Magical Insurrections: Cultural Resistance and the Magic Realist Novel in Latin America.

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

In spite of being one of the most widely used terms in Latin American literary criticism, little has been written on the cultural issues raised by magic realism. This thesis hopes to amend this in some way by tackling some of the issues magic realism raises in the context of cultural politics. The main argument of this thesis is that there is an underlying theme of cultural resistance in the Latin American magic realist novel, which draws its sustenance from the counter-hegemonic characteristics of popular culture. The thesis explores how the notion of cultural resistance has been incorporated into five Latin American magic realist novels: Asturias' *Hombres de maíz*, Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*, García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad* and Posse's *Daimón*. Other Latin American texts are also used for comparative purposes. The issues tackled in each chapter are as follows: Chapter 1 is devoted to a discussion of magic realism as a literary category and to the development of a definition. In Chapter 2 the literary, historical and ideological characteristics of the Latin American magic realist novel are identified, concentrating on the issue of cultural identity in Latin America and its role in the production of magic realism. Chapter 3 explores the concepts that will provide the critical tools to analyse the texts from a historical and political perspective: cultural resistance, hegemony and popular culture. Chapter 4 is devoted to an exploration of the social and economic basis of cultural resistance and to the "political economy" of magic realism. Chapter 5, finally, deals with language and cultural resistance in relation to the novels selected.

PREFACE

All texts have a history and this thesis is no exception. As is the case with all history, the history of this thesis is one of people. Although writing a PhD often feels like a solitary pursuit, there is a surprisingly large number of people involved directly or indirectly in its production, and to be able to thank them all is one of the tasks one always cherishes. To do it, however, is not easy, for a great deal of the help I received was in the form of ideas which came originally from conversations or readings. This, unfortunately, places them at the mercy of my sometimes unreliable memory. Of those who helped in a more practical way by taking care of some of the more prosaic aspects of daily life, enabling me to devote more time to reading or writing, I am not less grateful. Inevitably, the tension and stress caused by completing a work like this is shared by those around one. For this I am indebted to my family and friends. But before I thank those who have helped me in one way or another throughout these four years, I would like to say something about how this thesis was (eventually) written.

An important aspect of the background to this thesis, I think, is the period I spent in Haiti, where a considerable part of it was written. Haiti never fails to leave an impression on those who visit it. Personally, I found the creativity and the imagination of its people profoundly inspiring. Like Alejo Carpentier, I discovered in its history and culture a source of real marvels. There, I was witness also to the tragedy of the Haitian people. Indeed, at present, their inventiveness, resilience and dignity are being tested to the limit by the devastating effects of the international embargo which affects, above all, the poor, who form the overwhelming majority; and by the terror unleashed by the military and the civilian thugs they command. In spite of this, the people continue to maintain the values of solidarity and togetherness which are so central to their cultural life that they are entrenched in the language itself. In Kreyol, the first person plural is also the second, so that "you" are also "us", and "your" problems are "our" problems. In this the Haitians, the poorest and most downtrodden people of Latin America, lead the rest of us, as they did by becoming the first to achieve independence.

In the last four years I have had the opportunity to visit several Latin American countries for reasons of work, pleasure or study: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Paraguay, Puerto Rico and Uruguay. During these trips I came across many sources, some of which I have included in this work. But, from my own point of view, the main value of these visits has been to give me an idea of the essential unity within the great diversity of Latin American cultural expressions. This is more apparent when one looks at them from the "outside" rather than from the "inside" and, in this context, the fact that I completed this work in the University of Essex where I had access to the superb collection of Latin American art and literature sources of the Albert Sloman Library and to the specialist knowledge of the University staff, was a great advantage. As a whole, I believe that I have maintained the necessary balance between distance from and proximity to Latin America, in order to achieve a "sympathetic engagement" with the material.

As anyone who has completed a PhD will testify, the difference between it being a rewarding and enjoyable learning experience or a lonely struggle depends to a great extent on the supervisor one has to work with. In my case I have been fortunate enough to have not only one, but two excellent supervisors. Although the normal exoneration from any errors and inaccuracies on my part applies, of course, to them, this thesis would be very much poorer without the advice, comments and criticisms from Dawn Ades and Gordon Brotherston. They were particularly helpful in trying to give some semblance of order and academic rigour to the vast and loosely connected assortment of ideas with which I started this project, and if the end product still suffers from any shortcomings in this area, it is not for their lack of advice. They have been generous with their time and knowledge and both have been instrumental in suggesting reading material for this thesis. Indeed, many of the sources used here were introduced to me by them. For all this, and for their patience and encouragement, I am deeply grateful.

I am also indebted to Valerie Fraser who, although not a supervisor, was kind enough to read some of the early drafts and whose comments regarding style and structure I have tried to incorporate. There are, furthermore, a number of people who, knowingly or not, contributed to this thesis through discussions sustained with its author. Among them, I found the conversations with Laënnec Hurbon and Abel Posse particularly illuminating, while María Clara Martín and Andrew Twyman helped me considerably to clarify my own ideas with their questions and comments.

In this thesis I give particular importance to the material conditions in which texts are produced. In the case of the thesis itself, its completion was only made possible by a three-year award from the British Academy. Under the economic and political climate which prevails in Great Britain today, this is a rare privilege which I acknowledge with gratitude. In this respect I would like to mention also the Secretary of the Department of Art History and Theory, Maureen Reed, who somehow managed to make me meet all the required deadlines and took care of all the necessary paperwork. I am also grateful to my family, and especially to my mother Herminia and to Andrew, in whose attic I worked for the most part during these last three months.

Finally, although María Clara, my compañera, could not be at my side making me cups of tea as she would have liked, she offered me much greater help by listening to me, reading my drafts and suggesting improvements to them and, above all, by giving me her love and support throughout, whilst never failing to dispense words of encouragement during those difficult times when there seemed to be no light at the end of the tunnel. This thesis is dedicated to her, to the memory of my father, Guillermo Spindler Prince, and to the people of Haiti: "Tout tan tet la pa koupe, li pa desespere mete chapo".

William Spindler,
University of Essex,
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INTRODUCTION

The term **magic realism**, in spite of its European origins, has been intimately linked, for better or for worse, to the modern Latin American novel, to the extent that to many readers outside Latin America, magic realism and Latin American literature have become almost synonymous. Despite terminological and conceptual problems which have persuaded a number of critics to abandon it,[1] magic realism, as a critical description, continues to have, in Fredric Jameson's words, "a strange seductiveness".[2] Gerald Martin, while acknowledging that the term "is so ideologically dangerous that it should really be rejected"[3], is far from immune to its allure, going as far as placing the whole of Latin American literary production in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (the period which saw the rise of the Latin American New Novel and the "boom"), under the label "Magical Realism". Even its most vocal critics have admitted that they have used the term on occasions.[4]

In this thesis I will argue that magic realism, if carefully defined, can be a useful literary category comprising works of fiction which share certain identifiable thematic, stylistic and structural characteristics, which I will attempt to elucidate in Chapter 2. One of these characteristics is **antinomy**,[5] a philosophical concept which has been applied to the study of literature. In this context it refers to a "(c)ontradiction between opposite principles: antinomies are mutually exclusive truths, which remain true in spite of the fact that they contradict each other".[6] In magic realism this refers to the presence within the text of two different, apparently opposed, world views (one "Western", rationalistic, modern and discursive; the other "non-Western", magical, traditional and intuitive). Without attempting to stretch the philosophical boundaries of the term too far, antinomy in Latin America corresponds to societies where socio-cultural groups holding these different values and perceptions coexist as part of the same social, economic and political structures. The antinomy apparent in Latin American magic realist novels, therefore, is not the result of an individual author's subjective perceptions of reality but is, instead, objectively and historically determined by the existence in society of groups holding these world views. The relationships between these groups are not characterized by equality and mutual respect, however, but by domination and subordination.

Throughout the colonial and post-Independence periods subordinate groups (defined by ethnicity, class and/or gender) developed different strategies and patterns of resistance, including military, political and **cultural resistance**. Cultural resistance was, and still is, expressed through various manifestations such as magical practices, patron saint festivities and the carnival, among others. The view of the carnival as representing an ideology opposed to the dominant social order was developed by Mikhail Bakhtin in his study of François Rabelais' work. Bakhtin sees Rabelais as representative of a medieval "culture of folk humour"[7] whose "basic goal was to destroy the official picture of events".[8] I will argue that, important as Bakhtin's contribution to cultural criticism undoubtedly is, it restricts the influence of popular culture to the level of ideology, whilst failing to consider the social and economic forms of organization that constitute the material basis of that ideology. In the case of Latin America, there are indeed popular forms of economic organization and social and political structures of resistance associated with subordinate groups. These can be seen as constituting "cultures of resistance" which actively oppose the dominant order. The mechanics of these power relationships in the cultural sphere can be analysed by

resorting to the critical concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony developed by Antonio Gramsci. These will be explored in some detail in Chapter 3.

The main argument of this thesis is that **there is an underlying theme of cultural resistance in the magic realist novel in Latin America which draws its sustenance from the counter-hegemonic characteristics of popular culture**. The contention is not that popular culture as a whole is necessarily counter-hegemonic (some aspects of it are clearly not), but that magic realist novels draw on those aspects of magic and popular culture which have been used by subordinate groups as forms of cultural resistance. Nor will it be claimed that cultural resistance is the only, or indeed the main theme of all magic realist novels. This is, needless to say, only one of many possible readings.

The argument proposed here raises a further question, to which I will attempt to provide an answer, namely why and with what purposes have Latin American novelists working within the magic realist mode emphasized the liberating aspects of magic and popular culture above their conservative aspects. This is an important question given the fact that the perception of popular culture and magic as liberating constitutes a radical departure from the "mainly metaphysical views of the *pensadores*, those 'thinkers' or ideologists who dominated Latin America's interpretation of its own history until after the Second World War".[9]

With some important exceptions,[10] these Latin American intellectuals saw magic and popular culture as expressions of backwardness, superstition and reactionary thought. An answer to this question will necessarily touch upon concerns such as the role of culture in dependent societies and the current debates on modernity and postmodernity in Latin America.

This thesis will explore how the notion of cultural resistance has been incorporated into five Latin American magic realist novels: Miguel Angel Asturias' *Hombres de maíz* (1949); Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo* (1949); José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos* (1958); Gabriel García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad* (1967); and Abel Posse's *Daimón* (1978). Other texts such as Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (1928), Jorge Amado's *Tenda dos milagres* (1969) and Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus* (1982) will be used for comparative purposes. There is an increasingly large body of critical works devoted to the study of nearly all of these texts. My purpose is not to add to it. For this reason, rather than devoting a separate chapter to each of the five selected novels, a comparative approach will be used to analyse them in relation to some of the issues they raise in the area of cultural politics, and more specifically, cultural resistance. In this way it is hoped that interesting similarities and differences will be established between them.

Any choice of works will be to some extent arbitrary. Mine obeys above all a desire to have a wide geographical and historical selection, which coincides with the comparative approach used. For this reason I have included texts by novelists from Guatemala, Cuba, Peru, Colombia and Argentina, and others from Brazil and Chile. This allows for the main cultural-geographical areas in which Latin America can be more or less divided (Middle- or Meso-America,[11] the extended Caribbean,[12] the Andes,[13] Lowland South America[14] and the Southern Cone[15]) to be all represented.

The novels also cover five decades of literary production, from the 1940s to the 1980s. The five novels selected are all paradigmatic in different ways: Asturias' and Carpentier's are regarded, virtually unanimously, as the original examples of Latin American magic realist fiction.

Arguedas' departs from the surrealist preoccupation with "the marvellous" and is arguably the one that offers the deepest insight into the Native American imagination. García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* has become the quintessential magic realist novel, if not the quintessential Latin American novel. Abel Posse's is a good example of how magic realism has continued to attract younger writers of the post-"boom" generation.

The additional novels have been selected with comparative purposes in mind: the inclusion of the novels by Mário de Andrade and Jorge Amado in a study of magic realism will not satisfy every critic, for magic realism is usually thought of as an exclusively Spanish-American phenomenon, but an examination of their work will reveal common features which demonstrate that Brazilian writers' concerns are not that dissimilar from those of other Latin American novelists. The same can be said of Haitian writers such as Jacques-Stephen Alexis and René Dépestre. Although a comparative study of the works of these writers would be of enormous interest to my discussion, I felt that to include them would be to stretch the boundaries of this thesis to unrealistic proportions. I have managed to include a number of Haitian secondary sources, however. Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus*, finally, besides being an important phenomenon on account of its international success, unprecedented for a novel written by a Latin American woman, provides contrasting views on matters of gender. This range of texts, it is hoped, will serve to demonstrate the remarkable continuity and relevance of magic realism as a category in Latin American literature.[16]

Throughout this thesis I will explore the different ways in which these novels deal with the notion of cultural resistance in different historical, social and political contexts. The thesis is divided into two parts. Part 1 strives to answer the question "What is magic realism?", while part 2 undertakes a historical and political reading of the Latin American magic realist novel based on the idea of cultural resistance. The issues tackled in each chapter are as follows: Chapter 1 is devoted to a discussion of magic realism as a literary category and to the development of a working definition for the purposes of this thesis. The history of the term is explored with this in mind. Chapter 2 moves away from the concept of magic realism to an exploration of the literary corpus of magic realist texts. The salient literary, historical and ideological characteristics of the Latin American magic realist novel are identified, concentrating on the issue of cultural identity in Latin America and its role in the production of magic realism. Chapter 3 explores the concepts that will provide the critical tools to analyse the texts from a historical and political perspective, namely cultural resistance, hegemony, counter-hegemony and popular culture. Chapter 4 is devoted to an exploration of the social and economic basis of cultural resistance and to what I call the "political economy" of magic realism. Chapter 5 deals with language and cultural resistance in relation to the five selected novels.

Sociology, anthropology, political theory and cultural theory will be used to illuminate the readings of the texts. Essentially, however, this thesis is a work of literary criticism and not a sociological or anthropological study of magical practices or popular culture in the Latin American context. Instead, I will concentrate on magic and popular culture as they are portrayed in the texts. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the analysis of these textual examples of discursive and linguistic practices taken from a number of Latin American societies at a given historical moment will also contribute to the understanding of the social and cultural dynamics of those societies. In other words, that the analysis of the texts will also serve to bring light into some aspects of the societies where they originated. This is important for, as Elena Poniatowska points out, the term

"magic realism" takes a frightful significance in a continent where hundreds of thousands of human beings have been made to "disappear" by their governments in the last 3 decades.[17]

The work being undertaken here, then, can be seen as belonging to that interdisciplinary approach which has been described as "culturalist" or "cultural analytical" and which has been concerned, first in literature, then in anthropology, and increasingly in history and political science, with the examination of colonial and postcolonial discourse.[18] While acknowledging the importance of the deconstruction of the meta-narratives of modernity and the critique of the transparency of language as a vehicle of communication advanced by post-structuralist theorists such as Barthes, Lacan, Lyotard and Derrida, the point of departure for this thesis is one based on an analysis of social relations of domination and subordination in a historical context, as they manifest themselves in ethnic, class and gender struggles. That is to say, a critical approach which rejects the retreat from the historical and the political associated with current theorizations of the "post-modern condition". My approach, in effect, is both historical and political.

In the course of this thesis the theoretical framework used to analyse these power relationships in both the texts and in the cultural contexts that produced them, will be built around two main concepts: **hegemony** and **cultural resistance**. Both are discussed at some length in Chapter 3. Other terms that it will be necessary to define for the purposes of this thesis and in order to avoid semantic pitfalls are "popular culture", "cultures of resistance" and, of course, "magic realism". The first two are also dealt with in Chapter 3, while Chapter 1 is devoted to the latter. There are considerable problems of definition in all of these, as will become apparent later on. The definition of wide and complex terms such as "culture" ("one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" according to Raymond Williams[19]) and "literature" will not be attempted, not because of a lack of awareness of the various problems and assumptions behind their construction as fields of signification, but because the implicit definitions of "culture" contained in the ideas of "cultures of resistance" and "popular culture" will be sufficient for my purposes. As for "literature", it will be used always in the sense of fictional narratives, oral or written. A few words will have to be said, however, about the term "Latin American literature", a cultural construction whose ideological content has considerable bearing on the issues discussed. A fully comprehensive deconstruction of the term, needless to say, will not be attempted, but I will return to an exploration of it as part of the discussion on cultural identity in Latin America in Chapter 2.

In spite of being one of the most widely used terms in Latin American literary criticism, little has been written on the cultural issues raised by magic realism as a category in Latin American fiction. This thesis hopes to amend this in some way by tackling some of the issues magic realism raises in the context of cultural politics, by approaching the subject from the point of view of popular culture. The novelty of this thesis rests on its recognition of the specific role played by the social, economic and political institutions associated with popular cultural practices such as the Native American fiestas and the Afro-American carnivals in the production of magic realism, which relates to the social uses of these cultural practices in general, and cultural resistance in particular. It also offers a definition based on a characterization of the Latin American magic realist novel and an analysis of the relationships between magic realism and other categories such as surrealism, fantastic literature, the Carnivalesque, the Grotesque and the Baroque, in a historical framework. This work, moreover, represents a contribution towards a historical reading of the Latin American magic realist novel by placing it within its social, economic and political contexts.

In this I am indebted to a wealth of previous scholarly work which I have acknowledged in a list of secondary sources in the bibliography and in references in the endnotes to each chapter, but I wish here to credit the following particular intellectual debts. The importance given to historical and material conditions and the model of textual analysis employed owe a great deal to Gerald Martin's *Journeys through the Labyrinth*, whose pervasive influence will be apparent. Raymond Williams' work helped me clarify the theoretical concepts of ideology and culture. A. B. Chanady's *Magical Realism and the Fantastic* was particularly helpful in illuminating the differences between those two categories. Irlemar Chiampi's *El realismo maravilloso* provided a useful insight into magic realism as an ideology of America, as did Peter Hulme's *Colonial Encounters* in respect to the construction of the myths behind colonial discourse. William Rowe and Vivian Schelling's *Memory and Modernity* proved invaluable as a secondary source on popular culture in Latin America.

At an even more profound level there are three sets of ideas whose centrality to this thesis is perhaps only partially reflected by occasional references in the text. These are, firstly, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, whose importance to this work rests on its emphasis on cultural, as well as political and economic factors in social relationships. Secondly, Bakhtin's ideas on popular culture as an alternative ideology to the dominant culture; and thirdly, Gordon Brotherston's work on the Indigenous sources of the Latin American novel, which vindicate the fundamental role that Native American thought plays in modern Latin American culture and society. In my own work I have attempted to bring together these three sets of ideas in the notion of cultural resistance and apply them to the study of the Latin American magic realist novel. Finally, unfashionable as it may be to admit it in this age of authorless texts, I am indebted to the novelists themselves in whose creations the seeds of all these ideas and many others can be found.

PART 1. WHAT IS MAGIC REALISM?

CHAPTER 1. TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF MAGIC REALISM.

Magic realism is a fashionable term. If we are to believe the promotional blurb in the dust jackets of novels, there has been an explosion of magic realist writing in Europe in the last two decades. In this light, magic realism could be seen as one of the most successful Latin American cultural exports, and one that has had an impact on writers throughout the world. Indeed, many European writers such as Italo Calvino, Umberto Eco, Milan Kundera, Milorad Pavic, Ismail Kadare, Juan Goytisolo and J. M. Caballero Bonald, as well as the Nigerian Ben Okri and the Indian-born Salman Rushdie have succumbed to its attraction: "if all reality now is magical, then all writers are Latin Americans", as Gerald Martin ironically puts it.[20]

Significantly perhaps, very few writers have used the term to refer to their own work, and many frankly object to it. What is the strange attraction, then, of a term which is loved by reviewers, provokes fierce debates among academics, and is loathed by the writers themselves? Despite the semantic erosion the term undoubtedly has suffered both in Europe and in Latin America as a result of careless journalistic use, it would be premature to dismiss the whole idea of magic realism simply as a convenient description under which to lump together those novels which reviewers find difficult to classify under other labels. Many critics, after all, do take the term seriously. A recent academic book published in Belgium, for example, includes as magic realists "quelques-unes des personnalités dominantes du siècle: écrivains comme Ernst Jünger, Borges, Asturias, Carpentier, García Márquez, Golding, Nabokov, Julien Green, Gracq et Gombrowicz, peintres tels que Radziwill, Schad, Chirico, Wyeth ou Colville, cinéastes comme André Delvaux et Bertolucci".[21]

The grouping together of so many different artists under one single category, nevertheless, can become meaningless without an adequate definition, and that is precisely what magic realism has consistently lacked. This does not mean, however, that magic realism has lost all its usefulness as a descriptive term.

In this chapter I will argue that there is indeed such a thing as magic realism, or rather, that there is a certain identifiable type of literature with characteristics of its own, which distinguish it from other categories such as surrealism and the Fantastic, with which it is often confused. There are, furthermore, good reasons to use the term magic realism to refer to this type of literature, as I will argue below. By the end of this chapter I will have formulated a working definition which will serve not only the purposes of this thesis but, more ambitiously perhaps, help to clarify some of the conceptual and terminological problems associated with magic realism, so that I can proceed to explore in turn some of the issues it raises in the context of cultural politics in general, and of cultural resistance in particular.

Before doing this, however, it is necessary to trace the evolution and the changing fortunes of the term from its origins in a very different context to that of Latin American Literature. The first to use it, in fact, was the German art critic, Franz Roh,[22] in 1925. He applied it to a group of painters living and working in Germany in the 1920s who, after the First World

War, rejected what they saw as the excessive intensity and emotionalism of Expressionism, the tendency that had dominated German art before the War, and returned to a more sober representation of reality. Despite their aesthetic and ideological differences, post-expressionist artists such as Carl Grossberg, Christian Schad, Alexander Kanoldt, Georg Schrimpf, Carlo Mense and Franz Radziwill were all fascinated by the mystery of everyday life. They discovered that the heightened realism of their paintings, far from reaffirming a sense of reality, had the curious effect, paradoxically, of creating an atmosphere of unreality.

