con el breviario de mis

> aventuras, confesándole por escrito el curso de mis pasiones y defectos, a ver si aprende a apreciar en mí lo que en él regateó el destino, y logra estimularse para la acción, pues siempre ha sido provechosísima disciplina para el pusilánime hacer confrontaciones con el arriscado.
>
> Todo nos lo hemos dicho y ya no tenemos de qué conversar. Su vida de comerciante en Ciudad Bolívar, de minero en no sé qué afluente del Caroní, de curandero en San Fernando del Atabapo, carece de relieve y de fascinación; ni un episodio característico, ni un gesto personal, ni un hecho descollante sobre lo común. En cambio, yo sí puedo enseñarle mis huellas en el camino, porque si son efímeras, al menos no se confunden con las demás (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 346).

Arturo Cova begins to write his manuscript after confirming that Ramiro Estévanez has witnessed the crimes of Colonel Tomás Funes; and the narration of the massacre of San Fernando de Atapabo is included right after the aforementioned passage. It is evident that Arturo Cova is also competing with Ramiro Estévanez as narrator. Stylistically, Ramiro Estévanez's oral narrative account – immediately recorded by Arturo in his manuscript – is the most plain and unadorned fragment of the whole novel, lacking any figure of speech; nevertheless, this fragment is also the most closely resembling a reportage since it discloses relevant public information unknown to Colombian audiences (Neale-Silva, *Horizonte* 248-249, Bernucci 149-156). Even though Arturo Cova declares that he writes to entertain and advice Ramiro Estévanez (a peculiar version of *prodesse et delectare*), his manuscript actually seeks an equivalent documentary approach and political commitment for his reporting of Barrera and Cayeno's crimes[13].

In this chapter, I proposed that *La vorágine* is an experimental novel because it discusses

the nature and function of literary writing in the context of resource-based economy, the modernization of Latin-American States, and the introduction of symbolic production more suited to technological reproducibility—namely, photography and journalism. To this end, the novel incorporates metafictional devices such as paratexts signed by a fictional José Eustasio Rivera, photographs that depict the main characters, and several authorial figures that interact with each other by means of a process I have called collaborative competition. The questioning of literary writing in *La vorágine* is mainly articulated through the interaction between the poet Arturo Cova and the rubber worker Clemente Silva, who are narrators with different literary styles and politics of representation. In this regard, the novel combines Arturo's aestheticized poetics and *modernista* figures of speech with Clemente's documentary approach and political commitment. The importance of the sociological content and political interest in the novel is due to biographical experiences of José Eustasio Rivera. Between 1922 and 1923, Rivera set out on a journey to Orinoco and Amazon rainforests, in which he directly witnessed the human exploitation caused by rubber entrepreneurs and rediscovered a textual and iconographic tradition that had been reporting those crimes since the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence the author decided to incorporate this tradition in *La vorágine* by means of characters such as Clemente Silva and Ramiro Estévanez, who challenge Arturo Cova's literary writing with regard to his credentials to depict the social reality in the rainforest. Arturo faces those challenges modifying his literary style and performing the persona of a committed writer, whose writing is a symbolic production beyond the commodification process. While rubber entrepreneurs are only interested in economic profit, a writer such an Arturo is devoted to the interests of the Colombian State.

To conclude, as a complex and compelling literary piece, *La vorágine* doesn't provide a

final answer about the issues I have discussed in this chapter, but rather an intriguing exploration. For instance, there is one additional paratext that fictional José Eustasio Rivera includes at the beginning of this edition to Arturo's manuscript. This is a quotation of "la carta de Arturo Cova" and appears as epigraph of the whole narration:

> Los que un tiempo creyeron que mi inteligencia irradiaría extraordinariamente, cual una aureola de mi juventud; los que se olvidaron de mí apenas mi planta descendió al infortunio; los que al recordarme alguna vez piensen en mi fracaso y se pregunten por qué no fui lo que pude haber sido, sepan que el destino implacable me desarraigó de la prosperidad incipiente y me lanzó a las pampas, para que ambulara, vagabundo, como los vientos, y me extinguiera como ellos sin dejar más que ruido y desolación (Rivera *La vorágine* 1900 77)

Based on the information provided within Arturo Cova's narration, the only letter that he pens is the one sent to the Colombian Consul in Manaus, Brazil, in Part III of the novel. Arturo writes this letter accompanied by Ramiro Estévanez and uses a literary style "borbollante y apresurado como el agua de los torrentes" in order to effectively report the human exploitation in El Cayeno's rubber settlement. However, the fragment included by fictional Rivera as epigraph is focus on Arturo's personal experiences, feelings, and thoughts, rather than on political and socioeconomic issues that affect Colombian State. The fragment also includes long clauses and several figures of speech—that is to say, a literary style that resembles Part I of *La vorágine* and other text written by Rivera before the decisive years 1922-1924. What is the origin of this letter included as epigraph? If this fragment is from the letter sent to the Colombia Consul in Manaus, it seems plausible to suggest that the style of the whole letter includes a combination of the two literary styles employed by José Eustasio Rivera during his short and experimental literary

career. Arturo's letter to the Consul and manuscript freely combine *modernista* style with a more documentary approach.

CHAPTER III

A STORYTELLER AGAINST BUSINESSMEN: *MACUNAÍMA* (1928), BY MÁRIO DE ANDRADE

DE ANDRADE IN THE CONTEXT OF BRAZILIAN *MODERNISMO*

Due to his encyclopedic knowledge and proficiency in several languages, Mário de Andrade is mockingly but rightfully termed "o doutor". He made innovations in the genres of poetry and fictional narrative, and wrote pioneering essays about literature, ethnography, and musicology. The importance of his works is directly linked to his active participation in Brazilian *modernismo*, a cultural movement from the 1920s which sought to inquire into Brazilian national identity and engage its diverse cultural production in the current trends of international modernity (Avant-garde and High Modernism). Within the context of an export-oriented economy due to the growth of coffee plantations in São Paulo, Brazilian *modernismo* encouraged a rejection of traditional artistic rules (Parnassianism in poetry and Naturalism in narrative) in order to establish artistic principles more suited to the complexities of contemporary societies. For instance, in 1922, the same year of the now iconic *Semana de Arte Moderna* in São Paulo, Mário de Andrade published *Pauliceia Desvairada*, a book of poems that explicitly departs from Brazilian Parnassianism (a literary current akin to the last iterations of Spanish American *modernismo* as practiced by José Eustasio Rivera). As for his rejection of Naturalism, Mário de Andrade published in the same decade two novels that explicitly question realistic representational mode and deterministic perspective: the "idilio" *Amar, verbo intransitiv*o (1927) and the "rapsódia" *Macunaíma. O herói sem nenhum caráter.* (1928). De Andrade's labeling of these works as idylls and rhapsodies also implies a departure from dominant narrative trends since neither of them is a novel, but less prestigious forms.

Historical accounts of Brazilian *modernismo* have employed the complicated friendship between Mário de Andrade and Oswald de Andrade (the two leaders or more visible figures of the movement) as the key to understanding *modernismo*'s sociocultural status and agenda, as well as the contending trends within the movement[14]. According to Eduardo Jardim, during the first stage of Brazilian *modernismo* (1922-1924), the main goal was to incorporate European artistic languages and intellectual traditions in Brazil. In 1924, this idea would change after a decisive travel to Minas Gerais, which Mário de Andrade famously called "Viagem da descoberta do Brasil" ("Crônica de Malazarte"). Here begins according to Jardim the second stage of Brazilian *modernismo* (1924-1930), in which the emphasis lay on the research of Brazilian cultural diversity and the construction of a nationalistic discourse. Quoting Alexandre Eulálio, Telê Ancona Lopez provides further details: "[This Minas Gerais trip] significa, de fato, a aventura da descoberta de Oswald de Andrade e Tarsila do Amaral na pintura e na poesia pau-brasil, de Cendrars em Le Fromose e Mário de Andrade em Cla de Jabuti. Nesta sua primeira grande meditação sobre o Brasil, a viagem consolida no poeta a comunhão com a arte do povo, sublinhando-lhe a dignidade dela" (As Viagens e o Fotógrafo 109). The complexity of Brazilian history and culture appealed to the leading figures of Brazilian *modernismo* (especially after a groundbreaking trip to Minas Gerais in 1924), so they applied themselves to raising readers' awareness of their country's diversity.

That being said, Oswald de Andrade is regarded as a cosmopolitan writer since he was well-connected with European Avant-Garde artists (he traveled to Europe several times) and advocated for the creative adaptation of metropolitan artistic influences (as he stated in *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil*, 1924, and *Manifesto Antropófago*, 1928)[15]. On the other hand, Mário de Andrade was consistently suspicious of the noncritical celebration of cosmopolitanism.

In 1921, he already rejected the label Futurist, given to him by Oswald, because Mário recognized a broader range of artistic influences; and after the trip to Minas Gerais in 1924, he started researching the still marginalized cultural diversity of Brazil's hinterland—namely, he set out on two ethnographical travels, one to the Amazon basin in 1927, and the other to Brazilian Northeast between 1928-1929[16]. Meanwhile, Mário published his second novel *Macunaíma*, which is considered by many literary critics as the most compelling and insightful exploration of Brazilian national identity undertaken by a Brazilian *modernista* writer.

Macunaíma's nationalistic project shares aspects with that carried out by José Eustasio Rivera in *La vorágine*. This novel is clearly a *Künstlerroman* that discusses the nature and purpose of literary writing in the context of export-oriented economies and the consolidation of nation-states: after witnessing the destruction of rubber extraction, the poet Arturo Cova becomes a committed writer that employs the documentary approach of journalism and photography. *Macunaíma*, on the other hand, as I intend to show, incorporates features of the *Künstlerroman* genre to discuss the nature and function of literary writing within the context of Brazil's uneven and combined modernization process. More specifically, I am interested in how literary writing, as it is depicted in Mário de Andrade's novel, responds to the challenge imposed by the increasing urbanization of Brazil, industrialization, and the circulation of commodities—in particular, photographies. To that end, the main character Macunaíma, who is traditionally defined as a rascal and trickster, must be understood as an authorial figure[17]. Besides his lack of character and constant physical transformations, Macunaíma is defined by his fascination with language—he sings several ritual songs and poems, writes a letter mastering formal written Portuguese, and is obsessed with learning new words and expressions.

Macunaíma's authorial identity is constructed by means of competitive relationships with

several other characters. Significantly, these other characters introduce references to material production and media—such as machinery and photography—that constitute a challenge to more traditional literary writing forms within the context of Brazilian modernization process. Notwithstanding photography being only briefly mentioned in the novel, this medium is particularly relevant to effectively flesh out *Macunaíma*'s self-reflexive and metafictional dimensions. Mário de Andrade's artistic manifestos include several references to photography—for instance, in order to defined modern art, Mário de Andrade explains that artistic production doesn't seek to reproduce reality, as it does photography: "Só assim a arte não se resentirá da ridícula fraqueza da fotografia... colorida" (*Poesía completa* 26). A true artist is committed to the creation of reality rather than its mere reproduction; otherwise, poetry becomes a mere artifact unable to sustain emotional content and deep thought. With that in mind, "o poeta não fotografia, cria" (*Obra imatura* 247). Interestingly, Mário de Andrade actually practiced photography as an amateur during his ethnographic trips[18]. In this chapter, I propose that *Macunaíma* diminishes the importance of photographic representation (which is historically relevant to imperial and national-state projects in Brazil since the nineteenth century) in order to underscore musical expression and folk literature/oral storytelling as pivotal sources for Brazilian national identity in the context of an export-oriented economy.

Even though the main narrative sequence of *Macunaína* is straightforward (a quest to recuperate a precious object, the muiraquitã stone), the novel seems to follow a whimsical pattern in the inclusion of several narrative sequences and incidental characters. As an Avant-Garde and High Modernist novel, *Macuanaíma* explicitly questions the verisimilitude based on historical and psychological development: the narration blends different temporalities and spaces such as the mythical rainforest, settlements of Colonial Brazil, and the modern city of São Paulo.

Moreover, this blending is exacerbated by the carnivalesque tenor of the novel, which includes several parodies of prestigious discourses and satire of historical characters[19]. According to Ettore Finazzo-Agrò, what brings consistency to this array of disparate episodes in *Macunaíma* is the main character's lack of character, which makes him into an empty signifier that functions "as an instance of mediation between contradictory elements, to conjugate different qualities of the racial, social and cultural Brazilian universe" (qtd. in Rosenberg 87). On the contrary, I suggest that what brings consistency to the novel's indeterminacy is actually the narrator, who employs an ironic tone and a colloquial register in an experimental language—it includes Tupi-Guarani loans and argot of Afro-Brazilian origin. This narrator appears as a character in the last pages of the novel, when it is revealed that he has learned about Macunaíma's life story from a "papagaio verde de bico dourado" trained by the hero himself. Macunaíma's language skills offers the narrator a model of authorial figure: an oral storyteller attached to communal values. I propose that the narrator's identity, instead of being a mere reactionary move against modernity, implies a negotiation of the commodification process as it applies to the novelistic genre. While the book participates as a commodity in economic exchange, the experience of reading *Macunaíma* reestablishes communal values and acknowledges musical expression as the main source of Brazilian national identity. Nevertheless, as it was the case with Arturo Cova's narration in *La vorágine*, it is necessary to analyze the discourse and the self-fashioning of this anonymous narrator (who is clearly an alter-ego of Mário de Andrade).

A descendant of the Tapanhuma tribe, Macunaíma is called several times "herói da nosa gente" by the narrator. However, his behavior contradicts the expectations a heroic figure elicits in the reader: he is lazy, unreliable, and lascivious, lacking any control over his instincts or any attachment to communal values. In this regard, the story of Macunaíma diverges from the

archetypal hero's journey as described by Joseph Campbell[20], but also from the *Bildungsroman* or Coming of Age narratives employed by Andrade's Spanish American contemporaries (Ortiz Díaz 133). Macunaíma lives his first years in a Tapanhuma settlement with his mother and two older brothers, Jiguê and Maanapé, until the hero accidentally kills her—he hunts a pregnant deer that is revealed to be his mother, who has been turned into an animal in a magical land. After her burial, Macunaína and his brother leave their homeland and start traveling through the rainforest. They eventually meet "Ci, Mãe do Mato," and Macunaínma rapes her (with the help of his brothers) in order to become the "Imperador do Mato Virgen," a title that he will hold until his last days. When the infant son of Macunaíma and Ci dies from poisoning, the "Mãe do Mato" transforms herself into a star in the Centaurus constellation and gives to Macunaíma the muiraquitã stone as a memento. The hero eventually loses the precious stone while he is running away from another mythical entity that is allegedly trying to devour him. Thanks to a talking bird, Macunaíma learns that the muiraquitã has been acquired by Venceslau Pietro Pietra (who is both the cannibal giant Piaimã and a Peruvian-Italian businessman living in São Paulo); hence, the hero and his brothers travel to the modern city in order to recover the precious stone.

This trip to São Paulo largely unsettles Macunaíma, who has to deal with different aspects of modern life (from brand new machines to unfamiliar rules of socialization and language use). In addition, in his first attempt to recover the muiraquitã, Venceslau Pietro Pietra kills the hero, but he is immediately resurrected by Maanapé's magical powers. During this time, Macunaíma also makes a trip to Rio de Janeiro, where he participates in a Macumba (in which the hero requests the punishment of the businessman) and becomes fiancé of the daughters of Vei, the goddess Sun (but the compromise is broken due to Macunaíma's infidelity) After a second failed attempt to recover the muiraquitã, the hero finally succeeds in defeating Venceslau

Pietro Pietra. Carrying his precious stone and some manufactured object from São Paulo as ornaments, Macunaíma and his brothers returns to the rainforest to reestablish his authority as "Imperador do Mato Virgen," but his expectations are dashed once again when he finds his original land devastated. Shortly after, a leprous shadow devours his brothers, leaving Macunaíma completely alone for the first time. Given that the hero is now very vulnerable, the goddess Vei takes revenge from her daughters' dishonor and deceives Macunaíma to jump into a pond full of piranhas (he thinks there is woman inviting him to swim together). As a consequence, the piranhas eat several of his body parts and he loses the muiraquitã definitely. Following the same path as his late wife Ci and other characters, Macunaíma transforms himself into to the Big Bear constellation. The novel concludes with an Epilogue in which the narrator reveals that, even though the Tapanhuma tribe has completely disappeared, a parrot trained by Macunaíma in his last days has preserved his tribe story in their indigenous language.

Macunaíma's principal artistic device is the collage of different sources from Brazilian archives: the novel extensively employs folkloric and ethnographic research (Mário de Andrade learned about the main character in *Vom Roraima zum Orinoco*, 1917, by Theodor Koch-Grünberg), as well as colonial chronicles, travel narratives, and contemporaneous Brazilian text (such as Rui Barbosa's and Mário Barreto's work). In order to circumnavigate such an encyclopedic amount of information, literary critics discusses how *Macunáima* is inserted in the binary nationalism/cosmopolitanism that defines the major trends within Brazilian *modernismo*. As Fernando G. Rosenberg explains, critical appraisals of this novel fluctuate "between optimistic, anthropophagic interpretations and pessimistic, eulogistic, melancholic interpretations along the symbol-allegory axis" (85). On one hand, *Macunáima* is a symbol of Brazilian national identity that incorporates popular and non-modern genres—folktales and epic—as pivotal

structural components. On the other hand, the novel is a satire of contemporaneous Brazilian society and intellectual community (including the project of Oswald de Andrade's *Antropofagia*)—that is to say, the novel unravels a straightforward articulation of Brazilian national identity[21]. Mário de Andrade also discussed the terms of this ambiguous reception in the two unpublished prologues for the novel and in private letters to friends: "Se principio matutando um pouco mais sôbre o livro que escrevi sem nenhuma intenção, me rindo apenas das alusões à psicologia do brasileiro que botava nêle, principia surgindo tanto problema tratado, tanta crítica feita dentro dêle que, tanto simbolismo até, que nem sei parece uma sátira tremenda. E não é não" (Lopez Ma*cunaíma. A Margen e o Texto*, 96-97). Mário de Andrade would make other references to *Macunaíma* as a disinterested work, without any practical purpose beyond pure aesthetical pleasure. Interestingly, these authorial opinions echo the final fate of the character Macunaíma, who, after losing the muiraquitã, decides to transform himself into a useless star.

A way out from these conflicting readings is also suggested by Mário de Andrade in the second unpublished prologue: "Não quero que imaginem que pretendi fazer deste livro uma expressão de cultura nacional brasileira. Deus me livre. É agora, depois dele feito que me parece descobrir nele um sintoma de cultura nossa. Lenda, história, tradição, psicologia, ciência, objetividade nacional, cooperação acomodada de elementos estrangeiros passam aí. Por isso que malicio nele o fenômeno complexo que o torna sintomático" (Lopez Ma*cunáima. A Margen e o Texto*, 91). Leaving aside the psychoanalytic resonances implied in the term "symptom," this last approach to the novel has the advantage of highlighting the dynamic relationship between its different components (traditional and modern, national and cosmopolitan, mythical and socio-economical, etc.), which don't compose a fixed array of symbols or satirical figures. In fact, recent critical literature follows this approach, focusing on symptoms, omissions, and

contradictions in order to establish that "the novel problematizes the projects of modernity as always reproducing colonial power structures, to which the idea of cultural adaptation is destined to remain subordinate" (Rosenberg 92). Within the broader schema of *Macunaíma*'s insightful questioning of Brazilian modernization projects, I focus on the construction of authorial figures by means of competitive relationships and references to other material production and media. That is to say, my perspective sheds light on to some obscure passages about painting and photography, which are integrated in a broader questioning of literary writing and its search of modernization.

After Macunaíma recovers the muiraquitã stone and leaves São Paulo, he has two brief encounters while escaping from Oibê, who allegedly wants to eat him (although this chase is just a prank). The encounters introduce two authorial figures in strict succession: first, the painter Mencoça Mar, who has rejected the mundane world to become "frei Francisco da Soledade," and the researcher Hercules Florence, who claims to have invented photography in 1927. Fernando Rosenberg proposes that both characters, who "have no place in the present, but they are nevertheless stuck somewhere in Brazilian territory" (100), establish the limits of *Macunaíma*'s nationalistic discourse and degeographization technique, as well as the broader projects of *antropofagia* and transculturation: "Macunaíma's flight crosses path with characters from both colonial and ethnographic sources. [...] In both cases, the hero fails to mediate because he is in such a hurry that he just passes by, not able to listen or perhaps even to make sense of their untimely speech for long". (101) Following Rosenberg, since neither Mendoça Mar nor Hercules Florence are integrated in a broader structure, they are indices of the colonial legacy still reproduced in further modernization projects. On the contrary, I propose that the novel actually makes sense of their intervention: the painter Mendoça Mar and the inventor Hercules Florence

are integrated in a broader structure, which is Macunaíma's construction as an authorial figure. In order to properly understand this novel as a version of *Künstlerroman*, in the following sections I analyze the competitive relationships between Macunaíma and other characters such as his brother Jiguê, the businessman Venceslau Pietro Pietra, the last remaining parrot of Macunaíma's flock, and the anonymous narrator.

JIGUÊ: SEX AND FOOD

The narrative development of Macunaíma as an authorial figure begins with this competitive relationship with his brother Jiguê. Significantly, this first instance of competition lacks any reference to artistic production—writing, painting, or photography—but it establishes an important connection with sexual reproduction. Throughout the novel, they compete for sexual partners, but Jiguê never becomes a father and Macunaíma doesn't have any offspring who survives him. Moreover, the hero tries to demonstrate that he is better than Jiguê in gathering food for the party in the jungle. The first outcomes of this sibbling competition are mostly favorable for Macunaíma: he is recognized as a witty and cunning person, while his brother Jiguê is called "bobo" several times. However, the last section of the novel introduces a significant change in the dynamic between the brothers: Jiguê defeats Macunaíma both in gathering food and seducing partners, an outcome that would lead to the conclusion of the novel.

Macunaíma's identity as an authorial figure is intertwined to his disordered sexual behavior: the hero is willing to have sexual intercourse with every female character he runs into, but virtually all of these intercourses lack a reproductive outcome. With the exception of his relationship with "Ci, Mae do Mato," Macunaíma never becomes a biological father. In addition, it is striking that Macunaíma constantly longs for Ci after her transformation into star, but

completely forgets his dead son. This is the only time he has reproductive sex, but the dead offspring is obliterated from his memory and narration. On the other hand, Macunaíma's disordered sexuality is an exacerbation of a stereotype ascribed to Indians and Brazilian popular subjects by the dominant class from the wealthy south (the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo). Significantly, the novel emphasizes this stereotype in order to argue with another Indigenous cliché that is deemed to be even more pervasive: the *bon savage* from Romantic novels such as *Iracema* (1865) by José de Alencar. Nineteenth century Brazilian Romanticism constructed an Indigenous hero that remains pure, not contaminated by the vices of urban life, and in intimate contact with nature. According to Luis Madueira, the frenzied and non-reproductive sexual activity of Macunaíma is "in contrast to the foundational romance between Amerindian mother figures and Lusitanian patriarchs." For instance, after the loss of Ci (his only reproductive partner), the hero "will simultaneously yearn and substitute [her] with an endless succession of 'daughters of manioc,' or white women" (103).

In contrast to Macunaíma's unruly sexuality, his brother Jiguê is more grounded and establishes a more traditional bond with his partners—they live together, divide up the tasks, and are expected to be monogamous. Throughout the narration, Jiguê introduces four partners: Sofará, Iriqui, Suzy, and a *princesa*. Interestingly, as it is the case with Macunaíma, none of Jiguê's relationships produce offspring because he makes them use contraceptives: "[Jiguê] fez ela [Suzie] engulir três bagos de chumbos pra não ter filho e os dois dormiram na rede" (121) Nevertheless, it is significant that, the only time Jiguê faces problems finding a partner, it is matter of life or death for the family descendants. When Ci's breast is poisoned by a spider, Jiguê fails in seducing the Icamiabas and getting another breast to feed Macunaíma's on. The hungry baby finally drinks Ci's poisoned milk and dies. Both Macunaíma and Jiguê are

unsuccessful in becoming fathers and protecting the biological descendants of the Tapanhuma's tribe, so Macunaíma's family is condemned to be infertile and ends with their generation.

In addition, the sibling rivalry about sexual partners appears intertwined with the competition about gathering food. In order to seduce Sofará, Jiguê's first partner, Macunaíma passes through a radical physical transformation—from an Indigenous child to a charming prince: "ele botou corpo num átimo e ficou um príncipe lindo. Andaram por lá muito" (10). The hero requires an adult body to match his older brother Jiguê, who is a fully-grown man. Moreover, right after the sexual intercourse, Macunaíma successfully hunts an animal to the delight of everybody—except Jiguê, who is in charge of hunting but doesn't capture any prey that day. Overall, the fact that Sofará accepts a subsequent love request from Macunaíma is proof that the hero has defeated his brother. In the case of the seduction of Iriqui, Jiguê's second partner, a grown-up Macunaíma repeats the pattern observed with Sofará: the seduction of Iriqui happens while Jiguê is absent because of hunting. Interestingly, this time he accepts his defeat and breaks up with Iriqui because of the amount of food that Macunaíma just collected: "Jiguê viu que a maloca estava cheia de alimentos, tinha pacova tinha milho tinha macaxeira [...]. Jiguê conferiu que não pagava a pena brigar com o mano e deixou a linda Iriqui pra ele. Deu um suspiro catou os carrapatos e dormiu folgado na rede" (19-20).

After a gap of several episodes (in which the party travel to São Paulo and Macunaíma gets obsessed with machines and white women), Jiguê introduces his third partner, Suzi, who significantly is white and blond: "possuía uns cabelos ruivos à la garçonne" (193). In fact, whiteness in skin color is another instance of competition for Macunaíma and Jiguê: on their way to São Paulo, they encounter a pond with magical water created by Sumé's foot mark. Macunaíma washes himself in first place, loses his Indigenous black skin color, and becomes

white; in contrast, Jiguê dives into the pond in second place and only turns brown, which is really frustrating for him (on the other hand, Maanapé only washes his palms and keeps his black skin unchanged). Besides the history of colonization and racism in Brazil, the brothers' hierarchy of skin colors reproduces a power relationship that already existed in the novel: the whims of Macunaíma's white skin subordinates the darker skin tones of his brothers. In this regard, the fact that Jiguê is able to seduce Suzi, a white and blond woman, could be considered a vindication for his part—that is, nevertheless, successfully challenged by Macunaíma.

In addition, while the white women from São Paulo introduce new protocols of courtship (basically, economic exchange since some of them are prostitute), the seduction of Suzi reintroduces the connection between sex and food. Macunaíma's seduction of Suzi is described as if she goes to the market to buy "macaxeira" and, in response, he offers her "langosta". To prevent this cheating from happening, Jiguê locks Suzi in a room and starts going to the market himself, but Macunaíma deceives him into exploring a distant fruit plantation so that the cheating would continue. When the affair is discovered once again, Suzi is expelled and transforms herself into a star, while Jiguê and Maanape recognize that Macunaíma is a person "sem nenhum caráter". Besides the novel's subtitle, this is the only time Macunaíma's lack of character is clearly stated throughout the narrative. Jiguê and Maanape consistently act as tutors of their younger brother Macunaíma, but this is the first time the older brothers recognize his actual limitations and faults.

The last partner of Jiguê, a princess, introduces a decisive change in the dynamic among Macunaíma and Jiguê, which leads to the dissolution of the whole group right before the end of the novel. After the defeat of Venceslau Pietro Pietra, Macunaíma reencounters Iriqui in his way back to his homeland. The couple rejoins sexual activity without any visible opposition from

Jiguê, but the affair suddenly ends when Macunaíma transforms a carambola tree into a princess. Macunaíma seduces her and completely ignores Iriqui, who becomes very sad and decides to transform herself into a star. Interestingly, Jiguê intervenes in Iriqui's favor and begs Macunaíma to return to her. Even though the narrator depicts him as naive ("Jiguê era muito bobo" [145]), this action could be considered an act of solidarity that would return to him in the following episode, when the princess passionately defends Jiguê.

On the other hand, the sibling competition about who is the major food provider reappears in a different light when the party discover their homeland devastated. Within the context of severe resource shortage, Jiguê triumphantly collects the long-awaited resources thanks to some magical objects he steals (a fishing net and a violin). At this point in the narration, even though Macunaíma just defeated his greatest foe (the giant Piaimã, Venceslau Pietro Pietra), the hero is now defeated in what was his first form of competition—foraging. As a response, Macunaíma steals the magical objects from Jiguê, but accidentally destroys them. An enraged Jiguê completely refuses to gather food and starvation is imminent for the whole party, so Macunaíma punishes his brother: he gets leprosy from a cobra bite and his whole body is wasted by the disease. Suddenly, the princess takes Jiguê's side and seeks revenge since they just became partners: "A princesa teve ódio. É que ela andava ultimamente brincando con Jiguê" (152). Even though Jiguê never returns to his original human form, he completely defeats Macunaíma for the first time, both in gathering resources and in seducing partners. The final consequence of this inversion is the final isolation of Macunaíma: Jiguê's leprous body eats the princess and Maanape, and after chasing Macunaína without success, becomes the second head of "Pai do Urubu"

Furthermore, since the leprous shadow composed the dance bumba-meu-boi, it could be argued that Macunaíma is also defeated in a third level: language creativity. In order to escape from the shadow, Macunaíma deceives him by making him chase an ox. The interaction between the shadow, the ox, and the bystanders would eventually lead to the creation of bumba-meu-boi, which Mário de Andrade recognized as one of the most important pieces of popular Brazilian music and truly representative of its cultural diversity. Even though Macunaíma is indirectly responsible of the composition of bumba-meu-boi, this is actually the merit of the leprous shadow. Nevertheless, this last episode surpasses the established competition between Macunaíma and Jiguê since the shadow just ate Maanape (who as "feiticeiro" also has a strong language proficiency) and the princess before creating the popular dance.

Macunaíma's life ends soon after Jiguê turns the tables and defeats him, but in the meantime, he performs an unseen role in the whole novel. He becomes a teacher and a mentor for a parrot, who learns to recite Macunaíma's life stories and even tempers its emotions thanks to the hero's advice: "Quando a Papaceia que é a estrela Vésper aparecia falando pras coisas irem dormir, o papagaio zangava por causa da história parando no meio. Uma feita ele insultou a estrela Papaceia. Então Macunaíma contou: 'Não insulta ela não, araí!'" (159) This is unprecedented for Macunaíma's characterization throughout the novel: an individual dominated by the drives of pleasure and self-satisfaction, lacking any repression or moral constriction. Nevertheless, in this new context, labels such as "safadinho" and "sem nenhum caráter" seem to be inappropriate for him The fact that Macunaíma fails in and rejects the role of father (he doesn't have descendants), but succeeds in communicating his knowledge and legacy by oral-storytelling, has a pivotal importance for Macunaíma's identity as authorial figure. In order to

better understand the significance of language for the hero's identity, it's necessary to analyze his interaction and competition with Venceslau Pietro Pietra in the newer context of urban life.

VENCESLAU PIETRO PIETRA: MACHINES AND LANGUAGE

While the competition between Macunaíma and Jiguê implies reproductive activities such as sexual intercourse and gathering resources for the party in the jungle, the competition with Venceslau Pietro Pietra in São Paulo city leads to productive activities, such as language creativity and persuasion. In addition, before arriving to the city, Macunaíma is able to defeat most of the enemies he encounters—namely, Curripira and biuína Capei—even if this happens in a very goofy way. On the contrary, the hero faces overwhelming challenges in São Paulo and he even dies twice: first, when Venceslau Pietro Pietra shoots him with a blowgun, and second, when a monkey lures him into destroying his own testicles. The depreciation of Macunaíma's skills is also expressed with his traditional money, very useful in the jungle, but of scarce value in the city: "vinte mil cacaus" are equivalent to "oitenta contos de réis" (39). In addition, although São Paulo is deeply connected with Venceslau Pietro Pietra, the city is mentioned for the first time when Macunaíma's son is born. The hero has great expectations towards him: "Meu filho, cresce depressa pra você ir pra São Paulo ganhar muito dinheiro" (26). The narrator points out Macunaíma's greed from the beginning of the novel, but this quotation also points out the belief of São Paulo as a land of opportunities due to economic development. On that note, some of the most precious birth presents for Macunaíma's son also comes from this city: "Mandaram buscar pra ele em São Paulo os famosos sapatinhos de lã tricotados por dona Ana Francisca de Almeida Leite Morais" (26). It is interesting that the biggest challenge for Macunaíma so far (the modern city with machines) is introduced by means of his late son's.

Right after this episode the hero loses his biological descendant, but he also travels to São Paulo to test his language proficiency and authorial status.

Before his arrival to São Paulo, Macunaíma has only been acquainted with the socio-cultural reality of the Amazon rainforest, and his initial perception of the unknown urban reality is made through Indigenous and mythical categories:

> Os manos entraram num cerrado cheio de inajás ouricuris ubussus bacabas mucajás miritis tucumãs trazendo no curuatá uma penachada de fumo em vez de palmas e cocos. Todas as estrelas tinham descido do céu branco de tão molhado de garoa e banzavam pela cidade. Macunaíma lembrou de procurar Ci. Eh! Dessa ele nunca poderia esquecer não, porque a rede feiticeira que ela armara pros brinquedos, for tecida com os própios cabelos dela e isso torna a tecedeira inesquecível. (39)

The hero confuses urban items such as buildings, automobiles, and street lighting with the familiar landscape of the rainforest: either trees with plenty of fruits or stars. Macunaíma's unsettled perspective provokes an undeniable estrangement effect in the reader; nevertheless, this specific passage, instead of presenting the inaccuracy of Macunaíma's vision of urban areas, points out that a mythical and Indigenous perspective is in fact able to express the dynamism and multiplicity that characterized modernity. The passage begins with a long enumeration of different trees using Indigenous or pseudo-Indigenous names, in which the absence of commas establishes a different prosody based on the musicality of the trees' names. The speed implied in the first sentence is increased in the following one, where Macunaíma assumes that, after a storm, the stars left the sky in order to rest in the soil. The analogy between stars and street lighting is a commonplace, but the accelerated pace of the narration brings out this movement (from nature to machines) less as a degradation than as an expression of the dynamism of

modernity.

The above-mentioned passage includes an additional and significant movement: the street-lighting provokes Macunaíma to remember his deceased wife Ci, whose muiraquitã stone he tries to recover in São Paulo—that is to say, a movement from modern technological devices to human bodies, from machines to sexuality. Interestingly, instead of expressing melancholy in front of the street-lighting, the hero is delighted by his memories of sexual intercourse with Ci. From now on, machines and sex appear intertwined: after being challenged by the novelty of machines, Macunaíma tries to subdue them by means of sexual intercourse. Luis Madueira explains this "fetishization of technology" as a "figural revenge of the wilderness against a civilizational order that converts nature into 'a fecund, slumbering woman,' to borrow one of Mário's own metaphors" (99). Having said that, Macunaíma is also following a behavioral pattern that he uses when facing a compelling challenge: he rapes Ci and tries to seduce Venceslau Pietro Pietra with a French woman disguise. Nevertheless, sexual intercourse with the machines is prohibited, as a group of Paulista prostitutes state:

> [Macunaíma] resolveu ir brincar com a Máquina pra ser também imperador dos filhos da mandioca. Mas as três cunhãs deram muitas risadas e falaram que isso de deuses era gorda mentira antiga, que não tenham deus não e que com a máquina ninguém não brinca porque ela mata. A máquina não era deus não, nem possuía os distintivos femininos de que o herói gostava tanto. Era feita pelos homens. (40-41)

Macunaíma is unable to seduce and subdue machines (as he successfully did with Ci) due to their lack of female genitalia. On the contrary, machines are a threat and can kill Macunaíma—what does this reference to death by machine mean? As was mentioned before, Macunaíma dies twice during his stay in São Paulo, even though not a single one of these deaths implies the direct

intervention of machinery. Otherwise, death by machinery could also be understood as a consequence of the de-sacralization process already mentioned in the same quotation. Since there is no god in machines, they cause a death that is devoid of only transcendental meaning. It is noteworthy that Venceslau Pietro Pietra is the only principal character who, after dying, doesn't transform himself into a star. According to Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, the giant doesn't reintegrate into the cosmos as a star due to his capitalistic soul (135). This also happens due to Venceslau Pietro Pietra's bonding with machines, I would add.