The German post-expressionists studied by Roh believed that the world of objects should be approached by the artist in a new way, as if he or she was discovering it for the first time. In this they acknowledged the influence of Henri Rousseau ("*le Douanier*"),[23] the self-taught French painter whose fresh and naïve style, the static character of his scenes and the toy-like quality he gave to people, animals and objects, were to impress, years later, also the Surrealists.[24] In Roh's view magic realism was a way of portraying the mystery hidden behind reality:

> "Mit 'magisch' im Gegensatz zu 'mystisch' sollte angedeutet sein dass das Geheimnis nicht in die dargestellte Welt *eingeht*, sondern sich hinter ihr zurückhält".[25]

Most of the painters described by Roh participated in an exhibition arranged by Gustav Hartlaub in Mannheim, in 1925. Hartlaub called the exhibition *die Neue Sachlichkeit*, and selected the work of those artists "die der positiv greifbaren Wirklichkeit mit einem bekennerischen Zuge treu geblieben oder wieder treu geworden sind".[26] For Roh, however, there was no contradiction between the objectivity (*Sachlichkeit*) of the post-expressionists, and magic. He conceived of a "magic rationalism":

> "*magic* because it reversed that 'rational' ordering of the world, like a miracle, in order to found and construct on it as a base, or to repel vigorously any anarchical attack against this order".[27]

This type of magic realism in painting was aesthetically conservative. It was part of a general trend in European art which attempted to reintroduce classical elements into modern art during the period between the First and the Second World Wars. Partly as a result of Hartlaub's exhibition, Roh's *magischer Realismus* was replaced by the *Neue Sachlichkeit* as the term most favoured by critics when referring to the German post-expressionists. In Italy, meanwhile, another group of painters led by Carlo Carrà was experimenting with similar themes and techniques to those of the artists of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. This group, which included Felice Casorati, Giorgio Morandi, Ubaldo Oppi, Mario Sironi, Arturo Martini and Gino Severini, formed a movement called *Realismo Magico*. They were influenced by Giorgio De Chirico's *Pittura Metafisica*, with its sharp lines and contours, its airless and static qualities and the eerie atmosphere of its scenes. Both the German and the Italian magic realists were willing to follow De Chirico's dictum that

"Thought must draw so far away from human fetters that things may appear to it under a new aspect, as though they are illuminated by a constellation now appearing for the first time".[28]

Despite the similarities in their aesthetic concerns the ideologies behind Italian and German magic realism were very different. As in Weimar Germany, artistic production in Italy during the period after the First World War reflected the need for certainties and stability after the chaos and disruption of the war, the impact of revolutionary socialism and the rise of fascism. Unlike the German *Neue Sachlichkeit*, whose members, with few exceptions, belonged to left-wing political circles, many Italian magic realist artists actively embraced fascism.[29]

The expression "magic realism" was applied for the first time to literature by the Italian writer Massimo Bontempelli also in the 1920s.[30] In 1927 the Spanish writer and philosopher José Ortega y Gasset had Roh's book translated and published in his influential journal *Revista de Occidente*.[31] The term was already in use during the 1930s among critics in Latin America where, ironically, given the present identification of magic realism with Latin American Literature, it was applied to European writers such as Kafka, Bontempelli, Cocteau and Chesterton.[32] The first to apply the term to Latin American literature was the Venezuelan writer Arturo Uslar Pietri.[33] At that time, the generally accepted meaning of magic realism was still based on Roh's ideas. In other words, the term still referred, not to a mixture of reality and fantasy, as in the current usage, but to an aesthetic approach designed to uncover the mystery hidden in ordinary objects and everyday reality.

In 1949 Alejo Carpentier published his novel *El reino de este mundo*, which is set in post-Independence Haiti. In its prologue the Cuban novelist introduced his concept of *lo real maravilloso americano*, by which he referred not to the fantasies or inventions of a particular author, but to the number of real objects and events which make the American continent so different from Europe. "Here, he claimed, was a spectacle of such wonder and marvel that any attempt, like his own, to describe it historically and realistically could not but produce a kind of magic".[34]

The *Prólogo* "was effectively the manifesto of what, many years later, would be known as Magical Realism".[35] In Carpentier's view, America's natural, cultural and historical prodigies are an inexhaustible source of real marvels: "¿...qué es la historia de América toda sino una crónica de lo real maravilloso?"[36], he asks rhetorically. Furthermore, this marvellous reality was supposed to be qualitatively superior to "la agotante pretensión de suscitar lo maravilloso que caracterizó ciertas literaturas europeas de estos últimos treinta años."[37] In this way Carpentier manifested his disillusion with Surrealism, a movement he had joined while living in Paris.

Surrealism was, to a large extent, a reaction against the excessive emphasis on a rational outlook demanded by the Western traditions of empiricism and scientific positivism. It aimed at liberating the creative forces of the unconscious and the imagination, and was

profoundly influenced by the work of Freud. It was the product of a highly developed industrial society where the ability to be amazed and enchanted by mystery had been lost. Carpentier's *lo real maravilloso*, while taking the Surrealists' fascination with *le merveilleux* as a departure point,[38] presents two contrasting views of the world (one rationalist, modern and discursive; the other magical, traditional and intuitive) as if they were not contradictory. Instead of searching for a "separate reality", hidden just beneath the existing reality of everyday life, *lo real maravilloso* signals the representation of a reality modified and transformed by myth and legend. In this, it comes closer to the ideas of Jung (especially his concept of the "collective unconscious", which relates to the fabrication of myth) than to Freudian psychoanalysis (with its emphasis on the individual unconscious, neurosis and the erotic), which attracted the Surrealists in the first place.

It needs to be said, however, that in the *Second Manifesto* (1930), André Breton had already arrived at the idea that

> "Tout porte à croire qu'il existe un certain point de l'esprit d'où la vie et la mort, le réel et l'imaginaire, le passé et le futur, le communicable et l'incommunicable, le haut et le bas cessent d'être perçus contradictoirement. Or, c'est en vain qu'on chercherait à la activité surréaliste un autre mobile que l'espoir de détermination de ce point".[39]

Indeed, despite Carpentier's disparaging remarks about the Surrealists' *taumaturgia burocrática*, Breton's ideas constituted a decisive inspiration to his theory of *lo real maravilloso*.[40] There are, nevertheless, important differences between Carpentier's ideas, on one hand, and surrealism, on the other. The first, as was argued above, is the collective nature of the process of myth creation in *lo real maravilloso*, which contrasts with the surrealists' stress on individual dreams and imagination in their approach to mythification. A further distinction is to be found in Carpentier's and other Latin American writers' almost exclusive reliance on the novel, a genre practically ignored by the Surrealists (Breton's *Nadja*, being the closest one gets to a surrealist "novel"). This point might be related to the previous one, in the sense that Carpentier's *lo real maravilloso*, as I will argue in the next chapter, contains a project for the creation of a Latin American cultural identity and the novel, as a genre, is the perfect medium for such an endeavour.

Another important difference between surrealism and Carpentier's *lo real maravilloso*, furthermore, lies in their differing approaches to causality. If in realism there is a direct and linear relationship between cause and effect, in surrealism causality is denied altogether, with the result that surrealist narratives verge on the irrational or the absurd. This follows the Surrealists' predilection for chance games and their emphasis on fortuity as a creative method (in one sentence, for the Surrealists "the casual **becomes** the causal"). Causality in *lo real maravilloso*, in contrast, is neither lineal nor absent but what can only be termed "magical", that is, indirect or diffuse. The relationship between cause and effect is not denied, but there is a discontinuity between them: "La magia es la coronación o pesadilla de lo causal, no su contradicción", as Borges would have it.[41] In other words, far from denying a relationship between cause and effect, magic is the result of stretching this relationship to its

utmost limits ("nothing is casual, everything is causal"). Magic, hence, can be seen as an epistemology based on a theory of causation as rigorous as that of empirical science, as Lévi-Strauss has argued:

> "La pensée magique n'est pas un début, un commencement, une ébauche, la partie d'un tout non encore réalisé; elle forme un système bien articulé; indépendant sous ce rapport, de cet autre système que constituera la science, sauf l'analogie formelle qui les rapproche et qui fait du premier une sorte d'expression métaphorique du second. Au lieu, donc, d'opposer magie et science, il vaudrait mieux les mettre en parallèle, comme deux modes de connaissance, inégaux quant aux résultats théoriques et pratiques (car, de ce point de vue, il est vrai que la science réussit mieux que la magie, bien que la magie préforme la science en ce sens qu'elle aussi réussit quelquefois), mais non par le genre d'opérations mentales qu'elles supposent toutes deux, et qui diffèrent moins en nature qu'en fonction des types de phénomènes auxquels elles s'appliquent."[42]

It would be inaccurate, then, to regard magical thought as the opposite of rational thought, for magic is a rational (although not a rationalist) system (not to mention the fact that rational thought itself has irrational limits and inherent tendencies).[43] This can be ascertained from a look into Vodou (Voodoo)[44], the national religion of Haiti:

> "Vodun is ultimately a religion based on the anthropomorphization of energetic forces and psychological archetypes that have individual identity and intelligence. Its efforts to look at the universe in rational -and ultimately, scientific- terms sets it apart from "world" religions in which a de-articulation occurs among religion, science and philosophy"[45]

In *El reino de este mundo* Carpentier describes magic phenomena such as the metamorphosis of some characters into animals. His notion of *lo real maravilloso*, as expounded in the novel's prologue, is based, therefore, on an anthropological instance, namely the magical beliefs of his Haitian characters. His sense of amazement at the "marvellous" reality of Haiti and the rest of America, however, are a reflection of the European myth of the "New World" as a place of wonders,[46] based on a constant reference to European experience as a measure for comparison:

> "Carpentier's justly celebrated document implicitly su(b)scribes to the Surrealists' Eurocentric conception of Latin America as one of the great homes of irreality".[47]

There is further evidence for this Eurocentrism in Carpentier's admiration for the chronicles of discovery and conquest, from Columbus' diary to Bernal Díaz del Castillo's history of the conquest of Mexico, which according to Carpentier is "el único libro de caballería real y fidedigno que se haya escrito".[48] Despite this and other contradictions,[49] such as the association of terms which are not really comparable: "el error de Carpentier al atribuir un concepto cultural (lo maravilloso) a una realidad específica", as Emir Rodríguez Monegal

argues,[50] Carpentier's proposal for an authentic (Latin) American literature was firmly inscribed within a tradition of texts dealing with Latin American identity from an anti-colonialist point of view. In this sense, if the early European discourse of the "New World" is a record of "the colonizing of the marvelous",[51] then Carpentier's *lo real maravilloso* can be regarded as the first attempt to decolonize it. His ideas, developed in his *Prólogo*, furthermore, are the clearest exposition of the project behind magic realism, namely, to rescue and appropriate the counter-hegemonic features of popular culture in order to create an authentic American expression.

Also in the 1940s, the Guatemalan writer Miguel Angel Asturias was moving away from surrealism towards ideas and concerns similar to Carpentier's. Asturias was interested in how the Maya of Guatemala conceive of a reality coloured by magical beliefs:

> "Las alucinaciones, las impresiones que el hombre obtiene de su medio tienden a transformarse en realidades, sobre todo allí donde existe una determinada base religiosa y de culto, como en el caso de los indios. No se trata de una realidad palpable, pero sí de una realidad que surge de una determinada imaginación mágica. Por ello, al expresarlo, lo llamo 'realismo mágico'".[52]

Early in his career, however, Asturias had had a more negative view of the Maya, considering them a "social problem" and an obstacle to progress.[53] He underwent a dramatic change of heart, nevertheless, when he discovered Maya written texts such as the *Popol Vuh* of the Quiché and the *Chronicles* of the Cakchiquel, while studying in Paris at the Sorbonne under Georges Raynaud, with whom he worked on the first French translation of both texts. As Gordon Brotherston has shown,[54] his encounter with these texts completely altered the Guatemalan novelist's perspective on the Indigenous peoples of his native country.

Although Asturias did not develop his idea of *realismo mágico* in any way comparable to that in which Carpentier elaborated *lo real maravilloso*,[55] his use of the term is important not only because he is probably the only Latin American novelist who ever applied it to his own work, but also because he introduces a specifically (Native) American dimension to a concept which was hitherto identified with European art and literature:

> "En Hombres de maíz, como en Mulata de tal, he tratado de encerrarme en lo puramente indoamericano, en lo indígena y en lo americano".[56]

This interest in American reality is not the only thing Asturias shares with Carpentier. Both writers travelled to Paris where both became more or less active in the surrealist movement. Both became disillusioned with what they saw as the Surrealists' lack of authenticity in their search for the marvellous (although Asturias did not go as far as rejecting surrealism totally) and both effected a symbolic return to the non-Western roots of (Latin) American culture where they eventually found what they regarded as an authentic "marvellous reality". In this sense, both can be regarded as "pioneers of their own environment".[57]

There are, however, differences between Asturias' *realismo mágico* and Carpentier's *lo real maravilloso*, the most important of which lies in their contrasting views on the nature of this marvellous reality. The latter for Carpentier is marvellous in itself, that is to say, the marvellous has an objective existence as an intrinsic quality of American reality. For Asturias, on the other hand, the marvellous has no ontological reality ("no se trata de una realidad palpable"), but emerges from a magical imagination. It is, in other words, a phenomenological reality. Apart from this (very important) distinction, however, the Guatemalan's approach and the Cuban's are very similar, which is hardly surprising given the many parallels in the intellectual and aesthetic evolution of their careers as writers:

> "Both... were from small countries with large ethnic populations which made the question of a unified national identity more than usually problematical. Both were closely associated with the Surrealists in Paris in the 1920s; both knew of Joyce, both believed in the power of myth, metaphor, language and symbol, both were Freudian in orientation, *Marxisant* and revolutionary by instinct... It was fitting that *The Kingdom of this World* and *Men of Maize* should have appeared in the same year, 1949".[58]

Ariel Dorfman, furthermore, regards the appearance of both novels as the birth ("fecha de nacimiento") of the modern Latin American novel,[59] an appraisal which underlines the centrality of magic realism in contemporary Latin American literature. In Asturias' *realismo mágico* there is an important semantic shift away from Roh's original concept of magic realism: the introduction of the idea of an antinomy between a European and an Indigenous *Weltanschauung*. There is also a departure from surrealism in the identification of popular myth as the real source of the marvellous. What Asturias calls "magic realism" is, hence, something very similar to what Carpentier called *lo real maravilloso*:

> "Since Surrealism posits a surface, rational or conscious reality and a profound, irrational or unconscious surreality (or subreality), Magical Realism attributes the conscious -and artificial, inauthentic (and in that sense unreal)- dimension to the European aspect of its culture, and the unconscious -and magical, creative, fertile and spontaneous- dimension to the autochthonous American aspect, though of course in practice the Magical Realist formula is really the interpenetration -one might almost say a miscegenation and indifferentiation- of the two.[60]

Surrealism, with its interest in anthropology and Freudian psychoanalysis, was crucial in providing the techniques that both Asturias and Carpentier needed to explore the American imagination (I will return to this point in the discussion about the stylistic features of magic realism in the next chapter). The Surrealists' attempts to reconcile the political and the aesthetic avant-garde, furthermore, became highly influential among Latin American intellectuals.[61] The decisive link between European surrealism and Latin American magic realism is exemplified by Asturias' most famous novel: *El señor presidente*, which he began writing in 1922 but was only published in 1946.[62]

A few years after Carpentier's formulation of *lo real maravilloso*, the critic Angel Flores delivered a lecture on "Magical Realism in Spanish American Fiction" to the 1954 Congress of the Modern Languages Association in New York. Published in a subsequent article,[63] it contributed to popularize the expression "magic realism" among critics to the extent that it came to overshadow *lo real maravilloso* as a descriptive term. Flores characterizes "magical realism" as "a general trend" in which Jorge Luis Borges, Eduardo Mallea and "other brilliant contemporary Latin American novelists and short story writers are located".[64] Although he refers to European writers and artists (Proust, Kafka and De Chirico)[65] as the initiators of this trend, Flores departs from Roh's original formulation as he considers "magical realism" an "amalgamation of realism and fantasy".[66] He includes in this category all those narratives which achieve a "transformation of the common and everyday into the awesome and the unreal"[67] and where "time exists in a kind of timeless fluidity and the unreal happens as part of reality".[68]

This type of narrative, according to him, includes not only the works of Borges and Mallea but also those of Adolfo Bioy Casares, María Luisa Bombal, Juan Carlos Onetti, Silvina Ocampo, Ernesto Sábato, Julio Cortázar and Juan José Arreola. Flores, by recognizing the simultaneous presence of two codes in what he calls "magical realism" (realism and fantasy), subscribes to the idea of antinomy. He also inaugurated a polemic over terminology that lingered for many decades and still has not abated, for the type of literature he refers to as "magical realism" is what most critics (and the very same writers he mentions, such as Borges, Bioy Casares, Arreola and Ocampo) would in fact call *literatura fantástica*.

Unlike Asturias and Carpentier, who believed that Afro- and Native American cultures were the source of the magical reality of America, Flores sees the origins of both realism and the magical in Hispanic culture:

> "Each of these, separately and by devious ways, made its appearance in Latin America: realism, since the Colonial Period but especially during the 1880s; the magical, writ large from the earliest -in the letters of Columbus, in the chroniclers, in the sagas of Cabeza de Vaca- entered the literary mainstream during Modernism".[69]

The type of literature Flores has in mind is openly elitist. It is a "cold and cerebral and often erudite storytelling"[70] that has little to do with popular culture or myth:

> "The magical realists do not cater to a popular taste, rather they address themselves to the sophisticated, those not merely initiated in aesthetic mysteries but versed in subtleties."[71]

The debate on whether the type of literature Flores identified should be called magic realism or Fantastic Literature has lasted for a long time. A number of ways to distinguish one category from the other have been proposed.[72] Among these, the question of the mood or atmosphere and the effect induced in the implied reader by a literary work has been proposed

as a way of establishing whether it belongs to magic realism or Fantastic Literature. The Fantastic, as a literary category, has been the subject of a number of studies.[73] As a critical concept it is much older than magic realism and its characteristics were identified much earlier. In *Magic and Fantasy in Fiction* (1932) G. K. Chesterton, for example, classified novels according to whether they delight us with a miracle, or they disturb us with a horror.

There are important differences, in fact, between the *Stimmung*[74] created by Fantastic Literature and that of magic realism. Fantastic Literature as exemplified by the work of Poe or the novels of Stevenson (*The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 1886), Wilde (*The Picture of Dorian Grey*, 1891) and James (*The Turn of the Screw*, 1898), tends to induce an atmosphere of fear or horror as the supernatural or unknown threatens the natural laws that govern the world of the implied Western rationalist reader:

> "A certain atmosphere of breathless and unexplainable dread of outer, unknown forces must be present; and there must be a hint, expressed with a seriousness and portentousness becoming its object, of that most terrible conception of the human brain -a malign and particular suspension or defeat of those fixed laws of Natura which are our only safeguard against the assaults of chaos and the daemons of unplumbed space".[75]

Louis Vax characterizes thus the emotions induced in the implied reader by the Fantastic:

> "Les sentiments sur lesquels joue l'émotion fantastique sont des sentiments esthétiquement négatifs: peur, horreur, dégoût".[76]

These characteristics refer essentially to nineteenth-century European (mostly English) examples of Fantastic Literature, and to related genres such as the Gothic and horror novels. They are, nevertheless, also present in twentieth-century Latin American *literatura fantástica* which, as was argued above, was cultivated by (mainly Argentine) writers like Bioy Casares, Ocampo, Cortázar, Sábato and Borges. Borges' *literatura fantástica*, as exemplified by his *Ficciones* (1944) and *El Aleph* (1949), differs markedly from nineteenth-century Fantastic Literature, as his friend Bioy Casares explained in his prologue to their *Antología de la litertura fantástica* (1940). According to Bioy Casares, Borges' work is a "twentieth-century form of the fantastic, one in which horror and fear have been replaced by literary and metaphysical speculation":[77]

> "In the nineteenth century, a gradual displacement of residual supernaturalism and magic and increasingly secularized thought produced very different interpretations of fantasy: demonology was replaced by psychology to explain 'otherness'. By the twentieth century, fantastic texts had become increasingly non-referential, concerned not so much with the relationship between language and the real world 'outside' the text, as with a quest for fictional autonomy".[78]

There are continuities between nineteenth-century Fantastic Literature and Latin American *literatura fantástica*, nevertheless, as the work of Julio Cortázar shows. Cortázar's short stories often deal with strange, unexpected or unexplained occurrences which, as in nineteenth-century Fantastic Literature, produce a disturbing effect on the reader. Some examples of this are "La noche boca arriba", "El ídolo de las Cícladas", "Continuidad de los parques" and "La isla a mediodía".

The differences between the twentieth-century Latin American and the nineteenth-century European forms of the Fantastic notwithstanding, the *Stimmung* produced by both forms is in fact similar, and very different from that found in magic realist texts. This can be judged by reference to García Márquez's novel *Cien años de soledad*. The characters in this novel live in a world where magical and improbable occurrences are so common that they associate them with daily life. Unlike the characters in Fantastic Literature who search for rational answers to supernatural events, those of *Cien años de soledad* simply accept any such occurrence as part of a reality that nobody questions or tries to explain. Prodigious events such as the levitation of a priest, the ascension to heaven of Remedios La Bella, or the Gypsies' flying carpets, leave the characters unconcerned and unmoved, as they consider them trivial and without any mystery. Phenomena or facts that the implied reader takes for granted, such as ice, photography, a magnet and the roundness of the Earth, on the other hand, leave the characters fascinated, disconcerted or frightened.

Humour pervades the whole work. This humour is sometimes direct and sometimes ironical, as when José Arcadio Buendía encounters ice for the first time. The contrast between the character's naïve surprise and the implied reader's superior knowledge produces an effect of comic irony. García Márquez obtains a humorous effect by the use of comic descriptions, unexpected situations and grotesque exaggerations which instead of challenging the implied reader's sense of reality, cause him/her to participate willingly in the description of a gargantuan world.[79] The comic effect is produced by the serious tone adopted by a seemingly objective narrator.