In order to solve the mystery of machines, Macunaíma completely devotes himself to such a task and even forgets about food and sex—his objects of contest with Jiguê. Unsurprisingly, Macunaíma is about to discover a new form of competition, which has decisive consequences for his constitution as an authorial figure: "De toda essa embrulhada o pensamento dele sacou bem clarinha uma luz: Os homens é que eram máquinas e as máquinas é que eram homens" (41). Although the narrator is poking funt at Macunaíma's naïveté, the hero is actually expressing the violence, alienation, and uncertainty implied in the modernization process, which erases the difference between humans and machines, nature and artifice, sexuality and technology. The hero also describes this interaction as a "briga," that is, as a hand-to-hand combat, which curiously ends in a tie: "Os filhos da mandioca não ganham da máquina nem ela ganha deles nesta luta. Há empate" (41). This draw also echoes the merging of human beings, nature, and machines. On the other hand, besides the specific content of Macunaíma's statements, I point out that this his first time for him to give a speech: "Não concluiu mais nada porque inda não estava acostumado com discursos." Unable to have sex with the machines, Macunaíma employs language to provide a creative explanation. In the following episodes, the hero becomes public speaker, learns foreign languages, introduces new argot, and writes a letter

mastering formal Portuguese, among other achievements. What is important to highlight is that Macunaíma develops his language skills in São Paulo, a newer environment where his physical strength and mythical powers are useless against his major foe, Venceslau Pietro Pietra.

Based in São Paulo, Venceslau Pietro Pietra is the head of a typical bourgeois family: a wife, "a velha Ceiuci," and two daughters. Interestingly, while the relationship between Macunaíma and Jiguê is defined by a sex drive (the hero seduces all his brother's partners), the relationship between Macunaíma and Venceslau Pietro Pietra strongly differs from this pattern. In order to defeat the giant and recover the muiraquitã stone, the hero unsuccessfully employs physical strength and magic tricks, but he never attempts to seduce the old Ceiuci, the giant's wife—as he does constantly with Jiguê. It is true that Macunaíma seduces the giant's younger daughter, but this happens in the context of escaping from the giant's house after being captured. Because of the increasing importance of language for Macunaíma, the old Ceiuci even becomes an enemy at the same level than Venceslau Pietro Pietra, not an object of competitive desire. In fact, from the very beginning, language plays a significant role in the interactions between Macunaíma and Venceslau Pietro Pietra. In their first encounter, the giant discovers the hero after the latter imitates the sound of a bird. Language reappears when Macunaína dresses as a French woman in order to deceive Venceslau Pietro Pietra. In their meeting, the giant explains that he is not a "regatão" (trader), but a collector: he has a very luxurious house, full of exotic and sumptuous objects such as precious stones. Venceslau Pietro Pietra, a member of the upper-class bourgeoisie, is an eager collector of luxurious objects—a fact that links him with Decadentism and Parnassianism aesthetics. On the other hand, after listening to the businessman, Macunaíma decides that he will also be a collector, but one of dirty words, "palavras-feias de que gostava tanto" (54). The shining and elegant stones of Venceslau Pietro Pietra have their

counterparts in the obscene and grotesque words of Macunaíma. On that note, Macunaíma is clearly connected with Brazilian *modernismo* and Avant-Garde aesthetics.

Language proficiency is decisive skill for Macunaíma in order to defeat Venceslau Pietro Pietra, but the acquisition of this skill is also presented with nuances of irony. In Rio de Janeiro, when Macunaíma closes the agreement of marrying Vei's daughters, the hero suddenly becomes a poet and the narrator explicitly celebrates this outcome: "Macunaíma gozou do nosso gozo, ah!..." (68). The agreement states that, in order to get married, the hero can't have sexual intercourse with any other women. Following his pattern of antiheroic behavior, Macunaíma makes the promise but immediately fails in controlling his instincts. Interestingly, while trying to deal with his unbridled sexuality, Macunaíma expresses his first political statement and reference to Brazilian national state: "Pouca saúde e muita saúva, os males do Brasil são" (69). This statement becomes one of his most recognizable refrains and is repeated several times throughout the narration. In addition, the failure of Macunaíma echoes the Portuguese colonization of Brazil: the hero has sex with a Portuguese street vendor.

Neocolonialism is a dimension that reappears in the famous chapter "Carta pras Icamiabas". It is interesting that, regarding Macunaíma's language skills, the moment of his major alienation is also the moment of his major language proficiency—he masters formal Portuguese and creatively employs all its rhetorical strategies and cultural references. According to this letter, São Paulo is defined by a series of linguistic phenomena: diglossia between colloquial and formal Portuguese ("o brasileiro falado e o português escrito" [87]), bilingualism and multilingualism of several people (mostly sexual workers called "francesas" [78]), and ignorance about Indigenous languages. Moreover, the description of language phenomenon in São Paulo is linked to the idiosyncrasy of the people, who are defined by a combative mood:

"são os paulistas gente ardida e avalentoada, e muito afeita ás agruras da guerra. Vivem em combates singulares e coletivos, todos armados da cabeça aos pés; assim assaz numerosos são os distúrbios por cá" (81). In other words, São Paulo's society is characterized by the permanent conflict among its people, who also employ language as a pivotal tool. Paulista battles are physical and verbal. This characteristic is evident in the episode of the tapir's footprints in the stock market: it is centered in a bewildering battle, but it is also punctuated by speech acts: a student giving a speech against Macunaíma's brothers, the intervention of police officers speaking a foreign language, and Macunaíma's retreat when a landlord is about to give another speech.

Although the narrator's presentation of Sao Paulo begins with a strong association with machines and Venceslau Pietro Pietra, the city progressively becomes a space for public speech and debate. The increasing importance of language is even more evident in the first edition of the novel, which includes a fragment in "Carta pra Icamiabas" that was eliminated in the definitive edition (1937):

> Também temos feito muitos discursos de improviso, como é da usança cá, em ágapes, sodalícios e reuniões familiares. No Brazil todos são oradores natos, e falam sempre de improviso, pronunciando com facilidade graciosa de dicção e rara eloquéncia, o aluvião de palavras que lhes brotam, enternecedoras dos lábios. Pois esse costume também nos demos agora, e já ha quem nos compare a Silveira Martins que ainda não conhecemos, e ao grande morto, o doutor Rui Barbosa. E não por inútil tomaríeis tal habilidade, si souberdes que ela assás nos ha facilitado a futura posse da muiraquitã. (85)

This quotation explicitly mentions the importance of public speech in São Paulo and the defeat of Venceslau Pietro Pietra due to Macunaíma's language skills. Mário de Andrade probably

eliminated this fragment because it contradicts the main purpose of the letter to Icamiabas—since the hero is asking for money to defeat the giant and recover the muiraquitã, he shouldn't announce the success of his project.

In "Pauí-Pódole," the chapter following "Carta pra Icamiabas," Macunaíma successfully participates in a debate and offers a definitive proof of his newly acquired skills. The chapter begins establishing that, since Macunaíma is not able to recover the muiraquitã, he spends his time mastering the diglosia of São Paulo. During the holiday "Dia da Flor," Macunaíma introduces a colloquial expression, "puíto," which becomes extremely successful among paulistas and is even the subject of philological research (89). The whole episode has a humorous tone: while strolling in the streets, Macunaíma runs into a street vendor and finds himself ashamed for not knowing the name of a buttonhole ("botoeira" in colloquial Brazilian Portuguese, and "orifício" in formal written Portuguese); he overcomes the embarrassment by using the word "puíto," which is actually the obscene expression for the rectum. Nevertheless, the comic approach doesn't dismiss the authority of Macunaíma and his language proficiency. This comic approach reappears in a subsequent episode, when Macunaíma and the "curumi" Chuvisco competes about who can scare the giant the most. While the hero fails by shouting dirty words to him, Chuvisco wins the bid by making rain and effectively scaring the giant. Interestingly, Macunaíma's vulgarities includes several creative words that Venceslau Pietro Pietra wants to save for his daughters: "O gigante mandou guardar as bocagens novas pras filhas brincarem" (101). Interestingly, this failure also implies that the giant would become a word collector (in addition to a stone collector) and could challenge Macunaíma in the linguistic field.

At the end, Macunaíma is finally able to defeat Venceslau Pietro Pietra thanks to his improved language skills: the hero deceives the giant using persuasive language. Venceslau

Pietro Pietra wants Macunaíma to climb to a swing above a hot pot—when the swing rocks heavily, the hero would fall into the pot and be cooked. However, Macunaíma convinces the giant to go first, so he falls off the swing and dies. The whole scene doesn't look very impressive (it is ludicrous, as are most episodes in which Macunaíma defeats an enemy), but the giant's overthrow is arguably the result of the hero's improvement in language proficiency. In addition, it could be argued that the writing of this episode is sloppy since the target of Macunaíma's language skills is not the victory over the giant, but the hero's developing as an authorial figure throughout the whole narrative. Overall, by the time of Venceslau Pietro Pietra's defeat, the authorial figure of Macunaíma is completely outlined so that he can face the challenges of other authors and other media.

PAINTING AND PHOTOGRAPHY

After the defeat of Venceslau Pietro Pietra and the recovery of the muiraquitã stone, Macunaíma experiences a significant improvement while crossing the forest in his way back to his homeland. He is exultant and fulfilled, easily subdues mythical creatures (Pondê and Mapinguari), and holds manufactured products from São Paulo as ornaments: "do revólver e do relógio Macunaíma fizera os brincos das orelhas" (136). And most importantly, he plays a little violin and sings several pieces, in a gamut ranging from patriotic songs and playful-nonsensical lyrics similar to Dadaist poetry. In this new context, when the artistic creativity of Macunaíma is clearly defined, the hero meets a painter and a photographer. Significantly, in contrast to Jiguê and Venceslau Pietro Pietra, these two new characters are clearly authorial figures. It is true that, at the time of Macunaíma's encounter with these characters, the hero is running from Oibê, a mythical creature who is trying to eat him. Due to the hero's predicament, his interactions with

the painter and the photographer are very brief and don't seem to play a role in the narrative development of the episode. However, both encounters—although brief and baffling—have significant resonances in the future development of Macunaíma's authorial figure.

The following quotation described the first encounter—Macunaíma meets a hermitage who reveals to be a former painter—:

> Na frente havia uma lapa grande furada com um altarzinho dentro. Na boca da socava un frade. Macunaíma perguntou pro frade:
>
> —Como se chama o nome de você?
>
> O frade pôs no héroi uns olhos frios e secundou com pachorra:
>
> —Eu sou Mendoça Mar pintor. Desgostoso da injustiça dos homens faz três sêculos que afastei-me deles metendo a cara no sertão. Descobri esta gruta ergui com minhas mão este altar do Bom Jesus da Lapa e vivo aqui perdoando gente mudado em frei Francisco da Soledade.
>
> —Está bom, Macunaíma falou. E partiu na chispada. (143)

This character is based on Francisco Mendoça Mar (1657-1722), a Portuguese painter and metalsmith who, after being defrauded and unjustly imprisoned, became the Padre Francisco da Soledade and lives the rest of his life in solitude. Interestingly, Mendoça Mar's whereabouts and the fact that he blames "the injustice of the world" parallel the failure of Macunaíma's project to become a painter in São Paulo. After discarding the possibility of applying to government travel grants to Europe, Macunaíma obsessively thinks in similar terms about the "injustiça dos homens," "injustiça do Governo," and "injustiça do chupinzão."

In contrast to the gravity of Mendoça Mar's case, Macunaíma project of becoming a painter is presented with plenty of irony. The needs to travel to Europe in order to follow

Venceslau Pietro Pietra (who travels with his family in order to recover of the Macumba's effect on him). After considering their options, Maanape suggest that Macunaíma could apply for a government grant for pianists—the hero accepts, but instead of posing as a pianist, he pretends to be a painter since "é mais bonito" (112). In order to perform the painter persona, Macunaíma wears the stereotypical outfits and affects the mannerisms of an European artist: "Foi buscar a máquina óculos de tartaruga um gramofoninho meias de golfe luvas e ficou parecido com pintor. No outro dia pra esperar a nomeação matou o tempo fazendo pinturas. Assim: agarrou num romance de Eça de Queiroz e foi na Cantareira passear" (112)[22]. Unfortunately, the project to travel to Europe fails: Maanape and Jiguê inform Macunaíma that the odds of winning a governmental grant are almost zero: "O Governo estava com mil vezes mil pintores já encaminhados pra mandar pensão da Europa e Macunaíma ser nomeado era mas só no dia de São Nunca" (114). Moreover, the party runs out of money since a street-vendor swindles Macunaíma while he is strolling with his painter outfit. Ironically, besides being unable to get funded as a painter, the hero also loses all of his money because his painter's persona makes him an easy target.

The profession of painter effectively holds prestige, but the proliferations of painters and their subordination to governmental patronage expresses their lack of actual creativity and relevance. Macunaíma expresses this negative view in a new version of his refrain about Brazilian faults: "Pouca saúde e muitos pintores os males de Brasil são" (115). Mendoça Mar seems to share Macunaíma's frustration, but the Portuguese painter explicitly rejects the materiality of the mundane world while embracing spiritual values. In addition, it is suggested that Mendoça Mar, now converted in frey Francisco da Soledade, has stopped painting and is entirely devoted to his spiritual duties. On the contrary, Macunaíma is experiencing his moment

of highest creativity and, although he also faces moments of vulnerability, he doesn't stop producing artistic works. Nevertheless, it could also be argued that Mendoça Mar's isolation anticipates the final solitude of Macunaíma itself, when he is only devoted to train the parrot.

Right after the encounter with Mendoça Mar, Macunaíma meets another authorial figure—an inventor and photographer. The following quotation describes this second encounter:

> Mas o terreno era cheiro de socavas e logo adiate estava outro desconhecido fazendo um gestão tão bobo que Macunaíma parou sarapantado. Era Hércules Florence. Botara um vidro na boca duma furna mirim, tapava e destapava o vidro com uma folha de taioba. Macunaíma perguntou:
>
> —Ara, ara ara! Mas você não me dirá o quê está fazendo aí, siô!
>
> O desconhecido virou pra ele e com os olhos relumeando de alegria falou:
>
> —Gardez cette date: 1927! Je viens d'inventer la photographie!
>
> Macunaíma deu uma grande gargalhada.
>
> —Chi! Isso já inventaram que anos, siô!
>
> Então Hércules Florence caiu estourado sobre a folha de taioba e principiou anotando com música uma memória científica sobre o canto dos passarinhos. Estava maluco. Macunaíma chispou. (143)

Hercules Florence appears as a caricature of both the moder explorer of uncharted territories and the inventor of technological devices. the passage alludes to the so-called Age of Discovery, when explorers and colonial officials demanded recognition as the first person to ever set foot in a given land. In addition, Hercules also expresses a common anxiety from the part of scientists and inventors since the so-called Age of Invention in Western Civilization: the urgency to establish themselves as original creators of a given artifact, so that they could profit from it. In

this sense, the episode mocks the novelty of photography as an index of European modernity. In fact, at the time (1927) photography was a technology that had been completely and creatively incorporated to Brazilian culture.

The last part of the quotation introduces an element that must be discussed: after his claim of being the inventor of photography is debunked, Hercules Florence starts researching the birds' 'vocalization' and singing. In contrast to his bogus originality, Hercules Florence's shift from photography to musical expression is not a mere object of satire, but it is actually intertwined with the novel's construction of authorial figures in dispute. Besides its tongue-in-cheek critique to the race for technological innovation, *Macunaíma* has critical perspective toward photography that pays attention to the politics of representation of this medium in the history of Brazil. Following Boris Kossoy (61), Mário de Andrade's novel is concerned with a "História da Fotografía" (the protocols for representation) rather than a "História através da Fotografia" (a documentary approach, which is the perspective of *La voragine* towards photography).

By means of the satirical representation of Hercules Florence, Mário de Andrade's project in *Macunaíma* is to depart from the hegemonic representation of national identity established by Pedro II during *O Segundo Império* (1840-1889)[23]. According to Natalia Brizuela, photography was a central tool in an Imperial political project that seeks to cartography the territory—significantly, the Amazon rainforest—and to classify the people: "A fotografia aparece não como tecnologia importada a ser usada pela corte e pelos moradores da cidade, mas como método de reprodução concebido no interior do Brasil" (18). While the imperial project seeks to catalogue Brazilian landscapes and population through photographic images—which leads to the exoticization and commodification of the subjects—, Mário de Andrade attempts to

delve into Brazilian popular culture through its musical expressions. This shift from photographic images to musical expression is key in understanding Macunaíma's authorial persona and the anonymous narrator.

In addition, since the nineteenth century, photography has been an important tool for the construction of the bourgeois subjectivity (Brizuela 20). The other two references to photography in *Macunaíma* follow this perspective: the hero uses portraits as a way to construct his identity within the urban context. The first reference appears in Rio de Janeiro, when Macunaíma fails in keeping his promise of fidelity to Vei, the goddess Sun, in order to marry her daughters. Even though Vei gets extremely disappointed, she gives the hero a "pedra Vató" as a memento. Then Macunaíma trades that precious stone with a "retrato no jornal" (71). This action would be considered another betrayal since the hero trades a precious mythical object with a commodity incorporated in Brazil the previous century. In this sense, it is noteworthy that this incident is followed by "Carta pras Icamiabas," when Macunaíma appears in his more alienated iteration, using formal Portuguese.

The second explicit reference to photography happens when Macunaíma dies in São Paulo for the second time. A lawyer discovers Macunaíma's body being devoured by ants and inside his wallet only remains her "cartão de visita" (117). The lawyer delivers the body's remains to Macunaíma's residence, where he is resurrected by Maanape. The *carte-de-visite* is a small photographic portrait that had a significant commercial success during the second half of the nineteenth century; according to Boris Kossoy, it was introduced in Brazilian cities such as Rio de Janeiro by foreign photographers (as it was the case in all Latin America) and a very successful product due to the prestige of European fashion and technology. Since the *carte-de-visite* was an index of social status, it inevitably led to a standardization of the photographs

(161). No description is given about Macunaíma's *carte-de-visite*, but it could be assumed that his portrait would follow the expected format and features. It is curious, however, that the "cartão de visita" is the only item that the ants leave behind, as it was not worth eating.

Both references to photography happen in moments of major vulnerability for Macunaíma: the "retrato no jornal" appears when the hero betrays Vei's daughter and loses the opportunity to reign over the tropical zone, while the "cartão de visita" appears after the hero is starving, runs out of money, and loses the opportunity to travel to Europe. In contrast to the weakness of photography, the references to musical expression in the novel are more detailed, deliver an intense emotional charge, and are inserted in ritual practices—namely, the macumba and bumba-meu-boi. In his essays about ethnography and musicology, Mário de Andrade always emphasized the communal and social aspects of musical expression, which he considered the art form best suited to express Brazilian nationality. Music provides an encompassing and insightful experience: the individual, the community, and the cosmos are integrated into a whole, as it happens when the hero ends his narration about "Pauí-Pódole." On that note, *Macunaíma* consistently portrays music as the most compelling art form and the most effective medium to construct Brazilian national identity. Nevertheless, the novel also presents a musical reference that departs from this trend—it involves Carlos Gomes (1836-1896), a nineteenth century Brazilian musician of African ancestry and resounding success among European audiences.

The reference to the musician Carlos Gomes is used to illustrate—once again—Macunaíma's antiheroic character, his inconsistencies and lack of character. When the hero visits the Anhangabaú park in São Paulo, where the statue to Carlos Gomes is situated, the "Mãe d'agua" deceives him into boarding an ocean liner shipping to Europe. Although Macunaíma said he would not travel to preserve their national integrity, now he passionately announces his

trip to Europe ("Gente! adeus, gente! Vou pra Europa que é milhor! Vou em busca de Venceslau Pietro Pietra que é o gigante Piaimã comedor de gente!" [120]). The narrator indicates the mastery of this composer ("fora um músico muito célebre e agora era uma estrelinha no céu," 119), but the whole episode delivers a critical perspective of Carlos Gomes' artistic trajectory and musical project. In the same way as Macunaíma is about to travel to Europe, Carlos Gomes effectively traveled to Italy to study in the Milan Conservatory thanks to the sponsorship of Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. In Italy, he composed his most famous opera, *O Guaraní*, based on the eponymous novel by José de Alencar.

According to Mário de Andrade, Carlos Gomes' reliance on European artistic genres and aesthetics—Romanticism—represents a gap in the development of a more vigorous Brazilian musical tradition, which should be rooted in popular creativity. The limitations of Carlos Gomes' music are expressed in a work such as *O Guaraní*, which presents a national theme (the love story of the Goitacá indian Peri and the Portuguese settler Cecília), but employs music genres and motifs of European origin (which exoticizes the Indigenous as the *bon savage*)[24]. Macunaíma's travel to Europe would imply a similar transformation or domestication (his conversion from trickster and rascal to *bon savage*). Nevertheless, the hero doesn't need to make a transoceanic trip to experience a similar transformation: this actually happens within Brazilian borders, specifically São Paulo city, as it is expressed in "Cartas pra Icamiabas". Significantly, this domestication affects Macunaíma's Indigenous identity, but also improves his proficiency and strengthens this authorial persona.

On the other hand, even though Macunaíma never travels to Europe, this trip is carried out by the parrot flock that accompanied the hero in his way back to the Amazon rainforest: "Todos os papagaios foram comer milho na terra dos ingleses. Porém viraram periquitos porque

assim, comiam e os periquitos levavam a fama" (158). In addition, the trip to Europe is also accomplished by the parrot he traines during his last years: "Abriu asa rumo de Lisboa" (168). However, there are significant differences between the parrot flocks and the last parrot that Macunaíma trains: while the first ones abandon the disgraced Emperador and change their name to parakeet, the last parrot only travels when its mission—to preserve the hero's life story—is fully accomplished, so that the preservation of the Indigenous language and culture is guaranteed.

THE PARROT AND THE ANONYMOUS NARRATOR

During the last chapters of the novel, Macunaína assumes a more passive role, laying in a hammock and narrating his adventures to the only parrot that stays with him (the rest of the birds of his Imperial flock have left in direction to Europe). Macunaíma and this single parrot build a parent-child relationship, which establishes a striking contrast with the oblivion of Macunaíma's dead son during the novel. The parrot successfully memorizes the hero's life story and, as it is revealed in the Epilogue, communicates it to the narrator of the novel. It is significant that, although Macunaíma obsessively interact with machines during his stay in São Paulo, the hero doesn't employ any technological device from the modern city to record his narration. The fact that a parrot, instead of a machine, has registered the materials in which the novel is based creates an ironic effect. However, this comical dimension coexists with a tone of melancholy. The Epilogue presents the ruins of Macunaíma's world: the human settlements are torn down and the ecology is devastated.

> A tribo se acabara, a família virara sombras, a maloca ruíra minada pelas saúvas e Macunaíma subira pro céu, porém ficara o aruaí do séquito daqueles tempos de dantes em

> que o herói fora o grande Macunaíma imperador. E só o papagaio no silêncio do Uraricoera preservara do esquecimento os casos e a fala desaparecida. Só o papagaio conservava no silêncio as frases e feitos do herói.
>
> Tudo ele contou pro homem e depois abriu asa rumo de Lisboa. E o homem sou eu, minha gente, e eu fiquei pra vos contar a história. Por isso que vim aqui. Me acocorei em riba destas folhas, catei meus carrapatos, ponteei na violinha e em toques rasgado botei a boca no mundo cantando na fala impura as frases e os casos de Macunaíma, herói da nossa gente.
>
> Tem mais não. (168)

Although Macunaíma's life story and the Indigenous language of his tribe have been miraculously preserved thanks to the parrot, the consciousness of this precarious and endangered preservation is pointed out by the repetition of the word "silêncio," which implies that the possibility of complete disappearance is still alive. However, in contrast to the surrounding silence, the novel concludes with an affirmative act of communication and the confidence that the preserved message would be effectively transmitted to its addressees. Besides the features of an oral storyteller (colloquial language and didactic tone), the narrator depicts himself singing with a musical instrument in the same rainforest where Macunaíma once lived.

Significantly, the narrator—who is an storyteller and heir to a mythical creature—is speaking to an audience constituted by all the members of the Brazilian nation-state, "nossa gente." In contrast to *La vorágine*, whose final addressee is a "ministro" or another high-level functionary of Colombian government, *Macunaíma* constructs a popular subject as its ideal reader, one that is able to manage the radical experimentation of the novel by means of an empathy with its mythical and humoristic dimensions. In order to understand the construction of

this ideal reader, it is important to highlight that the narrator's very last words, "Tem mais não," are a direct quotation of Macunaíma's last words in three narrations he made throughout the second part of the novel. Since these narrations takes place after his training in language proficiency in São Paulo, they are expression of the hero's newly artistic skills and authorial status.

The first time Macunaíma uses the expression "Tem mais não" happens in a public park during the "Dia do Cruzeiro" holiday, when Macunaíma encounters a mulatto giving a speech about a constellation that the hero held in high regard. The mulatto describes it using formal language and prestigious cultural references: "cuatro estrelas rutilantes como lágrimas ardentes, no dizer do sublime poeta, são o sacrossanto e tradicional Cruzeiro" (90). Suddenly, Macunaíma expresses his disagreement about the constellation name given by the mulatto and takes the stage to offer his own version: the four stars in the "Cruzeiro" constellation are actually the mythical entity "Pai do Mutum," who decided to leave earth in order to stop worrying about ant plagues. In addition to Indigenous references, Macunaíma employs colloquial language and familiar tone in sharply contrast to the mulatto. Significantly, the hero's narration has a more powerful effect not only on the audience, but on the whole nature surrounding the city. This is one of the most jubilant episodes in the whole novel:

> Então se ergueu do povaréu um murmurejo longo de felicidade fazendo relumear ainda mais as gentes, os pais-dos-pássaros os pais-dos peixes os pais-dos-insetos os pais-das-árvores, todos esses conhecidos que param no campo do céu. E era imenso o contentamento daquela paulistanada mandando olhos de assombro pras gentes, pra todos esses pais dos vivos brilhando morando no céu. É todos esses assombros de-primeiro

> foram gente depois foram os assombros misteriosos que fizeram nascer todos os seres vivos. É agora são as estrelinhas do céu. (92-93)

This passage employs the same staccato and dynamic pace founded in Macunaíma's first impression of São Paulo, but the sense is the complete opposite: the hero is now triumphant.

The second time Macunaíma uses the expression "Tem mais não" is to finish a mythical explanation about the origin of the automobile. This narration is important because it could be considered an answer to Macunaíma's questioning on machines when he just arrived in São Paulo. According to the hero, the automobile is not a machine, but Palauá, an "onça" (jaguar) that disguises itself to avoid a voracious tiger. Because of the complexity of the trickery, this animal acquires all the features of an automobile: "De medo a onça nunca mais que largou de tudo o que tinha ajudado ela a fugir. Anda sempre com roda nos pés, motor na barriga, purgante de ólio na garganta, água nas fuças, gasolina no osso-de-Pai-João, os dois vagalumões na boca e o capote de folha de banana-figo cobrindo, ai ai! prontinha pra chispar" (131) That is to say, the narration presents modern machines as the descendants of a mythical entity in disguise. On the other hand, this passage echoes and amplifies the Macunaíma's perception in his first arrival to São Paulo, when he mistakes buildings and street lighting for trees and starts lying in the ground. However, while Macunaíma's first perception of the city is judged as inaccurate by the prostitutes, his narration of the origin of the automobile is celebrated by the couple: "Chorava comocão pela boca dos moços" (132). Since Venceslau Pietro Pietra is heavily linked to machines in São Paulo, Macunaíma's celebrated explanation of the origin of machines is a good anticipation of the further defeat of the giant.

The audience of this second narration (just a chauffer and a maid, both servants of Venceslau Pietro Pietra) is significantly smaller than the previous one in "Dia do Cruxeiro"

holiday, but there is a class dimension that should be discussed. The couple who enjoy Macunaíma's story are two working class subjects, while Venceslau Pietro Pietra is clearly part of Paulista bourgeoisie. This class distinction is also implied when the giant eats the chauffeur before coming after Macunaíma. In this sense, the fact that Macunaíma is supported by two popular subjects for the first time (this never happens in the previous episodes) is another anticipation of Venceslau Pietro Pietra's defeat. That's why the whole episode is another moment of plenitude for Macunaíma and it should be linked with his developing as an authorial figure who builds an emotional connection with popular subjects. The narrator of the novel—heir to Macunaíma—would replicate this bonding when he addresses the Brazilian national community in the Epilogue.

The third and final time Macunaíma uses the expression "Tem mais não" is to end a bed time story to the parrot he trains during his last days. This parrot shows surprising learning skills: she learns Macunaíma's Indigenous language, memorizes his life story, and gets advice about how to interact with mythical entities. As a gifted student, the parrot even employs Macunaíma's refrain to warm her own mentor:

> —Macunaíma! ô Macunaíma! [—the parrot said.]
>
> —Deixa a gente dormir, aruaí… [—Macunaíma replied.]
>
> —Acorda, herói! É de-dia!
>
> —Ah… que preguiça!...
>
> —Pouca saúde e muita saúva,
>
> Os males do Brasil são!... (159)

This quotation presents side by side the most important phrases articulated by Macunaíma throughout the novel: "Ah… que preguiça!..." and "Pouca saúde e muita saúva, os males do

Brasil são!" Luis Madueira explains that both refrains are parodying contemporaneous intellectual projects seeking the modernization of rural Brazil—namely, Monteiro Lobato's short story collection *Urupês*, published a decade before (101). According to Lobato's, in order to introduce the mechanization of agriculture, it is first necessary to improve the peasants' healthy conditions. On that note, while the first refrain in *Macunaíma* ("I feel so lazy!") allegedly describes the backward idiosyncrasy of Brazilians peasants, the second refrain ("Too little health and too many ants are the evils of Brazil") parodies Lobato's solution to their degradation in order to move toward modern agriculture. However, besides the parody of this specific modernizing project, it is significant that "though juxtaposed throughout this rhapsodic text like theme and counterpoint, the two refrains (technology and the primitive) never coalesce into a single melody. They remain incommensurable, as if signified in different idioms" (Madueira 102). For this critic, the incommensurability of both refrains expresses the contradictions and limitations of the modernizing projects (including the one Mário de Andrade is critically articulating in *Macunaíma*).

It is true that both refrains never fuse their elements into a hybrid form, but the abovementioned quotation (the conversation between Macunaíma and the parrot) presents a scene in which both refrains actually appear in a dialectic relationship. In this case, the student/child is proving her outstanding progress by means of warning her own instructor/parent. In the case of Mário de Andrade's novel, the result of this dialectical movement is the third refrain, "Tem mais não," which Macunaíma employs to end a bed-time story for the parrot. The refrain is explicitly addressing the construction of Macunaíma as an authorial figure; that is to say, it is the proof of the hero's skill as narrator: to evoke a sense of community in their audience, to bond with popular subjects, and to creatively interact with nature. This is the reason

why the narrator repeats "Tem mais não" in the Epilogue, but omits references to "Ah… que preguiça!..." and "Pouca saúde e muita saúva, os males do Brasil são!" "Tem mais não" clearly expresses the authorial identity of Macunaíma that the narrator is looking to reproducing in himself.

THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY IN *MACUNAÍMA*

In this chapter, I have proposed that *Macunaíma* discusses the relationship between traditional literary forms (storytelling and the literary novel) and other material and symbolic production in the context of an export-oriented economy. Macunaíma, the main character, who represents mythical and premodern tradition, is also an authorial figure that interacts by means of competition with other characters. These other characters, for their part, introduce material and symbolic production such as machinery and photography that, within the context of Brazilian modernizing process, challenge more traditional literary forms. Finally, the anonymous narrator (who resembles Mário de Andrade's intellectual persona) is heir to Macunaíma's authorial figure: he recuperates and revitalizes media such as oral storytelling and mythical imagination in the context of modernization and urbanization of Brazil.

In contrast to *La vorágine* by José Eustasio Rivera, *Macunaíma* is not considered part of the Regionalist novel since Mário de Andrade's work displays an Avant-garde poetics that characterize Brasilian *modernismo*—namely, rejection of verisimilitude of the represented world based on socio-economic relationships. Despite these differences in poetics and modes of representation, both *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* deal with the process of modernization in Latin America—in particular, the commodification of literary writing in the context of resource-based economies and the introduction of newer technologies that challenge the literary novel. In the

case of *La vorágine*, the analysis of Jose Eustasio Rivera's novel requires the comparison with contemporaneous journalistic and photographic production on the Amazon rubber boom at the turn of the twentieth century. I propose that *La vorágine* articulates a new kind of literary authorship, in which traditional poet Arturo Cova embraces the documentary approach and political commitment associated with journalism and photography. In the case of *Macunaíma*, Mário de Andrade proposes an authorial figure who resembles oral storytellers and folk musicians, and articulates a sense of community for Brazil. I propose that the importance of musical expression in *Macunaíma* must be understood as a rejection of the centrality of photography in Brazilian cultural history, where this medium was actively employed to chart the territory and create a sense of community under an Imperial gaze.

Finally, while the Colombian state structure play a central role in *La vorágine*, the case is quite different in *Macunaíma*—namely, Rio the Janeiro, the capital and political center of Brazil, is presented as a religious center, where African religious traditions have a pivotal role. No mention of political institutions or economic activities is made during the stay of Macunaíma in Rio de Janeiro. Nevertheless, the primacy of Rio de Janeiro as a center of power (not political, but religious and mythical) is revealed in the episodes that introduce the ritual of macumba and the character Vei, the goddess Sun (who takes a bloody revenge against the hero and is finally responsible of his demise). Regarding the macumba ritual, as Macunaíma realizes he lacks of the necessary strength to defeat Venceslau Pietro Pietra, he decides to travel to Rio de Janeiro (then the capital of Brazil) in order to gain power by means of a ritual of African Brazilian religion—a macumba in which the demon Exu is invoked. Macumba's ritual (in which participates the whole collectivity of Rio de Janeiro) is the one described paying attention to details and in a very respectful way, notwithstanding the general humorous tone—it is said that the ritual created a

"silêncio sagrado" (60) that suddenly becomes a "silêncio fatigado" (63). In addition, this episode projects a sense of factuality ("Todo se acabo fazendo vida real," [64], is exactly what the narrator says), when it is revealed that several historical characters also participate in the Macumba: Raul Bopp, Manuel Bandeira, and the Swiss Blaise Cendrars, artists affiliated to *modernismo* and friends of Mário de Andrade. Fernando Rosenberg offers a critical perspective about this episode, pointing out the limits of the modernization project assumed by the *modernista* group:

> They are not named until the chapter reaches its end, surely to emphasize that the modernistas have blended in, that they are completely at ease being part of the syncretic world. But less promising is the fact that the modernista and Macunaíma fail to recognize each other. Yes, there are different temporalities, and modernismo celebrates them as an asset. But the macumba that for the modernistas was a party, was for Macunaíma the protagonist a matter of life or death (99)

A similar critique could be directed toward one of my main arguments in this chapter: the anonymous narrator is a symbolic heir of Macunaíma's authorial figure, but neither of them converge in the same temporality nor interact with each other besides the parrot mediation. There is definitely a gap between the mythical entity and the Brazilian *modernista* artist, which could explain the elegiac tone of several parts of the narration. In addition, it is significant that the novel is written in Portuguese (a very experimental Brazilian Portuguese, but still recognized as such) and not in the Indigenous language that, supposedly, Macunaíma employs to train the parrot, and then the parrot employs to communicate with the anonymous narrator. It could be argued that, in the context of 1920s Brazilian cultural scene, a literary work completely written in an Indigenous language would find restrictions for its dissemination—not to mention if "o

doutor" Mário de Andrade, a non-native speaker of Indigenous languages, would consider this a feasible project[25]. How to combine the different temporalities and how to effectively incorporate Indigenous language is exactly what José María Arguedas (1911-1969) had in mind during his whole literary career—namely, while writing *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971), which is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

NON-PROFESSIONAL WRITERS AND RITUAL PERFORMANCES. *EL ZORRO DE ARRIBA Y EL ZORRO DE ABAJO* (1971), BY JOSÉ MARÍA ARGUEDAS.

FORTY YEARS LATER

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the growth of an export-oriented economy and increasing urbanization led to the appearance of early manifestations of mass culture in several regions of Latin America. The literary novel, which was dominated by Realistic and Naturalist poetics, bore witness to this process by means of an increasing professionalization. The emergence of a larger number of readers and the development of communication technologies accompanied the appearance of bestsellers such as *La vorágine* (1924), a realistic novel by Colombian José Eustasio Rivera, and avant-garde experiments such as *Macunaíma* (1928), a novel by Brazilian Mário de Andrade that explicitly departs from a realistic mode of representation. In this specific historical juncture, the literary work of these authors articulated a nationalistic discourse in which the construction of a modern writer is a pivotal element. Both *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* depict authorial figures who, even though beset by socio-cultural transformations, are able to successfully incorporate features from other media such as photography and oral storytelling. In other words, both novels reestablish the authority of the literary author (self-fashioned either as a journalist or as an oral storyteller) and position the novels as the most prestigious cultural form.

The first two chapters of my dissertation ("Becoming a committed writer: *La vorágine* (1924), by José Eustasio Rivera" and "A storyteller against businessmen: *Macunaíma* (1928), by Mário de Andrade") analyze the construction of authorial male figures—the poet Arturo Cova in *La vorágine* and the eponymous trickster in *Macunaíma*—who function as alter-egos of their

respective flesh and blood literary writers. In addition, both Arturo Cova and Macunaíma participate in collaborative and competitive relationships with other characters in order to fashion their authorial identities. In *La vorágine*, Arturo Cova becomes a committed writer by means of his interaction with pathfinder Clement Silva, who introduces references to journalism and photography that have denounced the crimes of the Amazon rubber boom. In *Macunaíma*, the authorial identity of the eponymous main character is constructed through the interplay with his brother Jiguê and the businessman Venceslau Pietro Pietra in São Paulo, where the hero interacts with machines (in particular, photography) and develops his language skills to become an storyteller. Accordingly, the first two chapters of my dissertation focus on novels with a poetological dimension (discussion of the nature and function of literary writing) intertwined with metafiction and intermediality (which surface in the paratexts, such as the prologue and photographs in *La vorágine* and the epilogue in *Macunaíma*).

The following two chapters on my dissertation (“Non-professional writers and ritual performances in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971), by José María Arguedas” and “Authorial unease and character’s performativity in *A Hora da Estrela* (1977), by Clarice Lispector”) analyze two long works of narrative fiction (a novel and a novella, respectively) that are explicitly metafictional. Both *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and *A Hora da Estrela* openly reflect on the inner workings of their respective fictional narratives—a reflection that occupies a pivotal role in plot and character development. Accordingly, Arguedas’ and Lispector’s works showcase a multiplicity of authorial figures. On one hand, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* includes the flesh and blood writer Arguedas, who discusses in the “Diarios” the challenges of writing a novel about 1960s Chimbote, and several fictional characters who play music, perform street shows, or participates in rituals. On the other hand, *A Hora da Estrela*

introduces a male author, Rodrigo S. M., who is writing a story about Macabea, a copyist from Alagoas in 1970s Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore, while I identify in *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* a pattern of collaborative and competitive relationship between authorial figures, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and *A Hora da Estrela* present a more complex scenario. In both narrative fictions, authorial figures don't compete or collaborate with each other directly, but they establish a network that, by means of parallel developments and contrapositions, discusse the very status of authorship. Specifically, these narrative pieces, instead of reestablishing the authority of literary writing, call into question dominant models of authorship consolidated during the 1960s—the time of the Latin American Boom or *Nueva narrativa hispanoamericana*, a sociocultural phenomenon that also influenced Brazilian literature to a certain degree. For instance, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* questions the commodification of literary writing, while *A Hora da Estrela* deals with gendered power structures in literary authorship.

It is worth mentioning that, since forty years had passed between Rivera's novel (the 1920s) and Lispector's novella (the 1970s), the transformations in notions and practices of authorship must be placed in the broader context of Latin American cultural history. The following section discusses the economic and sociocultural changes in the Latin American region by the mid-twentieth century, a time of developmental policies, massive rural-urban migration, and the formation of literary markets. Within this historical frame, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* offers a scathing critique of what the diarist Arguedas describes as the "escritor professional," who is a specialist in literary techniques but not a rightful authorial figure. On the contrary, the diarist Arguedas constructs his persona as a non-professional writer on a truly authorial figure, who is attached to communal values, ritualizes the creative process, and forecloses commodification. Moreover, several characters from the fictional reconstruction of

1960s Chimbote—the Mulatto Loco Moncada, the Quechua speaker Esteban de la Cruz, the mythical human-fox Diego and his brother, and the American Maxwell—mirror Arguedas' authorial figure, emphasizing the performative and ritual aspects. Meanwhile, the professional writers' avatar or counterpart in 1960s Chimbote is Braschi, the pioneering entrepreneur of fish-meal industries and a sort of "father" of Chimbote's economic boom. In order to grasp Arguedas' reflection on the modernization of literary writing, I establish connections between *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and contemporaneous essays about the impact of urbanization and commodification on Andean folklore. I argue that the metafictional dimension in Arguedas' last novel is the result of a long-term meditation on folklore and craftwork, as it is evident in the articles "El arte popular religioso y la cultura mestiza" (1951), "Del retablo mágico al retablo mercantil" (1962), and "¿Qué es el folklore?" (1964). My central hypothesis is that, as a response to the commodification and spectacularization of literary writing during the 1960s Latin American Boom, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* constructs an authorial figure that, on one hand, repeals the hierarchy between art and folklore (the diarist Arguedas), and on the other hand, upholds communal and ritual values by means of the articulation of networks of lower-class migrants (Loco Moncada, Esteban de la Cruz, and Maxwell).

ARGUEDAS IN THE 1960s LATIN AMERICAN BOOM

By the mid-twentieth century, publishing as well as newer culture industries presented a more consolidated form and articulated a network along the whole Latin American region. As a response to the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, the region entered upon a new economic stage known as The Age of Development (1930-1978), which sought to foster strong internal markets by implementing politics of Import Substitution Industrialization. Populist and

nationalistic governments controlled Latin American countries such as Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, leading to infrastructure development, literacy campaigns, and the creation of Welfare states. After being a recurrent demand of intellectual and literary fields at the beginning of the twentieth century (the novels *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* are expression of this trend), the modernization of nation-states seemed to be finally achieved by these economic policies. However, two concurrent historical processes carried a significant weight on Latin American developmentalist projects, leading to the decline and fall of the Welfare states around the 1980s. First, after World War II, the region experienced a massive and unprecedented rural-urban migration that challenged those developmentalist projects—namely, urban planification was overwhelmed by the emergence of sprawling slums. Significantly, although the migrants found an unfamiliar and hostile environment, they actively participate in the growing urban economy. Second, the USA's economy and military hegemony in Latin America in the context of the Cold War was strong and oftentimes led to alliances with right-wing authoritarian regimes. In addition, the newer urban public (both upper-middle classes and lower-class rural-urban migrants) became more engaged to newer media such as radio and television, where mass culture from USA has been dominant to this day.

In the cultural field, these socio-economic transformations fueled the crisis of what Angel Rama called *La ciudad letrada*. Discussing the appearance of economic intermediaries to audiences and the professionalization of literary writing at the turn of the twentieth century, Rama explains that "pareció posible que los intelectuales actuaran directamente sobre el público (y este reactuara sobre ellos, imponiéndoles una escritura y especiales formas) sin que esa comunicación fuera orientada y condicionada desde el poder" (*La ciudad* 161). By 1960s, the "edad de piedra" and "edad de hierro" of professionalism (expressions coined by the Uruguayan,

Horacio Quiroga [1978-1937], to explain his own experience with literary markets[26]) had given rise to the Latin American Boom or *Nueva narrativa hispanoamericana* with world renowned authors such as the Mexican, Carlos Fuentes (1928-2012); the Argentinian, Julio Cortázar (1914-1984); the Colombian, Gabriel García Márquez (1927-2014); and the Peruvian, Mario Vargas Llosa (1936). All were full-time writers who actively participated in an international publishing network whose nodal points were in cities such as Buenos Aires, Argentina; Ciudad de México, México, and Barcelona, Spain. Moreover, the publishing industry was not limited to books, but included a broader range of related activities such as advertisement, book fairs, symposiums, etc. As Gerald Martin explain, literary writing fully became a professional activity, one that could provide income (most Boom writers became wealthy) as well as a socially recognized and highly regarded identity as literary writers. Moreover, international audiences had the expectation that novels would specificity of Latin American societies in a context in which the Cuban Revolution had brought world-wide attention to the region. (481)

According to Jean Franco, this is the time when literary authors, who used to swing between attachment to political power and marginality, became superstars of literary and cultural markets. This was a convoluted process since, following Franco, Boom writers enhanced the modern concept of authorship ("original creators" or "fathers" of works of art) to respond the challenges of mass culture and culture industries: "This concept of authorship, depending as it does on original creation and the power of the individual to support it, was confronted by a quite different technology in the mid-sixties—that of a mass culture instrumental in integrating masses of people into a consumer-oriented culture" ("Narrator" 150). The result was experimental fictional narratives that imported and customized European Avant-garde and High Modernism devices, mostly from the American, William Faulkner (1897-1962). On that note, Boom writers

reproduced the elitism and anti-capitalism of those artistic movements (Huyssen 53-55). Nevertheless, mass culture and culture industries almost immediately incorporated Boom writers into their dynamics, as it had previously happened with European Avant-garde and High Modernism (Huyssen 15). According to Jean Franco, during the 1960s "the effect of the spread of mass culture in Latin America was thus not only the attempt by the more entrenched avant-garde writers to produce the unconsumable text but also the confrontation of authors of the boom with the irresistible glamour of superstar and the predominance of image" ("Narrator" 167). The most famous example of these phenomena is *Cien años de soledad* (1967) by Gabriel Garcia Márquez, an immediate best-seller that turned its author into a celebrity. *Cien años de soledad* is regarded as a novel that, through the life of the Buendía's family and the town of Macondo, expresses the idiosyncrasy and history of Latin America. Furthermore, Mario Varga Llosa famously read this novel as a remarkable example of his own theory of the novel, which reelaborates the modern idea of authorship. Following Vargas Llosa, the novel expresses the writer's radical dissatisfaction towards reality: "Escribir novelas es un acto de rebelión contra la realidad, contra Dios, contra la creación de Dios que es la realidad. Es una tentativa de corrección, cambio o abolición de la realidad real, de su sustitución por la realidad ficticia que el novelista crea" (*García Márquez* 85).

Unsurprisingly, the Boom writers regarded themselves as the end point of a modernizing process that, beginning during the historical Avant Garde, had fulfilled its goals in the 1960s. They regarded themselves as the first generation of modern writers in a proper sense: their fictional narratives employ innovative formal devices, more suited to the sociocultural transformation in the region, that outstrip outdated Regionalism and *Indigenismo* poetics. Interestingly, according to Jean Franco, Boom writers such as Carlos Fuentes and Mario Vargas

Llosa borrowed lexicon from economic development to justify the modern stance of their literary projects: "[In 'Novela primitiva y novela de creación en América Latina', Mario Vargas Llosa] compara específicamente el estado primitivo de la novela con los estados desiguales del desarrollo de América Latina […]. Este vocabulario técnico y lo términos de la contabilidad (haber cultural y deber tecnológico) sugieren la estructura de una economía de la producción literaria" ("Modernización" 344). The same development perspective is followed by critics such as Emir Rodriguez Monegal (*El boom*) and Donald Shaw (*Nueva narrativa* 237-251), who stress the importation and original adaptation of literary techniques such as non-linear narration, multiple narrators, stream of consciousness, open discussion of the dimensions of sex and myth, etc. On the other hand, writers who do not follow the same set of technical devices and topics were regarded as old-fashioned writers, or as Carlos Fuentes famously commented, writers attached "a un provincianismo de fondo y a un primitivismo de forma" (*La nueva* 23). Most of the writers who were negatively judged by Fuentes published their novels before 1950s—namely, *La vorágine*, by José Eustasio Rivera, regarded as one of the major examples of Regionalism.

At the same time, the success of the Boom generation also had an invigorating effect on literary writers who, even though they began publishing in previous decades, became more prolific in the 1960s. This is the case of the Peruvian, José María Arguedas (1911-1969), who started publishing *Indigenista* fiction in the mid-1930s but published his most acclaimed works after a hiatus of almost two decades. Focusing on a national context, the economic and socio-cultural changes of Peruvian society during the mid-twentieth century explain to a certain degree the unfolding of Arguedas's literary writing. According to José Alberto Portugal, Arguedas produced his most significant work at a time in which, because of massive rural-urban migration

and increasing modernizing processes, there was "una crisis en las estructuras mentales o en el paradigma intelectual respecto a la comprensión y valoración del mundo andino" (*Las novelas* 73). In this particular context, Arguedas worked in several fields such as literature, folklore research, and ethnology; nevertheless, as Portugal demonstrates, Arguedas consistently gave priority to his literary writing, in particular the novel, because it allowed "un proceso de inmersión en el presente, un esfuerzo por darle forma a lo que de otro modo ya por su extrañeza o su novedad tendería a ser perdido o no atendido, sea que se trate de la particularidad de una *voz* o de un *encuentro* de voces. […] La novela se convertirá en la exploración del lenguaje social de su tiempo" (*Las novelas* 322). In novels such as *Yawar Fiesta* (first edition 1941, second edition 1958), *Todas las sangres* (1964), and *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, among others, Arguedas explores those revolutionary changes affecting Peruvian society and Andean cultures.

Deeply influenced by the thesis of the Peruvian, José Carlos Mariátegui (1894-1930), about *Indigenismo*, Arguedas's artistic and intellectual journey sought to vindicate Andean communities in the context of a Peruvian society characterized by white Creole hegemony and systemic marginalization of Indigenous populations. Since modernizing processes in the Andean region speeded up after World War II (later than in other regions such as the Southern Cone), Arguedas participated more consistently in a broader debate about the ways in which Andean communities were responding to industrialization, rural-urban migrations, and the introduction of modern technologies—namely, the influence of urban circuits of distribution on traditional Andean folklore. As an anthropologist, Arguedas studied how Andean population embraced modern technologies (such as concerts in urban settings and radiobroadcasting) to produce and distribute their cultural artifacts[27]. On the other hand, in his literary writing, Arguedas became interest in fictional narratives that explore the massive rural-urban migrations. Discussing two

literary essays published between 1960-1961, José Alberto Portugal explains:

> Este es el momento en que Arguedas se pregunta por el escritor para un nuevo mundo ("Un narrador para un nuevo mundo"). Este es el momento que anuncia la necesidad y la caracteriza la posibilidad de una novela que exprese e interprete la dinámica de su tiempo, una nueva épica ("Discusión de la narrativa peruana"), que desembocará en el esfuerzo por constituirse en esa figura autorial, y construir esa novela que la masa de migrantes está esperando: ser uno de ellos, el que escribe (*Las novelas* 319).

In order to depicted these sociocultural transformations in mid-twenty centiry, Arguedas employs experimental devices that incorporate "voces y consciencias que provienen del ámbito quechua-oral y quechua-literario [...] un complejo y heterogéneo rango de voces que le van dando densidad a su escritura, que van modelando su carácter palimpséstico" (Portugal, *Las novelas* 103). Because of this familiarity with Andean folklore and Quechua literature, literary critics consider that Arguedas' work since the 1950s exceeds his original adscription to *Indigenismo*—for instance, José Miguel Oviedo describe it as "una visión íntima, desde adentro, traspasada de lirismo y emoción, que no seguía precisamente los lineamientos ideológicos del modelo clásico" (*Historia* 78).

Focusing on a Latin American context, Arguedas' articulation with the Latin American Boom and professionalization of literary writing is a very singular case. Since the 1960s, the reception of Arguedas' work passed through several stages, which coincided with the critical attention to certain novels: first, the early identification with those modernizing trends (*Los ríos profundos*); second, the exclusion from the roster of modern literary writers due to the persistence of out-of-date literary techniques (*Todas las sangres*); and third, the current image of Arguedas as a writer who challenges the ideology of literature prevalent in the 1960s (*El zorro*

de arriba y el zorro de abajo). As José Alberto Portugal points out, the first critics and publicists of the *Nueva narrativa hispanoamericana* (Yurkievich, Loveluck, Vargas Llosa) recognized Arguedas as an exponent of the modernization of literary writing—namely, these critics acclaimed *Los ríos profundos* as a significant improvement upon *Indigenismo* and Regionalism poetics (*Las novelas* 121-123). Nevertheless, the subsequent novels of Arguedas, such as *Todas las sangres* (1964), were negatively received by the same literary critics, who regarded these novels as disappointing setbacks to those outdated and undeveloped poetics. The exclusion of Arguedas from the roster of Boom writers is definitely established by the scarcity of references about him in critical works such as *Into the Mainstream. Conversation with Latin-American Writers* (1967), by Luis Harss, and *La nueva novela hispanoamericana* (1969), by Carlos Fuentes (Portugal, *Las novelas* 124). Meanwhile, form the perspective of critics such as José Miguel Oviedo, the publication of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* is an effort to catch up with the "técnicas narrativas experimentales, amplias visions del sustrato mítico americano y vastos proyectos totalizadores" that the Boom writers had already mastered (*Historia* 85). However, given that Oviedo uses a very restrictive notion of "experimental," his assessment is highly questionable.

In this chapter, I propose that the modernity of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* doesn't rely on the creative reproduction of a set of literary techniques, but on a radical questioning of the image of authorship established by the 1960s Boom. In addition, this novel draws a parallel between the development of literary markets and the impact of urbanization/commodification on Andean folklore. This is the reason for the inclusion of flesh-and-blood José María Arguedas in the novel through the "Diarios," in which he explicitly challenges several Boom writers and discusses the writing process of his own novel. As Martin

Lienhard explains, the "Diarios" call into question the Boom's model of literary writer, which is characterized by a deep sense of professionalization, high interest on profit, and lack of attachment to ideas and values from oppressed communities (*Cultura andina* 61-72). I propose that this questioning of Boom's model of authorship is also expressed in the fictional narrative chapters, which narrate the strategies of several characters to successfully participate in the complex socio-economic reality of Chimbote, a coastal city experiencing explosive growth rates due to an economic boom in fishing industries. These characters (newcomers to the city, most of them Quechua speaking migrants from the highlands) deal with a new labor division that, in addition to reproducing exploitative relationships, offers opportunities to democratization. On the other hand, the logic of capital accumulation is embodied by Braschi, who is he pioneering entrepreneur of 1960s Chimbote economic boom and exerts a ubiquitous authority in the city. In addition to be a successful businessman, Braschi is also an echo of the Boom's model of authorship as it is stated in the "Diarios".

Following Lienhard, the novel's questioning of professionalization and labor division doesn't imply a rejection of technology but rather is an exploration of the transformative power of machines using Andean mythical categories—a theme that Lienhard thoroughly analyzed in the conversation between the manager Ángel Rincón Jaramillo and the human-fox Diego (*Cultura andina* 140-141), as well as in the recurrent presence of the pink smoke from the foundry, a modern version of a "huaca" (Andean sacred entity) (164-165). Moreover, discussing the role of the human-fox Diego's dancing, Martin Lienhard explains that the novel undertakes a carnivalization process and becomes "una suerte de plaza de pueblo andino en un día de fiesta, donde se funde lo sublime con lo grotesco y lo solemne con lo cómico" (*Cultura andina* 23). However, while Lienhard's approach stresses the cultural difference or particularity of Andean

communities, I focus on how the creative process of Diego—and other character influenced by Andean cultures—put into question dominant models of authorship.

The fictional narrative chapters of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* includes a broad range of authorial figures who, as Jon Beasley-Murray observes, are projections of the diarist: "[…] Both Stut [el Tarta] and Diego are figures for Arguedas himself in this book. But they are far from the only ones: there is also, for instance, the crazy, barefoot, black preacher Moncada, and his friend the former miner, Don Esteban" ("*Arguedasmachine*" 116). However, while Beasley-Murray highlights the relation of these fictional characters with the "machine" (a term that, based on Deleuze and Guattari's theory, the critic uses loosely), I analyze these characters as part of the novel's questioning of dominant models of authorship in 1960s Boom. The abovementioned characters (plus Antolín Crispín, Maxwell, and three female prostitutes: Paula Melchora, Orfa, and the one wearing a hat) are defined by their performative practices and their attachment to communal values. All of them perform either music (Antolín Crispín), dance (Diego), street shows (Loco Moncada), or rituals (Esteban de la Cruz), and they sometimes collaborate/compete with each other—specifically, the team prostitutes and the pair Loco Moncada/Esteban de la Cruz. By means of their performances, the abovementioned roster of characters disrupts the exploitation system set up by the businessman Braschi. Nevertheless, instead of analyzing the explicit collaboration among these performative characters and their direct confrontation with the businessman (as it is the case in *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma*), I discuss the network they establish by means of parallelisms, oppositions, and intersections that included the flesh-and-blood Arguedas in the "Diarios." The outcome of his general questioning of dominant authorial figures is a defense of communal values, which involve a balance between artistic freedom and commitment.

THE THREE DIMENSION OF *EL ZORRO DE ARRIBA Y EL ZORRO DE ABAJO*

A summary of *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* is not an easy task given its complexity (it includes an intricated array of characters, episodes, registers, and genres) and the diarist Arguedas' declaration, in the "¿Último Diario?," about its unfished form: "ha quedado inconclusa y un poco destroncada" (*El zorro* 246). In addition, Arguedas describes the novel as a "desigual y lisiado relato" (251) in a letter to his editor Gonzalo Losada included as part of the Epilogue,. Nevertheless, all of these divergent components are articulated by means of a specific geographical setting and historical conjuncture: the city and harbor of Chimbote, in the desert coast of Peru, which experienced a huge migration from the Andean hinterland due to the 1960s fishing boom. Dwelling on this chronotope, the novel articulated three dimensions—autobiography, fiction, and myth.

Recording the autobiographic dimension, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* is about a literary author (Arguedas himself) who is facing a severe writer's block driven by a long-term personal crisis and several suicide attempts; in order to keep on writing his new novel set in 1960s Chimbote, this literary author employs different strategies, but ends finishing the novel without concluding his original project and announcing his imminent suicide. This dimension of the novel is expressed in the "Diarios," an autobiographical text divided in four sections and intercalated with the fictional narrative section of the novel. Literary critics read the "Diarios" as part of an autobiographical sequence that traverse Arguedas' entire literary work; however, in contrast to a novel such as *Los ríos profundos*, they have a clear therapeutic purpose[28]. On that note, Arguedas explicitly discusses the daunting challenges imposed of writing *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo*—namely, he argues that he lacks the personal experience and

training to achieve it:

> Creo no conocer bien las ciudades y estoy escribiendo sobre una. Pero ¿qué ciudad? '¡Chimbote, Chimbote, Chimbote!' Parece que se me han acabado los temas que alimenta la infancia, cuando es tremenda y se extiende encarnizadamente hasta la vejez. Una infancia con milenios encima, milenios de historia de gente entremezclada hasta la acidez y la dinamita. Ahora se trata de otra cosa. […] Pero, ¿y todo lo que he pasado en las ciudades durante 30 años? (*El zorro* 81)

However, his personal commitment to such a demanding task is a more compelling force. The "Diarios" effectively explore the neurosis of José María Arguedas; that being said, Martín Lienhard advices against reading them as a mere psychiatric document: "Las normas que rigen los *Diarios* son normas de la escritura literaria que Arguedas maneja conscientemente cuando habla de 'trozos seleccionados' y excluye ciertos textos por no ser 'diarios'" (*Cultura andina* 34). In fact, the "Diario" are extensively devoted to elucidate Arguedas' authorial persona and to argue against the dominant model of authorship at the time—the successful Boom writers, who are specialists in narrative devices and have a cosmopolitan perspective. Accordingly, Arguedas recognizes himself as a literary writer, but he explicitly rejects the identity of a specialist that applies specific technical skills "para ganar plata" (*El zorro* 18). In contrast, the writing process implies the participation of the whole subjectivity of the author: "escribimos por amor, por goce y por necesidad, no por oficio. Eso de planear una novela pensando en que con su venta se ha de ganar honorarios, me parece cosa de gente muy metida en las especializaciones. Yo vivo para escribir, y creo que hay que vivir desincondicionalmente para interpretar el caos y el orden" (18). An author as Arguedas is not interested in the literary market, as it is supposedly the case of the Boom writers.

Regarding the second dimension, the narrative section in a fictional reconstruction of the impact of the fishing boom and rural-urban migration to Chimbote, a socio-economic phenomenon that Arguedas started researching by 1966 as professor in the Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina. He conducted an extensive ethnographic research, which includes recordng interviews with city dwellers who served as models for some fictional characters (e.g., Esteban de la Cruz and Hilario Caullama) and taking photographs of the locations[29]. In addition to being intercalated with the "Diarios," this fictional reconstruction of 1960s Chimbote is presented by the author Arguedas using different formats: chapters (from I to IV) and "hervores" (eleven smaller narrative sections). In both cases, the narration employs a scenic mode and is full of monologues and soliloquies. José Alberto Portugal points out that "la ocupación central (la acción fundamental) de muchos personajes es discursear" (*Las novelas* 407), while Lienhard expands this feature to describe the whole novel's structure as a "diálogo múltiple" between narrative sequences (*Cultura andina* 149). Because of the central role of dialogism and the scrupulous details in description (what is called represented perception), Portugal also suggests that the novel creates an effect of "acronía" or timelessness (*Las novelas* 449).

The first part of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* includes three diary entries intercalated with four narrative chapters: "Primer diario," chapter I, chapter II, "Segundo diario," chapter III, chapter IV, and "Tercer diario." Chapter I presents the daily routine of ship's patron Chaucato on two settings: during his day, his work routine fishing at sea, and at night, his leisure time in the brothels. The chapter also introduces Maxwell, who dances a rock & roll at one of the brothels, and three female prostitutes who live in the slums and perform an exorcism ritual against the exploitative system in Chimbote. According to Martin Lienhard, Chaucato's speeches in chapter I establish a set of tropes that structures the whole fictional world, such as "la visión

'cósmica' de la sexualidad humana (o la visión antropomorfa de la sexualidad cósmica)" (*Cultura andina* 81). For instance, when Chauchato is training a musician and a male prostitute (Mudo) about fishing activities, he says to the musician: "[…] Vas derecho a la anchoveta que Brachi, el culemacho, li'ha quitado a los 'cochos' alcatraces. Ese, ese qu'está a tu lado va'olvidar aquí el ojete, porque la mar es la más grande concha chupadora del mundo. La concha exige pincho" (*El zorro* 26). In other words, the extensive fishing activities in the harbor of Chimbote are compared with intercourse and sexual assault. In a gendered schema, the fishermen (strong male figures such as Chaucato and Braschi) work at sea (which is compared with female genitalia).

The sexualization and personification of economic activities play a key role in the construction of Braschi's authorial persona, as well as in the performative practices of the characters introduced in the following chapters—Loco Moncada, Diego and Esteban de la Cruz. Chapter II presents the street preacher and performer Loco Moncada, who protests against the exploitation system of Chimbote (controlled by local entrepreneur Braschi in alliance with transnational capitalist agents). This chapter also takes place in two settings: the street markets in Chimbote, where Moncada usually stages his performances, and the sandbanks surrounding the city, where a march of crosses takes place. Gregorio Bazalar, a Quechua speaker migrant, has organized this march to relocate the cemetery for marginalized population near to the newer slums. In turn, chapter III is devoted to a long conversation between the industrial manager Ángel Rincón Jaramillo and the human-fox Diego, a mysterious character who identifies himself as an agent of Baschi. The conversation begins in Ángel's office and, after visiting the machine rooms of the fishmeal factory, ends in a night-club. During the whole conversation, Diego exerts an alluring effect on Ángel, who speaks profusely about the exploitation system in Chimbote and

witnesses the magical dance of Diego with the machines. Finally, chapter IV introduces the popsicle seller and shoemaker Esteban de la Cruz, who is dying of silicosis due to his former mining work in the highlands. Esteban is invested in a private ritual in order to regain his health—he needs to expel five ounces of the coal he inhaled in the mine. In a similar fashion as the previous chapter, the narration is devoted to the recurrent conversation between Esteban and Loco Moncada, who gets inspiration from the former miner's speeches to innovate their own performances.

The second part of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* includes eleven short narrative sections ("hervores") and the last diary entry, appropriately titled "¿Último diario?" In "Tercer diario," Arguedas introduces the "hervores" as the necessary technique to continue his narrative project: "[…] Creo haber encontrado el método, la 'técnica', no para el capítulo V, sino para la Segunda Parte de este todavía incierto libro. He escrito ya los tres primeros **Hervores** de esa Segunda Parte: Chaucato con 'Mantequilla'; don Hilario con 'Doble Jeta" y la Desición de Maxwell" (*El zorro* 180; emphasis in the original). The first three "hervores" correspond with the outline provided in this quotation. First, Mantequilla, an agent of Braschi, visits Chaucato's house to intimidate him. Second, Doble Jeta, another agent of Braschi, visit Hillario Caullama's house at the same time and with a similar purpose. And third, while Maxwell, Cecilio Ramirez, and Gregorio Bazalar wait for a meeting with priest Cardozo at his office, the narration includes an analepsis of Maxwell's dancing in the brothel (already narrated in chapter I). It is revealed that this event is actually a rite of passage and personal transformation of the American: "Ya no era Cuerpo de Paz sino ayudante albañil permanente de don Cecilio Ramírez. Era, desde ese momento, vecino gringo casi libre de la clandestina y más grande barriada de Chimbote, La Esperanza" (194).

The following eight "hervores" continue the narrative sequence at Cardozo's office: the description of this office, where a portrait of Che Guevara hangs above a drawing of Jesus Christ; the arrival of Cardozo to meet the three visitors; the consecutive long speeches of Gregorio Bazalar, Maxwell, and Cecilio Ramírez; and the unexpected arrival of human-fox Diego, who brings a charango for Maxwell and incites Cardozo to utter a long speech in "lenguaje aluviónico, inesperadamente intrincado, yanki-cecilio-bazalártico" (*El zorro* 237). According to José Alberto Portugal, the third "hervor" is actually made up of all the short narrative sections taking place at Cardozo's office "en la medida en que me resulta claro que el conjunto fue construido como un 'encuentro', como un 'diálogo' entre los personajes; y en él se extrema el sentido de yuxtaposición y 'diálogo de las secuencias' […]" (*Las novelas* 418). Even though there is a clear narrative arc in this sequence—the decision of Maxwell and the speeches of the other characters build up to the transfiguration of Cardozo, incited by Diego's and Cecilio Ramirez's dancing—, it seems to be excessive to subsume the whole sequence into a single "hervor." Finally, the "¿Último diario?" announces the interruption of the narrative project due to Arguedas' imminent suicide. The diarist laments the incompleteness of his novel—"¡Cuántos **hervores** han quedado enterrados!" (*El zorro* 243; emphasis in the original)—but he also provides a brief summary of those unwritten "hervores," which significantly include the death of several characters. Esteban de la Cruz doesn't survive his illness; Maxwell is murdered by Mudo (a first unsuccessful attempt is narrated in chapter I); and Orfa kills herself jumping off a cliff. It is worth mentioning that, at this point in the narration, these deceased characters clearly bear a resemblance to Arguedas' own authorial figure.

Between the autobiographical (the "Diarios") and the fictional dimensions (the reconstruction of 1960s Chimbote, which Lienhard calls "Relato") there is a third dimension that

is rooted in Andean cultures and actively interacts with the other two dimensions. Martin Lienhard links this third dimension to Arguedas' immersion in Andean communities and his effort to construct a voice that expresses their cultural specificities: "Esta voz, manifestación abierta y discursiva de la instancia organizadora de todo el texto, arrastra todo el peso del pasado-presente andino y con él a unos 'zorros' de origen mitológico que subvertirán la novela con la mayor libertad" (*Cultura andina* 20). Following Lienhard, this third dimension allows Arguedas to call into question conventional novelistic writing—a subversive process that Lienhard links to the concept of carnivalization, a novelty of Arguedas' last novel (*Cultura andina* 24-27, 126-140). On the other hand, according to José Alberto Portugal, this third dimension could be also described as a ritualization process that, in fact, encompasses the whole of Arguedas' novelistic writing since *Yawar Fiesta* (427-431). In both cases, the leading role of this third dimension is expressed in the title of the novel, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, which primarily refers to two mythical characters that Arguedas found in a seventieth century colonial text known as Huarochirí Manuscript (translated by him in 1966 with the title *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*[30]).

In chapter five of the Huarochirí Manuscript, the culture hero Huatyacuri (son of the regional deity or "huaca" Pariacaca) witnesses the encounter of the abovementioned foxes while resting on a hill. These two foxes come from different regions: "vino un zorro de la parte alta y vino también otro zorro de la parte baja" (De Avila, 28); that is to say, one fox is from down below, the sea and desert coast, and the other fox is from up above, the Andean highlands. The conversation between the two mythical foxes provides crucial information to Huatyacuri, who learns about the actual origin of *curaca* Tamtañamca's illness. As a reward for healing the *curaca*, Huatyacuri marries his daughter and becomes the leader of a new community (which is

organized around the cult of Pariacaca). Other characters from *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí* are also mentioned in Arguedas' last novel—namely, the fate of another culture hero named Tutaykire (29, 50). Nevertheless, the most significant intertextual relationship are the foxes from Huatyacuri's story, who are refashioned as polymorphic entities: first, they are introduced as the narrators of the novel using a stage script format (23, 49-51); second, they participate as the character Diego in the fictional reconstruction of 1960s Chimbote. In both cases, the foxes enhance the influence Andean mythical categories in the representational mode of the novel (carnivalization or ritualization, following Lienhard's and Portugal's approaches, respectively).