The implied reader in both Fantastic Literature and magic realism is Western and rationalist. In the former he/she is confronted by events which contradict his/her rationalism. In the latter he/she is invited to suspend momentarily his/her rationalism and interpret those events from the point of view of a magical imagination.

The kind of celebratory humour so apparent in García Márquez's novel is absent from more sombre works such as Juan Rulfo's *Pedro Páramo* (1955) or Asturias' *El Señor Presidente* (1946), both of which I will include in the magic realist category. The *Stimmung* in these novels is, nevertheless, also very different from that produced by Fantastic Literature. In Rulfo's novel, for example, the idea of death, around which the whole novel revolves, is never seen as a threatening or macabre presence that inspires horror on the reader or the characters, but as a parallel existence as real and ordinary, if not even more so, than life. As I will argue in the next chapter, this matter-of-fact attitude towards death is one of the characteristics of the magic realist novel.

To base a system of differentiation between the two categories solely on an extra-textual element such as the emotions induced in the implied reader, however, is not wholly satisfactory, as the notions of the "supernatural", the "strange", "horror", and the "uncanny" will vary not only at the individual subjective level but also according to the historical, geographical and cultural context in which the works are read. For this reason, it would be more useful to resort to a structural distinction such as the one proposed by A.B. Chanady[80] based on the concept of antinomy, which refers to the simultaneous presence of two conflicting codes in the same text. These codes refer to distinct realms or dimensions: the natural and the supernatural, or the rationalist and the magical.

This bi-dimensionality distinguishes both magic realism and fantastic literature from those modalities where every event in the text can be integrated into one code: the natural world, in the case of realism; or a separate world with its own set of rules which the reader accepts as fictitious, as in fairy tales, narratives such as the *One Thousand and One Nights*, folk tales and the work of J.R.R. Tolkien. In these narratives both possible and impossible events are considered to be on the same level of reality and there is no distinction between the natural and the supernatural. In fact, the concept of the supernatural does not even arise. This is also the case with science fiction, where a different world separated in time or space from that of the reader is presented.

Antinomy, therefore, characterizes both magic realism and Fantastic Literature, but the role that it plays in each type of narrative is very different:

> "Although the fantastic and magical realism are characterized by the presence of coherently developed codes of the natural and the supernatural, and are therefore structurally similar, the manner in which these two codes interact in the text distinguishes the two modes from each other. Whereas the antinomy appears to be resolved in magical realism, the contradictions between different conceptions of reality are placed in the foreground by the author of a fantastic text. In fact, the emphasis on conflicting world views which cannot be resolved according to the laws posited by the text itself is the most important distinguishing characteristic of the fantastic."[81]

In Fantastic Literature the author creates situations which cannot be explained satisfactorily by reference to any one of the codes in the text. By using authorial reticence (the deliberate withholding of information and explanations), the narrator makes the inexplicable and mysterious even more disturbing. At the end of the story the reader is left with two contradictory codes, none of which seems to be valid in order to interpret the events in the text. This is what Chanady calls "unresolved antinomy". This unresolved antinomy, in turn, creates the effect of horror, the uncanny, the mysterious and the inexplicable that critics such as Vax associate with the Fantastic.

Antinomy in magic realism, on the other hand, is unproblematic. The supernatural is described in a matter-of-fact way as if it did not contradict reason. Antinomy is resolved by presenting logically contradictory events in such a way that the contradiction is not perceived as such. This juxtaposition of apparently contradictory elements is crucial to the magic realist discourse, which consists, in fact, of the interpenetration and indifferentiation of the two (see p. 29). The narrator of a magical realist story is not puzzled, disturbed or sceptical of the supernatural, he/she considers it as normal as the daily events of ordinary life:

> "The implied reader, who can distinguish between the natural and the supernatural on the basis of his education and cultural background, is asked to suspend this attitude in order to adopt the point of view of a person with a completely different perception of reality."[82]

Magical realist writers succeed in presenting a convincing and coherent world view in which the natural and the supernatural, the real and the fantastic, or the physical and the metaphysical are not perceived as conflictive, not by resorting to the individual unconscious as in Breton's assertion (see p. 20), but by creating specific codes which can be identified with the *Weltanschauung* of a society or a group for which this conflict does not arise. Patrick Bellegarde-Smith, for example, writes of how Haitian traditional culture manages to reconcile apparent opposites:

> "The way in which Haitians achieve this fusion of the physical and metaphysical planes rather than their dualism, which dominates Western thought, is to visualize the two planes as part of an interpenetrating continuum. Instead of perceiving them as irreconcilable parallels, Haitians conceive of the world as a relationship between the physical and the metaphysical..."[83]

Furthermore, this *Weltanschauung* is presented in magic realist texts as equally valid and worthy of respect as Western rationalism. This implies a political and ideological stance which will be further explored in the following chapters.

In 1967 the Mexican critic Luis Leal attempted to return to Roh's original formula of magic realism as a way of making the ordinary seem supernatural. According to Leal, the writer of magic realist texts deals with objective reality and attempts to discover the mystery that exists in objects, in life and in human actions, without resorting to fantastic elements: "...lo principal (en el realismo mágico) no es la creación de seres o mundos imaginados, sino el descubrimiento de la misteriosa relación que existe entre el hombre y su circunstancia."[84]

Similarly, the Argentine Enrique Anderson Imbert rejected the presence of the supernatural in magic realism. The latter, for Anderson Imbert, is preternatural rather than supernatural. In other words, it exceeds in some way what is normal, ordinary or explicable, without transcending the limits of the natural -a person with an incredibly developed sense of smell, as described in Patrick Süskind's novel *Das Parfum* (1985), for example, would be an instance of a preternatural phenomenon. Instead of creating a text where the principles of

logic are rejected and the laws of nature reversed, magic realist narratives, in Anderson Imbert's view, give real events an illusion of unreality.[85]

Leal and Anderson Imbert's responses to Flores' article were part of the general debate on magic realism that took place in the 1960s and 1970s. Their attempts to return to Roh's original formulation, however, were unsuccessful and "magic realism", as a descriptive term, began to be applied by critics of Latin American Literature to narratives which employ apparently reliable and realistic descriptions of impossible or fantastic events (the exact opposite, in fact, of the original meaning of the term coined by Roh). The terms magic realism (in English) and *realismo maravilloso* (in Spanish) became more or less interchangeable and were applied to an increasing number of Latin American novels associated with the literary "boom" of the 1960s, notably to Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad*. The influence of Carpentier's ideas in this reformulation of magic realism is illustrated by the Spanish expression *realismo maravilloso*, which has been applied not only to García Márquez', Carpentier's and Asturias' novels but also to the work of Juan Rulfo, Carlos Fuentes, Rosario Castellanos, Manuel Scorza, Isabel Allende, José María Arguedas, and others.

With the international success of the "boom" novelists, magic realism, outside Latin America, became a byword for the exotic, baroque and fantastic elements which were supposed to be the main characteristics of Latin American fiction. As a result, some critics have argued against what they considered a pejorative term, which was coloured by stereotypes and prejudice.[86] Others believed that the name should be dropped from critical usage because of its lack of a precise definition and the confusion surrounding its use.[87]

At this point it would have become apparent that this confusion has been provoked, to a large extent, by the existence of two different, and even apparently contradictory, understandings of magic realism: (i) the original one, which refers to a type of literary or artistic work which presents reality from an unusual perspective without transcending the limits of the natural, but which induces in the reader or viewer a sense of unreality; and (ii) the current usage, which describes texts where two contrasting views of the world (one "rationalist" and one "magical") are presented as if they were not contradictory, by resorting to the myths and beliefs of ethno-cultural groups for whom this contradiction does not arise.

Usage (i) comprises the definitions proposed by Roh, Leal, Anderson Imbert, and the United States critic Seymour Menton.[88] As a style, it presents the natural as extraordinary, while structurally excluding the supernatural as a valid interpretation. Usage (ii), which is the one most commonly employed by critics of Latin American fiction and has now largely replaced the previous one, is based, to a considerable extent, on *lo real maravilloso*. Usage (ii) refers, stylistically, to texts where the supernatural is presented as normal and ordinary, in a matter-of-fact way. Structurally, it considers the presence of the supernatural in the text as essential for the existence of magic realism. A.B. Chanady, for example, proposes three criteria to determine whether a text belongs to magic realism or not: firstly, the presence in the text of two conflicting views of reality, representing the natural and the supernatural, the rational and the irrational, or the "enlightened" and the "primitive". Secondly, the resolution of this

antinomy through the narrator accepting both views as equally valid. Thirdly, authorial reticence in the absence of obvious judgements on the veracity or authenticity of supernatural events.[89]

Although these two usages are not mutually exclusive and can be seen as referring to variants or types of magic realism[90], in this thesis I will subscribe to usage (ii) and reserve the term "the uncanny" for sense (i).[91] Before I expand on this, however, I will argue that the debate about magic realism has revolved for far too long around the issue of the correctness or otherwise of the application of the term to a particular type of literature. In fact, although critics as a whole disagree on the usage of the expression "magic realism", there is something approaching a consensus on the existence of a certain type of Latin American fiction sharing stylistic and thematic features. As James Alstrum puts it, there was a

> "coalescence of diverse cultural perspectives and conceptions in Latin America which foreshadowed the invention and use of this literary expression".[92]

In this sense the argument is not so much whether novels such as *Cien años de soledad, Hombres de maiz* and *El reino de este mundo* have certain common characteristics. Not even about whether or not those characteristics justify the classification of these novels in a category of their own. For instance, the grouping together of the main Latin American novelists from the 1940s to the 70s under the same heading in a recent work[93] is relatively uncontroversial. The fact that the heading chosen was precisely that of "magical realism" will not satisfy every critic, however. The argument, then, is to a very large extent about whether the term magic realism is the appropriate one for this group of works. I think that there are valid reasons to argue it is.

Magic realism, first of all, is by far the most widely used of all the alternative terms proposed to describe that "coalescence of diverse cultural perspectives and conceptions" referred to by James Alstrum. Although this, in itself, is perhaps not the best reason to defend the use of the term, it is not the only one. Alternative terms such as mythical realism[94] or *realismo maravilloso*, coincide in recognizing that one is dealing with a particular type of realism. The dispute is about what is the best adjective to describe it. The current concept of magic realism, at least when applied to Latin American Literature, is much closer to the ideas of Carpentier than to those of Roh. This could suggest that the former's "lo real maravilloso" should be adopted and the latter's "magischer Realismus" abandoned. The problem with this, however, is the specificity of *lo real maravilloso* as a concept.[95] It is, in fact, too closely associated with Carpentier's work, to the extent that it is almost impossible to apply it in a different context without making a direct reference to its creator. Its use in a wider sense is further limited by its geographical circumscription, for according to Carpentier, *lo real maravilloso (americano)* is a specifically (Latin) American literary mode. It is, in fact, Carpentier's blueprint for a new Latin American Literature. In this sense, it would be impossible to regard literary manifestations from other geographical or cultural areas such as Europe, Africa or the English-speaking Caribbean as belonging to the same mode.

The idea of a "mythical realism" does not have these limitations. Gerald Martin rightly points out that the use of myth is what Asturias, García Márquez and Carpentier all have in common.[96] Although mythical realism is an accurate description of the type of literature we are dealing with, there are, in my view, two reasons why the term "magic realism" is a more useful one. The first is the fact that mythical realism refers basically to a thematic preoccupation with myth (which in some writers extends also to structural influences), whereas magic realism, as I will define it, refers not only to the presence of magic as a theme but to the existence in the text of a magical imagination which pervades every aspect of the work. The second reason is that myth, as a universal phenomenon found in all human groups, has been used by all manner of writers in many different historical, social and economic contexts; modern as well as non-modern. Magic, by contrast, is a non-modern system of beliefs which can be found in specific social and economic formations which are historically determined.

To summarize the whole argument in one sentence, I would argue that *lo real maravilloso* is too narrow a concept, while "mythical realism" is far too wide. A further argument in favour of preserving "magic realism" as a descriptive term is the fact that the two semantic components of the term (realism and magic) reproduce very accurately the antinomy that characterizes the type of literature under discussion. They, moreover, express the link between a type of literature (a type of realism) and popular beliefs in magic. Given the fact that magic realist texts exhibit a magical causality (see p. 20), this is one of the strongest reasons to use the term.

At this point it would be pertinent to consider the two versions of the expression currently in use in English: "magic" and "magical" realism. Although the difference between them is small, I feel that the adjective "magical" is slightly more dependant on the noun than "magic". If one of the arguments to use the term "magic realism" is the fact that it reflects an antinomy in what it describes, then "magic" realism, where both elements have more or less equal weight, should be preferred to "magical" realism. This, alas, is just a minor point, and when quoting directly I will not change the expression used in the original.

Having chosen magic realism over other alternative expressions, I will now define it as a cultural practice which presents, on equal terms, contrasting views of the world based on two different epistemological systems of cognition, one magical, intuitive and non-modern, and the other rationalistic, discursive and modern. Although not absolutely necessary, as witness its proliferation among Western European writers, and even its application by Latin American writers to a European context[97], magic realism usually solves the resulting textual antinomy by referring to societies and cultures where the two systems of knowledge mentioned above co-exist. This general definition will be further elaborated in the next chapter which examines the specific literary, historical and ideological characteristics of the Latin American magic realist novel.

CHAPTER 2. CULTURAL IDENTITY AND THE MAGIC REALIST NOVEL IN LATIN AMERICA: LITERARY, IDEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

"Estamos juntos desde muy lejos,
jóvenes, viejos,
negros y blancos, todo mezclado;
uno mandando y otro mandado..."
(Nicolás Guillén)

Prospero:
But, as 'tis,
We cannot miss him: he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood; and serves in offices
That profit us. -What ho! slave! Caliban!
Thou earth, thou! speak.
(William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*)

The previous chapter arrived at a definition of magic realism as a cultural practice which presents, on equal terms, contrasting views of the world based on two different epistemological systems of cognition: one magical, intuitive and non-modern; and the other rationalistic, discursive and modern. In this chapter the discussion of magic realism as a critical concept will give way to a preliminary engagement with the corpus of texts to which the above definition applies. This discussion will take the form of an exploration of the issue of cultural identity in Latin America in relation to the magic realist novel. This will ground magic realism in its cultural-historical setting, in preparation for the further arguments that will be expounded in the next chapters. This chapter, furthermore, will strive to outline the ideological configuration of the magic realist novel in Latin America by looking at some of its literary and historical characteristics. The objective of this will be to sketch a map of a territory whose boundaries are still ill-defined despite the fact that the territory itself has been recognised for some time.

In this context, I will take issue with critics such as Angel Flores and Luis Leal who, despite their different approaches, have interpreted magic realism as being nothing more than a particular literary technique, and have not looked beyond the stylistic or formal level when searching for its characteristics. Indeed, until now, the debate on magic realism in Latin America has, for the most part, concentrated on issues of style, while the content of magic

realism has been largely ignored. Although magic realist fiction does indeed possess particular stylistic characteristics, to which I will return in the second part of this chapter, it is misleading to see it simply as a formal innovation for, as I will argue throughout this thesis, it was, from the very beginning, conceived as an aesthetic and ideological response to particular historical conditions. With this in mind, I will examine the stylistic characteristics of magic realism and, when relevant, try to establish the ideological implications of their utilization by the writers concerned. This will be of particular relevance for the discussion on the Grotesque where, as we will see, the aesthetic and the ideological are closely intertwined.

Critics such as A. B. Chanady and Gerald Martin have gone beyond the question of style and concentrated on structural features like antinomy, which provide more useful criteria for a definition. As argued in the previous chapter, antinomy is magic realism's main structural characteristic, one which is shared with Fantastic Literature. Antinomy, as Martin implicitly recognizes, has ideological implications which correspond to its identification with two aspects of Latin American culture, namely European and non-European. In this sense, miscegenation, the formula proposed by magic realism to solve existing cultural antinomies (which in the Latin American context relate necessarily to issues of ethnicity and class), has direct cultural and political implications which will become apparent as the discussion moves to the questions of transculturation and *mestizaje*.

Other structural characteristics which are not exclusive to magic realism but are often found in Latin American magic realist novels are circularity of narrative time[98] and intertextuality. In regard to this last feature, Diana Palaversich's arguments about the radically different ways in which intertextuality operates in postcolonial and postmodern writing,[99] are relevant to magic realism since the Latin American magic realist novel, I will argue, is a form of postcolonial writing (see pp. 36-37).

There is, finally, also a thematic approach such as Carpentier's "lo real maravilloso americano", in which the magic realist novel is linked to the search for an authentic American expression, in other words, to the search for cultural identity. Of the literary characteristics of magic realist fiction (stylistic, structural and thematic), therefore, it is from the last that an exploration of cultural identity would benefit the most. Indeed, the question of cultural identity, one of the central themes of Latin American literary production, does offer the basis for a literary, ideological and historical characterization of the Latin American magic realist novel, for one of the distinguishing traits of magic realism is, precisely, its particular approach to this question.

Needless to say, an exploration of the question of Latin American identity or even a comprehensive review of the main contributions to the debates surrounding that question are beyond the scope of this work. The objective here is simply to establish the point of insertion of that coalescence of literary and cultural phenomena which has been identified as magic realism, into the wider tradition of texts dealing with the question of Latin American identity. This discussion is not only necessary in order to offer an introduction to the cultural and political issues raised by magic realism (some of which will be dealt with in the next chapters),

but will be a first step towards mapping the large territory which magic realism occupies within contemporary Latin American literature, a task which, strangely enough, has never been satisfactorily undertaken.

The idea that Latin American literature is somehow inextricably bound to a search for Latin American identity has been put forward so many times that it has become almost a cliché: "Identidad... vocablo de tan venerable linaje filosófico se ha convertido en un degradado tropo más desgastado que un billete de mil pesos", writes Edmundo O'Gorman.[100] But, as is often the case with axioms such as this, the fact remains that a statement does not necessarily become less true simply because it has been asserted repeatedly. In fact, as Gerald Martin argues:

> "The quest for identity... has been the central problematic of Latin American culture and the central theme of Latin American literature, the material framework for its cultural horizon and historical perspective".[101]

There are, furthermore, political and historical reasons why this quest has been turned into something bordering an obsession by Latin American writers and artists:

> "(auto)definidas como dependientes, las culturas latinoamericanas debían argumentar constantemente su especificidad y justificar su propio rostro frente a los poderosos paradigmas extranjeros".[102]

The question of cultural identity, then, derives its special significance for Latin America from the fact that the problem at its centre is clearly a political one: the creation of national identities out of the realities of a colonial political and cultural inheritance, in the face of present-day unequal power relationships between the metropolitan core and the periphery,

> "en esa búsqueda agónica y contradictoria del 'ser latinoamericano', el resultado es la *conciencia de la diferencia*, cuya función es estimular un proyecto de superación de la marginalidad histórica impuesta a los pueblos latinoamericanos".[103]

What makes the issue of identity particularly difficult for Latin Americans is the fact that we are the descendants both of the colonizers and of the colonized. From its inception, hence, Latin American culture is characterized by its hybrid nature. This brings us to a discussion that has dominated all the debates about cultural identity in Latin America, namely, the one revolving around the concepts of *mestizaje*, acculturation and transculturation. While a full appraisal of the arguments in this debate is beyond the scope of this thesis,[104] the fact that these concepts are crucial to an understanding of the cultural and political dynamics of Latin American literature demands at least a discussion of the terms themselves.

The debate about *mestizaje* was part of the search for a Latin American identity following Independence. The problem with the term, as Jean Franco rightly points out, is that

it suggests "that culture sprang naturally out of copulation".[105] Racial mixture in Latin America, in fact, has produced complex cultural patterns, as José Carlos Mariátegui argued:

> "El mestizaje es un fenómeno que ha producido una variedad compleja, en vez de resolver una dualidad, la del español y el indio".[106]

The idea of national identities based on *mestizaje*, furthermore, as the Martinican Alfred Melon suggests, has been left open to manipulation by populism:

> "Until now the hegemony of Creoles, half-breeds, and mulattoes has been occasionally possible, but never that of Indians and blacks. In such circumstances, the discourse on national identity has for a long time played and continues to play an ideological function, which is to sustain the illusion of an already accomplished unity, concealing in that way inequities and the marginalization of the disfavored classes".[107]

Given the limitations of *mestizaje*, on one hand, and the conceptual and ideological problems associated with "acculturation",[108] on the other, an alternative term was proposed by Fernando Ortiz:

> "Entendemos que el vocablo *transculturación* expresa mejor las diferentes fases del proceso transitivo de una cultura a otra, porque éste no consiste solamente en adquirir una distinta cultura, que es lo que en rigor indica la voz angloamericana *acculturation*, sino que el proceso implica también necesariamente la pérdida o desarraigo de una cultura precedente, lo que pudiera decirse una parcial *desculturación*, y, además, significa la consiguiente creación de nuevos fenómenos culturales que pudieran denominarse de *neoculturación*".[109]

Using Ortiz' work as a point of departure, Angel Rama explored the linguistic operations which make transculturation possible in the context of literary narratives, emphasizing the importance of myth and the mental mechanisms which generate it, in the creation of new cultural identities.[110] This latter aspect of transculturation has important ideological implications for this discussion for, as I will argue in this chapter, magic realism, as a cultural practice, proposes the deconstruction and replacement of the system of myths which sustain the dominant discourse of the traditional ruling elites. This relates to an image of the “Self” entrenched in the hegemonic culture of the dominant groups which reproduces the colonial construction of America as “Other” through a series of myths and images inherited from European colonial discourse,[111] foremost among them America’s “discovery” by Columbus in 1492, and themes associated with it, such as the Cannibals and the Amazons, the idea of America as Utopia or “Arcadia”, the “Noble Savage”, and the myths of abundance: “the land of plenty”, and “El Dorado”, which have their origins in the chronicles of the early European explorers.[112]

There have been, on the other hand, since Independence, a number of attempts by Latin American writers and intellectuals to deconstruct the dominant myths and replace them

with alternative popular myths, as part of what has become increasingly known as postcolonial writing.[113] Latin American magic realism belongs to this counter-hegemonic tradition for, as I will argue throughout this thesis, its texts deal with the question of cultural identity from the point of view of cultural resistance. This firmly inscribes magic realist texts within a discourse of anti-colonialism.[114] In the next chapter I will expand on the concepts of hegemony, the popular, and cultural resistance in relation to magic realism in Latin America.

In Latin America, as elsewhere, identity revolves around key concepts such as unity, diversity and difference. At the centre of these stands the question of the Other: "La identidad se define desde la oposición: el rostro ineludible de la alteridad", as Ticio Escobar would have it.[115] The particular historical circumstances which have conditioned Latin American societies have lent themselves to an interpretation of identity in terms of dynamic confrontations between opposites. As Gerald Martin remarks of the Latin Americans:

> "theirs is not an identity but a duality: Indian/Spaniard, female/male, America/Europe, country/city, matter/spirit, barbarism/civilization, nature/culture, and, perhaps most ironic in the context of Latin American fiction, speech/writing".[116]

While this is undeniably how Latin Americans have perceived themselves at various points, a critical distancing from this statement is in order here. For a start, Latin American writers and critics have moved away from a concept of identity based on opposed binaries towards one that recognizes the existence of plural identities,[117] or what Eduardo Galeano calls Latin America's "rostro múltiple y luminoso".[118] Secondly, as Edmundo O'Gorman argues, Latin Americans are what they are, and that is their identity. Latin America, in other words, is identical only to itself.[119] What Latin Americans see themselves as is, however, another matter, and here the dualities described by Martin have to be recognized as relevant to the study of Latin American literature in general and magic realism in particular, for they have been at the centre of the debate over identity in Latin America at least since the time of Independence (and arguably before then). Indeed, as argued above, the project at the heart of magic realism as a literary expression is to offer a synthesis of the above dialectical opposites so that they cease to be perceived as antagonistic.

Any approximation to the question of identity needs to take into consideration the relations of dominance and subordination between ethnic, class and gender groups which have determined the political and historical contexts of culture and identity in Latin America. In Spanish-speaking America there was, after Independence, a widespread concern with identity among the land-owning *criollo* elites in the newly-liberated countries. This concern took the form of an attempt to distance the new governing classes from Spanish colonial rule while, at the same time, base their own legitimacy to rule on their claims to be the cultural and political inheritors of the Spaniards. The essentially contradictory nature of the *criollo* nationalist project is illustrated by the work of the Venezuelan writer and linguist Andrés Bello. Bello's *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* (1847) reflects in its very title the search for an American linguistic expression. His project for the Americanization of the Spanish language would satisfy the need for cultural autonomy while,

at the same time, his concern with maintaining a common linguistic standard between Spain and Spanish-speaking America[120] reflects the *criollos*' identification with Hispanic (or, more generally, "Latin") values in the face of cultural and political claims by Indigenous peoples, *mestizos* and Afro-Latin Americans.[121]

In their search for identity, the *criollo* elites resorted to the physical and human geography of the continent as sources of distinctiveness and authenticity:

> "las generaciones latinoamericanas que aparecieron hacia los años treinta del siglo XIX, cuando comenzaban a asentarse o a dirimir sus conflictos internos las nuevas repúblicas… adoptaron cabalmente como programa la creación de una literatura que expresara nuestra naturaleza y nuestras costumbres. Poetas, novelistas, dramaturgos y ensayistas diéronse afanosamente, en todos los países de la región, a la tarea de cantar los esplendores de la naturaleza americana y a reproducir y explorar las peculiaridades de nuestro carácter y costumbres, sobre todo los populares que tenían mayor sabor y pintoresquismo".[122]

I will discuss the question of popular culture and the ways in which it has been manipulated by populism, in the next chapter. From now on, in this chapter, I will deal with the construction of the myth of American Nature as the source of *criollo* identity and its subsequent deconstruction, with particular reference to the part played by magic realism in this last process.

As Roberto González Echevarría points out, the importance of Bello's work rests on the way it "weaves the metaphoric network on which the concept of Latin American culture and the idea of its literature are based. This network is, of course, that which nature provides".[123] *Criollo* writers in search of their own cultural identity found in Nature indisputable proof of America's distinctiveness:

> "The sense of nature was, for these incipient Latin Americans, a sense of otherness, which was legitimized by the feeling of concrete ties between the variegated and wildly fecund nature of the continent and their own national and artistic consciousness".[124]

American Nature, in fact, had been described very early as Other, as in Columbus' *Journal*,[125] for example. In this way, the American landscape, Nature, became the substratum of *criollo* identity as expressed through literature and art:

> "Nature, the landscape, created through its own uniqueness and originality a new and original being who expressed himself or herself in the form of a new and different literature".[126]

This "new and different literature" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was centred around the depiction of life in rural areas. In its various literary expressions

(*criollismo, mundonovismo, indianismo, costumbrismo*, the gaucho novels) it constituted what can be generically termed "the Novel of the Land".[127] The recourse to the (literally) unmapped territories of American Nature, however, was not without dangers for the *criollo* elites, for as Jean Franco notes,

> "the return to nature could not be made on European terms. Here was no Arcadia but a hostile environment with nothing in common with the European garden. Man's life in the jungles or mountain regions was a dramatic struggle. The first lesson the artist learned when he looked at his own hinterland was that it was not a place where men could have a sense of personal importance, but an environment which demolished the individual".[128]

American Nature, furthermore, was dangerously close to the realm of the "savage" and "barbaric" Other (Indigenous peoples, *mestizos* and Afro-Latin Americans), who could also challenge the *criollos*' self-identification with (European) civilization and reason. This dilemma is at the heart of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo* (1845), "one of the great founding texts of Latin American literature",[129] which in its subtitle (*civilización y barbarie*) poses the most enduring antinomy in the whole debate over Latin American identity, and one which magic realism, like all subsequent Latin American literary and artistic expressions, set itself to solve. Sarmiento's civilization vs. barbarism becomes "the foundation of a set of hierarchical binaries"[130], which served to outline the ideological boundaries of national and cultural identity within *criollo* nationalist discourse.[131]

Equally important in Sarmiento's work is the question of language: in a famous polemic with Bello, Sarmiento defended the incorporation of popular expressions into the new "national languages" of Latin America.[132] I will return to the question of the creation of "new languages" and its relationship to nationalism in Chapter 5, in the context of the debate on language and resistance in magic realist texts.

Post-Independence Latin American intellectuals like Bello and Sarmiento articulated a cultural discourse which was concerned both with the creation of a new national identity and with the economic development of the new nations by and for their dominant *criollo* elites, as prerequisites for the formation of new nation states. As Bello's poem *A la agricultura de la Zona Tórrida* shows, American Nature was to provide the elements for both the development of a national economy ("he exhorted fellow Americans to forget heroism, and to repair the havoc of war as good farmers, to plant, irrigate and fell forests. Tactfully he does not dwell on what this must mean for the Indians")[133] and an identity:[134]

> "*A la agricultura de la Zona Tórrida* (1826) is consciously American poetry not only in promoting the expansion and improvement of farmlands as the means of completing Independence, but also in its naming of American plants with terms not in the peninsular Spanish lexicon".[135]

Paradoxically, the *criollos*' endeavour to conquer and dominate American Nature was an extension and a continuation of the process of Europeanization of the American fauna and flora initiated by the Conquest.[136] The *criollo* elite's uncritical and whole-hearted embracing of liberal ideology played a central part in the subsequent history of plunder and destruction of Nature in Latin America, a reality still masked under the discourse of the "Conquest of Nature". A further incongruity within the *criollo* elite's nationalistic cultural discourse stems from the latter's perceived contradiction between nature and (agri)culture and its failure to recognize Native American agricultural forms and practices.[137] By advocating the exploitation of what it regarded as unused lands, it condemned the Indigenous inhabitants of those lands (the true repositories of "American authenticity"), to dispossession and even genocide in the name of economic progress.

In the middle of the nineteenth Century, Latin America began to experience a series of rapid economic and social changes following its full incorporation into the world capitalist economic system as a provider of raw materials. These changes consisted, to a large extent, of a technological revolution which transformed production but left many of the old forms of political organization intact:

> "a permanent collaboration was established between the forms of life characteristic of colonial oppression and the innovations of bourgeois progress. The new stage of capitalism broke up the exclusive relationship with the metropolis, converting local property-owners and administrators into a national ruling class (effectively part of the emergent world bourgeoisie), and yet retained the old forms of labour exploitation which have not been fully modernized up to the present day".[138]

Nowhere was this more apparent than in Brazil where there was a "gulf between the empire's liberal façade, copied from the British parliamentary system, and the actual reality of the system of labour, which was slavery".[139] In Spanish America the situation was in practice not very different, for although slavery had been formally abolished, various forms of forced labour continued to be practiced.

The advent of modernity in Latin America, moreover, coincided with the formation and consolidation of a socioeconomic class which possessed some of the characteristics of the nineteenth-Century European bourgeoisie, but which was marked by the conditions of dependency under which it rose. The dependent character of the Latin American *criollo* bourgeoisie was reflected in its cultural expressions which reveal a tendency to imitate European models, especially those provided by Great Britain and France:

> "The search for national and cultural identity becomes an issue in countries where the nascent local bourgeoisie has the power, but not the distinctiveness, of its European counterpart and where traditional values and practices are replaced pell-mell by the effluvia of industrialized societies".[140]

The issue of national identity in Latin America at the outset of modernity, thus, was shaped by the "dependency relationship between the emerging Latin American bourgeoisie and Europe".[141] As Roberto Schwartz points out in the case of Brazil, imitation is not so much a characteristic of Latin American cultures but "a malaise of the dominant class, bound up with the difficulty of morally reconciling the advantages of progress with those of slavery or its surrogates".[142] In the Spanish-speaking republics, the contradiction between the *criollo* bourgeoisie's anti-colonialism (directed against Spain which still clung to its colonies in Puerto Rico and Cuba), and its cultural dependency on Western European models was given an expression in the idea of a "Latin" America.[143] This concept, which replaced those of *Hispanoamérica* and *Iberoamérica* (when Brazil was included), manifests a clear rejection of the ex-colonial powers (which in the minds of the elites were associated with backwardness and outmoded political and economic forms),[144] while it emphasizes the cultural affinity of the republics with "Latin" France (which to them symbolised progress and rationality). It also rejects by exclusion the Indigenous and African contributions to the cultural reality it attempts to describe.

The concept of Latin America, then, functions as a formula which encapsulates the bourgeoisie's nationalistic discourse and its search for a cultural identity. It expresses the rejection of non-European cultural elements associated with subordinate social groups, and symbolizes the bourgeoisie's identification with Western Judeo-Christian and Classical Mediterranean traditions, as opposed to a narrowly-defined Hispanic inheritance. As always, literature plays a central role in articulating this cultural discourse. As Roberto González Echevarría points out, the specificity and difference of Latin American literature are keys in determining the existence and authenticity of a Latin American identity.[145] Indeed, Latin American literature plays a central role in the bourgeoisie's self-constitution as a historical actor:

> "A specific social class conceives of Latin American literature as a way of building up and implanting its beliefs and making them predominant... it would be safe to say that the founding beliefs of that class are operational in Latin America and are at the base of its ideology."[146]

Latin America, however, is not only "Latin" but also Indigenous, *mestizo*, Black and Mulatto. This fact meant that the founding beliefs of the emergent urban bourgeoisie, which had become established by the 1920s in the major Latin American urban centres, had to be implanted in the face of strong resistance from the marginalized regional cultures of rural Latin America:

> "La aparición de teorizaciones del regionalismo… son índice del desarrollo de fuerzas autonómicas capaces de oponerse a la dominación, culturalmente homogeneizadora que desencadenan las urbes, habiendo motivado en el nivel político y económico, tendencias separatistas que se racionalizaron ideológicamente en el plano paralelo de la cultura. En zonas aparentemente sumergidas, destinadas a ser devoradas por los procesos de aculturación, surgen equipos de investigadores, artistas y escritores que

reivindican los valores locales y se oponen a la indiscriminada sumisión que se les exige".[147]

An important nineteenth century precedent to these efforts was José Hernández' epic poem of gaucho life, *Martín Fierro* (1872), which "attacked the Europeanised government of Buenos Aires for destroying the traditional American way of life of the gaucho. Specifically, the author protests against the sending of gauchos as conscripts to the frontier".[148] The genocidal military campaigns undertaken against the Indigenous peoples of the pampas after 1870 by the Argentine army under General Julio Roca form the background to the poem. After being conscripted, the poem's eponymous hero deserts and goes to live with the Indigenous people he was sent to destroy. In this way, Hernández openly questions Sarmiento's ideas of the superiority of city-based "civilization" to the hinterland's "barbarism".

The continuing existence of distinctive regional cultures (be they Indigenous or *mestizo*) with their own economic practices posed a major obstacle to the bourgeoisie's modernizing endeavours in the first decades of this century. As Gordon Brotherston remarks, Argentina (and to a lesser extent Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, and other countries), like the United States, "se sirvieron... de la ametralladora para resolver sus dificultades indigenistas".[149] In the cultural domain, the problem of the existence of separate regional cultures (a problem which in Latin America, as the following discussion will make more apparent, is closely linked to issues of ethnicity and class) was also tackled by novelists:

> "Nineteenth-century novels had founded nations and established who the ruling class was. Naturalist novels had examined the pathology of the lower classes and found them wanting. The 1920s 'regionalist' fiction looks again and takes a more positive view, not only of the lower classes, but of the possibilities of relationship between the rulers and the ruled".[150]

This relationship (ultimately, a power relationship expressed in terms of ethnicity, class and/or gender) as described in regionalist novels such as José Eustasio Rivera's *La Vorágine* (1924) or Rómulo Gallegos' *Doña Bárbara* (1929), however, was still very much circumscribed to Sarmiento's old formula of civilization vs. barbarism, albeit tempered by a strong element of social protest. Thus in *La Vorágine*, for example, the hero, Arturo Cova, renounces urban life as a poet in Bogota ("¿Para qué las ciudades?"[151]) and goes in search of fortune and adventure to the *llanos* (plains) and the jungles of the Orinoco and Amazon river basins. There he encounters the brutal exploitation of the cow-herders and rubber-workers of these regions:

> "Arturo Cova leaves the world of society and convention to find himself in a world which antedates any human society: a world ruled by the natural law of 'survival of the fittest'. *La Vorágine* thus contains a profoundly national lesson, for the novel shows how thin was the civilised veneer of Colombian society, how near to the surface the law of the jungle. If Colombian nationality was to mean anything, it had to be extended to protect the cowboys and rubber-workers for whom there was no law".[152]

Rivera's novel questions the dominant ideology which underlines the bourgeoisie's project of economic modernization. It presents Nature not as a passive and tame entity but as a monstrous presence[153] ready to devour those who come near it:

> "un abismo antropófago, la selva misma, abierta ante el alma como una boca que se engulle los hombres a quienes el hambre y el desaliento le van colocando entre las mandíbulas".[154]

La Vorágine anticipates many of the themes found in magic realist novels. Its delineation of a narrative discourse of the "Revenge of Nature" ("mientras el cauchero sangra los árboles, las sanguijuelas lo sangran a él. La selva se defiende de sus verdugos, y al fin el hombre resulta vencido"),[155] was later appropriated by magic realism, as was its identification of the destruction of Nature with that of Indigenous peoples ("La costumbre de perseguir riquezas ilusas a costa de los indios y de los árboles").[156]

For all this, however, Rivera's novel still subscribes to the negative view of magic as superstition,[157] and shows both disdain and aversion towards Indigenous peoples[158] and their cultures.[159] Furthermore, as in Gallegos' *Doña Bárbara*, Nature and women (particularly *mestizo* and Indian women), still have to be conquered and dominated by Man ("la superioridad del macho debe imponérseles por la fuerza"),[160] while the motif of trees as silent enemies who want to destroy human beings and which have to be fought against is repeated again and again.[161]

In common with other regionalist novels, nevertheless, Rivera's questions the bourgeoisie's "civilizing" project while exposing, on one hand, the direct exploitation of the subordinate classes by the urban elite (at one point Arturo Cova remarks how, in order to obtain heron feathers for city ladies to wear in their hats, many men must give up their lives in the jungle swamps),[162] and denouncing, on the other, the imperialist economic expansion of the United States which, after 1898, had replaced Spain and Great Britain as the main (neo) colonial power in Latin America and the Caribbean:

> "Si se analiza la época en que surge la 'generación de los problemas sociales' dentro de un enfoque de homología socioliteraria, es posible comprobar que la misma coincide con un momento agudo de la penetración económica y de las intervenciones armadas en América Latina. Se escribe literatura 'antiimperialista' para denunciar esas invasiones o las condiciones miserables en que viven los explotados: en las minas, en las bananeras, en los yacimientos petrolíferos. En las obras aparece con frecuencia creciente el 'gringo', pintado como un personaje ávido, grosero, cruel. El inquietante fresco de la explotación del continente mestizo ha sido pintado de prisa, con indignación, con figuras retorcidas, caricaturales, grotescas, en las que se ha puesto más intención denunciatoria y redencionista que voluntad de crear un mundo novelesco".[163]

The lack of aesthetic sophistication evident in regionalist writing was also apparent in *indigenista* works such as Alcides Arguedas' *Raza de bronce* (1919) and *Huasipungo* (1934) by Jorge Icaza, where:

> "las buenas intenciones de denuncia de las estructuras económicas y sociales arcaicas se habían endurecido en el tono panfletario de la gastada antinomia 'explotadores' vs. 'explotados'; la narración, omnisciente o no, sometía al lector a la manipulación ideológica de una 'visión desde afuera' de la problemática del subdesarrollo… las motivaciones psicológicas y la centralidad del héroe remitían a una predicación elemental y maniqueísta , que no se ajustaban a la complejidad de las estructuras sociales latinoamericanas. Finalmente, la composición del discurso unida a la grandiloquencia impresionista del estilo y a la escasa imaginación verbal, eran incapaces de absorber una realidad mutante y heterogénea".[164]

Indigenismo, nevertheless, did contribute to focus the Native American question away from a religious and moral "problem" to a social and political one.[165] The "realidad mutante y heterogénea" challenging writers was a function of the revolutionary historical changes which Latin America was undergoing at the time, beginning with industrialization and large scale European migration; the rise of a local bourgeoisie which provided a growing number of producers and consumers of books;[166] the consolidation of the expansion of United States economic interests to Central America and the Caribbean which had started at around the turn of the century; the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), and the spread of socialist ideas throughout Latin America[167]. The 1920s, finally, was also the decade when Modernism made its appearance in Latin America.[168]

José Carlos Mariátegui, one of the leading Latin American intellectuals of this period, was among the first to see through the bourgeoisie's rhetoric of triumphant progress, and to regard regionalism as more than the simple cultural expression of the reluctant archaic and reactionary rural sectors refusing to modernize. According to Angel Rama, Mariátegui revised

> "el concepto de región y el contenido ideológico que le correspondía al regionalismo. Para eso procedió a disociarlos de los planteos tradicionales en que se oponía administración local a administración central y se debatía el punto bajo las especies de federalismo y unitarismo como en el siglo xix, demostrando que en ese plano se trataba de una falsa disyuntiva que encubría la otra real, donde la región era un complejo sociocultural sometido y el regionalismo readquiría su vigor al redefinirse como un movimiento social, intérprete de una clase. Por eso, para él, 'los nuevos regionalistas son, ante todo, indigenistas".[169]

Mariátegui thus established a direct relationship between regionalism and *indigenismo*, on one hand, and cultural resistance, on the other. This relationship will be further explored in the next chapter. Meanwhile, it will suffice to note the ideological implications of this point and its particular relevance to magic realism. The argument here being that magic realism provided the regionalist and indigenist novels with the means to

transcend their lack of technical sophistication. The conditions that made this possible, namely the revolution in language brought about by modernist literary techniques (what Angel Rama calls the "tecnificación narrativa"),[170] and the insight into native cultures provided by Indigenous texts, were only beginning to be available to Latin American writers in the 1920s. This fact makes Mário de Andrade's novel *Macunaíma*, published in 1928, all the more exceptional, for it succeeds in incorporating these two elements in a remarkably accomplished way at a very early date, achieving, in this way, a synthesis between the 1920s avant-garde and Indigenous and popular culture sources.

Although to a lesser extent, Andrade's Spanish American contemporaries had also begun to incorporate native sources in their novels. In *La Vorágine*, for example, Rivera included the episode where Mapiripana, a one-legged magical being whose story the novel re-tells, leaves her single footprint in the sand.[171] This story, as Gordon Brotherston points out, is part of Amazonian cosmogony.[172] Another myth of Native American origin appears in Ricardo Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra* (1926) as the first of Don Segundo's oral narratives.[173] Incredibly, critics have been prepared to attribute this story to Celtic mythology,[174] Iberian tradition, or even Oriental influences,[175] sooner than to contemplate the possibility of it having indigenous roots. This, despite the strong presence of elements of indisputable native origin such as the bow ("de los que supieron usar los indios", declares Don Segundo, as if to dispel any doubts)[176] and poisoned arrows (with *curare*?), and the rather precise references to native birds (flamingo, *caburé*) which indicate a detailed knowledge of the local fauna and its behaviour.

In both cases the myths are clearly connected in the novels with Indigenous cultures: in *La Vorágine* the story is presented as that of "la *indiecita* Mapiripana",[177] while the magical flamingo in *Don Segundo Sombra* is said to speak Guarani.[178] Significantly, however, these native myths are told in both novels by someone other than the main narrator, as if the narrator-author wished to distance himself from them. In the regionalist novels of the 1920s and 30s, therefore, indigenous myths are still described from "the outside".