Even though the original project of Arguedas is incomplete, the convergence of these three dimensions (autobiographical, fictional, and mythical) succeeds in depicting the socio-economic transformation taking place in 1960s Chimbote using Andean cultural categories. Lienhard explains this process as the "andinization" of avant-garde poetics, a literary movement that historically depicted westernized urban experiences:

> A partir de un discurso novelesco urbano que incorpora, con una audacia inédita en el Perú, ciertos principios del vanguardismo europeo y norteamericano de los años 20, surge la ciudad costeña de Chimbote ("polo de desarrollo" capitalista, misérrima acumulación de barrios marginales), observada a partir de una mirada inocultablemente andina y encarnada en sus voces, discursos y lenguajes disonantes. El modelo occidental—la novela urbana de vanguardia—se ve subvertido por una cosmovisión de origen rural, como también por la realidad urbana de una ciudad del Tercer mundo. ("La 'andinización' del vanguardismo" 323)

It could be argued that the "andinization" process subverts the dominant model of authorship embodied by Boom writers: in the "Diarios," Arguedas employs Andean cultural categories to

identify himself as a non-professional writer and to foreclose commodification. Moreover, the same "andinization" process allows several fictional characters to resist exploitative relationships and alienation in the context of Chimbote's incorporation to a capitalist mode of production—namely, Hilario Caullama and Chaucato, who resist the intimidation of Braschi's agents while watching the pink smoke from the foundry (*El zorro* 185, 191). Lienhard identifies this pink smoke as a new "huaca" manifested in the vibrant urban and industrial context of Chimbote (*Cultura andina* 164-165). However, my critical approach in this chapter doesn't highlight the cultural difference between Westernized societies and Andean communities (a discrete category of the "Western" or "Andean" is in itself highly controversial). Significantly, Arguedas used this cultural difference (intertwined with a hierarchical power relationship) to construct his own authorial persona in mid-twentieth century literary scene. Although Arguedas was not ethnically an Indigenous subject but a White-creole, he felt strongly attached to Andean cultures due to specific biographical circumstances. Having lost his mother in an early age and while living in the *hacienda* of his hostile stepmother, Arguedas spent most of his childhood among the Indigenous servants, with whom he learned Quechua and become familiar with Andean culture. On that note, the Indigenista writer called himself not only a bilingual subject (in addition to writing Quechua texts, he worked as translator), but also a bicultural subject, as it is expresses in the speech "No soy un aculturado," included in the Epilogue of *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*: "Yo soy un peruano que orgullosamente, como un demonio feliz habla en cristiano y en indio, en español y en quechua" (257).

On that same note, I assume a critical distance towards what José Alberto Portugal identifies as the "tradicional crítica arguedista" (*Las novelas* 28). During the 1970s and 1980s, the first critical readers of Arguedas reproduce his authorial discourse and adopted a teleological

reading—in other words, "la imagen de la narrativa de Arguedas como una obra coherente y completa, como una unidad de sentido elaborada a lo largo de un dilatado proceso creativo" (30). This critical discourse replicates Arguedas' arguments in defense of his theory of the novel, particularly during the problematic reception of *Todas las sangres*. In contrast to that critical tradition, I seek to analyze the ways in which *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* participates in a broader discussion about the commodification of literary writing and cultural producion, in particular folklore and craftwork. The stance of Arguedas' last novel is clearly in defense of the Andean communities that historically have faced discrimination and marginalization in Peruvian society. However, the depiction of the modernization processes and their effects on Andean communities doesn't provide a simple picture, nor do the last sections establish a precise response to the pervasive effects of commodification (specifically, the meaning of Arguedas' suicide or "sacrifice," which is the main point of dispute in the novel among literary critics)[31]. I propose that the questioning of commodification process is presented by means of a network or spectrum of authorial figures, whose nodal points are the diarist Arguedas, the mythical foxes, and the businessmen Braschi. The following sections analyze the construction of their respective authorial personas in the broader context of Andean, Peruvian, and Latin American modernization processes.

ARGUEDAS, THE DIARIST AND THE AUTHOR

Above the vast array of artistic producers mentioned in the novel (literary writers in the "Diarios," and performers in the fictional narrative sections), there are three authorial figures that clearly stand out: the literary writer José María Arguedas, who displays an autobiographical discourse in the "Diarios"; the mythical foxes, who have a polymorphic nature and interact with

other characters by means of ritual practices; and the entrepreneur Braschi, who is referred to as the begetter of the rampant economic development of 1960s Chimbote. Even though there's no direct interaction between them (they don't compete with each other as the authorial figures in *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* do), the diarist Arguedas, the foxes, and Braschi are the nodal points of a network of characters, episodes, and motifs linked to the effects of the modernizing process in Andean cultural production (in which folklore and craftwork play key roles). For instance, it is noteworthy that the level of success is one important difference between them: while Braschi is unquestionably a successful entrepreneur (he is a millionaire and exerts an indisputable control over all the aspects of Chimbote's society), the diarist is constantly struggling with a sense of failure.

In the "Diarios," Arguedas' writing explicitly begins with a therapeutic goal. By uncovering and working through his suicidal desire, he is supposed to re-establish his health, self-assurance, and creative powers to achieve the composition of his new novel.

> Escribo estas páginas porque se me ha dicho hasta la saciedad que si logro escribir recuperaré la sanidad. Pero como no he podido escribir los temas elegidos, elaborados, pequeños o muy ambiciosos, voy a escribir sobre el único que me atrae: esto de cómo no pude matarme y cómo ahora me devano los sesos buscando una forma de liquidarme con decencia, molestando lo menos posible a quienes lamentarán mi desaparición y a quienes esta desaparición les causará alguna forma de placer. (*El zorro* 8)

The writing of the diarist Arguedas could be compared to a stream of consciousness. He follows a digressive pattern since (notwithstanding the centrality of the fascination with death) he frequently changes topics and includes several asides. He also employs a colloquial register and a very caustic tone. On that note, while writing a fictional reconstruction of 1960s Chimbote

requires an exhaustive investigation and planning, the autobiographical discourse flows spontaneously and without the author's strict overseeing. In addition, recounting his interactions with acquaintances, he speaks directly to them: "Bueno, voy a releer lo que he escrito: estoy bastante confundido, pero, aunque muy agobiado por el dolor a la nuca, algo más confiado que ayer en el hablar. ¿Qué habré dicho, Juan?" (12). The vocative noun in this quotation is addressing to the Mexican, Juan Rulfo (1917-1986), one of the literary writers for whom Arguedas expresses strong empathy. On the other hand, he is also unrestrained about what he dislikes and of whom he disapproves. It is true that the "Diarios" constitute a textual space for the release of Arguedas' unrestrained thoughts and emotions: "Creo que de puro enfermo del ánimo estoy hablando con 'audacia.'" (*El zorro* 14) However, according to José Alberto Portugal, the "Diarios" follow the structural pattern of dialogism that characterizes the whole novel: "se narran una serie de encuentros: con la prostituta gorda y joven, con el gran pino de Arequipa, con distintos escritores (encuentros y encontronazos) y con la Fidela, entre otros, y en general es la tendencia a la invocación de otros (el apóstrofe) que le da forma a la intención dialógica del diarista" (Portugal, *Las novelas* 424).

It is undeniable that Arguedas' opinions about his peers and acquaintances are compromised by personal animosity (specially toward Carlos Fuentes and Julio Cortázar). Nevertheless, according to Martin Lienhard, the "Diarios" articulate a consistent critical discourse, notwithstanding its jumbled pattern, about the Latin American literary scene (*Cultura andina* 67). It is telling that Arguedas declares "yo me convertí en ignorante desde 1944. He leído muy poco desde entonces" (*El zorro* 10), since this statement highlights a decade (the 1940s) that witnessed the transformation of the economic and cultural spheres that leaded to the configuration of 1960s Boom. In this historical conjuncture, Arguedas polemically establishes

the coexistence of two fields. On one hand, the literary market of professional writers: Boom writers such as Carlos Fuentes, Julio Cortázar, and Mario Vargas Llosa, as well as the Cuban, Alejo Carpentier (1904-1980), who is well-known for his deep knowledge of Western-European cultures. On the other hand, the non-professional writers who seek attachment to communal values: the abovementioned Juan Rulfo; the Brazilian, João Guimarães Rosa (1908-1967); a Boom writer such as Gabriel García Márquez; and José María Arguedas himself. Aside from being based on simplifications, it is important to highlight that this division doesn't rely on technical devices (such as the reproduction of orality), nor on the social or cultural origin of a writer (namely, Guimarães Rosa, an urban subject capable of descending to the people's hearth). On the contrary, this division is based on the degree of participation in a specific mode of production: the commodification in literary writing.

While the professional writers are servants of literary markets, the non-professional writers find a model of creative accomplishment in nature itself: the groan of a pig (*El zorro* 8), the sound made by waterfalls (9), the sing of ducks (49), and a monumental pine tree in the Andean town of Arequipa (175-176), among others. All these natural elements have in common their active participation in a cosmic harmony—each of them "sings," expresses the music that traverses the whole cosmos and resonates deeply in every single entity. Musical expression offers a comprehensive and holistic knowledge; on the contrary, human language is defined by its analytical powers and the threat of disintegration, as the following quotation illustrates:

El zorro de abajo: ¿Entiendes bien lo que cuento?

El zorro de arriba: Confundes un poco las cosas

El zorro de abajo: Así es. La palabra, pues, tiene que desmenuzar el mundo. El canto de los patos negros que nadan en los lagos de altura, helados, donde se empoza la

nieve derretida, ese canto repercute en los abismos de roca, se hunde en ellos; se arrastra en las punas, hace bailar a las flores de las yerbas duras que se esconden bajo el *ichu*, ¿no es cierto?

El zorro de arriba: Sí, el canto de esos patos es grueso, como de ave grande; el silencio y la sombra de las montañas lo convierte en música que se hunde en cuanto hay.

El zorro de abajo: La palabra es más precisa y por eso puede confundir. El canto del pato de altura nos hace entender todo el ánimo del mundo. (*El zorro* 49)

According to Lienhard, Argueda's perspective towards language is rooted in magical thinking and expresses "la nostalgia de una imposible oralidad, de una mitológica Edad de Oro del lenguaje anterior a significante y significado" (*Cultura andina* 66). They are remarkable similarities between Argueda's language ideology and what Jacques Derrida describes as the logocentrism. In addition, this ontological break between the world and languages is reinforced in modern societies due to the influence of commodification. Because of their attachment to communal values, the non-professional writers are able to manage that gap between languages and the world. In the case of Arguedas, the gap is resolved by means of his attachment to Quechua speaking communities. Quechua, in contrast to other languages, is "utópico en la medida en que se adecúa completamente al mundo que expresa" (Lienhard, *Cultura andina* 57). All this linguistic ideology explains why the diarist declares that, in order to recover his health, he needs to "recuperar el roto vínculo con las cosas" and "transmitir a la palabra la materia de las cosas" (*El zorro* 7).

Because of their participation in literary markets, the professional writers find themselves detached from communal values—that is to say, the oral expression and mythical thought of historically marginalized communities. Moreover, this detachment from communal values

implies the loss of the authorial status, which is replaced by a mere writer inserted in the labor division of capitalistic societies. In order to understand the terms of disqualification of professional writers, it is necessary to review contemporary articles written by Arguedas about the impact of urbanization and commodification on Andean folklore and craftwork. By establishing these connections, it becomes clear that the metafictional dimension of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* is not a neurotic response to the success of Boom writers, but a long-term reflection on the modernization of artistic production.

ANDEAN FOLKLORE AND CRAFTWORK

The distinction in the "Diarios" between two fields in Latin American literature must be placed in Arguedas' general and persistent reflection about the nature of artistic creation—from his seminal anthology *Canto kechwa: con un ensayo sobre la capacidad de creación artística del pueblo indio y mestizo* (1938) to an increasing number of publications during the 1950s and 1960s. Significantly, Arguedas employed an encompassing sense of artistic creation, which includes lettered and prestigious production alongside with popular and traditional cultural manifestations. For instance, in 1964 Arguedas directed the magazine *Cultura y pueblo*, where he published a series of articles about Andean folklore and anthologies of Quechua and Spanish texts. In the magazine's second issue, Arguedas defined folklore as "el estudio de la literatura oral de las naciones, cualquiera que sea su grado de 'civilización', y el estudio de las artes relacionadas directamente con la literatura oral, como la música y la danza" ("¿Qué es el folklore? (II)" 549). In the same issue, the section "Nuestra literatura" included the contemporaneous Quechua song "Celso Medina" next to the poem "El caballo" by Symbolist Peruvian poet José María Eguren (1874-1942) (551). Following Javier García Liendo, in these

publications Arguedas attempted two complementary operations: first, to establish an historical continuity between voices and subjectivities founded in both Colonial Quechua texts and contemporaneous folklore; and second, to recognize similarities between artistic works of folklore and those of prestigious literary writing. The result of these complementary operations is to question "el concepto tradicional de literatura, pues los textos quechuas contemporáneos que incluye son letras de huaynos," and to reject "el concepto humanista de cultura, basado principalmente en la literatura y las bellas artes, desestabilizándolo con una concepción antropológica que surge del trabajo con el folklore" (*El intelectual* 119).

Moreover, Arguedas established in the same article that the human labor implied in folk production is essentially similar to the human labor invested in literary writing: "La persona iletrada que crea un cuento, lo hace especialmente para contarlo, para transmitirlo a los demás, exactamente igual que el novelista y el cuentista letrado. El Folklore ha demostrado que no hay diferencia entre el proceso de creación de la literatura oral y de la literatura escrita" (20). Basically, both creative processes rely on a dynamic interaction between producers and audiences—the producers of folklore and literature alike need to think of audience's characteristic in advance and adjust their production to reach audience's necessities. In addition, Arguedas listed a broad range of goals, such as instruction, entertainment, and "describir el mundo terreno, celeste y social" (20) that folk production and literary writing pursue alike. Significantly, this listing of goals excludes earning money (*El zorro* 18), which is negatively mentioned in the "Diarios" to describe Boom literary writing and a seudo-folk Chilean dance.

Overall, in these articles Arguedas recognized an essential similarity between folk production and literary writing, even though he is also aware of the differences in apprenticeship and circulation:

> El 'pueblo' inventa 'al oído' la música que canta y la cual baila; la gente 'civilizada' (el artista) inventa su música después de haber estudiado durante diez años o más en una escuela especial (Conservatorio de Música, por ejemplo), y para perpetuar esta música tiene que escribirla; y, quien quiera tocarla debe interpretar su escritura y, además, para manejar bien el instrumento con el que toque la música tiene que aprender la técnica indispensable. ("¿Qué es el folklore? (I)" 534-535)

While folk production relies on the untied creativity of the "people," lettered and prestigious artistic production incorporate the variable of "technique" as a pivotal element. Significantly, in the "Diarios¨, these are the same terms that configure the two field in Latin American literature: on one hand, the non-professional writers (Arguedas, Rulfo, Guimarães Rosa, and García Márquez to a certain degree) attached to communal values and able to sink "hasta el cuajo de su pueblo" (*El zorro* 15); on the other hand, the professional writers (Fuentes, Cortázar, Carpentier, and Vargas Llosa to some extent), who belong to a lettered and urban culture, in which the mastering of specific techniques is essential.

Literary critics have paid more attention to the debate between Arguedas and Julio Cortázar than the references to Carlos Fuentes in the "Diarios". In his polemic with Cortázar, Arguedas defends the legitimacy and advantages of his provincial and national position in contrast to "las altas esferas de lo supranacional" (13-14) embraced by Cortázar. It is possible to analyze this debate as a critique to transnational and metropolitan capitalism (represented by Cortázar) from a position of resistance attached to local developments and infused with ethnic components (the position of Arguedas). I am more interested in discussing another point of contention that has received less critical attention since it couldn't be extrapolated to First-Third world politics (as the debate with Cortázar). This is the quarrel with Carlos Fuentes, who is

explicitly presented as an overrated literary writer (clearly an unjust treatment given his literary production in the 1960s). However, I'm not interested in discussing Fuentes' fictional narrative pieces in themselves, but in analyzing Arguedas' idea of a literary writer represented by the Mexican. As Martín Lienhard explains, the metafictional dimension of this novel appears "en sucesivas confrontaciones con otros escritores (no en tanto que individuos, sino como 'marca' de la escritura de sus obras) y con productos culturales de varía índole" (*Cultura andina* 38-39).

While José María Arguedas clearly identifies himself with an authorial persona, the successful Carlos Fuentes is presented as a mere professional writer—that is to say, a specialist in a given set of technical devices. Other characteristic of this type of writer (such as being steeped in a lettered culture or being familiar with urban settings) are, in fact, subordinated to abovmentioned characteristic (being as specialist, not an author). It is true that Arguedas complains of not having read enough in his life (*El zorro* 10) and seeks to learn technical skill from lettered-urban writers (178), but the hierarchy among these two types of literary writers is still present:

> La última vez que vi a Carlos Fuentes, lo encontré escribiendo como ***un albañil que trabaja a destajo***. Tenía que entregar la novela a plazo fijo. Almorzamos, rápido, en su casa. Él tenía que volver a la máquina. Dicen que eso mismo le sucedía a Balzac y Dostoievski. Sí, pero como una maldición, no como una condición de la que se enorgullecieran. (18; my emphasis)

Interestingly, Carlos Fuentes's novelistic writing is compared to a bricklayer, a manual worker that gets paid on a piecework basis. This comparison implies a degradation of literary writing from the prestigious position acquired in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Beginning with the Romantic poetics, the civic identity of the literary writer was preserved during the Spanish

American *modernismo*, Avant-garde, Regionalism, and High-Modernist of the Boom generation. Based on this long tradition, man of letters has a high degree of autonomy and invest a significant amount of intellectual energy to generate his sophisticated productions. In contrast, Carlos Fuentes (following Lienhard, the inscription of his works in the "Diarios") is regarded as a subordinate and alienated worker who is overshadow by the machine, follows hierarchical orders from the owner of capital, and in doing so, lacks any traits of autonomy. This type of writers becomes a mere commodity, alienated not only by relations of productions but also by his subordination to capital's demands: "Carlos Fuentes es mucho artificio, con sus ademanes" (12). The creative interaction between producers of folklore and literature and their respective audiences ("¿Qué es el folklore? (III)" 20) is reduced to satisfy the consumer's needs.

Besides the personal animosity, the derogatory judgment of Carlos Fuentes' novelistic writing should be understood as a stance towards the nature of artistic production in a capitalistic mode of production. On that note, it is important to highlight that such a degrading comparison (a literary writer as a bricklayer) is not based on the low social status of a manual worker, but on its alienation in capitalism. This is an important conceptual precision since the authorial figures in *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* are workers and hold a very low social status: Loco Moncada is s fisherman, Esteban de la Cruz is a shoemaker, Orfa is a prostitute, etc. Moreover, the rite of passage of Maxwell implies that, in addition to living in a slum and playing Andean music, he starts working as a bricklayer with Cecilio Ramirez (*El zorro* 193-194). Why is bricklaying a degraded work in connection to Carlos Fuentes, but it is regarded as positive in the case of Maxwell? At this point, it is necessary to review Arguedas' articles about Andean craftwork, its placement in the prestigious sphere of artistic production, and the impact of industrialization in the mid-twentieth century. In particular, the series of articles about the "San

Marcos" or "Retablos," portable boxes that depict religious, historical, or everyday events[32]. Arguedas proposed that, due to the socio-economic changes in Peruvian societies, these craftworks experience a displacement from sacred or magical contexts (the "San Marcos") to secular and commercial ones (the "Retablo").

In the ethnographic article "Notas elementales sobre el arte popular religioso y la cultura mestiza" (written in 1951 but published in 1958), Arguedas discussed the history and characteristics of the city of Ayacucho (formerly known as Huamanga), which is distinguished for having a strong "mestizo" culture. The Spanish colonizers employed "mestizos" (individuals with Spanish and Indigenous heritage, in a biological and cultural sense) in order to exert a more effective control of Indigenous population. In addition to being a dynamic group in the regional economic, "mestizos" played an important role in the cultural field, which eventually led to some degree of autonomy:

> El mestizo escultor pintor ('escúltor', los denominan en Huamanga) desempeñó a la larga un papel mucho más independiente que el sirviente, o el capataz de hacienda; su propia profesión hizo de él un individuo económicamente no dependiente de la clase señorial. Aprendieron de los maestros españoles la técnica del oficio, y aplicaron después esa técnica en forma original y libre. Crearon el vasto mundo del arte religioso popular peruano, que es un mundo nuevo. ("El arte popular" 36)

As the foremost exponent of Peruvian popular religious art, the article introduced the "retablista" Joaquín López Antay (1987-1981). Arguedas expressed a deep admiration and empathy toward López Antay, whose craftwork he described with a careful attention to the details. In fact, it could be argued that Arguedas projected his own authorial persona in the "retablista". For instance, the article insisted on the "mestizo" identity of López Antay—an

identity that Arguedas assumed himself several times, as it is evident in this other article published in 1959: “El mestizo es una personalidad que ha sido más discutida que estudiada. ¿Cómo no he de creer en él, si yo mismo soy un mestizo tan firmemente convencido de su valer? ¿Cómo no he de creer, si todo lo tomado de la cultura occidental no ha sido sino para mejor afirmar y desarrollar lo que en esta mezcla hay de definido ya, de permanente y hecho?” (“París” 99). Another version of this celebrated “mestizo” identity appears in the speech “No soy un aculturado,” included in the epilogue of the first edition of *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971): “Yo soy un peruano que orgullosamente, como un demonio feliz habla en cristiano y en indio, en español y quechua” (*El zorro* 257).

Significantly, besides López Antay’s mastering of craftwork techniques and his artistic sensibility, the most celebrated value of the “retablista” was his defense of artistic freedom against the pressure of industrialization and commodification processes: “Ningún artista popular de Huamanga ha mantenido su equilibrio, su integridad cultural, como don Joaquín, ante la influencia perturbadora del cambio de la demanda” (“El arte popular” 36). Like non-professional writers in the “Diarios,” López Antay kept his attachment to communal values, which include a strong “fervor religioso” (“El arte popular” 37). Additionally, this reliance on communal values in order to preserve artistic freedom doesn’t imply a paralyzing conservatism or the rejection of innovations. In contrast, López Antay always engaged in dynamic interactions with his audiences, which included Indigenous agrarian communities as well as urban and lettered groups. In another article published in 1962, “Del retablo mágico al retablo mercantil,” Arguedas made an explicit reference to the influence of *Indigenista* painters in the craftwork of the “retablista”: “Cuando los pintores indigenistas redescubrieron el retablo sugirieron al más inspirado de los tres ‘escúltor’ que aún seguían practicando el oficio, Don Joaquín, que variara

algo la composición del 'San Marcos'. Y Don Joaquín *se atrevió a hacerlo*. Pero no secularizó de inmediato el objeto sagrado" (380; italics in the original). It is significant that Arguedas highlighted the expression "dare to do so" because, against any prejudice of cultural conservatism, it pointed out the experimental nature of Lopez Antay's work,. Moreover, López Antay' boldness to "dared to do so" bears a resemblance to the image of the diarist Arguedas "hablando con 'audacia'" (*El zorro* 14).

In the same article, Arguedas explained that the adaptability of Lopez Antay's craftwork had an unbridgeable threshold in the commodification process: "A don Joaquín López le propuso un comerciante de Lima que fabricara sus retablos en gran cantidad, por docenas; don Joaquín rechazó con indignación esa propuesta. 'Yo no soy fábrica, señor, soy escúltor', dijo" ("El arte popular" 49). Once again, the "retablista"'s behaviour mirrors others passages from *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo*, in particular the negative judgment of the professional writer Carlos Fuentes: "Él tenía que volver a la máquina" (*El zorro* 18). In addition, in Arguedas' article, while Lopez Antay represented the artist that preserved their autonomy and creativity (attached to communal values), the degraded artistic completely subordinated to the commodification process is represented by Jesús Urbano Rojas (1925-2014). Arguedas expressed this hard judgment in the following terms:

> Contemplando los 'nuevos' retablos de Urbano Rojas, nos entristece considerar que quizá Don Joaquín es el último mensaje del retablo profano iluminado de magia y que con Urbano comienza el *retablo espectacular*, informe, sin unidad interna, dócil producto del hombre ansioso de ganar únicamente en el mercado por cualquier medio; el retablero al servicio del mercado, descarnado de fuentes antiquísimas e insondables de las que nació el San Marcos y el retablo modero. ("Del retablo" 381; italics in the original)

As it was the case with the flesh-and-blood writer Carlos Fuentes in the "Diarios," I'm not interested in discussing the "retablos" of Jesús Urbano Rojas in themselves (Arguedas' negative judgment seems to be unfair to a certain degree), but in identifying the construction of a critical discourse about authorship, artistic production, and the effects of commodification process. Arguedas himself was conscious of the limitations of his judgment, but insisted on stressing the pervasive influence of commodification, which was even able to incorporate what seemed to be foreign to their domain—the ingenuity of Andean folklore and craftwork.

> ¿Juzgamos acaso esta exposición con un criterio muy conservador? No, Aletamos [sic] la revolución que significó la obra de López y de otros retableros modestos. Nos entristecemos e irritamos algo frente a lo puramente mercantil y espectacular, que es el peor enemigo de lo artístico y de lo popular. Aún la 'táctica' con que Urbano firma sus retablos revela un engañoso afán de 'ingenuidad.' ("Del retablo mágico" 382)

Arguedas judged negatively the "retablos" of Urbano Rojas, but the description offered in the article bears a resemblance to what is known nowadays as kitsch—artistic production of garish nature and bad taste, mostly originated from or inspired in the culture of marginalized populations. Urbano Rojas' work is characterized by the juxtaposition of dissimilar elements and the absence of a cohesive structure: "El retablo Nº 20 de la exposición de Urbano contenía un nacimiento. Todas las figuras de santos y animales están pintadas a rayas negras, y daban la impresión de un conjunto pintoresco y un poco absurdo de cebras. Ésta es una característica de Urbano. En el Nº 3 aparecen dos árboles de tunas, algo grotescas, *dentro de la iglesia*" ("Del retablo" 381; emphasis in the original). Interestingly, the performances and street-shows of Loco Moncada could be described using similar terms—accumulation and juxtaposition of elements, flexible and innovative structures, etc. For instance, Ángel Rincón Jamarillo explains these

performances as random and whimsical events: “[Loco Moncada] ‘preparará’ su próximo discurso, que nunca se sabe cuándo ni en qué forma va a decirlo. Quizá se vista de turco, de indio, de Batman, de gitana” (*El zorro* 145). For members of the upper-classes of Chimbote, such as Ángel and his wife, the mad preacher is a picturesque figure and an entertainer, but not a popular artist attached to marginalized communities. On that note, the degradation of Moncada mirrors the debasement of Urbano Rojas’ “retrablos”.

Moreover, in the last section of “Del retablo mágico al retablo mercantil,” Arguedas linked Urbano Rojas’ work with the socio-cultural identity of “cholos,” acculturated Westernized individuals with Indigenous heritage:

> Con el criterio que los antropólogos emplean concluiríamos afirmando que los retablos de Urbano Rojas son el producto de una mentalidad ‘chola’, en cuanto este término designa al mestizo emergente que intenta arrolladura [sic] e impotentemente incorporarse al grupo socialmente dominante, y que concluye por descarnarse de sus valores y normas de conducta tradicionales sin alcanzar a asimilar las de los grupos dominantes. (“Del retablo” 382)

Coming back to *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, this description of “cholo” mentality seems to be closer to the portrayal of certain characters, in particular Gregorio Bazalar. In one of the “hervores” of the second part, Maxwell and Cecilio Ramírez express their doubts about Bazalar’s behavior and true intentions:

> —No me gusta ese hombre. Parece falso—dijo Ramírez.
>
> —Ambicioso parece. Y está imitando. ¿No cree usted?
>
> —Cierto, Max. En su casa debe tener otra…, otra crianza. (*El zorro* 206)

However, the following “hervor” presents a more complex perspective about the convoluted

identity of Bazalar. Actually, his determination and cunning are tools to overcome the historic marginalization of Indigenous communities and Quechua speaker, as Bazalar is.

> Esa noche después de la entrevista con el padre Cardozo, frente al retrato “sigoro quizás no entruso ne pantalla” del “Che”; “sigoro quizás”, don Gregorio veía muy cerca la realización de su “magnánimo” hazaña, y se sentía muy satisfecho del “contundencia elegante” con que había dicho mentiras “tácticas” y verdades en la oficina de Cardozo. Desde el discurso que pronunció en el nuevo cementerio para pobres, felizmente “habelitado” allí, al pie del médano San Pedro, él creía haber progresado mucho en los manejos “del política actuación”, y de la “labia contundencia”. “Yo, quizás—pensó; ya no podía pensar en quechua—puede ser capaz, en su existencia de mí, no seré forastero en este país tierra donde hemos nacido. Premera vez e premera persona colmina esta hazaña difícil en so vida existencia. (215)

The narration presents Bazalar, if not with an admirative tone, at least with respectful distance. This character is not a caricature. In addition, Bazalar’s goal—the vindication of Andean subjects and communities—is one that the diarist and author Arguedas could definitely subscribe. Interestingly, this depiction of Bazalar also bears a resemblance to other important authorial figure in the novel, who has a more precise negative value—the businessman Braschi.

BRASCHI, AUTHOR AND RULER OF CHIMBOTE

In this section I analyze the authorial image of Braschi and what are presented as his major “works”: the industrial development of Chimbote, as well as an elaborate system of domination and alienation of the salaried workers. As a prominent member of the ruling classes, Braschi is the final iteration of a recurrent character in Arguedas’ literary writing—“gamonales”

(big landowners with Indigenous servants) and businessmen with Machiavellian behavior and/or unrestrained sexuality. Nevertheless, the novelty of Braschi resides in his mythical dimension and his adscription to certain aspects of authorship. On this matter, I apply the term "author" to Braschi in a metaphorical sense, since he's not writer, musician or performer. He is a very successful businessman, who is able to manage different interests in order to maximize his own economic profit. In addition, to follow with the metaphorical sense of authorship, Braschi is also refer as the "parent" of Chimbote. During his first performance in the novel, Loco Moncada exposes this aspect: "Braschi ha hecho crecer este Puerto; lo ha empreñado a la mar, ustedes son hijos de Braschi; ese caín al revés, hermanos…" (55). And as the human-fox Diego says to manager Ángel Rincón Jaramillo: "Chimbote es obra de las armazones cibernéticas, de su patronazo de usted [Brachi]" (*El zorro* 88) It is true that sometimes the name Braschi is used in plural form to describe a group of businessmen or a type of capitalist investor. For instance, Ángel mentions the "Braschis" to refer to the "grandes industriales" (91). However, I'm interested in a single individual named Braschi in the novel, who is mostly identified as a gifted disciple of fishermen Chaucato and Hilario Caullama.

It is important to highlight that, even though Braschi never appears as main character in any of the chapters and "hervores," he is constantly mentioned or is the topic of conversations throughout the entire novel. The elusive nature of Braschi throws a veil of mystery over him. Significantly, there is no knowledge of Braschi's family members or offspring, in spite of being extremely sexually active. He also lacks a permanent residence and everyday routines. Because of all these characteristics, Braschi has a mythical status, as henchman Mantequilla says to Moncada: "Tú estás a la mano de Braschi. ¿Dónde lo vas a encontrar tú a él? Él no tiene casa, no tiene familia. Vive en un club. No se sabe cuándo está en Lima, en la Europa, detrás de la cortina

de fierro" (*El zorro* 187). Interestingly, this businessman seems closer to a mythical figure such as Macunaíma (both have a strong sexual drive but lack offspring) than to the businessman Venceslao Pietro Pietra (who has a typical bourgeois family).

Regarding the "works" of Braschi, it is necessary to measure the ethical and esthetical status of the fictional reconstruction of 1960s Chimbote. Is this city depicted, following two contemporaneous literary critics, as "un lugar sumido en la más absoluta destrucción" (García Liendo, *El reflejo* 167) or as "la versión más destructiva y catastrófica del apocalipsis" (De Vivanco 88). Although both critics also highlight the utopian horizon that regards Chimbote as a space of possibilities, they insist on chaotic and hellish images that don't grasp the complexity of this city. Chimbote is certainly defined by economic inequality (the contrast between upper-class neighborhood and slums), reproduces several forms of exploitation (economical, political, and sexual), and articulates a socio-cultural dynamic beyond the understanding of lettered characters (such as the priest Cardozo and the diarist Arguedas). However, identifying this complex setting as merely catastrophic or apocalyptic is a blatant simplification and doesn't recognize the actual experience of the characters who live in the slums. In fact, the roster of authorial figures in the novel includes several characters that live in such a degraded environment: Gregorio Bazalar and the three female prostitutes (Orfa, Paula Melchora, and the one wearing a hat) live in the "barriada" San Pedro, at the top of steep sandbanks (*El zorro* 43-44, 207-208); Loco Moncada and Esteban de la Cruz live in the neighborhood Bolívar del Totoral, next to invasive swamps (140-141); and Maxwell moved to Cecilio Ramírez' house in the "barriada" La Esperanza, also surrounded by unhealthy swamps (194).

Notwithstanding the marginalization and poverty in the slums, all of these characters have agency and develop survival or resistance strategies, which are successful to a large extent.

For instance, Moncada's speeches constantly denounce the exploitative system and destructive violence in Chimbote, but he is also involved in creative performances and an intense friendship with Esteban de la Cruz. Even the three female prostitutes, who are victims of persistent sexual abuse by the pimp Tinoco, don't express a pessimistic vision of the city—they articulate discourses and performances to report that violence and to obtain a reparation, using symbols and rituals that could be linked to a Messianic sensibility (45-48, 68, 244). Moreover, other lower-class characters experience significant improvements in their life conditions. Namely, Aurora, Esteban de la Cruz's wife, obtains a stand in the municipal market Bolívar Alto after years of working as a street vendor. The list of successful cases could go on a bit longer: Chaucato's brand-new house with furniture and electronics appliances (183), Hilario Caullama's economic success combined with ethnic pride (188), and Cecilio Bazalar's leadership in the slums (213).

On the other hand, Jon Beasly-Murray is right in saying that Chimbote exemplifies "the country's heady, unsteady and uneven, industrial modernization," even though his characterization of this city as a "frontier town industrial capitalism" is not completely appropriate ("*Arguedasmachine*" 115). It is true that Peruvian coastline—where Chimbote is placed—became a "resource frontier" (Tsing), but *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* is more interested in the depiction of internal rural-urban migrations and national industrialization projects. Accordingly, notwithstanding the scarcity of biographical background or indices of social class and ethnic heritage, it is important to discuss the terms of the mythification of Braschi. For instance, what is his nationality? It seems to be a minor detail, but it could provide insight about the nature of his business project and his articulation with different capitalist interests. Identifying the nationality of Braschi (I propose that he is inscribed in the text as

Peruvian with Italian heritage) would prevent against overestimating the role of global and transnational capitalism in the novel.

In chapter IV, Loco Moncada says to Esteban de la Cruz that Braschi is a foreigner: "Es extranjero y borracho más que tú, más que 'Chicote". Cabeza de borrachines" (*El zorro* 142). However, the meaning of "extranjero" shouldn't be taken automatically in a strict literal sense—a person not native in the country, in this case Peru. For instance, Maxwell and Cardozo, who are definitely foreigners as both were born in the USA, are called "gringos" instead (30). On the other hand, Esteban de la Cruz and Gregorio Bazalar, who were born in Peruvian highlands, are actually identified as "extranjeros" in Chimbote (141, 215). In the case of these rural-urban migrants, they are foreigners in their own country because of the historical marginalization of Indigenous communities. Apparently, "extranjero" is employ as a translation of the Quechua work "wakcha," which could be translated as foreigner as well, but also imply the meaning of poor. To be more precise, "wakcha" is an individual who lacks familiar and communal relationships, which are extremely important in Andean cultures. Significantly, "wakcha" is also the word used in Huarochirí Manuscript to introduce the cultural hero Huatyacuri (the one that meet the foxes), among other deities (such as Cuniraya Huiracocha).

Since Braschi lacks family ties and a permanent residency, he is also a sort of "wakcha". But is he "gringo"? Chaucato identifies Braschi as one of the "blanquiñosos" involved in fishmeal business (*El zorro* 27), probably because his Italian last name implies a level of racial whiteness. In addition, when Ángel speaks to Diego about the capitalist investors in Chimbote, Braschi appears next to other non-Spanish and non-Andean last names: "Mi esposa […] conoce a Braschi, a Fullen, a Gildestrer… a los peces grandes" (91). Historically, capitalist investors in Peru were foreigners or had foreign ancestry. Nevertheless, while the other characters with non-

Spanish or non-Andean names (Maxwell, Cardozo, Kensley, Donald) are immediately presented as First-World migrants in Peru, Braschi is introduced as a character that spends his formative years in Chimbote. In his conversation with Diego, Ángel explains: "En ese espejo [Chaucato] y en Hilario Caullama que también llegó por entonces, Braschi aprendió e hizo crecer una de sus alas; la otra se la hizo crecer en las cosmópolis norteamericanas y europeas" (93). It is important to highlight that Braschi combines in a sort of balance (the wings of a bird or a ship) what could be consider native knowledge (Chaucato and Caullama's fishermen skills) and what is presented as cosmopolitan knowledge attached with metropolitan capitalism. Therefore, considering Braschi a mere agent of the international capitalism is not an appropriate description of his business projects (not no mention his mythical status).

The historical model for Braschi in the Italian-Peruvian entrepreneur Luis Banchero Rossi (1929-1972). Banchero Rossi was one of the most important "capitanes de industria" who appeared in the mid-twentieth century, a historical period characterized by Liberal Developmentalist policies, which were focused on reactivating the exportation to global markets and begining a process of industrialization. These policies founded their most dynamic expression in fishing activities, which placed Peru as the world leader export of fishmeal in the 1960s (*Perú 1890-1977*). In *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, Braschi invests in the fishmeal industry and is explicitly identified as "captain of industry" by Ángel: "¡Braschi es grande, el más grande capitán de industria que ha dado el Pacífico en estas dos décadas y, como usted sabe, tiene quijada de mono, de monazo fuerte!" (*El zorro* 90).

The nature of Braschi's business project is extensively discussed in chapter II, in the long conversation between Ángel and Diego. Recounting the antecedents of Chimbote's economic Boom, Ángel establishes an identification between Braschi and the logic of capital:

> Le he mostrado este inmenso arco de luz que orilla la parte sur de la bahía que es casi la mitad de toda la playa sin igual de Chimbote. Mírela bien, amigo. Es obra de Braschi. Lo llamaron loco cuando él hizo su primera gran fábrica aquí, que era un desierto puro: arena limpia, mar sin olas, sitio salvaje. Ahora veinte fábricas, cada una con su muelle. En el muelle de Braschi fondean barcos de diez mil toneladas. 'Águila', dice de él Caullama, 'Águila sin detención, ojo del capital'. (*El zorro* 116)

Martin Lienhard (*Cultura andina*) and William Rowe ("No hay mensajero") propose that chapter III could be consider the center of Arguedas' last novel since, by means of the conversation between Ángel and Diego, the modernization process in Chimbote interacts directly with the mythical categories of Andean cultures. For instance, Rowe analyzes this conversation as "un debate hemeneútico sobre la posibilidad de un discurso histórico verdadero," in which "se busca aclarar quiénes son los protagonistas y los antagonistas de la historia de Chimbote. Estos, en último caso, se identifican como el capital y el comunismo" ("No hay mensajero" 64). Following Rowe's interpretation, the manager Ángel exposes the logic of capitalism, in which the Hobbesian state of nature explains the instrumental rationality that dominates the accumulation of capital (78). On the other hand, the human-fox Diego expresses the Andean mentality that, first, regards nature as a sacred place, and second, separates the productive forces from capitalistic social relationships (79). This last aspect of Diego's stance is fully expressed when he magically makes the machines dance. To sum up, Diego articulates a radical critique of the capitalist mode of production in Chimbote—a process that Rowe identified as "modernidad andina," even though the very term "modernidad" should be called into question (94).

The conversation between Ángel and Diego is definitely important to establish the politics of representation of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro*—in other words, the alluring effect

of Diego's dancing with the machines is key to understanding the rest of performances and rites in the novel. However, it is necessary to highlight that factories and labor unions—the protagonist of the history of Chimbote in William Rowe's analysis—only occupied a rather small portion of the represented world. As Ericka Beckman points out:

> [The novel *El zorro de arriba and el zorro*] is not one about factory workers. Instead, it tracks the extensively disconnected lives of indigenous former peasants who are called to the booming port of Chimbote with the promise of waged work in factories, but whose labor the factories cannot absorb. Separated from their means of subsistence in the land, these migrants must find ways to reproduce their daily existence in the city's market stalls, canteens, and brothels. ("José María Argueda's Epics of Expropriation")

On that note, Ángel's narration of the confrontation between factory's managers and labor union's members (such as the general strike and a failed attempt of a bomb attack), notwithstanding the epic tones of the narration, is actually deprived of effect or resonances in the social milieu of Chimbote.

While the epic confrontation between capitalists and communists ultimately becomes a side note in the novel, the authority exerted by Braschi is constantly put under the spotlight. As it was mentioned before, the businessman is not only presented as the "father" of the city of Chimbote and its dwellers, but as a "ruler" who oversees all its economic and cultural activities. In that note, Braschi is the final iteration of a type of character that Arguedas had explored during his entire literary journey: an upper-class male who exerts control over a marginalized population by "maquiavelismo" and "un comportamiento humano crucial y problemático, organizado en torno a los principios de deseo y apropiación" (Portugal, *Las novelas* 194). Following Portugal, the first clear iteration of this character is the "gamonal" Julián Arangüena,

who is characterized by his knowledge and manipulation of the Indigenous spirit due to his "cálculo infernal". Subsequent iterations of this character include the priest Linares in *Los ríos profundos* and Fermín Aragón de Peralta in *Todas las sangres* since all of them are attached to an instrumental reason. Moreover, Braschi radicalized the "Faustian" nature of this last character, given that "para el minero Aragón de Peralta la destructividad no es una consecuencia involuntaria o indeseable del desarrollo. En él, la voluntad de desarrollar es también la voluntad de destruir" (Portugal, *Las novelas* 337-338). For instance, this diabolic or amoral rationality is expressed in the deliberate devaluation of the money in order to control the demands of raise the wages of workers, a rationality that is used equally by Fermín Aragón de Peralta in *Todas las sangres* and Braschi in Arguedas' last novel (*El zorro* 100). But Braschi, in the words of Angel, is the ultimate master of Machiavellianism: "Aquí, en la industria, 'nosotros' operamos con la cabeza fría. No deben propasarse los testículos, no debe propasarse la lengua, no debe propasarse el graznate. En eso, Braschi es mundial. Yo lo he visto lanzarse en acquisiones, a créditos que daban escalofríos y…¡lo he visto comerse a los que pensaron hacerle cagar fuego a él!" (99).

Among the roster of "gamonales" and upper-class characters, Braschi is the most clearly identified with the logic of commodification. According to his masters Chaucato and Hilario Caullama, the businessman is characterized by a drive for insatiable accumulation and its capacity to reach every single aspect of the human sphere. Hilario calles Braschi "Águila sin detención, ojo del capital" (116), while Chaucato explains the businessman's nature in more graphic terms: "[…] Y es cierto que ahora su boca de mono que tenía parece boca de volcán candela que traga, traga, traga billete mierda del mundo pa'joder no más" (186). Moreover, besides his insatiable ambition, Braschi has a polymorphic nature that allows him to fit into new contexts and manipulate the circumstances. For instance, as Ángel recalls, Braschi can blend

himself into different social classes: “Ya Braschi ya no viene a Chimbote. La última vez que vino fue para entronizar a San Pedro, patrón de los pescadores […]. Fue una fiesta de órdago ésa, con dos orquestas. Braschi bebió wiski como con doscientos pescadores. ¿Quién lo iba a diferencias de un pescador? Putamadreaba mejor que cualquiera” (100). It is important to highlight that Braschi has worked as fishermen in a distant past (as apprentice of Chaucato and Hilario Caullama), but notwithstanding the years away from this social milieu, the businessman is able to recover these formative experiences and to become a regular fishermam once again. In other words, Braschi sinks “hasta el cuajo de su pueblo,” which was an expression used by the diarist Arguedas to describe the non-professional writers, who are attached to communal values and resist commodification (15). This is another element to support the centrality of Braschi’s authorial figure in the novel.

Certainly, Braschi’s ability to descent “hasta el cuajo de su pueblo” is a key aspect of his success as a Peruvian captain of industry. In order to understand this aspect, it is useful to compare Braschi with another character who also represents the logic of commodification in Arguedas’ work: the “Zar” in *Todas las sangres*. In contrast to Braschi, whose polymorphic nature allowed him to blend with the fishermen, the cartoonish “Zar” is defined by his distance from the Peruvian social and cultural reality (his name alluded to the Tsar, the monarch of Eastern Europe and Slavic Nations). In addition, while the “Zar” is a disembodied entity (he is the only character that doesn’t notice the earthquake caused by the death of Rendon Willka), Braschi is defined by an unbridged sexuality. The fishmeal businessman is involved in sexual intercourse with women and men alike, as Chaucato expresses with perplexity: “Estos blanquiñosos tienen mañas de otras layas. Hambrientos por el hueco, hambrientos por el pincho, así también para el negocio. Nunca por nunca llenan su gusto. Fábricas, bolicheras, muelles,

fierros, cada año menos obreros y más tragones ellos, pa'comer en la mar" (*El zorro* 27-28).

In fact, the centrality of Braschi's libido also establishes a departure from upper-class characters with machiavellian thought (the "cálculo infernal" of Julián Arangüena and Fermín Aragón de Peralta) since that desire of control and appropriation is usually stripped of sexual connotations. Actually, Arguedas' literary work includes the exact opposite type of character: a "gamonal" or member of ruling classes whose desire and appropriation are charged of sexuality but deprived of diabolical calculation. This character is represented by Froylan in the short-story "Warma Kuyay," Aparicio in the novella "Diamantes y Pedernales," and Bruno Aragón de Peralta in *Todas las sangres* (who established a dynamic with his brother, the cold and rational Fermín). To that effect, the fishmeal businessman Braschi could be understood as a synthesis of both type of characters from the ruling classes. Significantly, he is a synthesis in which the problems of the original models are absent—he expresses freely his sexuality without suffering remorse (in contrast to the tormented Bruno in *Todas las sangres*).

It could be argued that the synthesis represented by Braschi was structured taking as a model the mythical structure and motifs that Arguedas founded in the *Huarochirí Manuscript*. On that note, more than a successful Machiavellian entrepreneur or a character dominated by an unrestrained desire of possession, Braschi is a mythical figure that participate in a mythical cycle of creation and renewal of worlds—a mythical hero such as Huatyacuri or a "huaca" such as Pariacaca. Significantly, the fishmeal businessman is described as a very gifted disciple of Chaucato and Hilario Caullama—both fishermen train him in the risks of the trade. As part of the knowledge and skills that Braschi receives from Chaucato, the entrepreneur learns a specific kind of language—full of sexual imagery and based on a gendered power structure—which is necessary to be a successful operator in this environment. In his negotiations with union leaders,

Braschi employs this language to intimidate them: "¡Ah, con que eres muy macho y muy sabido, ¿no?, Solanito! ¡Vas a ser mi marido entonces; yo estaba buscando al hombre que se convirtiera en mi marido! ¿Ya? ¡Me montas y me explotas, hijito lindo!" (*El zorro* 99). According to Ericka Beckman, the novel presents the homosexuality of Braschi as an index of the moral degradation of capitalism (*Jose María*), a motif that also appears in the "Primer diario," when Arguedas judges negatively a Chilean traditional dance for including "amariconados" male dancers. (13) I agree that the novel reproduces the homophobia of 1960s Peruvian intelligentsia, but the speech of Braschi quoted above (which is his only direct discourse in the whole novel) is also an evidence of his mastering of Chaucato's sexualized language. It is just a glimpse of Braschi's discourse skill, which plays a pivotal role in his economic success.

Coming back to the mythical status of Braschi, his teachers are also an iteration of the dualistic logic expressed in the title *El zorro de arriba* y *el zorro de abajo*: Chaucato is a fisherman from the coast (51-52), while Hilario Caullama is a migrant from the Andean mountains (93). In this sense, Braschi learns from both sides of the Andean world—the coast and the mountains—and produces a sort of synthesis that is Chimbote's uneven industrialization. On account of this characteristics, I propose that Braschi could be considered an iteration of the cultural hero Huatyacuri, who is son of the "huaca" Pariacaca and learns about the Tamtañamca's sickness from the mythical foxes in the *Huarochiri Manuscript*. While Huatyacuri becomes the leader of a new community in the land of Tamtañamca, Braschi becomes the major authority in the vibrant city of Chimbote. Nevertheless, it is true that the successful businessman Braschi is now in direct confrontation with their former teachers or mentors (the first two "hervores" makes this conflict explicit); therefore, according to José Alberto Portugal, "el mundo de las relaciones fundacionales se ha roto tras un largo proceso de

lucha; se trata de una fase de disolución y transformación. Es el fin de la épica chimbotana" (*Las novelas* 419). While in the mythical world recorded in *Huarochirí Manuscript*, Huatyacuri pays tribute to his father Pariacaca and the foxes that help him, in the fictional reconstruction of 1960s Chimbote, the businessman Braschi is about to commit parricide.

Regarding the intertextuality between Arguedas' novel and the *Huarochiri Manuscript*, Martin Lienhard identifies other two characters (the diarist Arguedas and the American ex-Peace Corps member Maxwell) as textuals iteration of Huatyacuri (*Cultura andina* 32, 93, 166). I don't think that my interpretation (Braschi as an iteration of Huatyacuri) contradicts Lienhards' interpretation, but both of them reveal the complexity of Arguedas' reelaboration of the *Huarochiri manuscript*, its impact on several levels of the novel, and the importance of the construction of authorial figures in the whole literary project. On that note, while Braschi is an authorial figure presented in the peak of his potentialities, Maxwell's authorial figure is constructed during the narration, which include several rites of passages such as his dance in the brothel and his encounter with Diego in Cardozo's office, where he received a charango. Moreover, in a similar fashion as Braschi, Maxwell also interacts with one character from the highlands and another from the coast (the fox from up-above and the fox from down-bellow, respectively). At the office of Cardozo, Maxwell mistakes the human-fox Diego (dressed as a messenger) for a very similar individual he meets while visiting Paratía, Puno, in the highlands of Peru:

> —¡Paratía! ¡Amigucha!—exclamó Maxwell creyendo reconocer al mensajero—. ¿Cuándo has venido al puerto?
>
> —Paratía es altura, puna, frío, alpacas, joven Max. Yo tiempos vivo en Chimbote, Su charango le he traído. (*El zorro* 234).

In Maxwell's mind, the resemblance between Diego and the individual he met in Paratía is striking: "Max oía y miraba al mensajero. No, no era el amigo de gruesos bigotes y cara alargada que en la fiesta de Paratía hizo que él se levantara y se acercase donde la joven que lo miraba desde la fila de las muchachas. […] No era, pero se parecía tanto como un kolli, único árbol de la estepa, a otro kolli, o una alpaca joven a otra alpaca joven" (235) In addition, the existence of these two very similar individuals seems to be confirmed in chapter III when Diego, while visiting the fishmeal factories, says to a fisherman: "Yo soy de toda la costa, arenales, ríos, pueblos, Lima. Ahora soy de arriba y de abajo, entiendo de montañas y costa, porque hablo con un hermano que tengo desde antiguo en la sierra. De la selva no entiendo nada" (119).

Regarding the intertextuality between the cultural hero Huatyacuri and the diarist Arguedas, Martín Lienhard explains: "el autor parece substituir a Huatyacuri que escuchaba, dormido, el primer diálogo de los zorros y que convertía su sabiduría nueva en poder, riqueza y prestigio, y más que nada, en la posibilidad de subyugar a las mujeres" (*Cultura andina* 32). The last part of this quotation, with the rather surprising reference to the "subjugation of women," deserves a further development. In the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, after listening to the mythical foxes while sleeping, Huatyacuri acquires the knowledge to heal Tamtañamca's sickness; as reward for this accomplishment, Huatyacuri marries Tamtañamca's daughter and establishes the cult to his father Pariacaca. Lienhard discusses this whole episode using a Freudian theoretical frame, which establishes connections between the activity of dreaming (the hero listening to the foxes), artistic creativity, and the sublimation of sexual desire. The argumentation of Lienhard is convoluted, but a detailed analysis could offer some insight about the novel's own sexual dimension:

La situación narrativa en la que se encuentra Huatyacuri no deja de recordar la pose

> clásica del poeta que recibe, soñando, la inspiración de algún dios, y cuya versión modernizada es la teoría de Freud sobre el parentesco entre el sueño y la producción poética. Como, según el mismo Freud, la capacidad poética parece ser una consecuencia de la sublimación de los impulsos eróticos, Huatyacuri podría compararse con un poeta frustrado. Arguedas, al substituir ficticiamente a Huatyacuri, recogerá, en cambio, el legado de los zorros y producirá su novela. (*Cultura andina* 32)

Lienhard's reading of the *Huarochirí Manuscript* is highly questionable. Is Huatyacuri a failed poet? The answer seems to be negative since, during his competition with Tamtañamca's son-in-law, Huatyacuri "cantó acompañándose con el tambor del zorrino" and "el mundo entero se movió" (De Ávila, *Dioses* 33). Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that Lienhard's reading is oriented to elucidate Arguedas' authorial persona as heir to Huatyacuri. On that note, Lienhard establishes an opposition between sexual reproduction and creative production—while Huatyacuri becomes father but doesn't produce oeuvre, Arguedas fully becomes an author due to the sublimation of sex drives. This is the reason for the inclusion of Fidela's episode, the first sexual experience of the diarist, at the end of the "Primer diario". After this episode (which is commented by the mythical foxes in stage script format), the fictional narrative section of the novel begins. That is to say, a disturbing sexual experience, alongside with the migration to urban settings, is what sets up the possibility of a creative outlet for Arguedas (*Cultura andina* 30-31).

In his analysis, Martín Lienhard seems to imply that Huatyacuri's sexual dimension (the desire to subjugate women) is completely transferred into a creative outlet in the diarist Arguedas (the writing of a novel). Nevertheless, the "subjugation of women" is a constant motif in the whole novel *El zorro de arrriba y el zorro de abajo*. In the fictional reconstruction of 1960s

Chimbote, it's explicitly addressed with the case of the three prostitutes (Orfa, Paula Melchora, and the one wearing a hat) who are victims of sexual abuse by Tinoco, one of Braschi's henchman. In addition, the "subjugation of women" is at the core of the sexualization of economic activities (the comparison between fishing and sexual intercourse) and cultural expression (such as the seudo-folk Chilean dance, negatively judged by the diarist Arguedas). A detail analysis of this last episode, as well as its connection with the spectacles sponsored by Braschi in Chimbote and the commodification process in general, is presented in the following section.

4.7. COMMODIFICATION AND SEXUALITY

In this section, I analyze the entertainment venues in Chimbote (namely, the system of brothels and nightclubs), which are presented as the "works" of Braschi in *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo*. I propose a parallelism between these debased places (that, nevertheless, provide agency to characters such as Maxwell and Tarta) and the commodification of Andean folklore discussed by Arguedas in several articles from the 1960s. As manager Ángel Rincón Jaramillo explains to the human-fox Diego, those entertainment venues are part of a complex exploitation system: besides underpaying factory workers and fishermen, the big capitalists make them waste their salaries in alcohol and sex. The mastermind behind this conspiracy is Braschi, who exerts his control by means of the "mafia," an organization specialized in encouraging overspending and sowing discord among the workers. Significantly, while explaining to Diego the origin and operations of the "mafia," Ángel establishes an analogy with the machines working at fishmeal factories:

—¿Sabe algo de lo que aquí se llama y es la "mafia"?

> —Poco, poquito, poco.
>
> —Son dos máquinas. La antigua montada a la bruta, sobre la marcha, que ahora es máscara, y la otra, renovada, fina, como las máquinas de las fábricas. Ésa, ni yo la conozco a fondo. La montaron y afirmaron después de la gran huelga. (*El zorro* 91)

The major victims of this exploitation system are the rural-urban migrants, who arrive to Chimbote lured by promises of economic prosperity (like the rural workers cheated by recruiter Narciso Barrera in *La vorágine*). It is true that these migrants have experienced an economic improvement—compared with the rampant poverty in the highlands—, but they also face new forms of exploitation. Following the explanation of Ángel to Diego, Arguedas' last novel identifies this exploitation system with the operations of the "mafia". Although factories are not employing a surplus population, those promises of economic prosperity continue because big capitalists have realized how to take advantage of those migrants living in slums—the overspending in venues of entertainment and industrial goods. Ángel celebrates the success of this intricate plot:

> Todo salió a lo calculado y aún más. Tanto más burdelero, putañero, timbero, tramposo, cuanto más comprador de refrigeradoras para guardar trapos, calzones de mujer, retratos—¡si no había, pues, electricidad, ni hay tampoco ahora, en las veintisiete barriadas de Chimbote, ciento cincuenta mil habitantes!—, carajo, más trampas, más billetes de quinientos o de cien quemados para prender cigarros, más macho el pescador, más gallo, más famoso, saludado, contento… (94-95)

Such plot seems highly implausible, notwithstanding the mythical status of the mastermind Braschi. Nevertheless, since several characters identify Braschi with the logic of capital, are the operations of the "mafia" effectively related to the history of capitalism in mid-twentieth century

Peru? In a recent article, Ericka Beckman links the uneven industrialization of Chimbote with two forms of expropriation of peasants (in Marxist terms): "The first moment is, in broad terms, an expulsion from subsistence agriculture and communal lifeways as a historical presupposition for the encounter between worker and capital; the second, expulsion from the very labor markets upon which people have come to depend" (José María). This socioeconomic process, already theorized in *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx, explains the greater importance in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* of settings such as the slums or street markets, in contrast to fishmeal factories: "The *less* factories need labor, the *more* Andean peasants are called to Chimbote. [..] Former indigenous peasants become members of an outsized urban surplus population eking out a living in barriadas and market stalls" (José María; emphasis in the original). In other words, Arguedas' last novel has a not misguided intuition by identifying this socioeconomic process and places it as the product of Braschi's master plan. Nevertheless, the system of brothels and orgies organized by the "mafia" (and ultimately Braschi) should be placed among the broader spectrum of ritual practices depicted in the novel.

Even a literary critic as insightful as Martin Lienhard overstates the importance of the system of brothels by saying: "el prostíbulo como modelo de un universo enajenado en su totalidad, señala la enajenación del universo que lo contiene, el de Chimbote" (*Cultura andina* 84). In fact, the orgies organized by the "mafia" only represent a fraction (even though a significant one) of the ritualized practices included in the novel. Following José Alberto Portugal, in an environment characterized by degradation and disorientation, the characters constantly perform rites or elaborate mythical explanations of their experiences: "[…] los gestos rituales (aunque, en tanto tales, siempre rompen con la lógica de lo habitual) abundan e, incluso, proliferan en los contextos más inmediatos y cotidianos. Mas aún, de manera continua en la

novela, el modo de representación es determinado por la conducta de ciertos personajes, que lo empujan en ciertos pasajes hacia la esfera de lo cómico o lo fantástico" (*Las novelas* 440). In other words, characters such as Loco Moncada (the comic) and Diego (the marvelous) perform rites that explicitly keep a distance from the parties sponsored by Braschi and organized by the "mafia."

One of these parties is also heavily criticized by Hilario Caullama, one of the mentors of Braschi, in a factory worker's meeting. The episode is recalled in the conversation between Ángel and Diego as part of the epic history of worker unions in Chimbote. After quashing the demands of the union movement (the factory's owners raise salary only to immediately devalue the country currency), Braschi reestablishes his bond with the workers with a populist move: he inaugurates a grotto to San Pedro, saint patron of fishermen, at the factory docks. The inauguration is followed by a party full of alcohol and prostitution, as if the docks have become a subsidiary of the brothels.

Shortly after this party at the docks, in a union meeting, Hilario Caullama faces the superintendent and accuses Braschi of desecrating the San Pedro's grotto:

> Estoy con el uso de las palabras, en nombre del trabajo frente al capital. Tenemos patrón San Pedro consagrado de antiguo por la Santísima Iglesia Católico Romano; está en la iglesia. El bulto con pescadazo falseficado, que el Soperintendente ha entronizado en gruta cartón piedra falseficado, patio muelle y que las chuchumecas han desbautizado, no lo habemos pedido los trabajadores al capital. ¡No lo pago! Si aquí en la asamblea hay tonto pescador descrismado, que page, pues. (*El zorro* 103)

Hilario Caullama's speech has different layers. First, he questions the suspect quality of the new saint statue, which is described as a counterfeit; in contrast, the old saint statue holds the

traditional attributes of this kind of images. In fact, the terms of Caullama's critique bear a resemblance to Arguedas' negative judgment of the retablos of Jesús Urbano Rojas—that is to say, an assemblage of disparate elements. Second, Hilario Caullama questions the presence of the prostitutes, who lead to the sexualization and degradation of a sacred event. Significantly, the Andean fisherman is not against prostitution, but against the loss of traditional boundaries between the sacred and the profane: "Putas tienen su lugar en Chimbote" (103).

Significantly, the stance and vocabulary of Hillario Caullama have already appeared in the "Primer diario," when Arguedas criticizes a seudo-folk Chilean dance. According to the diarist, this dance has been completely deformed and simplified in order to fulfill the expectation of international audiences. Not unlike the San Pedro statue, the trivialization of Chilean folklore is expressed in the jarring combination of elements and the sexualization of the whole ensemble:

> Un amigo peruano me llevó anoche a una boité-teatro fea; le dijeron que presentaban danzas y cantos chilenos. Era cierto, muy entretenido para el público al que vanidosa aunque 'objetivamente' llamamos vulgar, frívolo, etc. Entre calatas, cómicos, conjuntos de jazz y de pelucones, todo mediocre, apareció un 'ballet' chileno. ¡Maldita sea! No digo que ya no es chileno eso; pero para los que sabemos como suena lo que el pueblo hace, estas mojigangas son cosa que nos deja entre iracundos y perplejos. Yo no diría tampoco, como otros sabidos, que eso es una pura cacana. Algo sabe a chileno. Los 'huasos' aparecen muy adornaditos, amariconados (casi ofensa del huaso) y las muchachas algo achuchumecadas (como no queriendo perturbar la frivolidad de los contertulios que pagan el espectáculo) con la gracia fuerte del macho y de la hembra humanos, encachados, que en el campo o en la ciudad no entran en remilgos cuando cantan y bailan lo suyo y así transmiten el jugo de la tierra. (13)

It is important to highlight that, in contrast to the seudo-folk Chilean dance degraded by market forcep, the originality and strength of Andean folklore could still be found not only in rural settings (the places where these traditions originated in the first place), but also in urban settings as an effect of internal migration. Thus, the urban setting is not responsible for the degeneration of folklore, but the commodification process (whose logic is also reproduced in rural settings). In fact, the urban setting could invigorate Andean folklore: the city provides newer technologies and techniques, as well as articulates unprecedented dynamics and forces. Nevertheless, this modernization also takes places in a historical conjuncture characterized by an uneven development and the persistence of hierarchical structures.

Regarding the commodification of Andean folklore, in his ethnographic articles, Arguedas mentioned he persistence of the "incaísta" aesthetic, which reproduces prejudices toward contemporaneous indigenous populations ("Notas" 355). Basically, Peruvian ruling classes celebrate the mastery of Inca art, crafted hundreds of years ago, but dismiss living folk or popular production. In consequence, folk groups abandoned their traditional outfits and adopted "trajes cuzqueños […] ingenua y escandalosamente 'estilizados' con cintas que dibujaban figuras geométricas supuestamente 'incaicas'" (356). In other words, Andean folklore became "incaísta" to fit rulling classes' expectation and to succeed in cultural markets. As a response to this commodification, Arguedas was deeply committed to record and preserve regional traditions throughout the Andean region. This was a very remarkable activity that, nevertheless, had also a nuance of conservatism. According to Javier García Liendo, during his term as director of Casa de la Cultura (1963-1964), Arguedas had "una función policial" (*El intelectual* 146-147). His objective was to prevent the pervasive influence of businessmen "quienes exigían a los músicos cambios en sus repertorios y vestimentas tradicionales. Arguedas veía necesario 'conservar,'

evitar la corrupción de la cultura musical andina a manos de la mercantilización" (148).

In the "Primer diario," right after the negative critique of the seudo-folk Chilean dance, Arguedas explicitly denies that he's following a narrow nativist perspective: "Y no es que lo diga como un sectario indigenista. Lo vieron y sintieron, igual que yo, gente que vi llegar de Paris, de los Estados Unidos, de Italia y gente criada en Lima, de algunos de esos que han crecido en 'sociedades' bien cuajadas o descuajándose" (*El zorro* 13). The decay and travesty of Andean folklore should be evident to anybody, no matter their social classes or ethnic heritage, who is not alienated by the commodification process. On the contrary, the professional writer Carlos Fuentes (not the flesh-and-blood author, but his inscription in the novel) "no entendería bien" (13) because he is already a commodity in the literary markets. Arguedas made a similar remark in the article "El monstruoso malentendido," published in 1962—talking about the "retablo" and the "toro de Pucará," he explained: "El peruano y el extranjero verdaderamente cultos, admiran y aman estos objetos y ven en ellos la muestra de una inspiración artística profunda, en que el hombre y la tierra vibran juntos, y de una destreza manual milenaria. Y contemplan en estos objetos, y con razón, el arte más original del Perú" (358).

THE NETWORKS OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS

In both the cases of Hillario Caullama and Arguedas, the decay of folklore has sexual connotations: the women are prostitutes and the men, homosexuals. As is the case of the unrestrained sexuality of Braschi, the moral depravity of capitalism is expressed by means of over-sexualization. Besides this homophobic perspective, in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, the sexual experience is depicted as a complex phenomenon that implies fascination and uneasiness alike. At the beginning of the novel, sex implies confusion and debasement—namely,

the sexual encounter between Arguedas and a mestiza in the "Primer diario," or the reference of Tutaykire being lured by female genitalia: "Tutaykire quedó atrapado por una 'zorra' dulce y contraria, entre los yungas" (*El zorro* 29). The ambivalence of sex is also commented by the foxes in the first stage script dialogue:

> **El zorro de abajo**: un sexo desconocido confunde a esos. Las prostitutas carajean, putean, con derecho. Lo distanciaron más al susodicho [the diarist Arguedas]. A nadie pertenece la "zorra" de la prostituta: es del mundo de aquí, de mi terreno. Flor de fango, les dicen. En su "zorra" aparece el miedo y la confianza también.
>
> **El zorro de arriba**: La confianza, también el miedo, el forasterismo nacen de la Virgen y del *ima sapra* y del hierro torcido, parado o en movimiento, porque quiere mandar la salida y la entrada de todo. (23)

However, this ambivalence seems to be resolved with the character of Maxwell, who has sexual intercourse with an Andean woman thanks to the intervention of a mysterious man: "Una noche de esas, durante una fiesta en que bailamos y tomamos, me acosté con una joven de Paratía. […] Cada soltero tenía su pareja y yo me decidí a entrar en la danza. Un joven de rostro alargado, de rarísimos bigotes ralos, me animó" (218)[33]. As it was discussed in the previous section, this mysterious man is probably the fox from up-above, the brother of Diego. As embodiments of the Andean mythical categories, the foxes seem to resolve the ambiguity of sex by means of recovering communal values—in the case of Maxwell, the intercourse with the Andean woman happens as part of an Indigenous festivity. Moreover, the introduction of the system of brothels (the model of an alienated place in Chimbote) coincides with the first appearance of Maxwell, who is dancing a rock 'n' roll with a prostitute. Instead of depicting the sordid routines of brothel life, the narration presents an event that disrupts it and, in doing so, creates unexpected

dynamics. In other words, Maxwell' dancing is a rite that challenges the power of the "mafia".

> Maxwell daba saltos, caía sobre la punta de los pies; alzaba a la "China" en el aire, la dejaba caer a un paso, la tomaba de la mano para hacerla girar, la volvía a dejar libre; la miraba; el ritmo de su cuerpo contagiaba hasta al arbolito del patio. Como el agua que salta y corre, canalizada por su propia velocidad en las pendientes escarpadas e irregulares, y cambia de color y de sonido, atrae y ahuyenta a ciertos insectos voladores, así el cuerpo de Maxwell templaba el aire en el salón. En poco rato, los contertulios, borrachos y sanos, patrones de lancha, pescadores, comerciantes, mirones ansiosos sin dinero, fueron acercándose al norteamericano y a su pareja. Algunas rameras cholas veían a Maxwell como a una candela. (31)

Chronologically, this episode takes place after Maxwell's trip to Paratía, where he meets the fox from up-above and has intercourse with a woman during an Andean festivity. On that note, the "gringo" disrupts the brothels through his attachment to Andean folklore and mythical categories. According to Martin Lienhard, since Maxwell's dance moves are compared with waterfalls, he "aparece como emisario del mundo de arriba" (*Cultura andina* 93).

The waterfalls have already appeared in the "Primer Diario" as an archetype for non-professional writers, who reject the commodification process in literary markets by means of embracing communal values. However, the assumption of those communal values doesn't imply a refusal of modernization in itself (urban settings, newer techniques and technologies, etc.). On that same note, in the episode in the brothel, notwithstanding Maxwell's assimilation to Andean communities, he is dancing a modern rock 'n' roll; that is to say, a musical genre originated in the United States of America (home country of Maxwell) in the mid-twentieth century and disseminated worldwide through mass media and urban settings. Certainly, Maxwell is dancing

the rock 'n' roll as if it were an Andean dance (thus the comparison between his moves and the waterfalls), which implies a process of "transculturation" (in terms of Ángel Rama) or "andinization" (in terms of Martin Lienhard) of dominant genres of mass media. Nevertheless, the first interaction of Maxwell with Andean folklore already implies a degree of modernization—Maxweel meets the Ayarachi, a folk group from Paratía, in a concert in Lima for Westernized audiences:

> [The Ayarachi] convirtieron la sala del Teatro Municipal de Lima no en fúnebre sino en horno flameante, como por suerte de una combinación de Wagner, Beethoven, Mussorgsky y Bartok, en sus raíces. "Es fúnebre, terrible", "Es atroz, salvaje", "Es maravillo, extraño", "Pertenece a otro mundo", decían algunos concurrentes. "Eso será yo, eso es parte de mí y para íntegramente serlo, tengo que andar miles y miles de kilómetros y astros en tiempo hacia delante y quizá más, quizá no lo sabía y no lo sé, hacia atrás del tiempo, con ellos, con los ayarachis", dije yo. Y dije esto no porque haya estudiado musicología. Tú lo sabes [Cardozo]. En la Casa de la Cultura de Lima pude tratar directamente con los bailarines; pasé noches enteras en el internado del Colegio Militar Leoncio Prado donde estuvieron alojados. Me aceptaron desde el principio. Y aceptador mi pedido de viajar con ellos. (*El zorro* 216)

It is true that Maxwell is the only non-Indigenous listener who experiences a strong attachment to Andean folklore (the other listeners express perplexity or incomprehension), but Maxwell's empathy for Andean folklore happens, not despite of his Western background, but precisely because of it. His training as musicologist allows him to make informed comparisons between prestigious European composers and what he listens to in that Peruvian theater. Moreover, Maxwell's praise of Andean folklore is not reduced to an aesthetic judgment, but it implies a

complete transformation of his subjectivity. It could be argued that, after listening to the Ayarachi, Maxwell starts his journey to become an Andean musical performer—he learns to play charango in the highlands—, but this artistic transformation initially relies on his Western formation.