At this time, in fact, the main challenge facing Latin American writers preoccupied with the question of cultural identity was how to go beyond this "outside vision" of Native and Afro-Americans. The answer was provided by these cultures themselves. Contrary to Roberto González Echevarría's reactionary assertion that "Latin America is made up of a variety of different cultures, many of which have nothing to do with literature, neither as producers nor as consumers",[179] Indigenous and Afro-American peoples had produced a wealth of literature, written and oral, which was to revolutionize twentieth-Century Latin American literature and culture. As Gordon Brotherston has shown, the availability of classical native American texts was a prime influence in the emergence of the Latin American "new novel",[180] while Afro-American oral texts transformed, at the same time, Latin American poetry.

It is in the fruitful conjunction between the "tecnificación narrativa" brought about by Modernism, on one hand, and the insight into Indigenous and Afro-American thought provided by ethnographic and anthropological works, on the other, that the roots of the Latin

American magic realist novel lie. And these roots are to be found not in Borges' *Historia universal de la infamia* (1935), as Angel Flores believes,[181] nor in the earlier *Alsino* (1920) by the Chilean writer Pedro Prado, which in many ways anticipated magic realism,[182] but in Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (1928), and in *Leyendas de Guatemala* (1930) by Miguel Angel Asturias. Both texts are remarkable in many ways, not least in the way they ground modern Latin American identity in Native American history by using native sources, and in the unequivocal affirmation of the values of Indigenous cultures and their texts in a more profound way than that attempted before or, arguably, since. The Arekuna and Taupilang Carib epic accounts of the hero Makunaima, for example, were the source of inspiration for Andrade's novel,[183] in the same way that the *Popol Vuh* would later inspire Asturias' *Hombres de maíz* (1949). Moreover, both these texts and the Maya Book *Chilam Balam* of the town Chumayel would serve as sources for Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos* (1953)[184] which, equipped with this knowledge, attempts a revision of Rivera's *La Vorágine*.

Modernism, as stated above, was the other development that helped to create the conditions for the regeneration of the Latin American regionalist novel:[185]

> "In the 1930s Faulkner and Dos Passos showed how to apply the new Modernist techniques to narrative fiction and provided the means for updating the social or regionalist novel".[186]

It can be argued that Latin American writers found in modernism, as represented by Joyce, Faulkner and Dos Passos, a vocabulary that allowed them to deal with their own particular concerns.[187] After appropriating the modernist idiom they transformed it, under the catalytic influence of surrealism (see pp. 19-20) into something different from both modernism and surrealism. These two influences are apparent in the work of Julio Cortázar, but also in the magic realist novels of Asturias and Carpentier. Magic realism, furthermore, represents not only a technical but also an ideological shift, which, for the first time, allowed a reversal of the "civilization/barbarism" dichotomy introduced by Sarmiento, and the questioning of the dominant discourse of the Conquest of Nature.

The first part of this chapter explored the particular cultural-historical conditions under which magic realist texts appeared in Latin America, particularly in relation to the problematic relationship between cultural identity and ideology in Latin American Literature. At the beginning of the chapter I noted how the debate on magic realism had revolved mostly around issues of style, while the ideology of magic realism has been largely ignored. This excessive concern with form is misleading, for the stylistic features of magic realism cannot, in fact, be separated from its ideology, as I will now proceed to argue. My intention here is not to question the coherence of magic realism as a major tradition within contemporary Latin American literature, or to confine it to a series of formal attributes, but to relate these attributes to the ways in which magic realism subverts the dominant bourgeois ideology of economic progress and capitalist development, symbolised by the discourse of the Conquest of Nature.

Before doing that, it would be useful to point at how the Latin American magic realist novel has reworked the conventions of the genre in the way it appraises collective experience. This relates to the absence in magic realist texts of the deep explorations of individual characters' psychologies which characterize the nineteenth-century European novel. In fact, instead of presenting reality through a series of isolated fragments which correspond to some aspects of "universal" human experience, magic realist texts hint at the possibility of the existence of some underlying cultural traits common to the American continent.

The most common formal or stylistic features of magic realism are discontinuous enumerations, incantations, ellipsis, matter-of-factness, the description of people, animals or objects in an unusual or disconcerting way, hyperbole and grotesque descriptions. Discontinuous or heterogenous enumeration often appears in modernist literature as a way of representing the confusion, chaos and absurdity which are supposedly inherent to modern life or which might be present in a character's mind. In magic realism, on the other hand, discontinuous enumeration refers to the unpredictable nature of chance and more often than not it betrays a ludic intention: to achieve a humorous effect by putting together in an enumerative series heterogenous objects of diverse origins in an incongruous context,[188] as in Carpentier's description of a provincial museum in *Los pasos perdidos* which:

> "guardaba una argolla a que había estado colgada, por una noche, la hamaca del héroe de la Campaña de los Riscos, un grano de arroz sobre el que se habían copiado varios párrafos del *Quijote*, un retrato de Napoleón hecho con las x de una máquina de escribir y una colección completa de las serpientes venenosas de la región, conservadas en pomos".[189]

As I argued in the previous chapter, one of the reasons why magic realism should be preferred to some of the alternative terms coined to replace it, is the fact that it expresses a link between a type of literature and popular beliefs in magic. This, for example, is manifested in incantation, a literary device inherited or copied from magical and religious practices which reproduces the ritualistic and repetitive rhythms and cadencies of litanies. One of the best examples of this is the opening paragraph of Miguel Angel Asturias' *El Señor Presidente* (written between 1922 and 1932):

> "…Alumbra, lumbre de alumbre, Luzbel de piedralumbre! Como zumbido de oídos persistía el rumor de las campanas a la oración, maldoblestar de la luz en la sombra, de la sombra en la luz. Alumbra, lumbre de alumbre, Luzbel de piedralumbre, sobre la podredumbre! Alumbra, lumbre de alumbre, sobre la podredumbre, Luzbel de piedralumbre! Alumbra, alumbra, lumbre de alumbre…, alumbre…, alumbra…, alumbra, lumbre de alumbre…, alumbra, alumbre…!"[190]

Ellipsis is another characteristic of the magic realist style. It refers to linguistic elements (words, phrases, and entire sentences), which are missing from the narrative. The reader needs to supply meaning to these missing words and empty spaces, which are often the key to the narrative. Memory and contextuality are both crucial in this process. It is

interesting to note in this context that certain magical practices are also elliptical and the concept is also of central importance to shamanistic cultures in Asia and America, as well as to some Oriental systems of reasoning such as Daoism and Zen Buddhism. This again is perhaps not entirely coincidental.

Matter-of-factness is, arguably, the defining stylistic characteristic of magic realism. Magic realism not only presents unreal or unbelievable occurrences side by side with ordinary ones, it also describes the supernatural or extraordinary in a matter-of-fact way, and that is one of the features that further distinguish it from Fantastic Literature. Arguably, the unsurpassed example of matter-of-factness in the description of an extraordinary event comes from outside Latin America, and is to be found in the opening sentence of Kafka's *The Metamorphosis*, where the protagonist, Gregor Samsa, wakes up to find out that he has somehow become a monstrous insect. In Adorno's words: "What shocks is not the monstrosity of it, but its matter-of-factness".[191] García Márquez relates the impact Kafka's work had on him as a young reader[192] and in many of his own short stories and novels he uses the same technique to describe incredible feats or events. The following words written by André Gide about Kafka could apply also to many magic realist works:

> "I could not say what I admire the more: the 'naturalistic' notation of a fantastic universe, but which the detailed exactitude of the depiction makes real in our eyes, or the unerring audacity of the lurches into the strange."[193]

A further stylistic feature of the magic realist novel is a particular type of description which turns the everyday and the ordinary into something "magical". As a technique it is, in fact, the opposite of matter-of-factness. Some of the most memorable examples are the description of a block of ice through the eyes of José Arcadio,[194] and Melquíades' miraculous "rejuvenation" in *Cien años de soledad*:

> "De modo que todo el mundo se fue a la carpa, y mediante el pago de un centavo vieron un Melquíades juvenil, repuesto, desarrugado, con una dentadura nueva y radiante. Quienes recordaban sus encías destruídas por el escorbuto, sus mejillas fláccidas y sus labios marchitos, se estremecieron de pavor ante aquella prueba terminante de los poderes sobrenaturales del gitano. El pavor se convirtió en pánico cuando Melquíades se sacó los dientes, intactos, engastados en las encías, y se los mostró al público por un instante -un instante fugaz en que volvió a ser el mismo hombre decrépito de los años anteriores- y se los puso otra vez y sonrió de nuevo con un dominio pleno de su juventud restaurada. Hasta el propio José Arcadio Buendía consideró que los conocimientos de Melquíades habían llegado a extremos intolerables, pero experimentó un saludable alborozo cuando el gitano le explicó a solas el mecanismo de su dentadura postiza".[195]

This effect is made possible by the "primitive" characters' *naïveté* and their ignorance of science. This coincides with an ideological stance underlying magic realism, namely the characterization of science as magic, and of magic as science, which results from the equal

treatment of both as cognitive systems. In this context, José Arcadio Buendía further remarks that "En el mundo están ocurriendo cosas increíbles… Ahí mismo, al otro lado del río, hay toda clase de aparatos mágicos, mientras nosotros seguimos viviendo como los burros". Indeed, the arrival of modernity, identified with such "magical artifacts" as electric lights, the gramophone, the cinema and the telephone,[196] has a disconcerting effect on Macondo:

> "Era como si Dios hubiera resuelto poner a prueba toda capacidad de asombro, y mantuviera a los habitantes de Macondo en un permanente vaivén entre el alborozo y el desencanto, la duda y la revelación, hasta el extremo de que ya nadie podía saber a ciencia cierta dónde estaban los límites de la realidad".[197]

It is not, however, simply a case of empirical science triumphantly marching in and replacing "primitive" beliefs and practices. In fact, Macondo's inhabitants regard some technological feats, such as flying in an air balloon, as backward, compared to their own fantastic experiences:

> "consideraban ese invento como un retroceso, después de haber visto y probado las esteras voladoras de los gitanos".[198]

In this respect García Márquez goes even further. If magic (the Gypsies' flying carpets) can be more advanced and effective than science (the air balloon), science itself can also be a form of superstition, as demonstrated by Colonel Aureliano Buendía:

> "Por una especie de superstición científica, nunca trabajaba, ni leía, ni se bañaba, ni hacía el amor antes de que transcurrieran dos horas de digestión, y era una creencia tan arraigada que varias veces retrasó operaciones de guerra para no someter a la tropa a los riesgos de una congestión".[199]

By equating magic with science, magic realist texts subvert the myths of progress which reinforce the dominant positivist ideology of the ruling elites. This subversion of the elites' self-sustaining myths of progress and civilization can be seen operating in the works of Alejo Carpentier:

> "Carpentier's narratives reverse Sarmiento's opposition to demonstrate how the forces of civilization produce new barbarisms and how the use of reason leads eventually to violence".[200]

In *El reino de este mundo*, as in the later *El siglo de las luces* (1962),[201] Carpentier shows how the Western civilization imposed by French colonialism on the Caribbean instituted violence in the form of genocide, slavery and imprisonment.[202] The Enlightenment with its ideology of scientific and rational mastery over Nature resulted in, and in fact required, these and other forms of violence and oppression: "What Carpentier's narratives in effect show is that reason in Latin American history often tilts or turns into its opposite: the reign of reason

is also the reign of terror".[203] *El reino de este mundo*, in its depiction of magic as a form of resistance

> "allows us to see that magic, like enlightenment... is a flexible and purposive activity, more adaptive and useful for survival than the instinctive patterns of behaviour, although less objective and ultimately less successful than the scientific method; and that enlightenment as *techné* is not exclusively the province of the "civilized" groups, whose enlightenment enterprises inevitably take recourse to barbarism".[204]

The above discussion shows how a particular formal characteristic of the Latin American magic realist novel, namely the description of people, animals or objects in an unusual or disconcerting way, coincides with a particular ideological stance. This is also the case with another stylistic characteristic, the Grotesque. The Grotesque is an aesthetic device which blends humour and horror and which operates, essentially, through exaggeration and bodily excess. It can apply to either characters or situations in the text. One of the earliest uses of the Grotesque in European literature is in the five books of *Gargantua and Pantagruel* by François Rabelais (1483?-1553), whose characters' names are the origin of the adjectives "gargantuan" and "gruesome". In *Cien años de soledad*, a character which resembles the author and is also called Gabriel, goes to Paris accompanied by a set of Rabelais' collected works.[205] García Márquez has said that this reference is simply a red herring designed to confuse literary critics: "En realidad, aquella alusión a Rabelais fue puesta por mí como una cáscara de banano que muchos críticos pisaron".[206] This detail, nevertheless, reveals in itself a Rabelaisian sense of humour. García Márquez, furthermore, has acknowledged Rabelais' influence in his work. Thus, about the relative lack of success of *Cien años de soledad* in France, he admits: "Yo estoy mucho más cerca de las locuras de Rabelais que de los rigores de Descartes".[207]

Exaggeration or hyperbole is an obvious feature of magic realism and many critics have studied its use in, for example, García Márquez.[208] In a path-breaking study of Rabelais' work, Mikhail Bakhtin links exaggeration in Rabelais with images of "the material bodily principle": "The leading themes of these images of bodily life are fertility, growth, and a brimming-over abundance". "Exaggeration", he concludes, "has a positive, assertive character".[209] It is in this light that the use of hyperbole in magic realist novels has to be considered. In this context, Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* offers another instance of a magic realist text which is full of exaggerations. Andrade wrote of the importance of hyperbole in his work:

> "Exaggeration: ever-new symbol of life as well as of the dream. Through exaggeration, life and dreams are linked. And, employed consciously, it is not a defect, rather a legitimate means of expression".[210]

In *Cien años de soledad*, hyperbole is accompanied by an almost obsessive concern with exact numbers: "Times of the day, days of the week, statistics of every kind are to be found everywhere in the novel, but are no more helpful or meaningful than the more obviously illusory temporal references such as 'many years later' which appear with equal

frequency".[211] This points at a further attempt to subvert the rationalist scientific discourse by mocking and ridiculing it:

> "el autor… se burla del pseudo-cientifismo del lector implícito que es capaz de creer todo con tal de que tenga un valor numérico específico. Así, el hecho de que el padre Nicolás se eleva 12 centímetros, que Ursula partía 36 huevos cuando le alcanzó el hilo de sangre que provenía de su hijo asesinado, que la lluvia duró 4 años, 11 meses y 2 días, que el coronel Aureliano Buendía promovió 32 levantamientos, escapó a 14 atentados, a 73 emboscadas y a 1 pelotón de fusilamiento, que José Arcadio (hijo) le había dado la vuelta al mundo 65 veces, que la prostituta adolescente en una sola noche se había acostado con 63 hombres de a 20 centavos cada uno antes de recibir a Aureliano hace que cada incidente sea más real para la mentalidad moderna que confiere un valor casi mágico al número. Es una burla de la mentalidad moderna y científica que supuestamente niega la realidad de todo lo relacionado con lo mágico y sobrenatural pero que crea su propia magia, oculta tras una falsa actitud científica".[212]

A similar endeavour is apparent in the satirical description of Mr. Herbert's careful measurements of a banana.[213] There is, however, a more sinister side to this, for his measurements and those of the "ingenieros, agrónomos, hidrólogos, topógrafos y agrimensores"[214] that followed him, herald nothing less than the imposition of a new type of land tenure: *latifundismo*, a system common throughout Latin America, where large estates (*latifundios*), which cultivate export crops, own the largest share of the land. The *latifundio*'s counterpart is the *minifundio*, a plot of land too small to provide for its owner's subsistence. As a result, the *minifundio*'s owner is forced to work seasonally on the *latifundio*. The same historical process is described in Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, where the

> "*agrimensores* or surveyors, working their 'oficio de insectos'... represent the new regime of the 'Mulatos Republicanos', whose conflict with the Blacks and whose expropriations and conscriptions of labor for their projects of social and agrarian restoration constituted a new tyranny of reason, but this time more profoundly based on measurement, calculation, and instrumentation. The appearance of these usurpers of Ti Noel's kingdom also foreshadows the emergence of an important social and demographic phenomenon in modern Haiti: the dominance of the so-called *elites* who came to power slowly after Haiti achieved its independence in 1804".[215]

As argued above, exaggeration and excess link magic realism to the Grotesque. In his study of Rabelais, Bakhtin introduced the concept of "grotesque realism"[216] which he associates with a medieval "folk culture of humour".[217] Far from escaping reality, Bakhtin argues, Rabelais reflected history and contemporary events.[218] Like his contemporary Desiderius Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, published in 1511, Rabelais' work satirizes the abuses, corruption and ignorance of the powerful and the stranglehold of the Church on late medieval society. The Grotesque, with its subversive humour and satire, therefore, was an important element in the triumph of humanistic thought at the outset of the Renaissance.[219] Bakhtin associates the Grotesque to the "material bodily lower stratum"[220] (that is, "the genital organs,

the belly, and the buttocks")[221] and considers it an expression of freedom, the freedom to laugh:

> "Historically, according to Bakhtin, the grotesque liberated thought and imagination through degeneration, low humour (the Marxian 'belly laugh') and a celebration of the body's base functions. The grotesque is thus a sign of resistance, a symbolic destruction of official culture. It is also a communal act of assertion and renewal."[222]

There are many examples of the Grotesque in Native American literature also. Monstrous transformations and births are common in oral literature and in texts such as the *Popol Vuh*. Whatever its origins, in the context of contemporary Latin America, the Grotesque is associated with certain manifestations of popular culture which are considered vulgar and coarse by the dominant culture. This gives it a counter-hegemonic character, as it contradicts the latter's image of refinement, progress and civilization. It emphasizes the Body (Nature, human beings) as opposed to the Machine (progress, modernization).[223] This contradiction between the Body and the Machine -which, again, has antecedents in the *Popol Vuh*- is underscored by Carpentier in *El reino de este mundo*, where the *trapiche* or sugar-cane press (significantly the technology and industry identified with colonial economic production)[224] crushes Mackandal's arm.

The Grotesque, furthermore, has associations with the body's reproductive functions, but also with death.[225] In both cases this points to an identification with the (monstrous) fertility of Nature, a notion supported by the etymology of the word "grotesque", which refers to some figurative decorations found in Roman grottos dating back to the first century AD, which blended human, animal and vegetable forms.[226] This could suggest that the Grotesque represents the survival in popular culture of beliefs, common to many Native American traditional cultures, in the unity of all living beings, animal, vegetable and human.[227]

An obvious example of this notion being applied in a magic realist novel is, of course, *Hombres de maíz* where, as Gordon Brotherston points out, there is "an effective confluence of human and vegetable flesh",[228] evidenced, foremost, in the title itself, which alludes to the Maya myth of Creation, but also in the identification of Goyo Yic with the *amate* tree.[229] José Arcadio Buendía in *Cien años de soledad*, after spending years tied to the patio tree, also becomes vegetable-like,[230] while Melquíades, in his old age, is described as having both animal and vegetable features: "La piel se le cubrió de un musgo tierno, semejante al que prosperaba en el chaleco anacrónico que no se quitó jamás, y su respiración exhaló un tufo de animal dormido".[231] In Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus* Rosa, la Bella, "(t)enía algo de pez y si hubiera tenido una cola escamada habría sido claramente una sirena",[232] and in Carpentier's *El siglo de las luces*, Esteban explicitly feels nostalgia for the gills and tail of the fish he had once been.[233] Finally, in *El reino de este mundo* the boundaries between humans and animals are constantly transgressed. There is mention of "animales egregios que habían tenido descendencia humana. Y también de hombres que ciertos ensalmos dotaban de poderes licantrópicos. Se sabía de mujeres violadas por grandes felinos que habían trocado, en la noche, la palabra por el rugido".[234] Mackandal, furthermore, causes a Black woman to have

"un niño con cara de jabalí"[235] and he is said to keep traces of his previous transformations in his appearance:

> ""Algo parecía quedarle de sus residencias en misteriosas moradas; algo de sus sucesivas vestiduras de escamas, de cerda o de vellón. Su barba se aguzaba con felino alargamiento, y sus ojos debían haber subido un poco hacia las sienes, como los de ciertas aves de cuya apariencia se hubiera vestido".[236]

The Grotesque is present in other magic realist novels by Miguel Angel Asturias. In *El señor presidente*, for example, most characters are grotesque: the beggars in the Portal del Señor with their "caras monstruosas",[237] the prostitutes of El Dulce Encanto[238] and their clients,[239] and the cannibalistic policemen: "Las caras de los antropófagos, iluminadas como faroles, avanzaban por las tinieblas, los cachetes como nalgas, los bigotes como babas de chocolate...",[240] (I will return to the theme of cannibalism, which relates not only to the Grotesque but to the construction of the Other, in Chapter 4). Other characters are physically disproportionate, including Pelele, who is described as "una cabezota redonda y con dos coronillas como la luna";[241] and the puppet master, Don Benjamín and his wife, Doña Venjamón.[242] Curiously, the President himself escapes relatively unscathed from these grotesque characterizations, although at one point he merits the following description: "en los bigotes canos, peinados sobre las comisuras de los labios, disimulaba las encías sin dientes, tenía los carrillos pellejudos y los párpados como pellizcados".[243]

In *Mulata de tal*, also by Asturias, the Grotesque takes an overt sexual (and scatological) form, as it does in García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad*[244] and in Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma*. The sexual dimension of the Grotesque in José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos* is symbolised by the Opa.[245]

In the novels by Andrade and García Márquez, excess is not only sexual but also culinary[246] and verbal, as in Macunaíma's battle of insults against the giant Piaiman (Venceslau Pietro Pietra) and his wife:

> "He took the first piece of filth from his collection and hurled it right in Piaiman's face. It struck the target, but Venceslau Pietro Pietra was unmoved, he had a hide like an elephant. Macunaíma then slapped an even dirtier word on the old hag. It didn't bother her but was itself bothered that no one took offense. So Macunaíma flung his whole stock pile of filth and smut at them, and there were ten thousand times ten thousand of choice curses. Venceslau Pietro Pietra remarked very quietly to his old woman, Ceiuci, 'There were a few new ones there that haven't made the rounds yet. You'd better save them for our girls!'".[247]

In this context, Bakhtin writes that "(t)he importance of abusive language is essential to the understanding of the literature of the grotesque".[248] The liberating power of this type of language is expressed, in turn, by Ursula in *Cien años de soledad*:

> "sentía unos irreprimibles deseos de soltarse a despotricar como un forastero, y de permitirse por fin un instante de rebeldía, el instante tantas veces anhelado y tantas veces aplazado de meterse la resignación por el fundamento y cagarse de una vez en todo, y sacarse del corazón los infinitos montones de malas palabras que había tenido que atragantarse en todo un siglo de conformidad".[249]

Death is a recurrent theme of many magic realist novels[250] which deal with it in a grotesquely humorous way: octogenarian doctor Juvenal Urbino's death trying to catch a parrot in Gabriel García Márquez' *El amor en los tiempos del cólera*,[251] for instance, is typical of an incident which is more humorous than macabre. In Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus*, on the other hand, the search for Nívea's head, who was decapitated in a car accident, is truly horrific.[252]

The juxtaposition of death and food is also common in the Grotesque[253] and can be traced back to Rabelais (see p. 50). One of the best examples of this grotesque juxtaposition is the death of Venceslau Pietro Pietra (the giant Piaiman) in *Macunaíma*:

> "The giant plunged into the cauldron of bubbling macaroni, and such a stink of burning leather rose into the air that it killed all the sparrows in Sao Paulo and stonkered the hero. Piaiman struggled mightily, but he was soon more dead than alive. With a last prodigious effort he thrust himself off the bottom of the pot till his head surfaced. He brushed aside pieces of macaroni sticking to his face, rolled his eyes heavenward, licked his moustache and with his last breath spluttered, `Not enough cheese!'"[254]

In *Cien años de soledad, La casa de los espíritus*, as well as in Juan Rulfo's *Pedro Páramo*, the dead cohabit with the living, sometimes as ghosts and often as skeletons and relics or bags of bones. The message is that kinship relationships remain unaffected by death, for death is as ordinary and commonplace as life and the dead have an important place within the community of the living. This links magic realism with expressions of popular culture such as the Day of the Dead celebrations in Mexico. The various expressions of the Grotesque in Latin American magic realist literature, moreover, have a political and ideological significance which is evident, above all, in *Macunaíma*. The hero of Andrade's novel, in fact, represents the counter-hegemonic character of the Grotesque:

> "his irreverence, his many deaths and resurrections, his exuberant sexuality, his *palavroes* (vulgar language) and laughter, and the absence of repressive integration denoted by his lack of character, can be taken as metaphors for the unfinished, developing `body' of Brazil, its people and culture. *Macunaíma* offers a multiple mirror to Brazil's heterogeneity, returning a parodic image of colonial views of the tropics."[255]

Magic realist novels, therefore, reproduce the ideological conflict between two competing notions of the body: the grotesque body and the classical body.