Furthermore, Maxwell projects the opposite trajectory of the diarist Arguedas, who presents himself as an individual who was raised in agrarian Andean societies and only later in his life participated in urban Westernized culture. Interestingly, the "Tercer diario" includes a comparison between prestigious European composers and the music coming out of a pine tree that mirrors Maxwell's own experience with Andean folklore:

> En un patio de una residencia señorial convertida en casa de negocios, este pino, renegrido, el más alto que mis ojos han visto, me recibió con benevolencia y ternura. Derramó sobre mi cabeza feliz toda su sombra y su música. Música que ni los Bach, Vivaldi o Wagner pudieron hacer tan intensa y transparente de sabiduría, de amor, así tan oníricamente penetrante, de la materia de que todos estamos hechos y que al contacto de esta sombra se inquieta con punzante regocijo, con totalidad. (176)

As in the case of Maxwell, Arguedas praises the pine tree's music, which is related to the agrarian Andean communities in which the diarist was raised. On the other hand, Maxwell's case seems to be similar to João Guimarães Rosa (not the flesh-and-blood author, but his inscription in the novel), who "había 'descendido' y no lo habían hecho 'descender'" to the people's heart (15). Moreover, the intense personal commitment of Maxwell (and Guimarães Rosa) is what establishes the difference with Alejo Carpentier (again, his inscription in the text), whose erudition and analytical skills imply a desire of dominion instead of a willingness to personal transformations: "Su inteligencia penetra las cosas de afuera adentro, como un rayo; es un

cerebro que recibe lúcido y regocijado, la materia de las cosas y él las domina. […] Dicen que es tímido, pero sentía o lo sentía como a un europeo muy ilustre que hablaba castellano. Muy ilustre, de esos ilustres que aprecian lo indígena americano, medidamente” (11-12).

Furthermore, the whole interaction of Maxwell with Andean folklore has several intermediaries in urban settings, such as State institutions (like the Casa de la Cultura, where Arguedas worked between 1963-1964) and the networks created by the rural-urban migrants themselves. For instance, after six months of traveling around Titicaca lake and seeing “treinta danzas distintas, en música, trajes y coreografías, distintas” (217), Mawxell is back in the Casa de la Cultura in Lima, where he learns musical traditions from other areas of the Andes: “ese famoso charangista me enseñó el estilo de su region: Huamanga. Le hablé de algunos de los pueblos de su region nativa y él me enseñó su estilo de charango, “triste arrebatado”; me lo enseñó en muchas horas y semanas, mientras bebíamos pisco y cerveza, sin llorar nunca” (220). The training of Maxwell as an Andean musician not only requires his immersion in agrarian communities in Paratía (where he meets one of the mythical foxes), but it also relies on the increasing modernization of Andean folklore in urban settings.

According to Javier García Liendo, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* presents a negative image of Peruvian uneven modernization because of, among other things, the lack of urban folk music venues in the fictional reconstruction of 1960s Chimbote (*El intellectual* 163-165). On one hand, in his articles about folklore and ethnography, Arguedas offered a positive perspective about the increasing presence of Andean folklore in folk music venues, which was a setting for the creative interaction of rural-urban migrants with modern technology and capitalism. On the other hand, Arguedas’ last novel presents the opposite scenario: “En Chimbote, la tecnología y el capitalismo producen espectros famélicos y desarraigados. También

allí los migrantes quieren 'apropiarse' de la tecnología […] Pero se impone la imagen de una destrucción absoluta en donde no hay lugar para la esperanza. En el puerto, el capitalismo muestra su lado más destructor" (164). Besides the insistence of this literary critics in a catastrophic image of Chimbote (an inaccurate interpretation as I have explained in a previous section), his assessment of the importance of folk music venues is misleading since these places were not important in themselves, but because rural-urban migrants integrated them into broader networks. Thanks to these networks, the migrants faced and overcame the challenges of living in urban settings (controlled by upper and middle-classes unfamiliar with or openly racist towards them). As a researcher and public official, Arguedas was deeply interested in identifying these networks and strengthening them. And his literary work followed a similar pattern, as it is already expressed in his first novel, *Yawar Fiesta*, in the episode of the "Centro Unión Lucanas," where 1920s rural-urban migrants gathered.

On that note, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* is not primarily a novel about the harbor or brothels in Chimbote (places where Braschi, or big capital, exert his power), but a novel about that broader networks created by the rural-urban migrants to grapple with the uneven modernization process in Chimbote (and the whole country). For instance, in Lima these networks allow Maxwell to interact with Andean folklore for the first time; in Chimbote, these same networks accompany his further development: he moves to the slum La Esperanza, work as bricklayer with Cecilio Ramírez, helps him to establish small businesses (a car wash and repair store), builds his own house and plans to marry Fredesbinda, a neighbor of Cecilio Ramírez. The transformation of Maxwell ends with the full revelation of his status as Andean musician: he receives from the human-fox Diego a charango sent by the blind musician Antolín Crispín and his wife Florinda. In the Casa de la Cultura in Lima, Maxwell learned charango songs from

Huamanga; in Chimbote, Maxwell will learn other musical styles. The Maxwell's status as a folk performer is achieved thanks to, besides the mythical foxes, the networks established by rural-urban migrants.

While the logic of capital is clearly personified by Braschi (leading to a paranoid or conspiratorial representation of socioeconomic processes), the networks of rural-urban migrants aren't embodied in the figure or behavior of a single character. In fact, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* explores a numerous roster of characters that participate in these networks: the bricklayer Cecilio Ramírez; the pig-breder Gregorio Bazalar; the street-performer Loco Moncada; Esteban de la Cruz and his wife, Jesusa; and the three prostitutes Orfa, Paula Mechora, and the one wearing a hat. Some of these characters cross paths in the chapters and "hervores," while others never met. In the "¿Ultimo diario?," Arguedas summarizes his original plan to coalesce the stories of those characters, in which the mythical foxes play a crucial role:

> Los Zorros corren del uno al otro de sus mundos; bailan bajo la luz azul, sosteniendo trozos de bosta agusanada sobre la cabeza. Ellos sienten, *musian*, más claro, más denso que los medio locos transidos y conscientes y, por eso, y no siendo mortales, de algún modo hilvanan e iban a seguir hilvanando los materiales y almas que empezó a arrastrar este relato. (*El zorro* 244)

As I mentioned in a previous section, the foxes are first introduced as two voices narrating and commenting the events in both the "Diarios" (23) and the fictional narration (49-51). Halfway in the novel, the foxes become characters in the represented world and have decisive interactions with several characters: the manager Ángel Rincón Jaramillo (the entire chapter III), the stutterer Tarta (129), Esteban de la Cruz (168-169), Maxwell in Paratía (218), and all the people reunited in priest Cardozo's office (233-240 or the tenth "hervor"). Moreover, the "¿Último diario?"

explains that, in the unwritten sections of the novel, the foxes are supposed to interact with the other characters, such as Loco Moncada and the three female prostitutes (243-244). In all of these cases, the human-fox Diego provokes a transfiguration in his interlocutors, who experience a sense of euphoria and perplexity, combined with an urgent desire to speak, sing, and dance. In other words, the mythical foxes trigger the performative qualities of these characters, underscoring their authorial dimensions.

It could be argued that the performances of these characters are challenging the rule of Braschi, who is the ultimately responsible for the exploitation system in the harbor and brothels of Chimbote. This subversive aspect is evident in the ritual of exorcist performed by the prostitute wearing a hat:

> Se sacó el sombrero, enarcó el brazo como para bailar, hizo brillar la cinta del sombrero, moviéndolo, y con la melodía de un carnaval muy antiguo, cantó, bailando:
>
> > Culebra Tinoco
> >
> > culebra Chimbote
> >
> > culebra asfalto
> >
> > culebra Zavala
> >
> > culebra Braschi
> >
> > cerro arena culebra
> >
> > juábrica harina culebra
> >
> > *challwa* pejerrey, anchovita, culebra,
> >
> > carrerita culebra
> >
> > camino de bolichera en la mar, culebra,
> >
> > fila alcatraz, fila *huanay* culebra (47)

The mythical foxes narrate and comment the prostitute's ritual, but they neither interact with her nor trigger her performance (49). In contrast, the following rituals (Ángel, Tarta, and Cecilio Ramirez) are directly elicited by the presence of the human-fox Diego. These other rituals also seem to challenge the exploitation system in Chimbote; however, it is significant that Diego is first introduced in the novel as an agent of Lima's big capitalists. In fact, Ángel suspects that his visitor is not a mere employee of Braschi, but sort of a disciple: "Este alevitado hippi es de confianza, un pituco a medias descuajado ¿hechura de Brachi?" (88)

What is the nature of the relationship between Diego (as ignitor of rituals in the networks of rural-urban migrants) and Braschi (as a mythical figure that rules Chimbote's exploitation system)? The answer is of a pivotal importance for the discussion about "modernidad andina" in *El zorro de arriba y del zorro de abajo*. Is one (Diego) subordinated to the other (Braschi)? Do they constitute at the end discrete and opposite stances (the capital against the labor)? I suggest that Arguedas' last novel attempts for a negotiation between the relentless dynamics of modernization and the endangered communal values brought by rural-urban migrants. The networks created by these migrants respond to the imminent loss of those communal values in capitalist societies, but these networks couldn't exist in the first place without the development of capitalism.

At the end, rural-urban migrants find in Chimbote better living conditions that in the highlands, as well as unprecedented opportunities to improve their lives. That's why the human-fox Diego appears "hechura de Braschi" or, in other words, as a product of the very capitalism process that Arguedas's last novel is trying to understand. The uneven modernization is responsible of the challenges in Chimbote, but it is also the source of their possible solutions. Furthermore, sometimes the forces opposed to capitalism are, in fact, reproducing different

system of exploitation. This paradox is also expressed in the prostitute's ritual of exorcism: she curses Braschi (the capital investor) as well as Zavala (an active member of labor unions) because both of them reproduce an exploitation system against women. The following chapter of my dissertation, focus on *A Hora da Estrela* by Clarice Lispector, explores in a deeper sense this gender exploitation system.

CHAPTER V

AUTHORIAL UNEASE AND CHARACTER'S PERFORMATIVITY IN *A HORA DA ESTRELA* (1977), BY CLARICE LISPECTOR.

LISPECTOR'S NEW BEGINNING

The first reviewers of *A hora da estrela* (published a couple of months before Clarice Lispector's death in 1977) regarded this novella as a surprising departure from the topics and settings of her previous literary works. At this time, Lispector already had a distinguished career (she published 7 novels and 5 short-story collections) that placed her among the most critically acclaimed Brazilian writers in the mid-twentieth century. Since her first novel, *Perto do coração selvagem* (1943), literary critics praised Lispector for her mastering of High Modernist techniques (she was compared to Irish writer James Joyce and British writer Virginia Woolf) in the depiction of identity crisis and gender relations in urban upper-middle classes. In the following decades, her writing would be largely characterized as hermetic—a labelling that Lispector would challenge regularly given that, among other things, she had a successful career as children books' author. According to Florencia Garramuño, because of the perception of Lispector's works as lyrical, psychological, and devoted to exploring femininity, it was hard to locate her within the dominant trends in Brazilian literature ("Uma leitura histórica" 175). On that note, she was regarded as an author detached from the political commitment on social issues that characterizes, for instance, Latin American Regionalism (1930s-1950s) or Neorealism (1950s-1970s).

Before *A hora da estrela*, Brazil's regional, ethnic, and class conflicts are predominately absent in her literary work. On that note, in a foreword published in the first editions of *A hora da estrela*, Eduardo Portella says: "Devemos falar de uma nova Clarice Lispector, 'exterior e

explícita', *o coração selvagem* comprometido nordestinamente con o projeto brasileiro?" ("O grito do silêncio" 9; italics in the original). Portella made a reference to Lispector's early novel, *Perto do coração selvagem*, in order to highlight the peculiarity of *A hora da estrela*, as it was a turning point or a new beginning for her career. For the first time, she published a novel that explicitly dealt with the historical conflict between the impoverished rural northeast (the sertões) and the wealthy southern region (such as the city of Rio de Janeiro, capital of Brazil until 1960). In particular, Lispector' novella pays attention to the historical phenomenon of massive rural-urban migration from the sertões to Rio de Janeiro, which tripled its population by the mid-twentieth century. Significantly, in addition to presenting a story dealing with marginalized populations and economic inequalities, *A hora da estrela* discusses the literary devices and underlying ideological assumptions of committed literature as well. Portella and other early literary critics also assessed the metafictional dimension of Lispector's novella by establishing a connection to *Ciclo das Secas*, which is regarded as the Brazilian inflection of Latin American Regionalism. In *A hora da estrela*, this literary current is called into question by means of the depiction of an upper-class male writer, Rodrigo S.M., who creates the character Macabéa, a rural-urban migrant and lower-class female typist. Through exploring the hierarchical relationships between the male writer and the female character, the works affiliated to Regionalism are revealed to be largely based on the projection of stereotypes about marginalized populations[34].

A hora da estrela presents the story of Macabéa, a 19-year-old woman originally from the northeast state of Alagoas. She has recently moved to Rio de Janeiro, where she works as a typist and endures a very impoverished material life. She is also part of a marginalized ethnicity, without Portuguese or European ancestry: "Sou achatada de nariz, sou alagoana" (*A hora da*

estrela 78). The novella describes her backstory in the sertões and her current daily routine in Rio de Janeiro from the day she is about to be fired—she's an incompetent typist—to her sudden death in a traffic accident. In addition to the northeastern girl, the other main character of *A hora da estrela* is Rodrigo S.M., the narrator of the novella and author of Macabéa. Significantly, he is a middle-aged man from a different social class and cultural background than the fictional character he is trying to portray. According to Rodrigo S.M., Macabéa is initially based on a random northeastern girl who he briefly glimpses on the streets of Rio de Janeiro (*A hora da estrela* 16). Subsequently, the narrator employs his observations of lower class lifestyles and his own personal experiences—entwined with class and gender biases—to construct Macabea's life. Rodrigo S.M. is highly conscious of the challenges of his project and the reader's reactions: "Essa narrativa mexerá com uma coisa delicada: a criação de uma pessoa inteira que na certa está tão viva quanto eu. Cuidai dela porque meu poder é só mostrá-la para que vós a reconheçais na rua, andando de leve por causa da esvoaçada magreza" (24). Furthermore, since this writer is dealing with a personal crisis, he constantly interrupts the narration by explaining his own struggles with the writing process, the literary market in which he reluctantly participates, and the meaning of life in a broader sense: "Tenho um arrepio de medo. Ainda bem que o que eu vou escrever já deve estar na certa de algum modo escrito em mim" (26). The narration of Macabéa's life is actually a journey of self-discovery for the narrator.

Although Rodrigo S.M.'s comments shed light on Macabéa's life, they also seem to be intrusive and derogatory several times. The narrator constantly highlights his empathy towards Macabéa and his efforts to relate with the material constraints of the northeast girl: "Para falar da moça tenho que não fazer a barba durante dias e adquirir olheiras escuras por dormir pouco, só cochilar de pura exaustão, sou um trabalhador manual. Além de vestir-me com roupa velha

rasgada. Tudo isso para me pôr no nível da nordestina" (25). However, the supposed identification between the writer and the popular subject doesn't erase the hierarchical structure between both of them. For instance, both of them use a typewriter, but while Rodrigo S.M. deploys his creativity as a literary writer, Macabéa is trapped in a mechanical labor as a typist. On that note, Macabéa bears a resemblance on other typist from nineteenth century literature, such as "Bartleby, the Scrivener" (1853), by Herman Melville (1819-1891), and *Bouvard et Pécuchet* by Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) Moreover, although women were gaining spaces and influence in the literary scene (in the Brazilian context, it is noteworthy the case of Rachel de Queiroz [1910-2003]), *A hora da estrela* exposes gender stereotypes about women—in particular, lower class and rural-urban migrants. As Sarah Ann Wells explains, this is a novella in which "a male writer abuses and loves an impoverished woman, a bad writer, and a worse reader-spectator: the position to which women were often consigned in the lettered space" (*Media laboratories* 111). Nevertheless, since Rodrigo S.M. is struggling with the writing process, he finds himself challenged by the storyline and fictional characters that he attempts to control. On that note, Macabéa starts acquiring some sort of autonomy which, ironically, is fully revealed during her sudden death at the end of the novella.

In this chapter, I propose that, in addition to questioning the authorial ideology of the *Ciclo das Secas*, *A hora da estrela* deals with the gendered power structure that defined dominant versions of authorship in 1960s and 1970s Latin American literature—specifically, the Spanish American Boom and its resonance in the Brazilian literary scene. As a development of the Romantic poetics and the Latin American "letrado," the authorial identity in the 1960s implied the professionalization of writing (widespread use of new literary devices/participation in literary markets) and the image of literary writers as original creators. Interestingly, Clarice

Lispector is recognized as one of the major exponents of the renovation of narrative devices in the mid-twentieth century, even though she lacked the same media attention and social recognition as her male counterparts.

A hora da estrela calls into question dominant versions of authorship established in the 1960s in two aspects: the increasing professionalization (understood as subordination to economic demands) and the persistence of patriarchal structures (the author has a male identity and subordinate female subjectivities). On the other hand, regarding alternative visions of authorship, *A hora da estrela* also questions the idealization of manual labor and folklore, which has acquired a positive perspective as a reaction to the professionalization of the artistic field (for instance, José María Arguedas' *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*). Lispector's novella offers a pessimistic version of those non-prestigious and non-professional activities because they actually reproduce gendered power structures. Finally, rather than idealizing networks of rural-urban migrants, *A hora da estrela* depicts a supporting sorority between lower-class characters: Macabéa, her colleague Glória, and the fortuneteller Carlota (and, in another level, Clarice Lispector herself). On that note, what are the possibilities of authorship for a woman in *A hora da estrela*? The novella doesn't deny them since it is actually penned by a woman, Clarice Lispector. However, this is an achievement that relies on class and ethnic privileges, as it is the case with the narrator Rodrigo S.M. In an extreme case such as Macabéa (who suffers several forms of marginalization at the same time), the only way to express herself seems to be her bad taste, the magazine pictures she collects, and her own death.

I pay attention to the contradictions in Rodrigo S.M.'s narration and commentary in order to identify a network of relationships between authorial figures and characters involved in productive activities. Regarding the authorial figures, the novella introduces two literary writers,

who are defined by their gender. First, there is the male narrator Rodrigo S.M., who interpolates several digressions about the challenges of creating Macabéa and his own expectations as a literary writer. Rodrigo S.M. defines himself as a non-professional writer and asserts to be interested in a journey of self-discovery; however, he also expresses anxiety for establishing his authority and controlling the existence of Macabéa. In order to identify the role of Rodrigo S.M.'s class and gender privileges, I differentiate two stages in his creative process—gathering of information/preparation of working environment and the actual writing process. In addition, Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial anxieties are projected onto two characters who interact with Macabéa form a position of power: Raimundo Silveira, the boss of Macabéa, and the medical doctor who diagnoses her with pulmonary tuberculosis. And second, there is the blood-and-flesh female writer Clarice Lispector, whose name is inscribed twice in the paratexts of the novella: in the title of the foreword, "Dedicatoria do autor (Na verdade Clarice Lispector)" (7) and in the title page, in which the thirteen titles selected by Rodrigo S.M. are interrupted in the middle by the signature of Clarice Lispector (13). Lispector's position of authority is clearly established since it steps into Rodrigo's domain—his metafictional reflection never mentions the inscription of the blood-and-flesh author in the text, although he expresses negative opinions about the literature written by women: "Escritora mulher poder lacrimejar piegas" (18).

With respect to the characters involved in productive activities, I analyze the representation of Macabéa, who works as a typist and has an intense relationship with language; her boyfriend Olímpico de Jesus, a factory worker and an amateur carver of religious images; and the fortune teller and former prostitute Carlota. The depiction of these lower-class characters highlights the conflicts among them—in particular, the gender violence and discrimination that Macabéa suffers from Olímpico. In this regard, Macabéa suffers a double marginality: first, a

marginalization from the upper-classes in the urban society of Rio de Janeiro, which is expressed in his material constraints and the narrator's stereotypes toward lower classes; and second, a marginalization from the lower classes themselves as she is regarded as an extravagant character by her social peers. This double exclution creates in Macabéa a deep feeling of uncertainty and solitude, as she expresses in a conversation to Olímpico: "É que só sei ser impossível, não sei mais nada. Que é que eu faço para conseguir ser possível?" (59). Due to the resignation and resilience that Macabéa develops, Rodrigo S.M. presents her as a "santa" (47) with an intuitive and mysterious spirituality: "Ela era de leve como uma idiota, só que não o era. Não sabia que era infeliz. É porque ela acreditava. Em quê? Em vós, mas não é preciso acreditar em alguém ou em alguma coisa—basta acreditar. Isso lhe dava às vezes estado de graça. Nunca perdera a fé" (33). Nevertheless, Macabéa begins to show autonomy and to break the double marginalization—and Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial control—thanks to a sorority network conformed by her colleague Glória and the fortune teller Carlota.

I'm interested in how *A hora da estrela* highlights gender identity and relations (intersected with social class, ethnicity, and cultural capital) in order to question the dominant version of authorship in the 1960s and 1970s. The critical bibliography of *A hora da estrela* has analyzed gendered power relationships in connection to intellectuals' fear about the rising masses (Regina Dalcastagnè), the phallogocentrism of Western culture (Cynthia Sloan), and Brazilian upper-middle classes' stereotypes about northeastern population (Lucía Sá), but none of them establishes a clear connection with the 1960s and 1970s literary discourse about authorship. On the other hand, I disagree with the critical bibliography that underscores the metafictional dimension of *A hora da estrela* but, at the same time, displaces gendered power structures. According to Clarice Fukelman, the modernity of Lispector's novelle implies a

perception of a fundamental identity crisis that surpasses any gender identity or class distinction. In the case of the title page, the opposition between the fictional male author (designated by a male adjective that actually points out to a neutral function—"autor") and the blood-and-flesh female author (Clarice Lispector) doesn't speak about the revelation of a factual origin of the text, but a "jogo de máscaras, onde o foco irradiador de verdade é posto sob suspeita, [and] a própria ideia de verdade aflora como ponto de reflexão" (207). Notwithstanding the complexity of *A hora da estrela*'s reflection on subjectivity and fictionality (which is akin to *La vida breve* [1950] by the Uruguayan writer, Juan Carlos Onetti, one of the precursors of the Boom), Fukelman misses the gendered powered structure that strongly frames the identity crisis of Rodrigo S.M. and his claims of supposed universality[35].

Paying attention to gender relations in *A hora da estrela* sheds light on a deeper questioning of the 1960s and 1970s dominant version of authorship: although Rodrigo S.M. doesn't recognize himself as a professional writer—as it is also the case of Arguedas is *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*—he exerts epistemological violence in his depiction of Macabéa, attempting to control her existence and finding himself challenged by the autonomy that this character seems to acquire. Contradicting Rodrigo S.M.'s expectation, Macabéa finds himself in a journey of self-discovery, although it is presented in an entangled manner:

> —Não sei bem o que sou, me acho um pouco... de quê?... Quer dizer não sei bem quem eu sou.
>
> —Mas você sabe que se chama Macabéa, pelo menos isso?
>
> —É verdade. Mas não sei o que está dentro do meu nome. Só sei que eu nunca fui importante... (68).

Regarding this autonomy, Sarah Anne Welles identifies Macabéa as "an anthropophagic

protagonist, one who threatens to devour the author who fashion her" (*Media laboratories* 99). I suggest that, rather than a straightforward opposition between Rodrigo S.M. and Macabéa, *A hora da estrela* deploys an array of authorial figures and performers that includes Macabéa, Olímpico, and Carlota. Some of these characters work as projection of the authorial anxieties of Rodrigo S.M.—namely, the artisanal work of Olímpico mirrors the writing process of the narrator. On the other hand, a character such as Carlota—the only character in the novella with a personal narrative of life—allows Macabéa to develop the autonomy that—ironically and tragically—would be fully expressed at the moment of her death.

THE PROFESIONALIZATION OF WRITING IN BRAZIL

In 1979, Sara Castro-Klarén and Ángel Rama organized a symposium in the Smithsonian Institute (Washington D.C., USA) to discuss the nature and repercussions of the 1960s Latin American Boom. In one of the presentations (published in 1981), Antônio Cândido highlighted the fact that Brazil is the only country that is explicitly mentioned in the program ("El papel del Brasil" 166). He explained that the term "nueva narrativa latinoamericana" primarily described a cultural phenomenon in Spanish America; after a reconsideration, the term would include the literary production in Portuguese language by certain Brazilian authors—João Guimarães Rosa and Clarice Lispector. In order to foreground the inclusion of Brazil in the 1960s Boom, Cândido discussed the common history of Brazil and Spanish America (European colonization, slavery, uneven modernization, increasing urbanization), before explaining the specificities of Brazilian literary history. Among the several particularities of Brazilian literature, the critic emphasized two phenomena from the nineteenth century: first, the coexistence of a relatively autonomous literary system—expressed in the *romance regionalista* and *literatura sertaneja*—that expressed

regional differences within Brazil; and second, the demand for innovation and experimentation in the so-called cosmopolitan literary system, which had as a pivotal moment the 1920s Brazilian *modernismo* in São Paulo.

Following a teleological perspective, Cândido recognized Guimarães Rosa as a radical innovator of the *romance regionalista* (177), while he regarded Lispector as the author who more consistently highlighted the autonomy of literature within the so-called cosmopolitan tradition: “Clarice demostraba que la realidad social o personal, proporcionada por el tema, y el instrumento verbal, instituido por el lenguaje, se justifican antes que nada por el hecho de producir una realidad propia, con su inteligibilidad específica” (“El papel del Brasil” 176). On the other side, Cândido didn’t establish analogies between the production of these Brazilian writers and their Spanish speaking counterparts. Nevertheless, the description he offered of Guimarães Rosa is similar to both José María Arguedas’s and Juan Rulfo’s critical appraisal in their respective countries, while Lispector’s role in defining the autonomy of literature bears a resemblance to Jorge Luis Borges’s own role at the same time.

Interestingly, the only time Antônio Cândido used the term “boom” in his presentation is to describe the growth of several cultural production but the literary novel:

> La narrativa recibe en su materia más sensible el impacto del boom periodístico moderno, del tremendo incremento de revistas y pequeños semanarios, de la propaganda, de la televisión, de las vanguardias poéticas, que actúan desde fines de los años 50, sobre todo el concretismo, “storm center” que derribó hábitos mentales, sobre todo porque se apoyó en una reflexión teórica exigente. (“El papel del Brasil” 180)

This reference to the modernization of print periodicals is remarkable since Lispector had a long-standing career as journalist and freelance writer. She began in the early 1940s, when she wrote

crônicas for *Vamos Ler!*, a supplement of the mass paper *A Noite*, and continued during the 1950s in newer publication such as *Última hora* and *Machete* (Brazil's take on the Paris Review). According to Saran Anne Wells, "it was far easier for women to work as typist than as journalist, but journalism also partially enabled Lispector's novelistic production by exposing her to influential literary figures and allowing her a space to hone her craft" (*Media laboratories* 101). Later in her life, Lispector's journalistic career would acquire a more decisive role: after her divorce in the late 1960s, Lispector was facing economic problems—she was a single mother of two children living in Rio de Janeiro—that forced her to significantly increase her work as journalist and ghost-writer. For instance, between 1966 and 1973, she published a regular column in *Jornal do Brazil* that would have a significant influence on *A hora da estrela*.

According to Florencia Garramuño, the changes in Lispector's writing during the 1970s could be traced to her intensive work as journalist and chronicler at the same time—which coincides with the escalation of political violence during the military right-wing dictatorship (1964-1985): "Como se o exercício da escrita das crônicas […] e a violência arrasadora da história tivessem afetado essa superfície opaca que teriam sido seus romances e contos anteriores transformando sua escrita num meio um tanto mais sensível aos embates do social" (177). These changes in her writing are supposedly evident in *A hora da estrela*, a novella that incorporates for the first time the historical conflicts between the unevenly modernized regions of Brazil—the impoverished northeast and the wealthy south. In addition, the increasing centrality of Lispector's work as journalist would also explain the references to feuilleton-like literature and mass media in *A hora da estrela* (Gotlib190-191). Significantly, Rodrigo S.M. explicitly rejects the influence of melodrama on his writing (18) and makes an ironic reference to Coke as a sponsor of his writing (29). Nevertheless, what is important to highlight is that, in contrast to

Rodrigo S.M.'s artistic integrity, the pervasive influence of melodrama and commodification affect women. For instance, melodrama is more common from a woman writer, who "pode lacrimejar piegas" (18), while Macabéa is an avid consumer of soft drinks (44).

It is noteworthy that, even though Clarice Lispector was critically acclaimed by her peers, she didn't have the same stardom status as some male writers of the 1960s Latin American Boom. Lispector's position out of the spotlight is partially caused by her particular personality, which has been described as consistently averse to media exposure. Interestingly, in her only televised interview, she explicitly defined herself as a non-professional writer: "Eu só escrevo quando eu quero. Eu sou amador e faz questão de ser amador. Professional é aquele que tem a obrigação consigo mesmo de escrever, ou então com o voto em relação ao outro. Agora, eu faço questão de não ser profissional, para manter minha liberdade" ("Panorama" 4:43-5:07). Lispector's self-fashioning as non-professional writer had been a recurrent theme during her whole literary career, but it resurfaced with greater relevance in the character Rodrigo S.M., narrator of *A hora da estrela*, who explicitly rejects the demands of literary markets and regards his writing as a spiritual search. The reappearance of the non-professional writer identity should be placed—as it is the case of Arguedas' *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* in the previous chapter—within the context of the 1960s Boom and the strength of the literary markets.

Rodrigo S.M.'s reflection about his literary writing clearly mirror Lispector's own practice in the 1970s, when she attempted a more straight-forward narrative in *A hora da estrela*. As part of his self-fashioning as a non-professional writer, Rodrigo S.M. declares that he is writing a traditional story, although he is more familiar with experimental narratives: "Relato antigo, este, pois não quero ser modernoso e inventar modismos à guia de originalidade. Assim é que experimentarei contra os meus hábitos uma história com começo, meio e 'gran finale'

seguido de silêncio e chuva caindo" (17). Rodrigo S.M.'s narration requires clarity and precision due to the complex subject matter—the material constraint of rural-urban migrants such as Macabéa: "O que escrevo é mais do que invenção, é minha obrigação contar sobre essa moça entre milhares delas. E dever meu, nem que seja de pouca arte, o de revelar-lhe a vida" (17-18). According to Lúcia Sá, Rodrigo S.M.'s characterization is based on committed writers and leftist intellectuals (80-81), which explains the comparison between his creative process with a manual labor: "O material de que disponho é parco e singelo demais, as informações sobre os personagens são poucas e não muito elucidativas, informações essas que penosamente me vêm de mim para mim mesmo, é trabalho de carpintaria" (19). Interestingly, this is an inversion of the comparison between the professional writer and the bricklayer in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*: while in Arguedas' novel the analogy with the bricklayer stresses the alientation/commodification of Boom writers, in Lispector's novella the analogy with the carpenter is supposed to highlight the authenticity and spontaneity of Rodrigo S.M.'s writing. On the other hand, what Roberto S.M. has in common with the diarist in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* is that the practice of writing, rather than being an intellectual activity, involves the entire corporality of the author: "Eu não sou um intellectual, escrevo com o corpo. E o que escrevo é uma névoa úmida. As palavras são sons transfundidos de sombras que se entrecruzam desiguais, estalactites, renda, música transfigurada de órgão" (21).

In connection to the image of the non-professional writer, the novel includes the image of the typist: Macabéa has an underpaid job as typist, making copies of the her boss' handwritten letters with a typewriter machine. According to Sarah Ann Wells, the figure of the typist has a long tradition in Brazilian literature that begins with the combative manifestos of 1920s *modernismo*: "For the avant-gardes, the typist represented not the fear of a 'feminized' mass

culture often associated with canonical Anglo-American modernism but a *melindrosa*, Brazil's version of the modern woman" (*Media laboratories* 84). However, since the 1930s, the image of the typist's labor would change in consonance with the crisis of Avant-garde poetics. Since typewriting implies serialization and bureaucratization processes, it also provokes a lack of agency by the part of the author: "the typewriter parallels the domestication of the radio and the cinema, media that also spoke to anxieties over standardization and the shifting, increasingly decentered role of the writer" (*Media laboratories* 85). In addition, Wells links this reconsideration of typewriting to a newer awareness about proletarianization (as it is expressed in the novel *Angústia* [1936] by Graciliano Ramos) as well as about gendered power structures (in *A hora da estrela*).

Notwithstanding the remarkable differences of social class and cultural background between Rodrigo S.M. and Macabéa, both work with a typewriter and have a strong relationship with language. However, Rodrigo explicitly undervalues Macabéa's interest in language as naïve: "Havia coisas que não sabia o que significavam. Uma era 'efeméride'. [...] Achava o termo efemérides absolutamente misterioso. Quando o copiava prestava atenção a cada letra" (*A hora da estrela* 49)[36]. Given the difference in language proficiency, Rodrigo S.M. also establishes a hierarchical relationship between his and Macabéa's labor. According to Nádia Battella Gotlib: "Ambos, narrador e personagem, batem à máquina, escrevem, datilografam. O escritor: inventando, criando, comentando, analisando, interpretando, autocriticando, lamentando; a nordestina: mal copiando, ou seja, copiando errado" (189). In fact, this hierarchy between an original creator (despite his personal crisis) and a mere specialist in a set of technical skills could be rooted in the above-mentioned class difference between Rodrigo S.M. and Macabéa. As Gotlib explains, since *A hora da estrela* is constructed upon an uneven correlation

between both characters's identities, "nos polos do confronto encontram-se a cultura do homem do centro urbano cosmopolita e a ausência desde sistema cultural na vida da pobre nordestina imigrante no Rio de Janeiro" (188). Although Rodrigo S.M. struggles with doubts about his writing skills, as a "letrado" he also has a prestigious medium—the literary novel—to enunciate his discomfort. Macabéa, given her lower-social class status, doesn't have a similar platform. Her experiences are unavoidably mediated by the narrator Rodrigo S.M., who constantly establishes limits to Macabéa's self-conscience and autonomy: "Devo dizer que essa moça não tem consciência de mim, se tivesse teria para quem rezar e seria a salvação. Mas eu tenho plena consciência dela: através dessa jovem dou o meu grito de horror à vida. A vida que tanto amo" (*A hora da estrela* 41). In other words, Rodrigo S.M. clearly instrumentalizes Macabéa in order to express his own personal crisis.

Significantly, the depiction of Rodrigo S.M.'s and Macabéa's labor with the typewriter is actually based in Lispector's own experience as journalist and freelance writer. For instance, in several articles in *Jornal do Brazil*, she shared with her readers the complexities of writing experience, which combines the exploration of her subjectivity and the material interaction with the typewriter. Lispector even made a surprising declaration in the sketch "Fernando Pessoa me ajudando" (1968): "Na literatura de livros permaneço anônima e discreta. Nesta coluna estou de algum modo me dando a conhecer. Perco minha intimidade secreta? Mas que fazer? É que escrevo ao correr da máquina e, quando vejo, revelei certa parte minha" (*A descoverta do mundo* 195). Sarah Anne Wells points out that Lispector's reflections on her writing experience would inform the characterization of Rodrigo S.M. and Macabéa: "Counterintuitively, it is not in the realm of the literary but in the anonymous clacking of the typewriter keys, and the body habituated to operating them, than she [Lispector] reveals herself" (*Media laboratories* 102).