> "The grotesque body is the open, protruding, extended, secreting body, the body of becoming, process and change. The grotesque body is opposed to the classical body, which is monumental, static, closed, and sleek."[256]

These notions of the body correspond to two different concepts of culture: popular and elitist; to two forms of social organization: communal and individualistic, and to two opposed models of political and economic development: socialist and liberal. Magic realist texts reproduce the conflict between them, which is the conflict about who will determine the shape of the "Body of the Nation" in Latin America. This struggle is the subject of the novel *Os sertoes* by Euclides da Cunha, a work comparable to Sarmiento's *Facundo*,[257] which shows how the discourse of the "Body of the Nation", with its moralistic undertones and quasi-religious symbolism, was applied in the fight against the "uncontrolled" and "chaotic" forces of communalism and popular culture.

The novel tells of the military campaign conducted by the Brazilian army in 1897 against Canudos, "a city of roughly 25,000 inhabitants based on a form of primitive communism, with its own administrators, warriors, doctors, internal commerce, fields of subsistence crops and pastures for cattle".[258] Canudos, "a kind of monstrous anti-city, a cursed Jerusalem",[259] was founded by Antonio Conselheiro, a religious and political leader of the poor peasants in the state of Bahia in the Northeast of Brazil. This area was, and to a large extent still is, characterized by *latifundismo*. The destruction of Canudos was part of the process of dismantling the system of communal ownership of the land which evolved during the colonial period in Latin America, and which became an obstacle to the consolidation of the liberal unitary State and a capitalist economic system (see Chapter 4). Typically, as in the case of Argentina's frontier war against the Indigenous peoples of the pampas (see p. 42), it was justified as a crusade against barbarism, ignorance and backwardness:

> "The attempt to extirpate the unsightly `barbarian' elements -forms of social life and culture connected to blacks, mulattoes, Indians, peasants, illiterates- from the fabric of Brazilian society is manifested in a set of ideas, policies and state actions... At the level of ideas, positivism with its emphasis on science and authoritarian social engineering provided a rationale for economic development without popular participation or change in the land tenure system. The positivist motto of `order and progress' emblazoned on the Brazilian flag encapsulates the view among governing elites that modernization from above would establish Brazil as a civilized nation".[260]

In this context, Field Marshall Floriano Peixoto of Brazil, a "liberal dictator" in the vein of Mexico's Porfirio Díaz and Guatemala's Manuel Estrada Cabrera, declared: "this is the government which knows how to purify the blood of the social body, which, like our own, is corrupted."[261] From this perspective, Canudos is in fact a grotesque body:

> "an unconscious brute mass, which, without organs and without specialized functions, continued to grow rather than evolve, through the mere mechanical juxtaposition of successive layers, in the manner of a human polyp".[262]

As William Rowe and Vivian Schelling point out: "As well as recognizing the destabilizing threat of the body without organs, da Cunha's writing also reveals how the state projectively constructed this popular force as its own adversary. Spontaneous, purposeless growth, without evolution, is the nightmare of the positivist; for the state, it must be expunged from the national territory."[263]

From the point of view of the state, the "destabilizing threat" posed by the Grotesque stems from its identification with uncontrolled change, including social change. The Grotesque exposes the putrescent body of society. Putrefaction is the origin of change, the ferment necessary for revolution. From its very beginnings the Grotesque has had the function of an historical agent, as exemplified by the link between Rabelais, Erasmus and the Renaissance (see p. 51).

The relationship between Nature and the Grotesque leads to the identification of American Nature as threatening, monstrous, excessive and grotesque in magic realist texts. In this sense, Nature in magic realist novels such as García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad*, Abel Posse's *Daimón* and J. M. Caballero Bonald's *Agata, ojo de gato*,[264] is not so much a background but a protagonist, an idea supported by Miguel Angel Asturias assertion that: "In la novela latinoamericana la naturaleza no es paisaje, sino personaje",[265] and by Ariel Dorfman's comments on Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*:

> "El paisaje… no es un panorama que está allá, contemplable. Es algo que le ocurre a alguien, que contiene ya una mirada, interviene, que llama a la acción. No se trata de un escenario, sino que de un movimiento. Como el muro inca mismo, parece piedra, pero no lo es: la cantidad de verbos utilizados prueba que esos paisajes son cualquier cosa menos inercia que espera ser moldeada o comentada".[266]

The characterization of American Nature as an active living being in magic realist novels[267] was foreshadowed by the use of the same motif in regionalist novels. Nature's destructive potential and voracity, symbolized by ants or piranha fish in Rivera's *La Vorágine*,[268] and by carnivorous crabs in Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra*,[269] question the elites' ideals of a passive and tame Nature, ready to be exploited. Here Nature's excesses, however, reinforce the need to conquer or destroy it. Man (and in these novels the active force is invariably always Man, for Woman is either associated with passivity or, as in *Doña Bárbara*, with the negative forces of Nature) still has to conquer or destroy Nature or be conquered or destroyed by it. While questioning the elites' assumptions of their achievements of civilization and progress, therefore, regionalist novels still adhere to the underlying discourse of the Conquest of Nature, a discourse which represents a continuation of the ideology of the Conquest of America, as depicted in Abel Posse's *Daimón*:

> "…manifestaban una rotunda incapacidad para comprender el equilibrio y el orden natural de las cosas. Cuando juntaban ananaes, por ejemplo, cortaban también los verdes, las crías, siguiendo rigurosos planes de acopiamiento que terminarían en

colitis general. Cuando pescaban no sabían distinguir a los dorados y paiches hembras en ciclo de desove. Si cazaban no ahorraban mono padre ni hembra preñada. Para admirar algún papagayo Arcoiris que encontraban silbando alegremente, no sabían sino levantar la ballesta y abatirlo para estudiarlo muerto, arruinado entre las botas y el fango. Alguno, científico, dibujaba el cadáver".[270]

Miguel Angel Asturias, for his part, describes the disastrous consequences of the continuation of this ideology of destruction, in the opening pages of *Hombres de maíz*:

"El mata-palo es malo, pero el maicero es peor. El mata-palo seca un árbol en años. El maicero con solo pegarle fuego a la roza acaba con el palerío en pocas horas. Y qué palerío. Maderas preciosas por lo preciosas. Palos medicinales en montón. Como la guerrilla con los hombres en la guerra, asi acaba el maicero con los palos. Humo, brasa, cenizal".[271]

The ruling elites' identification with this discourse is crucial in order to understand the reliance of magic realism on aesthetic forms such as the Grotesque and the Baroque, which represent, in fact, a reversal of that discourse. In this context, as Jean Franco points out, the representation of nature as destructive of human endeavour is a common topos in modern Latin American literature.[272] Unlike regionalist novels like *La Vorágine*, where the power of Nature is a source of horror and despair, in the case of magic realist novels, I will argue, this typifies an underlying discourse of the "Revenge of Nature" which opposes and subverts the dominant discourse of the Conquest of Nature. This notion is most apparent in *Cien años de soledad* where the whole narrative can be construed as a continuous struggle by the characters against the relentless forces of Nature, in the form of the encroaching jungle, monstrous rains and floods, epidemics, plagues of insects and the final hurricane which destroys Macondo.

Consequent with magical beliefs, present also in José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*,[273] Nature's voracity[274] and destructiveness in *Cien años de soledad* are unleashed by "crimes" against it, be they the transgression of the prohibition against incest[275] or, more pertinent to this argument, disturbances brought about by the *gringos* of the Banana Company:

"habían ocasionado un trastorno colosal, mucho más perturbador que el de los antiguos gitanos, pero menos transitorio y comprensible. Dotados de recursos que en otra época estuvieron reservados a la Divina Providencia, modificaron el régimen de lluvias, apresuraron el ciclo de las cosechas, y quitaron el río de donde estuvo siempre y lo pusieron con sus piedras blancas y sus corrientes heladas en el otro extremo de la población".[276]

Furthermore, García Márquez offers an evident example of (American) Nature overwhelming that most emblematic symbol of European "discovery" and conquest, the Spanish galleon:

> "rodeado de helechos y palmeras, blanco y polvoriento en la silenciosa luz de la mañana, estaba un enorme galeón español. Ligeramente volteado a estribor, de su arboladura intacta colgaban las piltrafas escuálidas del velamen, entre jarcias adornadas de orquídeas. El casco, cubierto con una tersa coraza de rémora petrificada y musgo tierno, estaba firmemente enclavado en un suelo de piedras. Toda la estructura parecía ocupar un ámbito propio, un espacio de soledad y de olvido, vedado a los vicios del tiempo y a las costumbres de los pájaros. En el interior, que los expedicionarios exploraron con un fervor sigiloso, no había nada más que un apretado bosque de flores."[277]

In magic realist texts nature's voracity, far from being a source of horror, is in fact celebrated as the victory of America against its invaders. The *Schadenfreude* at the capacity of American Nature to defeat European efforts is also apparent in Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos*:

> "cuando un rico propietario se iba por unos meses a París, dejando la custodia de su residencia a servidumbres indolentes, las raíces aprovechaban el descuido… para arquear el lomo en todas partes, acabando en veinte días con la mejor voluntad funcional de Le Corbusier".[278]

As in the regionalist novels of the 1920s, Carpentier's text criticizes the absurdity of trying to apply a European yardstick to a tropical environment, as when an Austrian Kappelmeister quotes Goethe in order to complain about the Latin American country where he finds himself:

> "evocaba una carta en que Goethe cantaba la naturaleza domada, 'por siempre librada de sus locas y febriles conmociones'. '!Aquí, selva!', rugía, estirando sus larguísimos brazos, como cuando arrancaba un *fortissimo* a su orquesta".[279]

There is, nevertheless, a marked difference between descriptions of this kind found in magic realist texts by Carpentier, García Márquez and Posse, on one hand, and the Conradian view of the jungle as a "heart of darkness" explicit in Rivera's *La Vorágine*, on the other. This difference amounts to an ideological and political shift by means of which the former writers attempt to distance themselves from the ideological project of the urban elites, while identifying themselves fully with autochthonous values. In this context, the regionalist novels had already established an identification of Indigenous peoples with Nature, but this identification was made under the auspices of Sarmiento's tired old formula of urban "civilization" versus rural "barbarism". The crucial change came when writers began to write Nature from within, and from an "Indigenous" perspective, as when the *cacique* Gaspar Ilóm in Asturias' *Hombres de maíz* -a figure which embodies the idea of the Revenge of Nature better than any other- exclaims before starting his insurrection:

> "Hay que limpiar la tierra de Ilóm de los que botan los árboles con hacha, de los que chamuscan el monte con las quemas, de los que atajan el agua del río… los maiceros… esos que han acabado con la sombra, porque la tierra que cae de las estrellas incuentra onde seguir soñando su sueño en el suelo de Ilóm, o a mí me duermen para siempre".[280]

There is throughout this novel a close identification between Ilóm and the Land of Ilóm.[281] This links the idea of the Revenge of Nature with the notion of cultural resistance (I will expand on this concept in the next chapter). In Asturias' work, as Gerald Martin points out,

> "(t)he theme of the conservation of the natural landscape and vegetation goes hand in hand with the concept of the conservation of culture and language through memory and resistance".[282]

Indigenous resistance is further linked to Nature by Asturias in the protection offered by the animals (the guardian spirits or *nahuales*)[283] and plants to Gaspar Ilóm's Maya guerrillas:

> "El guerrero indio huele al animal que lo protege y el olor que se aplica: pachulí, agua aromática, unto maravilloso, zumo de fruta, le sirve para borrarse esa presencia mágica y despistar el olfato de los que le buscan para hacerle daño".[284]

In this context, the jungle, in *Hombres de maíz*, becomes a metaphor for Mayan culture[285]:

> "la impotencia y desorientación del coronel filisteo y positivista frente a la realidad mágica del mundo primario y natural, comunicadas por el divorcio absoluto entre la vista y los restantes órganos del sentido, y por la imposibilidad de convertir en conceptos los pocos signos visuales con los que se enfrenta, no son sino una metáfora más generalizada para connotar la incapacidad ladina para penetrar los secretos de la cosmovisión indígena".[286]

Hitherto, the present discussion about American Nature has not drawn a distinction between the jungle and the plains (the pampa, the *llanos,* and the *sertão*). At the level of representation, however, these two different physical environments denote separate fields of signification, from which writers draw contrasting ideological conclusions. This, indirectly, brings us to the question of gender in the regionalist and the magic realist novels, for it is along gender lines, as well as ethnicity and class, that the parameters of these two fields of signification are set. Although a full discussion on the gendering of American Nature in the regionalist and the magic realist novels would take us beyond the scope of this thesis, it would be interesting to note at this point the predilection for the plains over the jungle in regionalist texts. This, I will argue, obeys the perceived identification of the plains with male attributes and sexuality, neatly expressed by the narrator in *Don Segundo Sombra*, in his description of the cowboy's work:

> "Había empezado mi trabajo y con él un gran orgullo: orgullo de dar cumplimiento al más macho de los oficios".[287]

The plains, as a field of signification in the regionalist novel, therefore, are associated with patriarchal values and with *machismo*, but also with *mestizos* (and to a lesser extent Mulattoes), as opposed to Native or Afro-Americans.[288] The open plains in novels such as Rivera's, Gallegos' and Güiraldes' represent, hence, a half-way stage of "semi-barbarism"[289] between the effete "European" cities (with their "blando y soporoso ambiente ciudadano")[290] and the "barbaric" jungle, monstrously fertile (and, therefore, feminine)[291] realm of unconquered Indigenous peoples and Blacks, which becomes a dark and menacing *vorágine* or vortex (note the feminine gendering of the word in Spanish) ready, like Gallego's Doña Bárbara, to "devour men".[292]

In *Los pasos perdidos* which, as argued before, attempts a revision of *La Vorágine* (see p. 46), Carpentier adopts Rivera's gendering of the plains and the jungle. The latter becomes the original (female) source of life and authenticity and the protagonist's voyage an (unsuccessful) attempt to return to the womb. The plains (described as the "Land of the Horse"), on the other hand, are an unequivocally male domain: "En las Tierras del Caballo parecía que el hombre fuera más hombre",[293] declares unabashedly the narrator, echoeing Güiraldes' *Don Segundo Sombra*. He then goes on to compare the man from the plains with a stallion: "Una misteriosa solidaridad se establecía entre el animal de testículos bien colgados, que penetraba sus hembras más hondamente que ningún otro, y el hombre".[294]

Despite these examples of *machismo*, the ideological and political shift that distinguishes magic realist from regionalist novels, is evident in the positive treatment given to the jungle in *Los pasos perdidos*. As argued above, the jungle's gendering is a function of its fertility[295] (the plains, in contrast, are sometimes referred to in regionalist novels as "the desert"), a quality which Carpentier celebrates, for it frustrates the projects of the urban elites:

> "había como un polen maligno en el aire… que se ponía a actuar, de pronto, con misteriosos designios, para abrir lo cerrado y cerrar lo abierto, embrollar los cálculos, trastocar el peso de los objetos, malear lo garantizado. Una mañana, las ampolletas de suero de un hospital amanecían llenas de hongos; los aparatos de precisión se desajustaban; ciertos licores empezaban a burbujear dentro de las botellas; el Rubens del Museo Nacional era mordido por un parásito desconocido que desafiaba los ácidos…"[296]

Both the regionalist and the magic realist novel thus identify Nature with Woman, as the figures of Gallegos' Doña Bárbara[297] and Carpentier's Rosario,[298] illustrate. The ideological sign of this identification, however, marks again the difference between regionalism and magic realism, for in the latter this identification obeys a perceived solidarity between ethnic, class and gender forms of resistance. This is made explicit by Carpentier in *El siglo de las luces*, where the jungle offers refuge to the Africans and Afro-Americans escaping the re-introduction of slavery in the French colony of Guiana:

> "Y eran cien, doscientos, seguidos de sus mujeres cargadas de niños, quienes se internaban en junglas y arcabucos, en busca del lugar donde podrían fundar palenques… Más allá de aquel torrente, de aquella montaña vestida de cascadas, empezaría el Africa nuevamente; se regresaría a los idiomas olvidados, a los ritos de circuncisión, a la adoración de los Dioses Primeros, anteriores a los Dioses recientes del Cristianismo. Cerrábase la maleza sobre hombres que remontaban el curso de la Historia, para alcanzar los tiempos en que la Creación fuese regida por la Venus Fecunda, de grandes ubres y ancho vientre, adorada en cavernas profundas…"[299]

As in Asturias' *Hombres de maíz*, in Carpentier's novel cultural resistance and the discourse of the Revenge of Nature are reconciled when the (female) jungle unites its forces with those of the Native Americans and Blacks who defend their freedom against Víctor Hugues' legionnaires: "Muchos de ellos, asaeteados por los indios, mondados por los machetes de los negros, eran traídos en parihuelas".[300] Víctor Hughes, who embodies the discourse of the Conquest of Nature ("Venceré la naturaleza de esta tierra -decía-. Levantaré estatuas y columnatas, trazaré caminos, abriré estanques de truchas, hasta donde alcanza la vista"),[301] is finally defeated by the jungle ("Se puede pelear con los hombres. No se puede pelear con los árboles",[302] he exclaims, in words which echo those of Rivera's Arturo Cova (see pp. 42-43), to Sofía's obvious satisfaction,[303] for her sympathies, significantly, are with American Nature:

> "Sofía deploraba que Víctor gastara tantas energías en el vano intento de crear, en esta selva entera, ininterrumpida hasta las fuentes del Amazonas, acaso hasta las costas del Pacífico, un ambicioso remedo de parque real cuyas estatuas y rotondas serían sorbidas por la maleza en el primer descuido, sirviendo de muletas, de cebo, a las incontables vegetaciones entregadas a la perpetua tarea de desajustar las piedras, dividir las murallas, fracturar mausoleos y aniquilar lo construído. Quería el Hombre manifestar su presencia ínfima en una extensión de verdores que era, de Océano a Océano, como una imagen de la eternidad".[304]

From its very beginnings, the question of the gendering of Nature in Latin American literature has related to Nature's fertility as a function of female sexuality. As Peter Hulme has pointed out, the discourse of America's exploration and colonization is also a discourse of sexuality.[305] Drawing on Hulme's work, Jon Stratton argues that

> "As the land itself is constructed as the excessive object of desire, as female, so the female inhabitants of the land are reintroduced as the problematic trace of that desire. The best example of this is the topos of an Amazon society: a society of women. This topos, drawn from classical Greece,... is introduced into modern European mythology in Columbus's diary. In the idea of the Amazon the articulation of America as female finds its metaphorical embodiment... In the Amazon myth we find one important attempt to find a solution to the problem of how to think the female

inhabitants of an Other constituted as female. They are people gendered as female but acting as men."[306]

This process is seen operating in that most famous Amazon of Latin American Literature, *Doña Bárbara*.[307] It conforms, furthermore, to the idea of American Nature as Other: monstrous, grotesque, excessive. In *Daimón*, Abel Posse takes the myth of the Amazons and turns it upside down by presenting, not the legendary women warriors, but the European conquistadors as sexually aberrant.[308] This subversion of the myths of the "Discovery" and their replacement by new myths illustrates the anti-colonial ideology behind the Latin American magic realist novel and its attempt to create a new Latin American identity.