Macabéa also reveals herself by working with the typewriter, but her self-discovery and autonomy is fully expressed thanks to a sorority network (her colleague Glória and the fortune teller Carlota) and the performative quality of her own death.

RODRIGO S.M., THE OUTCAST WRITER

Before analyzing the progressive autonomy of Macabéa (thanks to a sorority network of lower-class characters), it is necessary to discuss the self-fashioning and authorial anxieties of Rodrigo S.M. He presents himself as an outcast writer who is able to relate to Macabéa's hardships since he is concerned with the exploration of his own inner life. In fact, Rodrigo S.M.'s self-fashioning is an expression of his class and gender privilege—he is able to renounce to certain material comfort, but he also maintains an authority position towards Macabéa. In fact, Rodrigo S.M. expresses several times his anxiety about the diminishment of his authority/domain and Macabéa's progressive autonomy. In order to analyze Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial anxiety, I establish a difference between two stages in the narrator's creative process: first, the gathering of information and establishment of a working environment, and second, the actual writing process. While in the first stage Rodrigo S.M. is able to guarantee his domain/authority (due to his class and gender privileges), in the second stage he finds himself effectively challenged by the progressive autonomy of Macabéa. Moreover, in this second stage, Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial anxieties are expressed in the characters Raimundo Silverira, boss of Macabéa, and the medical doctor who despises poor people.

The history of the composition of *A hora da estela* could provide some insight about the characterization of the male narrator, Rodrigo S.M., his identity as author, and his hierarchical relationship with the characters he is trying to create. The manuscripts and working materials of

this novella (stored in the archives of Instituto Moreira Salles) present what seems to be an early finished version: a 36-page manuscript with the titles "Quando ao futuro" and "Registro dos fatos antecedentes" (two of the thirteen titles that appears in the published version). The handwriting is not from Clarice Lispector but from her close friend and secretary Olga Borelli. There are no major differences between this manuscript and the published version of *A hora da estrela* (the story of the northeastern girl Macabéa doesn't change at all) with the exception of the amount of metafictional reflections by Rodrigo S.M.: in the manuscript, this commentary is less voluminous and detailed than in the published version. In fact, most of the narrator's reflections appear in other manuscripts of different size and nature—some of them torn sheets of paper—with Lispector's handwriting on them. Lispector (with the decisive help of Borelli) composed the final version of *A hora de estrela* by adding those small fragments into the 36-page manuscript (Vidal, 20-23).

What the history of the composition of *A hora da estrela* reveals is that, even though the metafictional dimension is already present in the 36-page manuscript, it acquires a more significant gravitation in the final published version. Lispector first developed the character of the northeastern girl—Macabéa, the protagonist of a story dealing with social issues—and later on she worked on another character who is presented as Macabéa's creator—the writer Rodrigo S.M., the protagonist of a metafictional story. Interestingly, the tension between these two stages of composition could explain the debate, among literary critics, about who is actually the main protagonist of *A hora da estrela*—Macabéa or Rodrigo S.M. (Sá 76). Rather than arguing the primacy of one or another character/stage of composition, I think that it's more useful to explore the unresolved tensions and contradictions between them.

Macabéa's description as naïve is supposed to establish a sharp contrast with Rodrigo

S.M., who is deeply invested in the exploration of his own experiences and inner life. For instance, the narrator constantly highlights the lack of self-awareness of Macabea: “Só uma vez se fez uma trágica pergunta: quem sou eu? Assustou-se tanto que parou completamente de pensar”. (*A hora da estrela* 40). Rodrigo S.M. also alludes to the material constraints that prevent Macabéa’s instrospection, but with an ironic twist—she doesn’t have clean mirrors to reflect herself: “Olhou-se maquinalmente ao espelho que encimava a pia imunda e rachada, cheia de cabelos, o que tanto combinava com sua vida. Pareceu-lhe que o espelho baço e escurecido não refletia imagem alguma” (32). However, throughout the narration, Macabéa actually faces moments of introspection (namely, while listening to an aria by opera singer Caruso). On his commentary, Rodrigo S.M. lessens those episodes of Macabéa’s self-discovery in order to adjust the character’s actual experiences to his preconceptions. “A quem interrogava ela? a Deus? Ela não pensava em Deus. Deus não pensava nela. Deus é de quem conseguir pegá-lo. Na distração aparece Deus. Não fazia perguntas. Adivinhava que não ha respostas” (33). On the other hand, even though Rodrigo S.M introduces himself as a reflective individual, most of his own introspective process is triggered by Macabéas’s behavior. He denies the gravitation of Macabéa in his life (“Escrevo portanto não por causa da nordestina mas por motivo grave de ‘força maior’, como se diz nos requerimentos oficiais, por ‘força de lei’” [23]), but the majority of self-reflection moments—in particular, in the second part of the novella—take place as a response of Macabéa’s ocurrences. A supposedly non-introspective character—the northeastern girl—raises self-awareness in the inwards literary writer. These kinds of contradiction are the ones leading up to the increasing autonomy of Macabéa,

These tensions and contradictions between Rodrigo S.M. and Macabéa could also shed light on the cosmogony that opens the narration—a hermetic passage, to use the adjective largely

associated with Lispector's writing:

> Tudo no mundo começou com um sim. Uma molécula disse sim a outra e nasceu a vida. Mas antes da pré-história havia a pré-história da pré-história e havia o nunca e havia o sim. Sempre houve. Não sei o que, mas sei que o universo jamais começou.
>
> Que ninguém se engane, só consigo a simplicidade a través de muito trabalho.
>
> Enquanto eu tiver perguntas e não houver resposta continuarei a escrever. Como começar pelo início, se as coisas acontecem antes de acontecer? Se antes da pré-pré-história já havia monstros apocalípticos? Se esta história não existe, passará a existir. (15)

The overall passage—an cryptic reflection on the concepts of origin and procreation, a correspondence between the beginning of the universe and the start of the narration—is a common topic in certain traditions of metafictional narrative. A similar passage could be found in the initial pages of *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* (1881), by Joaquím Machado de Assis, a novel heavily influenced by *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-1767), by Laurence Sterne. Besides the ironical tone, the overall passage is supposed to reveal the deep self-awareness of Rodrigo S.M. The description of an always existing universe is linked to a questioning of the myth of artistic originality: there is no original event, every starting point is actually an effect of a previous event, and so on. Since there is no creator God of the universe, the literary writer is not an original creator of imaginative realities. In fact, the literary writer takes part in a broader and encompassing process, in which the domain or authority is not guaranteed.

The cosmogony presented by Rodrigo S.M. is a departure from the Romantic poetics about authorship in Latin America, which acquired a civic nature during the 1920s (*La vorágine* and *Macunaíma*). This poetics reappeared during the 1960s in connection with the development

of literary markets (the Latin American Boom), notwithstanding the significant influence of Jorge Luis Borges' work (a major critic of Romantic poetics). Moreover, in consonance with the anti-Romantic cosmogony that opens the narration, Rodrigo S.M. presents his creative process as a search for illumination, in which is necessary to overcome the limits of his own self: "Esse eu que é vós pois não agüento ser apenas mim, preciso dos outros para me manter de pé" (*A hora da estrela* 7) and "A ação desta história terá como resultado minha transfiguração em outrem em minha materialização enfim em objeto" (26). Nevertheless, it is necessary to differentiate two stages in Rodrigo S.M.'s creative process that appeared intertwined in the narration.

The first stage of Rodrigo S.M.'s creative process is what he calls "Os fatos antecedentes" (16): the personal experiences and imaginative processes taking place before the actual act of writing. For instance, he declares that the development of the story lasted two and a half years, a time in which he found the model for Macabéa: "Numa rua do Rio de Janeiro peguei no ar de relance o sentimento de perdição no rosto de uma moça nordestina" (16). This stage also includes Rodrigo S.M.'s process of instrospection: "Quando rezava conseguia um oco de alma—e esse oco é o tudo que posso eu jamais ter. Mais do que isso, nada. Mas o vazio tem o valor e a semelhança do pleno" (18-19). On the other hand, the second stage of Rodrigo S.M.'s creative process is his ongoing writing and interaction with the typewriter. Significantly, this second stage offers him the possibility of unexpected revelations: "É visão da iminência de. De quê? Quem sabe se mais tarde saberei. Como que estou escrevendo na hora mesma em que sou lido" (16). Moreover, this is the stage that creates the biggest challenges: "Estou passando por um pequeno inferno com esta história. Queiram os deuses que eu nunca descreva o lázaro porque senão eu me cobriria de lepra" (48).

Rodrigo S.M. suggests that his identity crisis is caused by a combination of struggles in

both stages of the creative process: “Quero acrescentar, à guise de informações sobre a jovem e sobre mim, que vivemos exclusivamente no presente pois sempre e eternamente é o dia de hoje e o dia de amanhã será um hoje, a eternidade é o estado das coisas neste momento” (23). Nevertheless, the challenges in the first stage (gathering the working materials and setting a working environment) are clearly different in intensity to the challenges in the second one (the actual writing). The latter is a more demanding stage in which the narrator’s authority is clearly diminished: he has a “falso livre arbítrio” (17) to rule over the narration and just follow an irresistible force, “uma oculta linha fatal” (26). For instance, at the beginning, Rodrigo S.M. establishes that his narration wouldn’t include “estrelas” or bright stars: “nada cintilará, trata-se de matéria opaca e por sua propria natureza desprezível por todos” (21). However, in the ending, the agony of Macabéa is actually presented as bright stars in what is a direct reference to the novella’s title.

Although Rodrigo S.M. doesn’t recognize two stages in his creative process, his struggle with the representative properties of language correspond to the second stage: “Estarei lidando com fatos como se fossem as irremediáveis pedras de que falei. Embora queira que para me animar sino badalem enquanto adivinho a realidade. E que anjos esvoacem em vespas transparentes em torno de minha cabeça quente porque esta quer enfim se transformar em objeto-coisa, é mais fácil” (22). While the second stage posits unavoidable challenges to Rodrigo S.M.’s authority and domain, in the first stage he finds himself in a more stable position and in control of his attributes. I suggest that the first stage is easier to handle for Rodrigo S.M. due to the active presence of his class status. In fact, part of challenges that correspond to the first stage (the outcast writer persona) could be understood as a self-fashioning rather than an actual material constraint.

The first stage of Rodrigo S.M.'s creative process includes some actual challenges—for instance, the recognition of writing about an unfamiliar social reality and the necessity to undertake a research: "Estou contando esta história que nunca me aconteceu e nem a ninguém que eu conheça?" (69). Significantly, Rodrigo S.M.'s research implies, in addition to observation of lower-class dynamics and projection of stereotypes, a self-fashioning as an outcast writer. In the brief references to his personal background, Rodrigo S.M. alludes to an intense life before beginning the creation of Macabéa: "Experimentei quase tudo, inclusive a paixão e o seu desespero" (27). Those experiences seem to be less than useful for Rodrigo S.M., who is attempting the opposite—sobriety and asceticism—while creating Macabéa's life. On that note, Rodrigo S.M. needs to reconfigure his previous literary writing style, which is compared to a golden touch, to the subject matter of his current writing: "Mas não vou enfeitar a palavra pois se eu tocar no pão da moça esse pão se tornará em ouro—e a jovem (ela tem dezenove anos) e a jovem não poderia mordê-lo, morrendo de fome" (21). To achieve this simplicity, Rodrigo S.M. doesn't read at all: "nada leio para não contaminar com luxos a simplicidade da minha linguagem" (29). However, notwithstanding the changes in his literary style, Rodrigo's S.M. keeps aristocratic values: "E pelo menos o que escrevo não pede favor a ninguém e não implora socorro: agüenta-se na sua chamada dor com una dignidade de barão" (22).

The contradiction between simplifying the literary style but keeping aristocratic values reappers when Rodrigo S.M. affirms that, because of his position of social outcast, he is able to relate to Macabéa's material constraints:

> Sou um homem que tem mais dinheiro do que os que passam fome, o que faz de mim de algum modo um desonesto. E só minto na hora exata da mentira. Mas quando escrivo não minto. Que mais? Sim, não tenho classe social, marginalizado que sou. A classe alta me

tem como um monstro esquisito, a média com desconfiança de que eu possa desequilibrá-la, a classe baixa nunca vem a mim. (24)

Beside posing as as an outcast writer, his self-fashioning includes changes in his working environment: "Velho a nordestina se olhando ao espelho e—um ruflar de tambor—no espelho aparece o meu rosto cansado e barbudo" (28). However, Rodrigo S.M.'s class privileges persist and play a significant role in this first stage of the creative process. For instance, he doesn't suffer hunger since somebody cooks for him (52)—probably an employee since he makes no reference to family members—and even his dog has better living conditions and food than Macabéa (33).

Notwithstanding his self-fashioning, Rodrigo S.M. is conscious of his privileges: "Quando penso que eu podia ter nascido ela—e por que não?—estremeço. E parece-me covarde fuga o fato de eu não ser, sinto culpa como disse num dos títulos" (48). This is clearly a case of bad conscience, to use a term coined by German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. On that note, Rodrigo S.M. presents this bad consciousness as poverty of spirit or spiritual pain, which according to him are what actually drive his creative process: "Mas a pessoa de quem falarei mal tem corpo para vender, ninguém a quer, ela é virgem e inócua, não faz falta a ninguém. Aliás—descubro eu agora—também eu não faço a menor falta, e até o que escrevo um outro escreveria" (18). The thirteen titles listed by Rodrigo S.M. on the title page offer similar topics: guilt, feeling of loss, and the desire of disappearing. In addition, poverty of spirit and spiritual pain are also alluded in the cosmogony that opens the narration: "antes da pré-pré-história já havia monstros apocalípticos" (15).

Another response to Rodrigo S.M.'s bad consciousness are his attempts to create solidarity among social classes: "Se o leitor possui alguma riqueza e vida bem acomodada, sairá

de si para ver como é às vezes o outro. Se é pobre, não estará me lendo porque ler-me é supérfluo para quem tem uma leve fome permanente. Faço aqui o papel de vossa válvula de escape e da vida massacrante da média burguesia" (38). This quotation could be understood as a reference to the power of literature, which allows the readers to relate to the subject matter regardless of any class, ethnic, and gender differences. On that note, Rodrigo S.M. employs his heightened sensibility to reach Macabéa's concealed subjectivity due to her material constraints: "Se há veracidade nela [Macabéa]—e é claro que a história é verdadeira embora inventada—que cada um a reconheça em si mesmo porque todos nós somos um e quem não tem pobreza de dinheiro tem pobreza de espírito ou saudade por lhe faltar coisa mais preciosa que ouro—existe a quem falte o delicado essencial" (16). However, this supposed solidarity among classes conceals upper-class privileges.

While Rodrigo S.M. seeks for empathy and solidarity towards Macabéa in the first stage of his creative process (gathering of material/establishment of a working environment), in the second stage he finds himself effectively challenged by Macabéa regarding his domain/authority over the narration. In order to discuss his authorial anxiety, it is necessary to analyze the two alter-egos or projections that Rodrigo S.M. includes in the narration: Raimundo Silveira, the boss of Macabéa, and the doctor who diagnosed her pulmonary tuberculosis. The depiction of both male middle-class characters expresses the emotional state of Rodrigo S.M. at those respective moments in the narration. First, Raimundo Silveira and the physician belong to the narrator's social class and have a similar level of instruction—both of them practice professions that required formal education and enjoy better material conditions than Macabéa. Second, these character mirror the hierarchical relationship that Rodrigo S.M. has with the northeastern girl: both of them are males in a position of authority. Raimundo Silveira requires Macabéa to work

efficiently and dismisses her because of incompetence, while the medical doctor embodies the knowledge/power of medical discourse and exerts it hierarchically. However, Raimundo Silveira and the medical doctor also have significant differences—namely, their perspective towards Macabéa and other people from her same social class. While Raimundo Silveira expresses guilt and commiseration—the bad consciousness of the narrator—, the medical doctor clearly expresses his disgust about lower classes:

> Esse médico não tinha objetivo nenhum. A medicina era apenas para ganhar dinheiro e nunca por amor à profissão nem a doentes. Era desatento e achava a pobreza uma coisa feia. Trabalhava para os pobres detestando lidar com eles. Eles eram para ele o rebotalho de uma sociedade muito alta à qual também ele não pertencia. Sabia que estava desatualizado na medicina e nas novidades clínicas mas para pobre servia. O seu sonho era ter dinheiro para fazer exatamente o que queria: nada.

It is important to highlight that both characters appear in different moments of the narration—Raimundo Silveira is introduced at the beginning to delve into Macabéa's working environment, while the doctor appears close to the end, when Macabéa has already suffered several incidents that have impoverished her life ever further. This difference in the narrative tempo also implies contrasting stages of Rodrigo S.M.'s relationship with Macabéa: while at the beginning the narrator feels confident about the subject matter, close to the end he declares to be exhaustion. After the episode with the doctor, the narrator states: "Como é chato lidar com fatos, o cotidiano me aniquila, estou com preguiça de escrever esta história que é um desabafo apenas. Vejo que escrevo aquém e além de mim. Não me responsabilizo pelo que agora escrevo" (87). Although Rodrigo S.M. seems to be deliberately renouncing to his authorial domain, in fact, he has been challenged by a sorority network and Macabéa's autonomy throughout the whole narration. In

the following section, I discuss these last aspects, which articulate a questioning of the gendered power structures in dominant versions of authorship.

THE SORORITY NETWORK OF LOWER-CLASS CHARACTERS

In this section I analyze the depiction of lower-class characters (Macabéa, her boyfriend Olímpico, her colleague Glória, and the fortune teller Carlota) in order to discuss the formation of a sorority network and the development of Macabéa's autonomy from Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial rule. The analysis of the male lower-class character, Olímpico, is intended to distinguish between the networks of rural-urban migrants, which still reproduced gendered power structures, and a parallel sorority network conformed by Glória, Carlota, and Macabéa. Moreover, the artisanal work of Olímpico—located within those networks of rural-urban migrants—actually mirrors Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial image and gender bias. On the other hand, there's no idealization but plenty of irony in the depiction of the sorority network that fuels Macabéa's autonomy; in fact, this sorority network doesn't break class distinctions.

Based on Rodrigo S.M.'s narration and commentary, there's no actual solidarity between lower-class characters in *A hora da estrela*. Macabéa doesn't only suffers material constraints, but also lacks guidance in her life. In the sertão, she only studied three years of elementary school and received most of her professional formation from her strict and abusive aunt. In fact, Macabéa has very few acquaintances or connections in the world. The danger of complete isolation explains Macabéa's unwillingness to express her own desires and needs: "Glória usava uma forte água-de-colônia de sândalo e Macabéa, que tinha estômago delicado, quase vomitava ao sentir o cheiro. Nada dizia porque Glória era agora a sua conexão com o mundo. Este mundo fora composto pela tía, Glória, o Seu Raimundo e Olímpico—e de muito longe as moças com as

quais repartia o quarto” (77). In contrast to Macabéa, these characters have a strong sense of confidence. For instance, Gloria defends her self-determination: “Havia nela um desafio que se resumia em ‘ninguém manda em mim’” (78), and Olímpico has strong aspirations of social climbing: “Seu destino era de subir para um dia entrar no mundo dos outros. Ele tinha fome de ser outro” (78).

On the other hand, Macabéa is unable to recognize her socio-economic struggles and to articulate demands for change. After reading *Humiliated and Insulted* (1861) by Fyodor Dostoevsky, she doesn’t feel outrage or social awareness: “Talvez tivesse pela primeira vez se definido numa clase social. Pensou, pensou, pensou! Chegou à conclusão que na verdade ninguém jamais a ofendera, tudo que acontecia era porque as coisas são assim mesmo e não havia luta possível, para que lutar?” (50). In contrast to Macabéa, Rodrigo S.M. is well-informed about the material conditions that explain her exploitation: “Nem se dava conta de que vivia numa sociedade técnica onde ela era um parafuso dispensável” (36). The narrator even links Macabéa’s ethnicity with the demands for social change: “Ela pertenecia a uma resistente raça ana teimosa que um dia vai talvez reivindicar o direito ao grito” (96); however, this last dimmension is outside Macabéa’s perspective.

In addition to lacking awareness about her economic deprivation, Macabéa is also unable to recognize the gender violence she suffers from Olímpico. In fact, the dynamic established by these two characters is the major critique to the networks of rural urban migrants. The relationship between Macabéa and Olímpico begins with a mutual recognition: “O rapaz e ela se olharam por entre a chuva e se reconheceram como dois nordestinos, bichos da mesma espécie que se farejam” (53). Rodrigo S.M. points out this mutual recognition when he describes them as “um casal de classe” (55). Nevertheles, from the very beginning their interaction reproduces

several gendered power structures. For instance, when Macabéa helps Olímpico with a strength testing, she gets hurt with a bloody nose, and instead of being concerned with Macabéa's health, Olímpio feels ashamed of his perceived weakness (64).

Based on stereotypes about northeastern people, Olímpico de Jesús is a social climber and a "cabra safado" (56)—that is, a vehement and unrestrained character. The narrator makes explicit that Olímpico learned the gender bias when he was a child: "Fora criado por um padrastro que lhe ensinara o modo fino de tratar pessoas para se aproveitar delas e lhe ensinara como pegar mulher" (54-55). Significantly, his relationship with Macabéa is based on lies to conceal his actual social origin. For instance, he changes his name in order to hide the fact that is also an orphan: "Mentiu ele porque tinha como sobrenome apenas o de Jesus, sobrenome dos que não têm pai" (54-55). Sharing his orphan's condition would create a stronger bonding with Macabéa, who lost her parents when she was two years-old. However, following his social-climbing ambitions, Olímpico breaks up with Macabéa and stars a relationship with Glória, who is from Rio de Janeiro and is the daughter of a butcher (65). From his perspective, Glória is a step forward in relationship to Macabéa[37].

Regarding the mutual recognition between Macabéa and Olímpico, both of them have alienating jobs—a dimension that is even more explicit in Olímpico's case: "O trabalho consistia em pegar barrar de metal que vinham deslizando de cima da máquina para coloca-las embaixo, sobre uma placa deslizante. Nunca se perguntara por que colocava a barra embaixo" (56). Olímpico doesn't question the meaning of his labor (and the economic structure that explains his exploitation), but he is willing to acquire social status from it: "Olímpico de Jesús trabalhava de operário numa metalúrgica e ela [Macabéa] nem notou que ele não se chamava de 'operário' e sim de 'metalúrgico.'" (55) The word steelworker, rather than machinist, implies a higher social

status that Olímpico seeks to acquire by any means. For instance, Olímpico has talent for public speech, which he is willing to use to improve his material conditions: "Sou muito inteligente, ainda vou ser deputado" (57). It is important to highlight that the narration criticizes Olímpico's social aspirations—he is unable to respond Macabéa's questions about certain words, such as "élgebra" and "eletrônico" (61). However, besides any gender solidarity between the blood-and-flesh Clarice Lispector and the fictional character Macabéa, this debunking is a projection of Rodrigo S.M.'s class prejudices: "É mesmo uma verdade que quando se dá a mão, essa gentinha quer todo o resto, o zé-povinho sonha com fome de tudo. E quer mas sem direito algum, pois não é?" (44).

In addition, Olímpico practices popular religiosity and is a skilled sculpture, features that also correspond to the traditional depiction of "sertanejos". However, Olímpico is not aware of his authorial status: "Não sabia que era um artista: nas horas de folga esculpia figuras de santo e eram tão bonitas que ele não as vendia. Todos os detalhes ele punha e, sem faltar ao respeito, esculpia tudo do Menino Jesus" (56). Significantly, he regards these artistic pieces as expressions of faith rather than commodities. It could be argued that Olímpico's perspective towards his craft is a regression to a former stage of social development—the rural societies from the sertões—in which the economic demands where less dominant. Since Olímpico's religious sculptures are outside commercial exchange, they recuperate their magical status.

In connection with gender bias, the authorial status of Olímpico is the major difference with Macabéa. While both of them suffer marginalization due to economic inequality, Olímpico is able to express his desires and impose them to Macabéa: "Ele também se salvava mais do que Macabéa porque tinha grande talento para desenhar rapidamente perfeitas caricaturas ridículas dos retratos de poderosos nos jornais" (70). In fact, Olímpico's drawing skill is connected with

the narrator's own writing activity. As part of his self-fashioning as non-professional writer, Rodrigo S.M. compares his writing to painting ("escrevo em traços vivos e ríspidos de pintura" [22]) and photography ("Juro que este livro é feito sem palavras. É uma fotografia muda" [21]). In both cases, the comparison with visual arts is supposed to stress the transformations of Rodrigo S.M.'s writing in the face of the challenges of Macabéa's story. What is important to highlight is that, as in Olímpico's case, literary writing allows Rodrigo S.M. to find some relief and a transcendence: "Quanto a mim só me livro de ser apenas um acaso porque escrevo, o que é um ato que é um fato. É quando entro em contato com forças interiores minhas, encontro através de mim o vosso Deus" (45).

While Olímpico and Rodrigo S.M. have access to artistic expression and self-reflection, Macabéa is depicted as a character devoid of those qualities. Due to Macabéa's intuitive character, she is constantly compared with animals:

> Esse nao-saber pode parecer ruim mas não é tanto porque ela sabia muita coisa como ninguém ensina cachorro a abanar o rabo e nem a pessoa a sentir fome; nasce-se e ficase logo sabendo. Assim como ninguém lhe ensinaria um dia morrer: na certa morreria um dia como se antes tivesse estudado de cor a representação do papel de estrela. Pois na hora da morte a pessoa se torna brilhante estrela de cinema, é o instante de glória de cada um e é quando como no canto coral se ouvem agudos sibilantes (36)

In contrast to Rodrigo S.M.'s perspective, it is not to necessary to wait until Macabéa's death to recognize the expression of her autonomy. Actually, she shows agency from the very beginning of the narration: when Macabéa gets fired, she responds to her boss in an unexpected way—her reply has no pathos but unintentional humor. The effect is that Macabéa's boss feels compassion towards her and delays her dismissal.

> [Macabéa] nada argumentou em seu próprio favor quando o chefe da firma de representante de roldanas avisou-lhe com brutalidade (brutalidade essa que ela parecia provocar com sua cara de tola, rosto que pedia tapa), com brutalidade que só ia manter no emprego Glória, sua colega, porque quanto a ela, errava demais na datilografia, além de sujar invariavelmente o papel. Isso disse ele. Quanto à moça, achou que se deve por respeito responder alguma coisa e falou cerimoniosa a seu escondidamente amado chefe:
>
> —Me desculpe o aborrecimento.
>
> —O Senhor Raimundo Silveira—que a essa altura já lhe havia virado as costas—voltou se um pouco surpreendido com a inesperada delicadeza e alguma coisa na cara quase sorridente da datilógrafa o fez dizer com menos grosseria na voz, embora a contragosto:
>
> —Bem, a despedida poder não ser para já, é capaz até de demorar um pouco. (31)

Rodrigo S.M presents Macabéa's reply as a reactive action—"Me desculpe o aborrecimento" is what she is supposed to say—rather than an actual initiative that expresses her agency. However, this first episode should be placed in connection with the other episodes of the novella in order to grasp the progressive unveiling of her autonomy. For instance, the richness of Macabéa's inner world contradicts the ideas of Rodrigo S.M. about lower-class character: "Quando dormia quase que sonhava que a tia lhe batia na cabeça. Ou sonhava estranhamente em sexo, ela que de aparência era assexuada" (42).

The critical bibliography about *A hora da estrela* has discussed Macabéa's autonomy in connection with her fondness for mass-media and make-up: "E tinha um luxo, além de uma vez por mês ir ao cinema: pintava de vermelho grosseiramente escarlate as unhas das mãos" (44).

Reproducing the commentary of Rodrigo S.M.'s about Macabéa, Clarisse Fukelman mentions that the northeastern girl's consumption habits are a clear index of her alienation:

> De índole passiva, torna-se presa fácil dos mitos e produtos da indústria cultural. Admira as grandes estrelas do cinema e sente-se fascinada pelos anúncios publicitários. As notícias descosidas da Rádio Relógio integram este contexto alienante, dentro no qual o cotidiano se faz em um tempo meramente físico, desprovido de uma ação subjetiva que como ele interaja numa proposta de transformação. Inexistente passado; inexistente projeto futuro. (204)

However, the narration of Macabéa's interaction with mass-media and manufactured products leaves room for the development of her autonomy. Macabéa's autonomy is expressed in the gaps of Rodrigo S.M.'s narration, who presents her interaction with mass-media and consumption habits in a very derogatory manner. For instance, regarding radio broadcasting, she enjoys learning new vocabulary and trivia, although the knowledge is presented as useless: "Ligava invariavelmente para a Rádio Relógio, que dava 'hora certa e cultura' […]. Foi assim que aprendeu que o Imperador Carlos Magno era na terra dele chamado Carolus. Verdad que nunca achara modo de aplicar essa informação" (46). Although the information from Rádio Relógio lacks contextualization, Macabéa's learning curiosity is what challenged and ridiculed Olímpico—he doesn't know the meaning of "élgebra" or "eletrônico" (61). On the other hand, Macabéa's reading practices are presented in a similar fashion: "Costumava ler à luz de vela os anúncios que recortava dos jornais velhos do escritório. É que fazia coleção de anúncios. Colava-os no album" (47). Advertisements are a very devalued genre of texts, composed with the solely purpose of selling commodities. However, Macabéa is able to read them creatively, becoming a

collector. Significantly, her creativity is presented once again as a flagrant ignorance by Rodrigo S.M.:

> Havia um anúncio, o mais precioso, que mostrava em cores o pote aberto de um creme para pele de mulheres que simplesmente não eram ela. Executando o fatal cacoete que pegara de piscar os olhos, ficava só imaginando com delícia: o creme era tão apetitoso que se tivesse dinheiro para compra-lo seria boba. Que pele, que nada, ela o comeria, esso sim, às colheradas no pote mesmo. (47)

In contrast to Rodrigo S.M., Macabéa has a distorted learning process—rather than enriching her personal life, all that information interferes with her job: "Meditava en quanto batia a máquina e por isso errava ainda mais" (47). Nevertheless, following Sarah Anne Wells, Macabéa's incompetence is a way to express her own subjectivity: "Macabéa's clumsy interface with the medium opens up a different avenue of expression, leaving her own trace on the page, marking it up with her hot dog-stained hands" (*Media laboratories* 105).

The progressive autonomy of Macabéa is also punctuated three times, when Rodrigo S.M. affirms to have forgotten certain facts (*A hora da estrela* 72, 73, 74). These three passages reveal Macabéa's inner life in a way that contradicts the assumptions of the narrator. First, although Macabéa is infertile and lacks external signs of sensuality, she has a strong spiritual life: "*Esqueci de dizer* que era realmente de se espantar que para corpo quase murcho de Macabéa tão vasto fosse o seu sopro de vida quase ilimitado e tão rico como o de uma donzela grávida, engravidada por si mesma, por partenogênese" (72; my italics). Given the fact that Macabéa is infertile, the richness of her internal life is compared with procreative qualities. Second, in connection with the asexuality of Macabéa, she has a strong libido that nobody is aware of: "Macabéa, *esqueci de dizer*, tinha uma infelicidade: era sensual. Como é que um corpo

cariado como o dela tanta lascívia, sem que ele soubesse que tinha. Misterio" (73; my italics) Finally, the third time Rodrigo S.M.'s omission changes from Macabéa's inner life to her behavior. Despite her usual passivity, she has enough initiative to celebrate herself: "*Esqueci de dizer* que no dia seguinte ao que ele lhe dera o fora ela teve uma idéia. Já que ninguém lhe dava festa, muito menos noivado, daria uma festa para si mesma" (74-75; my italics). It is important to highlight that, right after this sequence of omission, the narrator declares himself bored by the whole story: "Ah que história banal, mal agüento escrevê-la" (79)

In a similar fashion to Macabéas' progressive autonomy, Rodrigo S.M. also dismisses the sorority network that supported Macabé in the second half of *A hora da estrela*. On one hand, Macabéa's excitement about the fortune teller Carlota is another expression of the northeastern girl's naïveté: "Pela primeira vez ia ter um destino, Madame Carlota (explosão) era um ponto alto na sua existência. Era o vórtice de sua vida e esta se afunilara toda para desembocar na grande dama" (91). Following the explanation provided by Rodrigo S.M., Macabéa's excitement is caused by her realization that she will discuss and plan her future. In a previous exchange with Glória, Macabéa is unable to respond if she thinks about her future, a fact that makes her feel unsettled (78). The narrator doesn't make any further comment, but in an earlier passage he has established that Macabéa "de um modo geral não se preocupava com o próprio future: ter future era luxo" (70). However, it could be also argued that Macabéa's excitement is a consequence of her interaction with two strong female characters, Glória and Carlota, who make her realize the importance of thinking about her own future.

On the other hand, the depiction of the fortune teller Carlota has plenty of irony. Besides the narrator, she is the most talkative character and the only one that constructs a personal narrative of life: she is a former prostitute who makes her living out of fortune telling. She seems

to be very talented at her activity, but some of the information she provides is inaccurate. For instance, Carlota affirms that Macabéa is intelligent, although Rodrigo S.M.'s narration has stated repeatedly that Macabéa is ignorant (88). However, it could be argued that Carlota's statement is revealing a dimension of Macabéa that the narrator has been constantly diminishing. In spite of the material constraints and gender bias, Macabéa is a woman with strong curiosity, willing to learn, and with a rich inner life.

During her interview with Macabéa, Carlota accurately describes her hardships, including her job dismissal and break-up with Olímpico. Nevertheless, a sudden change in fortune would suddenly improve her life—she will get married to a foreigner, a "gringo" with a lot of money (92). The final irony (or cruel joke) is that Carlota's prediction is accurate, but they are also misplaced. Before seeing Macabéa, Carlota says to an unnamed woman that she will die in a car accident right after leaving her office. In fact, this prediction corresponds to Macabéa, who is hit by a car and dies lying on the street. While the prediction of marrying a rich foreigner could correspond to the unnamed woman, Macabéa actually meets a rich blond foreigner: in a glimpse, Macabéa recognizes that she was hit by a yellow Mercedes, a luxurious car (96).

Although Carlota's episode is depicted with plenty of irony, it foregrounds the full extent of Macabéa's autonomy at the moment of her death. Significantly, Rodrigo S.M. describes Macabéa's agony and passing using several analogies to pregnancy and birth. Right before being hit by the car, Macabéa feels like she is "uma pessoa gravida de futuro" (95). During her agony, she assumes a fetal position: "Tanto estava viva que mexeu devagar e acomodou o corpo em posição fetal. Grotesca como sempre fora. Aquela relutância em ceder, mas aquela vontade de grande abraço" (100). Since Rodrigo S.M. employs a similar image to explain his creative process ("Eu não inventei essa moça. Ela forçou dentro de mim sua existência" [37]), it is

plausible that he projects his own authorial identity and anxieties onto Macabéa. Nevertheless, while the narrator's literary work is undeniably supported by his class and gender privileges, Macabéa's supposedly authorial status is rooted in the most flagrant precarity.

Rather than holding authorial status, what Macabéa experiences during her agony is an intense moment of self-recognition: "Ficou inerme no canto da rua, talvez descansando das emoções, e viu entre as pedras do esgoto o ralo capim de um verde de mais tenra esperança humana. Hoje, pensou ela, é o primeiro dia de minha vida: nasci" (96). Significantly, Macabéa's self-recognition is about her female condition: "Seu esforço de viver parecia uma coisa que, se nunca experimentara, virgem que era, ao menos intuíra, pois só agora entendia que mulher nasce mulher desde o primeiro vagido. O destino de uma mulher é ser mulher" (101). In this moment the autonomy of Macabéa is fully expressed and she flees from Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial domain, who was suspicious from the very beginning: "Vou fazer o possível para que ela não mora. Mas que vontade de adormecê-la e de eu mesmo ir para a cama dormir" (97). Ironically and tragically, Macabéa breaks free from Rodrigo S.M.'s authorial rule by means of giving up to death.