William Rowe and Vivian Schelling point out the central role of women in the formation and transmission of colonial magic, a body of beliefs that combined popular European, African and Native American magical and religious practices:

> "Women adapted black and indigenous religion to practical uses and invented new ritual practices. Magic responded to a lack of mechanisms for mediating relationships in colonial society: Spanish women for instance were supplied with herbs by blacks, and with drugs by Indians.[309]

Magic realist novels tap into this tradition, portraying women protagonists who use magical or supernatural powers and/or their secret knowledge of medicinal herbs in order to triumph against the restrictions imposed by the patriarchal societies in which they live. This is particularly the case in texts by women writers such as Allende's *La casa de los espíritus*, Laura Esquivel's *Como agua para chocolate* (1989), and Gioconda Belli's *Sofía de los presagios* (1990). Although the theme itself is not new, as Gallegos' *Doña Bárbara* demonstrates,[310] the sympathetic treatment is. In Esquivel's and Belli's novels, furthermore, magic and wisdom are associated with indigenous women (personified by John's grandmother, "Luz del amanecer",[311] in the former, and Xintal, in the latter), while *La casa de los espíritus* is, in this respect, atypical among magic realist novels on account of its negative view of Indigenous cultures.[312]

Magic realist fiction, hence, restored magic back to its rightful place as a strategy of resistance for women, at least within written literature, for historically it never lost that central position.[313] Even before then, bourgeois women could still see Nature as their "own" realm. In María Luisa Bombal's short story "El árbol", for example, Nature offers the protagonist, a woman called Brígida, a secret refuge from an unhappy marriage to her husband Luis:

> "… cuando su dolor se condensaba hasta herirla como un puntazo, cuando la asediaba un deseo demasiado imperioso de despertar a Luis para pegarle o acariciarlo, se escurría de puntillas hacia el cuarto de vestir y abría la ventana. El cuarto se llenaba instantáneamente de discretos ruidos y discretas presencias, de pisadas misteriosas, de aleteos, de sutiles chasquidos vegetales, del dulce gemido de un grillo escondido bajo la corteza del gomero sumido en las estrellas de una calurosa noche estival."[314]

Nature, symbolised by the tree, is a nurturing presence that gives Brígida the strength she needs in order to resist any external attempts to irrupt into her own world. Nature here, nevertheless, provides women with little more than a place to hide.[315] This "special relationship" with Nature might give solace and reassurance to women but this is an essentially empty gesture of impotence, like Rebeca's eating of earth in *Cien años de soledad*.[316]

In contrast, Rosario Ferré's magic realist story "La muñeca menor", typically portrays Nature not as a contained, gentle and tame entity but as threatening, monstrous and grotesque. Through magic and ritual (the making of the dolls by the old Aunt), women can call upon this force in order to subvert and overthrow a dominant order that destroys their individuality and relegates them to the passive role of dolls. Latent female sexuality finds its expression in the monstrous and overflowing fertility of Nature, which is capable of corrupting and corroding the rigid hierarchies of society. Interestingly, the figure of the old Aunt coincides with that of the female shaman and her experiences when young are a form of magical communion with Nature:

> "La cabeza metida en el reverbero negro de las rocas, había creído escuchar, revolcados con el sonido del agua, los estallidos del salitre sobre la playa y pensó que sus cabellos habían llegado por fin a desembocar en el mar".[317]

This identification with the river, which recalls both Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*, and the fate of Gaspar Ilóm in *Hombres de maíz*, led to an internalization of Nature (literally, in the form of the crustacean that became lodged in her leg). The old Aunt is a truly grotesque character, in the original sense of the word: she combines human, animal and vegetable characteristics (her leg smelled of ripe guanábana[318]). This monstrous leg (a counterpart to Mackandal's maimed arm) confirms her "Otherness", which together with story-telling and dream-revelations, are further characteristics of the shaman.[319]

In "La muñeca menor", as in *El reino de este mundo, Hombres de maíz* and *Los ríos profundos*, metamorphosis is a strategy to defeat the dominant order. The Aunt's dolls are a patent symbol of the future of the married girls as wives in a society dominated by patriarchal values. As magical objects, however, the dolls offer the girls a way to escape from their captivity through metamorphosis, as the words of the Aunt indicate: "Aquí tienes tu Pascua de Resurreccion".[320]

Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus* has been described as "essentially the story of women's emergence in contemporary Latin American society".[321] The class and ethnic dimensions of the story of feminism in Latin America relate to the fact that middle-class women as a rule

> "do not bear the burden of domestic work by themselves... This cushion made feminism's political proposal into a statement without repercussions in the lives of women who could be receptive to it, namely middle-class women. Counting on family

> help or maids, these women did not live through the process of rebellion and confrontation as did their European and North American sisters. Because of their class background, many of these feminists stayed trapped in a contradiction".[322]

This contradiction is not lost in Allende's novel, as demonstrated by Clara's views of her mother's activities as an early suffragette:

> "A pesar de su corta edad y su completa ignorancia de las cosas del mundo, Clara… describía en sus cuadernos el contraste entre su madre y sus amigas, con abrigos de piel y botas de gamuza, hablando de opresión, de igualdad y de derechos, a un grupo triste y resignado de trabajadoras, con sus toscos delantales de dril y las manos rojas por los sabañones".[323]

As commented above, however, Allende's novel, unlike Belli's and Esquivel's, presents a negative view of Native American cultures. In this context, it is in two novels by male writers -Asturias' *Hombres de maíz* and Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*- that the principles of ethnic, class and gender solidarity are most successfully combined, in the powerful figures of María Tecún and Doña Felipa. The depiction of Indigenous women as resistance leaders in these novels is to be favourably contrasted with the negative portrayal of Indigenous women as passive victims in previous Latin American novels. In this way, magic realist texts offer a recognition of the crucial role Indigenous women have played (and continue to play) in Latin American history.

To conclude, in this chapter I have analysed some of the literary, historical and ideological characteristics of the magic realist novel in Latin America and its particular approach to the question of cultural identity. From this examination it appears that at the basis of the magic realist cultural project stands a discourse which attempts to subvert the founding myths of colonial and post-colonial domination. This, I will argue, is the cornerstone of the ideology behind the Latin American magic realist novel. This discussion owes much to Bakhtin's ideas of popular culture and the grotesque in literature as an embodiment of an ideology opposed to the dominant culture. I will argue, however, that in the case of magic realist literature in Latin America there is also a material (economic as well as political) basis for this opposition. Before doing this, however, it will be necessary to discuss the concepts of hegemony, popular culture and cultural resistance in the context of magic realism.

PART 2. TOWARDS A HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL READING OF THE LATIN AMERICAN MAGIC REALIST NOVEL.

CHAPTER 3. COUNTER-HEGEMONY, CULTURAL RESISTANCE AND POPULAR CULTURE: THREE CRITICAL CONCEPTS FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF MAGIC REALISM IN LATIN AMERICA.

"... a luta pela libertação é, antes de tudo, um ato cultural." (Amílcar Cabral)

"Nuestro destino es la lucha más que la contemplación." (José Carlos Mariátegui)

At the reading of a paper on magic realism in Latin American literature I was once asked whether the reason why magic realism was such a popular genre among the European and North American reading public was because it offered a confirmation of these audiences' prejudices against Latin America. Magic realism, the argument went, presents Latin Americans as naïve children who believe in wonders and are delighted by magic. It is, moreover, a form of escapism, for it offers a world of fantasy that obscures the real social and political problems of the continent.

This contention poses a series of important questions that I have set to answer in this thesis. At the time, I had the feeling that the questioner was somehow misreading ("mythreading" as Gerald Martin has it)324 magic realism, and somehow missing the point. The arguments wielded demand, nevertheless, careful consideration. The problem with such readings, as William Rowe and Vivian Schelling point out, is that they separate magic realism from its sources in popular culture and, as a result, tend to dehistoricize it.325 The answer, then, is to look at magic realist fiction in its historical and social contexts. While the previous chapter attempted to do that, a crucial element was missing in its exploration of the ideology at the basis of the magic realist cultural discourse. That element is popular culture. As I will argue in this chapter, a reading of the Latin American magic realist novel has to take into account the elements of popular culture that give magic realism its dynamism and vitality.

This chapter, furthermore, will explore the concepts of hegemony, counter-hegemony and cultural resistance which will provide the critical tools necessary for an assessment of magic realist texts and the context in which they were produced, and will serve as a first step towards a historical and political reading of the Latin American magic realist novel.

Before doing that, it is necessary to counter the allegations of magic realist literature being "infantile". This view, in fact, refers to the Western notion of childhood as a "magical" state, which is lost to the adult after innocence has been lost. The consequence of these ideas is that for the Western adult, only children and "primitives" (who are in a permanent state of childhood or "primeval innocence"), believe in magic. These ideas are, in turn, linked to the colonial myths of the "Lost Paradise" (Arcadia), and by extension, to that of the "Noble

Savage". In Western thinking not only are "primitives" supposed to be "child-like"; children are often seen as "primitives", as in William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* (1954). Both groups are seen as close to Nature and "uncontaminated" by rational thought and, for that reason, still living in a "Golden Age" of humanity. Since both children and "primitives" are supposed to have a "magical" view of the world, it follows that all literature that contains a magical view of things should be reserved for children. There is, as a result, an infantilization of the non-realist narrative modes in much of European literature, particularly in English Literature, and magic realism has suffered accordingly.

As I argued in the previous chapter, one of the characteristics of magic realist fiction in Latin America is its close links with cultural expressions from Native and Afro-American cultures. It is in this context that the supposed "childishness" of magic realist novels should be considered. This can be seen by contrasting European novels about "magical" experiences in childhood, like Alain-Fournier's *Le Grand Meaulnes* (1913) which presents a particular sensibility to Nature from the point of view of a child or an adolescent; with Latin American magic realist novels such as José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos* (1958), where this sensibility towards Nature is not seen as the product of an individual child's imagination, but as a reflection of the system of beliefs and meanings of a particular culture.

The protagonist of *Los ríos profundos* is a 14-year-old boy, Ernesto, who finds himself constantly separated from his father because of the latter's work as an itinerant lawyer. Far from his father, with whom he has a very close relationship, Ernesto creates a closed world of his own. For him all objects and creatures are alive and imbued with the same spirit that animates the lives of human beings. Some of them, however, by virtue of their beauty or other extraordinary qualities, have magical properties and can become guardians or protectors. Ernesto's pantheistic views are not simply the product of his individual imagination or of "escapist" desires, but a reflection of his identification with the cultural world of the Quechua-speaking Indigenous peoples with whom he has always lived. His sentiments, in fact, are shared by other characters in the novel such as his father, and his friends Antero, Palacitos and Romero.

The view that magic realist novels represent Latin Americans as children owes much to readings of *Cien años de soledad*. This novel's "innocent, fairy-tale beginning has the transparency of the great works of childhood, like *Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels* or *Treasure Island*. Almost anyone can understand it. And yet this remarkable book, despite its limpidity, is also one of the most deceptive and impenetrable works of contemporary literature, a worthy successor to those other children's works for adults, *Don Quixote, Gargantua and Pantagruel, Tristram Shandy* and *Alice through the Looking Glass*".326 In this context, critics of *Cien años de soledad*, and of magic realist fiction in general, who see them as examples of infantilism or escapism, fall into the same superficial analysis that Bakhtin noted in respect of the work of Rabelais: seeing it as either "purely negative satire" (and, therefore, derivative and "unoriginal"), or else as "gay, fanciful, recreational drollery deprived of philosophic content".327

The problem here seems to rest on the novel's "subtle ambiguities", which "make it almost as possible for readers to despise or sympathize with its Latin American characters as it would be in life outside the novel".328 In this sense, the negative traits that García Márquez' novel supposedly associates with Latin America and its inhabitants, on one hand, and its alleged escapism, on the other, are more a function of the readers' attitudes and prejudices than of the novel itself. This, in the concrete case of the accusation of escapism, has to do with the conviction that magic is somehow not a "serious" subject for literature. This coincides with the view, prevalent in the discourse of the Latin American ruling classes, that magic (and other popular beliefs) should be equated with ignorance, backwardness and superstition.

This brings us to the question of **hegemony** to which I will now turn. The concept of hegemony is taken from Marxist theory, especially from the work of Antonio Gramsci, and refers to the notion of political predominance as articulated through ideological practices. It is in this sense an integral part of class rule, which finds an expression not only through political and economic relationships and institutions but through active forms of experience and consciousness. In the words of Raymond Williams, hegemony includes, as one of its key features, "a particular way of seeing the world and human nature and relationships". These ways of seeing the world "are not just intellectual but political facts, expressed over a range from institutions to relationships and consciousness".329

As Williams points out, hegemony, as a critical concept, goes beyond the related concept of "ideology", which in the Marxist sense refers to an articulated system of meanings, values and beliefs which express a particular class interest.330 Hegemony depends for its hold not only on its expression of the interests of a ruling class (a "class-outlook") but also on its acceptance as "normal reality" or "commonsense" by those in practice subordinated to it:

> "Hegemony is then not only the articulate upper level of 'ideology', nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as 'manipulation' or 'indoctrination'. It is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living... It is a lived system of meanings and values -constitutive and constituting- which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society..."331

Hegemony can be -and in fact is- articulated through discursive practices such as writing, but also through material ones such as social organizations and institutions. It cannot, for this reason, be simply reduced to "discourse". According to Gramsci, a revolution could not be simply achieved by the transfer of political or economic power from one class to another, but had to involve the overthrow of the hegemony of the dominant class:

> "Together with the problem of gaining political and economic power, the proletariat must also face the problem of winning intellectual power".332

The importance of Gramsci's work rests on its emphasis on cultural, as well as political and economic factors in social change or continuity. It challenges the economic determinism of orthodox interpretations of Marxism which argued that changes in the economic base would be followed automatically by changes in the political and cultural superstructure. Gramsci's ideas on hegemony are critical of the belief that new economic institutions and relationships necessarily create new experiences and consciousness, a belief which, in practice, has been proved wrong by the socialist experience of Russia and Eastern Europe.

For Gramsci the struggle for hegemony is a crucial factor in radical change of any kind, including many kinds of change in the base. The struggle for power between classes, therefore, is fought as much on the cultural as on the political or economic spheres. Class rule is made possible by hegemony. The culture of the dominant class achieves hegemony when it is accepted as the "world-view" of society as a whole. The hegemonic culture, however, is constantly being challenged by counter-hegemonic forces within the cultures of subordinate groups. Hegemony continually has to be "renewed, recreated, defended and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own."333 In order to overthrow the hegemony of the dominant class the subordinate groups must create an **alternative hegemony**: a new predominant practice and consciousness.

The concept of hegemony in Gramsci is complex and contains some ambiguities due to the fragmented nature of his work, which, as is known, was carried out in very difficult circumstances. A major limitation to the application of hegemony to the analysis of Latin American societies stems from the dependent character of capitalism in these societies. A further limitation of hegemony as a concept334 arises from its origins in a European context and relates to its emphasis on consent obtained through non-violent means, which is of particular relevance to societies where electoral politics and public opinion are crucial factors in public life. Its relevance as a tool for analysis is then somehow diminished in situations where class domination rests largely on the violent repression of the subordinate groups.335 Hegemonic rule, however, is never totally absent under these conditions, nor are counter-hegemonic struggles completely superseded by armed resistance. A different concept, nevertheless, is necessary to account for the coexistence in the same situation of hegemonic rule and military oppression and resistance to them. In a number of Latin American countries, furthermore, class struggles are compounded by the presence in society of distinctive ethnic groups with a culture which differs, in many respects, from that of the dominant groups.

In this context, ethnic groups such as the Indigenous and the Afro-Latin Americans have maintained their cultural distinctiveness, despite centuries of oppression and physical destruction, while at the same time forming part of the socio-economic and political structures of Latin American countries (I will return to the issues of economic dependence and internal colonialism in the next chapter). For this reason, it becomes necessary to resort to another critical concept which accounts for the persistence of these separate cultures to these days: that of **cultural resistance**.

For the purposes of this thesis, cultural resistance is a set of cultural practices carried out by the subordinate groups which aim at subverting or replacing the hegemonic order, and which form part of a strategy to resist domination. This strategy may include also other forms of resistance such as military, political, ideological, religious and economic. Cultural resistance is, then, the opposite to cultural assimilation.

The notion of cultural forms of resistance within the Indigenous cultures of Latin America was first developed in a systematic way by José Carlos Mariátegui in the 1920s and was part of the debate on the organization of mass political action in Peru that took place between Mariátegui's Peruvian Socialist Party, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre's Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (Apra), and the Comintern. Mariátegui's view was that Indigenous culture had to play an important part in the socialist transformation of Peru through Indigenous forms of communal organization such as the *ayllus* and the *comunidades indígenas* which he saw as existing forms of primitive communism.336 This contrasted with Apra's populism and with the brand of orthodox communism advanced by the Comintern, which saw the Indigenous peoples of Peru as helpless victims of a feudalist system, and whose situation could only be improved by a bourgeois revolution which would integrate them into the cultural and political life of the nation (in other words, assimilation).

Parallel to the debates about political organization in Peru, another debate was taking place at the literary level between the "Indianist" and the "Indigenist" novels. This debate, which took place not only in Peru but also in Ecuador and Bolivia during the 1930s and 1940s, both drew from and contributed to the political discussion. Mariátegui's thought, for instance, had an important impact on writers such as José María Arguedas.337 Conversely, novels like Jorge Icaza's *Huasipungo* (1934) and Ciro Alegría's *El mundo es ancho y ajeno* (1941) could well have affected later patterns of land legislation in Ecuador and Peru, respectively.338 A similar coincidence between revolutionary social change and a positive re-appraisal of Indigenous peoples took place in Mexico, where the theorists of the Revolution "attributed a new role to the Indian in the history and destiny of Latin America".339

As I have defined it, cultural resistance is a set of cultural **practices**. These practices form an alternative symbolic system with a set of moral values different from those of the hegemonic culture.340 Subordinate groups, however, also create **institutions** to uphold these values. These institutions form a model of economic, social and political organization which is, in many ways, opposed to integration in the world capitalist system and to the kind of modernization identified with economic development along capitalist lines. It is, therefore, possible to speak of **cultures of resistance**, that is, forms of organization developed by subordinate groups which challenge the cultural, economic, political and military domination of the hegemonic groups. Examples of cultures of resistance in Latin America range from those which have successfully challenged the military supremacy of the colonial and postcolonial regimes, to those which have challenged their economic or ideological basis.

Among the former, there is a long history of military resistance to the European colonialists, first by the Indigenous peoples of America, and then by the Africans and Afro-Americans who escaped from slavery.341 Some Indigenous peoples such as the Mapuche remained unconquered until late in the colonial period and their social, political and economic structures offered resistance to and challenged the European colonial authorities, sometimes threatening their very existence.342 The same can be said of the periodic rebellions by Indigenous peoples throughout Latin America that began with the arrival of Columbus to the Caribbean and which have continued to this day, as the latest Maya rebellion in Chiapas very vividly demonstrates.343 Among the Africans and Afro-Americans, some succeeded in building social, political and economic formations of varying complexity and permanence which shared the same territory as the colonial and postcolonial regimes, but were essentially independent from them. These are known as *quilombos* in Brazil, *palenques* in Cuba, *free villages* in Jamaica and *bush societies* in Guyana.344 It is important to emphasize in both the Afro- and the Native American cases that military resistance and rebellions against colonial and postcolonial rule were accompanied by proposals for, and in some cases actual alternative models of social and economic organization,345 some based on a continuation of or a return to African or pre-Hispanic Indigenous models, and others based on an appropriation and reformulation of colonial institutions.

Parallel to these instances of armed resistance against the hegemonic culture, there have also been challenges to its political, economic and ideological basis. In the political sphere, the survival to this day in Mesoamerica, the Andean region and Paraguay of structures of power and authority based on the patron saint festivities (the *cargos* and the *cofradías*), for example, are further examples of cultural resistance, as are non-capitalist economic practices such as communal land use (*ejidos, ayllus*) and labour (*coumbite, mita*). I will return to these in the next chapter.

It is necessary to point out, however, that resistance is a relative, and not an absolute concept. Cultural practices are complex signifying systems whose meanings are constantly being recreated, reworked, reformulated and reinterpreted. Resistance and conformity are not intrinsic qualities of cultural phenomena but different facets of the political processes that take place simultaneously within, and around, them. In the words of Gramsci:

> "What exists at each new turn is a varying combination of the old and the new, creating a momentary equilibrium of cultural relationships corresponding to the equilibrium in social relationships".346

It is, therefore, inaccurate to assume that all the expressions of the cultures of subordinate groups are necessarily always counter-hegemonic, as this obscures the mechanisms by which the dominant groups achieve and maintain cultural hegemony. It entails, also, a particular ideological and political position, as William Rowe and Vivian Schelling point out:

> "To place the relationships between dominant power and the popular inside a vocabulary of conformity versus resistance entails simplification and distortion of the issues. To say that something is resistant is often part of a political agenda".347

It is precisely the "political agenda" of magic realism which concerns this thesis, particularly the way in which Latin American writers emphasize in their writings the hegemonic or counter-hegemonic elements present in the cultures of subordinate groups. In practice, resistance and conformity can occur simultaneously within certain expressions of popular culture. The issue here is not if popular culture conforms to or resists the hegemony of the dominant culture but, rather, what aspects of popular culture are perceived by novelists as offering cultural resistance, and the ways in which they appropriate them and with what aims.