The character Macabéa dies, but the blood-and-flesh Clarice Lispector bears her signature on the title page and the foreword of *A hora da estrela*. This is the major limitation of Macabéa's sorority network and autonomy process. "O destino de uma mulher é ser mulher," but the class distinction also establishes clear differences among them. It is true that Lispector's novella reveals the class prejudices and gender bias that operate in Rodrigo S.M.'s literary work. Although he identifies himself as a non-professional writer (his major difference with the dominant images of authorship during the 1960s Boom), this self-fashioning relies on several class and gender privileges. He is effectively challenged by Macabéa during the actual writing

process, but the northeastern girl's room for action is clearly very reduced. Because of all her material constraints, she only achieves her self-discovery process at the moment of her death. For a woman to become a literary author, it is necessary not only a sorority network, but the same class privileges of Rodrigo S.M. (finally, an alter-ego of Clarice Lispector).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

My dissertation analyzes the construction of literary authorship in three novels and one nouvelle published in Latin America between the 1920s and the 1970s: *La vorágine* (1924), by José Eustasio Rivera; *Macunaíma. O héroi sem nenhum caráter*. (1928), by Mário de Andrade; *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971), by José María Arguedas; and *A hora da estrela* (1977), by Clarice Lispector. By means of textual and historical analyzes, I describe how each of these narratives addresses the following questions: What kind of product is literary writing, and how it is related to other forms of material and symbolic production that are circulating in the market? What kind of producer is a literary author? Besides their differences in poetics and modes of representation, all of these narrative pieces depict authorial figures—writers, musicians, performers—who are challenged by the socioeconomic and cultural transformations caused by Latin American's modernization processes throughout the twentieth century. Employing metafictional and intermedial devices, these novels draw parallels between literary writing and other forms of material and symbolic production in a capitalist economy. In other words, literary writing is compared to different modalities of proletarianized and professionalized labor in two economic stages: the 1920s, at the end of the Age of Export, and the 1970s, at the end of the Age of Development. Between the array of capitalist commodities and technologies, the novels include references to modern media—journalism and photography—as well as manual labor and industrial production. In general terms, the four novels making up my corpus articulate a critique of the commodification process as it applies to the cultural field.

My dissertation analyzes the literary production from three different Latin American

countries—Colombia, Brazil, and Perú. Although ‘Latin America’ is a vast and complex geographical region, I choose to frame my dissertation with this labelling given its position in the world economic system. Specifically, my dissertation sheds light on analogous historical and literary processes taking place in Andean region and Brazil—two regions that has been studied one in isolation from the other. After experiencing a similar colonization process by the Spanish and Portuguese empires since the sixteenth century, the Andean region and Brazil became independent states and were incorporated to the newer world system as natural resource-based economies in the nineteenth century—what is called as The Age of Export (1870s to 1930s). In addition, at the beginning of the twentieth century, countries such as Colombia, Brazil, and Peru were involved in disputes about their international borders (particularly, in the Amazon rainforest) in order to ensure control over a territory with natural resources. In the cultural and literary spheres, this was a moment in which the construction of national identities and the successful modernization of the countries' socio-economic life occupied the foreground. These concerns were shared by different poetics and literary trends—such as Naturalism, Spanish American *modernismo* (Parnassianism), Brazilian *modernismo* (Avant-garde), and Regionalism—that coexisted and competed between the 1990s and the 1930s.

The corpus of my dissertation begins with two novels from the 1920s, *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma*, because they extensively discuss the impact of the commodification process on literary writing. Notwithstanding their differences in modes of representation—the first is a Regionalist novel, while the second is an Avant-garde one—, both novels construct authorial personas who become champions of national identity and articulate the different territories of their countries by means of a non-commodified artistic production. In the case of *La vorágine*, this Colombian novel published in 1924 questions the politics of representation associated to

Spanish American *modernismo*—represented by Arturo Cova's identity as poet—by means of the progressive incorporation of a documentary approach and a political commitment taken from journalism and photography about the Amazon rubber boom—media introduced by the rubber worker and pathfinder Clemente Silva. As an outcome of the competitive relationship between Silva and Cova, the Spanish American *modernista* poet becomes a committed writer who, by means of a documentary approach, reports on the human exploitation in the Amazon rainforest and the challenges to the Colombian state's sovereignty.

To the extent that Cova's literary writing is attached to humanitarian and nationalistic ends, it overcomes the commodification process that subordinates artistic production to the economic interests of rubber entrepreneurs. For instance, there is an opposition between the picturesque post-cards of the *caucherías* and the graphic photographs denouncing the human exploitation—a documentary approach that Silva's narration attempts to reproduce. Nevertheless, *La vorágine* is not against rubber extraction in itself, but rather proposes the effective modernization of this economic activity—for instance, to replace the debt bondage by wage labor. On that note, the critique of commodification in *La vorágine* is directed against the lack of State control over the economic sphere. In addition, the reports of human exploitation are limited to White creole Colombian, excluding Indigenous populations and other historically marginalized communities.

In the case of *Macunaíma*, this Brazilian novel published in 1928 explicitly questions realistic mimesis by means of Avant-garde devices (estrangement and montage) as well as the parody of several historical and ethnographical sources about the Amazon rainforest and Brazil. In addition, the novel reflects on the relationship between Brazilian hinterland and the modernization of major cities (such as São Paulo) in a similar fashion than *La vorágine* (which

discusses the articulation of Bogotá and Colombian hinterland). Although *Macunaíma* doesn't include literary writers among its main characters, I analyze the eponymous main character (a mythical figure and a Brazilian rascal) as an authorial figure who is fascinated with language and becomes an oral storyteller. Moreover, while in *La vorágine* the authorial identity of Arturo Cova is based on a competitive relationship with Clemente Silva, Macunaíma constructs his authorial figure by means of similar competitive relationships with his brother Jiguê and the businessman Venceslau Pietro Pietra. For instance, while Pietro Pietra identifies himself as a collector of precious stones, Macunaíma becomes a collector of words. However, while the businessman's collective activity is clearly inserted in the economic exchange, the mythical entity finds himself in an ambiguous position—he tries to participate in economic exchange, but repeatedly and comically fails. On that note, De Andrade's novel casts an ironic gaze on Macunaíma's authorial persona that is absent in *La vorágine*.

On the other hand, regarding the politics of representation, *Macunaíma* contraposes the vitality of oral-storytelling and musical expression (which are attached to communal and mythical values) with the debasement of pictorial and photographic representation (the comic episodes of Macunaíma's carte-de-visite and Hercules Florence as inventor of photography). On that note, the resilience of oral-storytelling and musical expression is fully expressed with the anonymous narrator in the epilogue, who recognizes himself as the heir to Macunaíma's authorial identity. Finally, while De Andrade's novel lacks explicit references to the State as such—which are key elements in *La vorágine*—, it constructs a reading public that encompasses Brazilian cultural diversity into a single national community—"nossa gente" or 'our people'. In *Macunaíma*, the critique of the commodification process is directed towards artistic production that, because of its subordination to economic demands, is detached from the boisterous cultural

diversity of Brazil. Nevertheless, the representation of the dynamic intetaction between hinterland and modern cities—embodied by Macunaíma's travel to São Paulo—passes quickly through the material constraints and newer forms of marginalization suffered by rural-urban migrants. This is a dimension that would acquire relevance in the following years in consonance with the massive urbanization of Latin American cities after the 1940s.

After discussing *La vorágine*'s and *Macunaína*'s construction of authorial figures in the context of the consolidation of nation states at the end of the Age of Export (1870-1930), my dissertation moves ahead forty years to analyze another historical moment in which the commodification of literary activities acquired a more consolidated form. Specifically, I discuss the critical stances taken by the novel *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971) and the novella *A hora da estrela* (1977) regarding the professionalization of literary writing after the 1960s Latin American Boom. Moreover, while *La vorágine* and *Macunaíma* are novels with a poetological dimension—a discussion of the role and functions of literary writing in a national context—, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and *A hora da estrela* explicitly include a metafictional dimension, in which the narration discusses its literary devices, mode of representations, and ideological assumptions. On the other hand, while the novels from the 1920s depict characters in competitive relationships (Cova and Silva in Rivera's text; Macunaíma and Pietro Pietra in De Andrade's), the novels from the 1970s explore the creative process of a literary writer and the unexpected challenges to his labor (the blood-and-flesh Arguedas in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* and the fictional Rodrigo S.M. in *A hora da estrela*). Finally, the novels from the 1970s expands the roster of authorial figures, which significantly include rural-urban migrants and lower-class characters.

Around the mid-twentieth century, the modernization process would pass through a new

stage called the Age of Development (1930s to 1970s), which was characterized by populist governments and Import Substitution Industrialization policies in both the Andean region and Brazil. Meanwhile, both regions experienced a massive and unprecedented rural-urban migration, which led to disorganized urbanization processes. In the case of Peru, coastal cities such a Lima and Chimbote received a heavy flux of Quechua speaking migrant from the Andean hinterland. And in the case of Brazil, the migration from the impoverished northeast (the sertões) to the wealthy south (Rio de Janeiro) significantly increased during the same period. In order to adapt themselves to the new urban environment, these rural-urban migrants articulated several supporting networks, reelaborating their folk traditions in a capitalist economy. This phenomenon is extensively explored in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*. On the other hand, in consonance with the Age of Development's ending, globalized mass-media production started playing a more significant role in rural-urban migrants' social life. *A hora da estrela* explores this last aspect, which is commonly understood as an alienation process.

In the case of *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, Argueda's posthumous novel questions the politic of representation of Peruvian Indigenism (which Arguedas employs in his first novels) and Neo-realism (a major trend among Boom writers such as Mario Vargas Llosa and Carlos Fuentes). This questioning comes from mythical sources—revealed to Arguedas in the *Huarochirí Manuscript*—but also from his own anthropological research about the transformation of Andean folklore in the urban context. In the "Diarios" of the novel, the blood-and-flesh Arguedas explicitly identifies himself as a non-professional writer who is attached to communal values from historically marginalized communities (additionally, Arguedas recognizes a similar authorial identity in some peer writers such as Juan Rulfo and João Guimaraes Rosa). On the other hand, professional writers are depicted as debased specialists in a

given technical skill—namely, the comparison between Carlos Fuentes and a salaried bricklayer. While a non-professional writer freely expresses his creative capacity (notwithstanding overwhelming challenges such as Chimbote' modernization process), a professional one is completely alienated and commodified. Nevertheless, the comparison between Fuentes and a salaried bricklayer doesn't imply a negative perspective toward manual labor or less prestigious activities. In fact, based on Argueda's articles about the commercialization of "retablos" (an Andean craftwork), the debasement of artistic professionalization is not related with the social status of the labor, but with its subordination to the demands of artistic markets. On that note, a "retablista" such a Joaquín Lopez Antay, whose artistic labor resist commodification, shared the same authorial status of Arguedas and other literary writers.

On the other hand, the reflection on authorial identity in the "Diarios" is projected onto the fictional characters in the narration about Chimbote' modernization process. The negative perspective about the commodification of artistic activities is alluded to by the depiction of Braschi, the pioneering entrepreneur of fishing industries in Chimbote. Significantly, Braschi is presented as the begetter of Chimbote's modernization process, a metaphor that has connections with an authorial identity. In addition, since Braschi represents the logic of capital and towers over Chimbote social life, he is responsible for the alienation of rural-urban migrants, who suffered the commodification of their work and entertainment activities. Meanwhile, several fictional characters articulate a critique to the commodification process that bears a resemblance to Arguedas' own authorial position in the "Diarios". These characters have different social backgrounds, but all of them participate in networks of rural-urban migrants that, besides providing economic resources, provide them artistic outlets. I pay particular attention to Maxwell's training in folk music as a key example of artistic outlets that resist the

commodification process embodied in Braschi's rule over fishing industries. And in a similar fashion than non-professional writers, these creative outlets are strongly attached to communal values of historically marginalize communities—in particular, Quechua speaking communities from the Andean highlands. Finally, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* has the trait of keeping a gendered construction of authorship. With the exception of the three female prostitutes exploited by the pimp Tinoco, all the authorial figures and artistic producer are male figures. Significantly, this gendered dimension of authorship is the main concern of the last text analyzed in my dissertation, the novella *A hora da estrela*.

Finally, *A hora da estrela* sums up the discussion about the commodification of artistic activities, but also includes a significant new element: the class status and gendered identity of the contemporary ideas of authorship, including the professional and non-professional versions. By means of the unveiling of Rodrigo S.M.'s class and gender prejudices in his depiction of rural-urban migrant Macabéa, *A hora da estrela* question the politics of representation of Brazilian Regionalism (in particular, *Ciclo das Secas*) and Neo-realism. In addition, the self-fashioning of Rodrigo S.M. as an outcast and non-professional writer actually relies on his middle-class status, which is beyond the reach of impoverished individuals such as Macabéa. On that note, I differentiate two stages in the creative process of Rodrigo S.M. The first stage is the gathering of material and preparation of a working environment, in which Rodrigo S.M. successfully uses his class status to fashion himself as an outcast writer in order to relate with Macabéa's material constraints. On the other hand, the second stage is the actual writing process, in which Rodrigo S.M. finds unexpected challenges that are related to the progressive autonomy of Macabéa. Although Rodrigo S.M. presents Macabéa as a young woman deprived of self-reflective capacity, the narration progressively contradicts Rodrigo S.M.'s judgment and starts

revealing Macabéa's sensibility and agency. The unveiling of her autonomy relies on a sorority network of lower-class character—her colleague Glória and the fortune teller Carlota—as well as Macabéa's bad taste and mass media consumption—particularly, her collection of advertisement pictures. Finally, although Macabéa construct her own artistic outlet, this is strongly limited by her material constraints and the several forms marginalization she suffers at the same time. At the end of the narration, the only opportunity for Macabéa's full expression of her autonomy seems to be her death. In contrast, for a woman to be an authorial figure (such as the blood-and-flesh Clarice Lispector), the same class status and privileges of Rodrigo S.M. seems to be required.

[1] At that the beginning of the twentieth century, dominant literary formations were *modernismo* in Spanish-speaking countries and *parnasianismo* in Brazil. Spanish American *modernismo* is an original combination of Parnassianism, Symbolism, and Decadentism produced by Spanish American writers dealing with the professionalization and commodification of literary writing (Henríquez Ureña 9-32; Albero Acereda 9-44).

[2] Brazilian *modernismo* shouldn't be confused with Spanish American *modernismo*. Both movements participate in the general trend of the modernization of literary writing in Latin America, but they employ remarkably different poetics of European origin that polemize one against the other. To find a description of Spanish American *modernismo*, see footnote 1. Brazilian *modernismo*, on the other hand, is interested in the construction of a nationalistic discourse by means of the incorporation of Avant-Garde and High Modernism poetics. It was mostly active during the 1920s, a period of increasing urbanization in the context of export oriented economy. The iteration of Spanish American *modernismo* in the Portuguese speaking world is known as *parnasianismo*, while the iteration of Brazilian *modernismo* in the Spanish speaking world is *vanguardismo*. For the purpose of this dissertation, I establish an historical correlation between Spanish American *modernismo* and Brazilian Parnassianism, and between Brazilian *modernismo* and Spanish American Avant-Garde.

[3] Regarding Colombia's participation in the Spanish American *modernismo*, this country was a particular case since Romantic and Neoclassic poetics were still strongly influential; in this particular literary scene, Rivera move his Parnasian poetry towards the celebration of the landscapes of Colombian State. For this reason, when Rivera visited Peru in 1921, he was immediately compared to Peruvian poet José Santos Chocano, who is well-known for his *novomundismo* poetics and celebration of Spanish America's history and culture (Neale-Silva, *Horizonte* 185).

[4] Regarding the importance of poetry for the political sphere in Colombia, see Deas (27-61) and Rodríguez-García (165-175)

[5] *La vorágine* was an unprecedented publishing phenomenon in Colombia, with several editions being published one after another. The first edition was published on November 25th 1924 in Bogota by Editorial Cromos. The second to fourth editions were published by Editorial Minerva in 1925, 1926 and 1927, respectively. And the fifth and definitive edition registers the age 1928 but it was actually distributed in 1929 in New York by Editorial Andes, several months after the death of the author. In addition, before dying Rivera was negotiating the translation of his novel to English and was unsuccessfully looking a producer for a film adaptation (Neale Silva, *Horizonte* 399, 410, 433.) Surely, a film adaptation would increase the number of readers and would spread the reports about human exploitation to a wider international audience.

[6] For more information about the Amazon rubber boom, the participation of South American countries in a world scale economy as resource-based country, and the lasting effects on human exploitation and devastation of nature, see Loadman (81-163), Pineda Camacho (23-46, 71-80), Taussing (3-73), and Weinstein (69-136).

[7] According to Leopoldo Bernucci, the paratexts of La voragine resemble *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605-1615) by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra and *The Scarlett Letter* (1850) by Nathaniel Hawthorne (93-94).

[8] Jose Eustasio Rivera had already listened to news of the Amazon rubber boom and *caucheros* as early as 1911. In Ibagué, his friend Custodio Morales, a former rubber worker for Casa Arana, recalled several stories about human exploitation and handed over the title *Las crueldades en el Putumayo y el Caquetá*. Rivera was interested in international issues of Colombia State because of the political scandal of La Pedrera battle, in which Colombian forces were expelled by Peruvians from Caquetá river.

[9] Sylvia Molloy describes the effect of this literary technique as "contagio narrative" (1987), while Monserat Ordóñez refests to Arturo Cova's narrative as "una voz rota" (1990).

[10] In the interview "Una hora con José Eustasio Rivera," published in *El Tiempo* of Bogotá on February 7th 1926, Rivera mentioned Italian writer Gabriele D'Annunzio as one of the author he visited regularly (Rivera *Una vida azaroza I* 133)

[11] The first edition of *La vorágine* include the following variant in the aforementioned quote: "Alabada sea la diestra que ha esculpido tan bellas estrofas. Regalo de mi espíritu fueron en el Brasil, *y me producían la nostalgia de mi país ausente*" (My italics 45). This variation adds a hendecasyllabic.

[12] In *La vorágine*, popular subjects do not identify themselves as part of the Colombian State. When Arturo Cova interviews African descendant workers on the plantation about their livelihoods, he is astonished by their absence of attachment toward the Colombian national states: "'¿Eres colombiana de nacimiento?' 'Yo soy únicamente yanera, del lao de Manare. Dicen que soy craveña, pero no soy del Cravo; que pauteña, pero no soy del Pauto. ¡Yo soy de todas estas yanuras! ¡Pa qué más patria, si son tan beyas y tan dilatáas? Bien dice el dicho: ¿Onde ta tu Dios? ¡Onde te salga el sol!'" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 129.) According to Bernucci, historically the population of the Eastern

plain and the rainforest resisted government categorization.

[13] In addition, Arturo Cova´s testimony is written in a ledger (libro de caja), an important tool for the administration of rubber extraction since it registers the permanent and unpayable debt of rubber workers—that is to say, the base of slavery work and human exploitation according to Clemente Silva's narration. Arturo Cova has a critical and vindictive perspective about the ledger—he describes it as "un adorno inútil y polvoriento" (Rivera *La vorágine* 1990 345). Following Ericka Beckman, "Cova inscribes his personal account in an accounting ledger and in doing so attempts to flesh out an alternative practice surrounding the exploitative practices occurring in the jungle. The novel, that is, tells what the accounting ledgers of the rubber companies cannot tell, and indeed actively hide" (*Capital Fictions* 184).

[14] Brazilian *modernismo* originally included a very eclectic group of writers and artists—a fact that could be recognized in the catalog of the *Semana de Arte Moderna* in São Paulo, the pivotal event for the movement. Mário de Andrade established the official history of Brazilian *modernismo* in the conference "O Movimento Modernista" in 1942, which has been followed by the majority of literary historians (Jardim 79). Historical accounts that employs Mário and Oswald's friendship as a narrative tool to understand the whole movement includes *História do Modernismo Brasileiro. Antecedentes da Semana de Arte Moderna* by Mário da Silva Brito and *Mário e Oswald. Uma história privada do Modernismo* by Anderson Pires da Silva.

[15] Oswald de Andrade's cosmopolitanism exerted a huge influence in the following decades, when the question of Brazilian modernity reappeared in the context of Import Substitution Industrialization. While Haroldo do Campos recuperated *antropofagia* to develop his own Neo-Avant-Garde *contretista* poetics, Antonio Candido established that Oswald de Andrade's perspective on cultural exchange is actually reproducing nineteenth century intellectual projects.

[16] In contrast to their peers in the *Modernismo* movement (namely, Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila de Amaral), Mário de Andrade didn't travel so much during his lifetime—he only left Brazil once to visit Peru and Bolivia during his 1927 Amazon trip. In 1924 he refused to travel to Paris to visit Tarsila de Amaral and during his lifetime he would constantly refuse invitations to travel abroad (Ancona Lopez 111). In a letter to Tarsila do Amaral, Mário de Andrade offered as excuse the necessity to return to "mata-virgem," the Brazilian virgin jungle (Bibliographic source needed).

[17] Macunaíma could be recognized as a trickster, a character from ethnographic research that behaves in an unpredictable and disturbing manner. The trickster provokes the unease of a given social order, but he also provides a necessary transformation.

[18] Mário de Andrade bought his first camera, a 35mm Kodak, in 1923 (Ancona Lopez, *As Viagens e o Fotógrafo* 109) and during his lifetime took a collection of at least 2,500 photographs. According to Amarildo Carnicel, "trata-se de uma produção fotográfica bastante diversificada, contendo registros que documentam momentos familiares, imagens de parentes e de amigos, documentações folclóricas, cartões postais e fotos relacionadas a temas culturais produzidas em viagens pelo interior de São Paulo e nas duas grandes incursões etnográficas" (33). Amarildo Carnicel also explains the different stages of Mário de Andrade's photographic work, which include his early amateur photographs and his promotion of ethnographical photography as a public servant later on his life: "No primeiro ciclo—com duração de 13 anos, intercalados com algumas interrupções—percebe-se um Mário pouco exigente com a qualidade final de seu produto […] É um período em que Mário está, acima de tudo, preocupado em recolher documentação cultural […] Paralelamente a esse trabalho etnográfico, ele documenta o seu cotidiano ao lado de amigos—material típico de álbum de família […] Na segunda fase, na qualidade de administrador cultural, surge um Mário que vislumbra na fotografia um importante meio de preservação de monumentos históricos. […] Mais exigente, ele não se furta de mandar o profissional por ele contratado repetir as fotografias sempre que o material que lhe chega às mãos não está a contento" (144).

[19] In Brazilian literature, one important antecedent for Mário de Andrade's literary project in Brazilian nineteenth literature is Machado de Assis (1839-1908) since the work of this Carioca writer introduces self-reflexive and metafictional devices that undermines the historicism and psychologism of the realistic mode of representation. Even though Mário de Andrade's criticizes the outdated language in Machado's novels, the Paulista writer employed a self-conscious novel such as *Memórias Postumas de Bras Cubas* (1981) as a novel to his own novel *Amar, verbo intransitivo*.

[20] See Joseph Campbell, *The hero's journey: Joseph Campbell on his life and work*.

[21] Literary criticism that has rooted *Macunaíma* into popular or nonmodern traditions include *Roteiro de Macunaima*, by Manuel Calvalcanti Proença, and *O Tupi e o Alaúde: uma interpretação de Macunaíma*, by Gilda de Mello e Souza (even though she recognized that Mário de Andrade's novel "oscila de maneira ininterrupta entre a adoção do modelo europeu e a valorização da diferença nacional" [75]). Discussion about the satirical components could be found in *Morfologia do Macunaíma*, by Haroldo de Campos, *Macunaíma, da literatura ao cinema*, by

Heloísa Buarque de Hollanda, and *The Avant Garde and Geopolitics in Latin America*, by Fernando G. Rosernberg (who understands the satirical components as an allegorical dimension).
[22] The reference to the Portuguese writer Eça de Queiroz (1845-1900), whose books Macunaíma reads to gets inspire, should be understood as part of Mário de Andrade's critiques against conservative and outdated poetics. Eça de Queiroz is widely recognized as one of the most important realist and naturalist writers in Portuguese language, but *Macunaíma* actually disavows his importance since he is linked to a stereotypical and failed version of a painter. A similar gesture against realistic and naturalistic writing could be found in the first novel written by Mário de Andrade, *Amar, verbo intransitivo*, in which the narrator explicitly rejects the possibility of writing a novel following the principles of Naturalism.
[23] The history of photography is Brazil and the central role played by Emperor Pedro II is well presented by Natalia Brizuela (*Fotografia e imperio*). Before being crowned Emperor of Brazil, the future Pedro II witnessed the arrival to the first daguerreotype in January 21, 1840. According to Natalia Brizuela, "ao longo de seu reinado, d. Pedro II mandará fotografar o Imperio obsessivamente—cada canto dele, como se por meio dessas fotografias ele tentasse oferecer a versão precisa de um atlas do país. Ao financiar os fotógrafos que se dedicaram a registrar a paisagem brasileira, ele criou uma tradição sem paralelo em nenhum outro país da América Latina" (42) The emperor also sponsored several foreign photographers during his term, such as Revert Henrique Klumb (Germany), Victor Frond (France), and specially Marc Ferrez (France), who in 1875 was hired as official photographer in the Comissão Geográfica e Geológica. According to Brizuela, "todas aquelas vistas foram parar na coleção de d. Pedro II, inscrevendo-se na vida da corte pelo relacionamento que os fotógrafos estabeleceram com a família imperial. Stahl dedicou seu volumoso álbum ao próprio imperador. Klumb dedicou o seu à jovem imperatriz—a quem ele ensinara fotografia alguns anos antes—; e o projeto de Frond foi parcialmente financiado por d. Pedro II" (Brizuela 54).
[24] In *Aspectos da música brasileira*, Mário de Andrade explains Carlos Gomes's artistic trajectory as an example of cultural neo-colonialism: "Como arte, Carlos Gomes é a síntese profana de tôda a primeira fase estética da nossa música, a fase a que chamarei de 'Internacionalismo Musical.' […] Importava-se, aceitava-se, apreciava-se não a música européia, pois que não existe pròpriamente música europeia, mas as diferentes músicas europeias. O colono ainda tinha a justificação de sublinhar com isso o estado de subalternidade em que queria conservar a possessão deste Atlântico, e era sempre a troca da quinquilharia, fitas e contas coloridas da indústria européia que êle trocava aqui pelo pau-brasil, o açúcar, o ouro. E era com essas fitas e continhas que os nossos compositores se enfeitavam, para bancar de ótimos técnicos e aspirar à celebridade" (27).
[25] On the other hands, some of his essays, Mário de Andrade explained that Brazilian national identity shouldn't be reduced to its Indigenous or Africans components. Interestingly, following this approach in *Pequena história da música*, Mário de Andrade presented a more positive image of Carlos Gomes, the music composer accused in *Aspectos da música brasileira* of cultural neo-colonialism: "É opinião repisada entre nós que Carlos Gomes não tem nada de musicalmente brasileiro, a não ser o entrecho de algumas óperas. Mesmo que assim fôsse, êle tinha o lugar de verdadeiro iniciador da música brasileira, porque na época dele, o que faz a base essencial das músicas nacionais, a obra popular, inda não dera entre nós a cantiga racial. É ridículo que consideremos como brasileiros os cantos negros, os cantos portugueses (e até ameríndios!), as modinhas, habaneras e tangos do séc. XIX, e repudiemos um gênio verdadeiro cuja preocupação nacionalista foi intense" (*Pequena história da música* 176).
[26] Based in Buenos Aires, Argentina (one of the first Latin American regions to deal with modernizing processes), Horacio Quiroga discussed his own experience with the professionalization of literary writing in articles such as "La profesión literaria" (503).
[27] On the same note, Javier García Liendo suggests two stages in Argueda's anthropologic writing, which are divided by the intensification of rural-urban migration and the first manifestations of mass culture in mid-twentieth century Peruvian society: "Durante la mayor parte de su vida intelectual, Arguedas hace frente a la hegemonía de la cultura nacional, de matriz hispano-criolla. Concibe su trabajo como la producción de una contrahegemonía, que pasa por la alianza con el indigenismo, por sus prácticas con el folklore y su trabajo literario, así como por el estudio, conocimiento y difusión—sobre todo a través del periódico—de las culturas de los Andes. No obstante, a medida que se despliega la segunda mitad del siglo XX, percibe el fortalecimiento de la cultura de masas como un tercer elemento que rompe la dualidad anterior y se convierte en el productor dominante de hegemonía. El proceso pone en cuestionamiento, hasta cierto punto, los presupuestos de su trabajo previo; sin embargo, esto no supone la desaparición de las tensiones que se daban entre la dualidad cultura nacional-cultura andina" (152).
[28] According to José Alberto Portugal, because of the critical success of *Los ríos profundo*s and other autobiographical pieces, in the eyes of literary critics "la obra narrativa de Arguedas se puede entender como un campo autobiográfico o una autobiografía disfrazada" (*Las novelas* 226). Accordingly, the "Diarios" are the last entry to an autobiographical series that, beginning with the collection of stories *Agua*, includes the short story "Orovilca," the novels *Los ríos profundos* and *El Sexto*, and the collection of stories *Amor mundo*. In addition,

Arguedas himself anchored the verisimilitude of his narrative in these autobiographical elements, since the description of the Andean communities and Peruvian social conflict is based on personal experiences of the author.
[29] José Alberto Portugal reconstructs the process of composition of *El zorro de arriba and el zorro de abajo* using the correspondence between Arguedas and his friend, the Antropologist John Murra (*Las novelas* 67-68). Regarding of the novel's working materials, Martin Lienhard offers the transcription of some of the recorded interviews conducted to Chimbote dwellers (*Cultura andina* 199-205) and Inti Briones reproduces a selection of the photographs taken in Chimbote ("Fotografías inéditas"). To discuss Arguedas' interest in photography as a tool for ethnographic research, see Dora Sales (*José* 73-91). For instance, Arguedas took several photographs in Zamora, Spain, during the fieldwork for his dissertation *Las comunidades de España y del Perú*, defended in 1962 and published six years later (359-374)
[30] The Huarochirí manuscript was composed in the first decade of seventieth century and had a decisive role in the campaigns of extirpation of idolatry. After conducting interviews to the Indigenous population in the resettlement village of San Damian (38 miles from Lima), the manuscript was penned by an *indio ladino* under the direct supervision of secular priest Francisco de Ávila (1573–1647). According to Frank Salomon, even though the manuscript offered an original perspective of Andean worship practices from a pre-colonial source (which belonged to the Checa ethnic group, who considered themselves children of the "huaca" Pariacaca), its composition was under the direct influence of the III Concilio Limense. Namely, the manuscript employs the standardized Quechua settled by the religious council in order to regulate the evangelization in the Andean region (Salomón, "Introductory essay…" 30).
[31] The meaning of the death of Arguedas as it is inscribed in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* is a point of heated controversy among literary critics. See Martin Lienhard (*Cultura andina y forma novelesca. Zorros y danzantes en la última novela de Arguedas*), Silverio Muñoz (*José María Arguedas y el mito de la salvación por la cultura*), Roland Forgues (*José María Arguedas: del pensamiento dialéctico al pensamiento trágico : historia de una utopía*), Mário Vargas Llosa (*La utopía arcaica. José María Arguedas y las ficciones del indigenismo*), José Alberto Portugal (*Las novelas de José María Arguedas: una incursión en lo inarticulado*)]
[32] For a comprehensive history of the "Retablos" and contemporaneous manifestation of this Andean craftwork, see María Eugenia Ulfe (Cajones de la memoria : la historia reciente del Perú a través de los retablos andinos).
[33] A similar process takes places in chapter IV with Esteban de la Cruz who, despite of being mortally ill and physically deteriorated, has a surpring sexual drive. Because of his unrestrained libido, Jesusa, Esteban's wife, calls his sinful: "De noche puja en el suelo, el Esteban […]. En el suelo revuelca. Tiene fuerzas entonces. ¡Qué con el Hermano confiese! ¿De dóndecito le viene ese pulso pa´pujar, retuercer papeles, morder mi pecho? Dispués, frío queda. Con el hermano que hable. Va salvar…" (*El zorro* 171). In Esteban de la Cruz' case, the sin of lust is connected with pride. The shoemaker is a stubborn individual, which is expressed in the persistence of his healing ritual—he needs to expel 5 ounzes of coal to overcome the silicosis—, as well as in this rejection of any kind of religious intermediary—such as the evangelical brothers respected by his wife. Both sins (lust and pride) are connected with Esteban's rejection to accept his own vulnerability, which he identifies as weakness (and, consequently, death). But a change takes place at the end of the chapter, when Esteban de la Cruz meets the human-fox Diego. The mythical fox encourage the shoemaker to embrace this vulnerability: "El tristeza es a veces candela; así, este canto guitarra del Crispin. Tú nunca triste, ¿no?" (168)
[34] According to Florencia Garramuño, in *A hora da estrela* Clarice Lispector is not only challenging Regionalism, but a longer nineteenth century tradition in which the letrado seeks to represent the political and economic demands of marginalized populations: "A construção do personagem de Macabéa e de sua história recorda e se inscreve a preocupação social que marcou uma área importantíssima da tradição da literatura brasileira—e não só no regionalismo dos anos 30, mas também desde o século XIX e passando pela grande "dobradiça" que serão neste sentido *Os Sertões*, de Euclides da Cunha—de maneira que parece pôr em primeiro plano uma sorte de referência social que desconcertava os críticos de Clarice" ("Uma leitura histórica" 180). A discussion about the intertextuality between *A hora da estrela* and Brazilian committed literature could be founded in Solange Ribeiro de Oliveira ("Clarice Lispector e o repúdio ao exotismo em *A Hora da Estrela*"), Cynthia Sloan ("The Social and Textual Implications of the Creation of a Male Narrating Subject in Clarice Lispector's *A Hora Da Estrela*"), and Lucía Sá ("De chachorros vivos e nordestinas mortas: A Hora da Estrela e o mal-estar das elites").
[35] On that same note, Horst Nitschack also diminishes the gendered power structure in her analyses of *A hora da estrela's* and its questioning of traditional mimesis. According to Nitschack, the hierarchical relationship between a lettered male author and an impoverished female character ends up being an artifice, "figuras de meditaçao, mandalas," to surpass the mimesis and uncover the pivotal role of a supposedly neutral language (232).
[36] As an additional irony, Macabéa ignores the existence of other languages: "Nunca lhe ocorrera a existência de outra língua e pensava que no Brasil se falava brasileiro" (63). On the other hand, while Macabéa confuses the

words and lacks any linguistic background, Rodrigo S.M. affirms that he has learned foreign languages just by listening to them: "Verifico que escrevo de ouvido assim como aprendi inglês e francês de ouvido" (24).

[37] Significantly, Olímpico's instrumentalization of women also mirrors the same behavior on the part of the narrator. At the beginning of the narration, Rodrigo S.M. mentions a former relationship, an unnamed woman with whom he had a deep rapport: "Embora não agüente bem ouvir um assovio no escuro, e passos. Escuridão? lembro-me de uma namorada: era moça-mulher e que escuridão dentro de seu corpo. Nunca a esqueci: jamais se esquece a pessoa com que se dormiu" (23). Rodrigo's feeling towards this woman (empathy and control) reappear in his current relationship with Macabéa, the imaginary woman he is writing about.

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