This can be seen in novels such as Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*, where magical thought provides a coherent system of meaning and an alternative interpretation of the world, which can be used to resist the dominant culture. This idea of magic as a weapon of cultural resistance is also present in Manuel Scorza's *Garabombo el Invisible* (1977), where the protagonist, a peasant leader, becomes invisible in order to triumph over the oppressors of the people. Similarly, in Miguel Angel Asturias' *Hombres de maíz* and in Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, the Maya *cacique* Gaspar Ilóm and Mackandal, the leader of the slaves, are capable of transforming themselves into animals in order to escape from their enemies. These ideas have been central also to the philosophy of those groups in Africa and Asia which made use of magical practices as a weapon in the anti-colonial struggle, such as the Mau-Mau in Kenya and the "Boxers" in China. This serves as further evidence of the anti-colonial ideology that operates within magic realist discourse.

At this point it is necessary to make an important distinction between two different uses of the term "cultural resistance". Rowe and Schelling, for example, use it loosely to refer both to the permanence or continuity over time of certain cultural practices belonging to subordinate groups348 (what I will call cultural "persistence"), and to the oppositional content of those practices vis-a-vis the hegemony of the dominant class (what I will call cultural "resistance"). This distinction is important in order to avoid confusion since the two terms refer to very different aspects of the cultural practices of subordinate groups.

The existence of dances of African origin in the Caribbean and Brazil today, to give an example, is an instance of cultural persistence. In order for them to be an example of cultural resistance, however, they would have to be endowed with a counter-hegemonic content which subverts the dominant order. As symbolic systems of meaning, then, they would have to be made to signify opposition to the dominant culture or even constitute themselves as alternatives to it. If, on the other hand, they were to be taken away from their social setting and performed solely for the entertainment of, say, tourists, their subversive content would have been deactivated and they would have become part of the hegemonic culture.349 There is necessarily an element of political confrontation implied in the term "cultural resistance", an active will to challenge the dominant culture. This may or may not be present in "cultural

persistence", which simply describes the continuity of a cultural practice in time. This is not to deny that in practice cultural persistence is, in many cases, the product of cultural resistance in the sense that these cultural practices would have disappeared without the groups concerned actively protecting them. However often these concepts coincide empirically, nevertheless, it is necessary, I would argue, to maintain them separate at the theoretical level.

There is one last point to be made before moving on to the concept of popular culture. The notion of cultural resistance has been used primarily in the context of power relations between ethnic groups.350 It is possible to use it, nevertheless, also in the context of class and gender relations, and this is how I will use it from now on. In fact, given the overlapping of social categories based on ethnicity, class and gender in Latin America, it makes sense not to restrict the concept to any one of these dimensions. Some examples of cultural resistance involving class and/or gender are the politicized *folhetos* (pamphlets) linked to the steelworkers' trade union in Brazil,351 the *arpilleras* (patchwork pictures) made by working class women in Chile,352 and the initiatives of the *sindicato de culinarias* (women food-vendors' union) in Bolivia.353

The main problem encountered when searching for a definition of **popular culture**354 arises from the polysemic nature of both linguistic elements that make up the expression. Of "culture", I have already indicated that it is a notoriously difficult concept (see Introduction). I will return to it at the end of this chapter. The word "popular", on the other hand, is compounded by the fact that it carries at least two senses, the original one of "belonging to the people", as well as that of "widely favoured" and "well-liked by many people". Both senses loosely correspond to two main disciplinary frameworks used to study popular culture: the first is associated with the idea of **folklore**; the second with that of **mass culture**.355

The notion of folklore appeared at a particular moment of European history,356 and belongs to a complex set of responses to the new industrial and urban societies.357 It was a systematic attempt to study the stories, poetry, beliefs, customs, songs, dances, rituals and proverbs of pre-industrial and pre-urban cultures at a time when their disappearance was accelerating in Western Europe. It incorporated, from the beginning, the idea of preservation of the past, also present in the word "lore", which nonetheless had, for the first time, important "connotations of seriousness":358

> "*Lore*... had originally been used in a range of meanings from teaching and education to learning and scholarship, but especially from the eighteenth century it was becoming specialized to the past, with the associated senses of 'traditional' or 'legendary'".359

"Folk", on the other hand, referred both to people in general and to the idea of the nation and their collective spirit (*Volksgeist*) as in the work of Herder and the Grimm brothers:

> "the notion of *Volksgeist* arose from a Romantic response to the Enlightenment. In opposition to the analytical and generalizing categories of the scientific systems of the Enlightenment, it emphasized identity, in terms of the organic growth of national cultures as territorially specific ways of life. At the same time, it was associated with an idea of community (*Gemeinschaft*) represented by peasant life, in opposition to industrial society and the culture of the learned."360

In the Latin American context, the idea of folklore, with its emotional appeal to the "collective spirit of the people", was linked to the questions of national identity and nationalism. In this process, it became appropriated by the State and became part of the hegemonic discourse of the ruling elites:

> "Folklore was 'discovered' in Latin America early in the twentieth century, when modernizing states were seeking ways to achieve partial integration of those rural populations which a weak capitalist economy could not fully incorporate".361

Rowe and Schelling argue that the term "folklore" "has a built-in backdating tendency, implying a museum made by others in a territory which is not that of the producers".362 This presupposes a distancing in time and space of a cultural practice from its context. Moreover, folklorization involves not only the decontextualization of popular culture but its appropriation by the hegemonic order, in the form of populism:

> "The aesthetic aspect is highlighted to the detriment of the practical and the symbolic, giving a superficial impression of similarity between products of different regions. When difference disappears in this way, the popular is made to appear as a single thing rather than a multiplicity. This notion that there is one popular culture is a mark of populism: the long-lasting appeal of folklore in Mexico, Argentina and Brazil needs to be understood, therefore, in connection with the persistence of populism as a force".363

It is in the context of the manipulation of popular culture by populism364 that socio-cultural phenomena such as the Gaucho novel in Argentina and State support for football in Brazil,365 have to be understood. As discussed in the previous chapter, post-Independence *criollo* literature represented a search for cultural identity. In this search the *criollos* resorted to images and practices associated with folklore, as the example of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico shows. The cult of the Virgin was a popular religious practice, overwhelmingly Indigenous in nature, which was part of a series of religious movements which at the beginning of the XVII Century "buscaron darle un sentido indígena a los dioses, a los santos y a las ceremonias del conquistador"366. The process by which the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe was later appropriated by the *criollo* elite in order to create a nationalist icon, as Enrique Florescano shows, was the result of the work of a criollo theologian named Miguel Sánchez who gathered and integrated a dispersed and varied oral tradition and produced a new myth which served as a founding stone for criollo nationalism:

> "La creación de una literatura dedicada a fundamentar las apariciones de la virgen de Guadalupe fue obra de una generación de sacerdotes y letrados criollos obsesionados por el sentimiento de darle raíces e identidad a los nacidos en Nueva España. Este movimiento espiritual se manifestó como una pulsión poderosa, como un sentimiento de afirmación de un sector social desarraigado que carecía de lugar y de identidad precisas en la nueva sociedad que se había formado en el territorio novohispano".367

The *criollos*' attempts to appropriate the image of the Virgin for their own hegemonic purposes found a strong opposition on the part of popular groups:

> "Los criollos, persistirían en su empeño por apropiarse de la guadalupana, tratando de distanciarla a la vez de los españoles y de los indios, pero la Guadalupe no se separaría ya del indígena ni de los sectores populares, su culto se extendería por todo México, particularmente entre los pueblos indígenas".368

The fact that the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe has been used as a symbol of cultural resistance by various counter-hegemonic groups such as Emiliano Zapata's peasant guerrillas, in the past, and Chicano youth gangs in the United States, in the present, shows the complex mechanisms by which images from popular culture become battlefields where competing groups fight over the imposition of meaning. The same process of appropriation and expropriation of images, practices, themes and myths from popular culture, I will argue, is at the base of the magic realist ideological project, the outlines of which were drawn in the previous chapter.

The example of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico shows how the appropriation of folklore by the hegemonic culture can be opposed by subordinate groups through cultural resistance. As William Rowe and Vivian Schelling point out, historically the hegemonic cultures in Latin America have met with two main obstacles. The first is the heterogeneity of Latin American societies which challenges the idea of a unitary nation. The second is the fact that

> "in some regions (such as the Andean) the cultures referred to as folkloric have upheld their own alternative ideas of nationhood and have been capable of challenging the official state. In these circumstances, the idea of folklore breaks down, since the phenomena it refers to challenge the legitimacy of the society voicing the idea itself."369

There is, however, another understanding of folklore: one which is built precisely around these "alternative ideas" which challenge the hegemonic order. This oppositional concept of folklore is based on Gramsci's argument that

> "Folklore should (...) be studied as a 'conception of the world and life' implicit to a large extent in determinate (in time and space) strata of society and in opposition (also

for the most part implicit, mechanical and objective) to 'official' conceptions of the world (or in a broader sense, the conceptions of the cultured parts of historically determinate societies) that have succeeded one another in the historical process. (Hence the strict relationship between folklore and 'common sense', which is philosophical folklore)."370

There are, then, two extremes of usage of the term: "on the one hand, folklore is seen as a kind of bank where authenticity is safely stored; on the other, it is a way of referring to contemporary cultures which articulate alternatives to existing power structures".371 The definition of popular culture I will use for the purposes of this thesis will be based on this latter understanding, which is also the one used by Latin American students of popular culture such as Paulo de Carvalho-Neto,372 and Celso Lara Figueroa.373 My definition, moreover, will also come close to the idea of **traditional cultures**, to which I will return below.

At this point, I would like to reinsert in the discussion the other disciplinary framework for the study of popular culture that I mentioned above, namely, mass culture. The negative view of mass culture as capitalist manipulation of a passive audience through ideology (class-based distortion), which was advanced by the theorists of the Frankfurt School, especially Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer,374 had a profound impact on many influential analyses of the mass media in Latin America in the 1970s, such as those by Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart.375 Mass media, however, are practices and institutions subject, like all others, to competing processes of signification by different social groups. They are spaces, sites, where political and cultural struggles take place. From a political point of view, therefore, the crucial factors are, firstly, control and access, and secondly, the technological and economic changes brought about by the media themselves.

The latter are no less important than the former. The media have been vital to the consolidation of a unified national identity (and a single national market),376 a prerequisite for the formation of a capitalist nation state. This is an ongoing process in Latin America where mass media such as newspapers, radio, cinema and television all play an important role. Media, nevertheless, can convey a counter-hegemonic message as much as a hegemonic one, as Rowe and Schelling show in their study of "alternative media" in Latin America. This is the case of popular radio stations set up in the peripheral areas of Latin American cities such as Lima and Sao Paulo.377

For the purposes of my discussion on popular culture, however, the site of reception of the media is, in fact, more important than the media themselves, for as Rowe and Schelling point out:

"The mass media in Latin America enter societies in which the secularization of popular memory is only partial; societies shaped by the mixing, or *mestizaje*, of modern Western and traditional native and African groups whose magical beliefs and practices continue to be part of everyday life. The majority of television viewers in

> Latin America at the beginning of the 1990s, although they are exposed to the mass imaginary of television, nevertheless continue to participate in symbolic systems which combine pre-capitalist and capitalist worlds. Magic may not figure in television programmes, but it does in the site at which they are received".378

This brings us to the question of **tradition** and traditional cultures, implied in the definition of popular culture that I will be using throughout this work. Tradition is usually understood as a "relatively inert, historicized segment of a social structure: tradition as the surviving past".379 It is applied in this sense to non-industrial and non-modern cultures such as the peasant and Indigenous cultures (not the same thing) of Latin America. The view of tradition as static, inert and unchanging is symptomatic of a view that sees industrialization and the accompanying cultural and social changes brought about by capitalist development as the only possible way forward from the pre-industrial and pre-modern stage traditional societies are supposed to be at. The very notions of "pre-industrial" and "pre-modern" imply a logical and ineluctable progression from one stage to another. This vision of tradition being implacably superseded by modernity is shared both by those who welcome it, as well as by those who, based on the utopian and nostalgic view of tradition which arose with Romanticism, lament its supposed disappearance.

This view, which sees modernity as being incompatible with tradition, ignores, on one hand, the possibility of traditional cultures being capable of producing a modernity of their own, different, in many respects, from that of the metropolis; and on the other, the fact that the traditional and the modern worlds are not separate, and that many people in Latin America live in both at once.380 Tradition, meaning "recourse to precedent, however close in time",381 is in fact an active and dynamic cultural force which is constantly being challenged from both the inside and the outside, and which is shaped by hegemony:

> "tradition is in practice the most evident expression of the dominant and hegemonic pressures and limits. It is always more than an inert historicized segment; indeed it is the most powerful practical means of incorporation. What we have to see is not just 'a tradition' but a *selective tradition*: an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification".382

It is possible, indeed necessary, to speak of the creation of tradition. For instance, the appropriation of elements of Western dress, such as bowler hats among the Quechua and Aymara women of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru, or the incorporation of the African *marimba* (xylophone) by the Maya of Guatemala and Mexico, to take but two examples, can be seen as operative examples of the selective process that takes place in the formation of tradition:

> "From a whole possible area of past and present, in a particular culture, certain meanings and practices are selected for emphasis and certain other meanings and practices are neglected or excluded. Yet, within a particular hegemony, and as one of

its decisive processes, this selection is presented and usually successfully passed off as 'the tradition'".383

The pre-Hispanic cultural elements present in contemporary Indigenous cultures, equally, should be seen as part of this active process of creative selection and renegotiation of meaning and not as inert practices that somehow have survived untouched until the present:

> "What has to be said about any tradition is that it is in this sense an aspect of *contemporary* social and cultural organization, in the interest of the dominance of a specific class. It is a version of the past which is intended to connect with and ratify the present. What it offers in practice is a sense of predisposed continuity."384

In this sense of tradition, the modern is not conceived as the opposite of the traditional. Rather, modernity can be seen as being itself a tradition. The critique of the supposed contradiction between magic and science in magic realist texts illustrates the fact that behind this opposition there is a political and an ideological problem. Instead of seeing magic and science as incompatible, magic realism presents them as alternative epistemological systems. The same can be said of history and myth and of tradition and modernity. Instead of seeing them as inherently contradictory, magic realism sees the contradiction as one between different myths of history and between different traditions, upheld by competing social groups. By regarding science as magic and history as myth, magic realism challenges and subverts the basic assumptions of the hegemonic culture.

This can be observed in texts such as Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo* and Miguel Angel Asturias' *Hombres de maíz*. Carpentier's novel shows how beneath the European colonialists' veneer of rationality there is a powerful substratum of superstition and magical beliefs,385 while Asturias' text contrasts "las supersticiones idealistas del folklore católico con las creencias materialistas y los ritos de transformación" of the Maya.386 This last novel, moreover, emphasizes the collective processes behind popular culture:

> "Uno cree inventar muchas veces lo que otros han olvidado. Cuando uno cuenta lo que ya no se cuenta, dice uno, yo lo inventé, es mío. Pero lo que uno efectivamente está haciendo es recordar; vos recordaste en tu borrachera lo que la memoria de tus antepasados dejó en tu sangre... y si no hubieras sido vos, hubiera sido otro, pero alguien la hubiera contado pa que no por olvidada, se perdiera del todo, porque su existencia, ficticia o real, forma parte de la vida, de la naturaleza de estos lugares, y la vida no puede perderse, es un riesgo eterno, pero eternamente no se pierde".387

At this point, before I finally conclude my discussion on popular culture, I would like to return briefly to the idea of "culture". Raymond Williams recognizes three broad active categories of modern usage of the word: (i) a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, (ii) a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or

humanity in general, and (iii) the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity.388

Culture (i) is best understood in the sense of cultivation and education (speaking, generally, of an individual person). This sense does not directly relate to my discussion on popular culture as a social phenomenon and will be overlooked for this reason. The other two categories of usage, however, need to be analysed in some detail in relation to popular culture. Gramsci's understanding of culture ("a conception of the world and life") comes closest to sense (ii). Folklore is also explained by Gramsci in these terms (see above). Strictly speaking, therefore, folklore, in the Gramscian sense, is a conception of the world implicit in those groups which articulate alternatives to the domination of the hegemonic groups. In other words, folklore is a project for an alternative hegemony.

This idea of folklore will form the basis of the definition of popular culture I will be using from now on. The term "folklore", nevertheless, will be discarded in favour of that of "popular culture", for in the actual usage "folklore" is perceived as implying distance: temporal distance, as in folklore as the preservation of the past; or cultural distance, as in folklore as the culture of the Other.389 The term "popular culture", on the other hand, denotes a social setting: the "popular" (however defined) has a social identity and occupies a position within contemporary society. The main difficulty with the concept of the popular is, of course, setting its boundaries: what is the popular? who are "the people"? In order not to fall into an all-encompassing populist conception of "the people" it is necessary, therefore, to tackle the issues of class and ethnic relations, as I will now proceed to do.

Culture (ii) in Williams' categories of usage, is also related to the anthropological notion of "cultures" as the specific and variable ways of life of different groups or societies in different parts of the world at different times. In the Latin American context this would apply to the cultures of the different ethnic groups that make up the populations of each country. Ethnicity on its own, however, can be a misleading concept, especially in countries where racial mixing and cultural exchange have taken place on a vast scale over a very long period of time. It is important for this reason to add social and economic class to the ethnic picture and include the cultures of different social and economic groups within each country. The result is a concept of popular culture as the culture of the popular classes, defined in terms of ethnicity and/or class. Popular culture, therefore, embraces peasant, urban working-class, Indigenous and Afro-Latin American cultures, as well as those areas where they overlap.390

Culture (iii) refers to intellectual and artistic production and here it is important to make a distinction in popular culture between material production (pottery, weaving, food, patchwork, woodcarving, etc.) and the production of signifying or symbolic systems (music, dances, carnivals, magical beliefs, oral narratives, etc.). For the purposes of this discussion, I will concentrate on the latter, as they pertain more to the idea of cultural resistance (see above) than the former. (By this I do not wish to imply, needless to say, any hierarchy of values

between them). Finally, the notion of tradition, in the active and dynamic sense delineated above, will have to be incorporated in a working definition of popular culture.

The outlines of this definition have now been drawn, using the notions of folklore and tradition, duly stripped of their reactionary and backdating connotations. Since this is not a study of Latin American popular culture but of its relationship with "high" culture,391 and more specifically, between the counter-hegemonic characteristics of popular culture and a particular type of fiction, namely magic realism, I have purposely left out the question of mass culture. The latter, though of great interest in its own right and necessary to any comprehensive discussion of modern Latin American popular culture, is only of marginal importance to this study which will, instead, concentrate on the role of the more traditional aspects of popular culture in the novels selected.392 Popular culture, from now on, will be understood here in the sense of a selective tradition393 comprising practices and institutions associated with the subordinate classes, defined in terms of ethnicity and class, and more specifically peasant, urban working-class, Indigenous and Afro-Latin American cultures. This definition, which would doubtlessly be incomplete in a study of the work of writers such as Manuel Puig, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, Mario Vargas Llosa or Luis Rafael Sánchez, on account of its exclusion of mass culture, will, nevertheless, serve for the purposes of this work.

Having offered a working definition of popular culture for the purposes of this thesis, and after examining, in the previous chapter, some of the literary, historical and ideological characteristics of the Latin American magic realist novel, I will now put forward the proposition that magic realist texts reveal a particular ideological stance expressed in a discourse of cultural resistance which, in turn, derives its strength from the counter-hegemonic aspects of popular culture. This is constitutive of the cultural project behind magic realism. The precise configurations of this project will become apparent after the discussions that follow in the next two chapters. Here it would be useful to consider how this project, as illustrated by novels such as *Hombres de maíz, Macunaíma, El reino de este mundo, Los ríos profundos, Cien años de soledad* and *Daimón*, operates at the textual level.

This can be facilitated by comparing the use of popular culture in magic realist novels with texts that do not share their ideological stance in respect to popular culture. A case in point here would be *Lituma en los Andes* (1993), a novel by Mario Vargas Llosa which has as its protagonist a character from *La casa verde* (1966). Like the earlier *La guerra del fin del mundo* (1981), which retells the story of Antonio Conselheiro and Canudos (see p. 55), as well as other subsequent novels by the Peruvian writer and Presidential aspirant, *Lituma en los Andes* presents a profoundly disapproving view of popular culture,394 linking it with terrorist acts,395 with human sacrifices and even with cannibalism,396 by presenting an atmosphere of irrationality and terror where the supposedly "primitive" elements of Andean culture generate fanaticism and violence.

Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*, on the other hand, offers a totally different view of Peru's Andean culture. This, for example, is illustrated by the protagonist's love for popular

music: "sentíamos que a través de la música el mundo se nos acercaba de nuevo, otra vez feliz."397 In Ernesto's mother language, Quechua, the words "music" and "light" have the same roots, and for him both concepts are intimately linked:

> "Dentro de la concepción mágica de su universo, música y luz se convierten en una especie de sistema telegráfico. Considera su trompo, su *zumbayllu*, como poseedor de cualidades mágicas porque al bailar emite sonidos muy particulares y produce un halo de luz casi invisible. Música y luz 'se desprenden de su danza', y el trompo se convierte en receptor y portador de mensajes".398

The spinning top becomes a magic messenger between Ernesto and his father:

> "-Si lo hago bailar, y soplo su canto hacia la dirección de Chalhuanca, ¿llegaría hasta los oídos de mi padre? -pregunté al "Markask'a".
> -¡Llega, hermano! Para él no hay distancia. Enantes subió al sol. Es mentira que en el sol florezca el pisonay. ¡Creencias de los indios! El sol es un astro candente, ¿no es cierto? ¿Qué flor puede haber? Pero el canto no se quema ni se hiela. ¡Un *layk'a winku* con púa de naranjo, bien encordelado! Tú le hablas primero en uno de sus ojos, le das tu encargo, le orientas al camino, y después, cuando está cantando, soplas despacio hacia la dirección que quieres; y sigues dándole tu encargo. Y el *zumbayllu* canta al oído de quien te espera."399

This ritual is performed in order to achieve a magical communication between the protagonist and his father. The humming top, furthermore, symbolises the co-existence of the Andean and Hispanic cultures in Peru and the conflict between their respective magical beliefs and symbolic practices:

> "Empecé a encordelar el trompo. Se acercaron casi todos adonde yo estaba.
> -¡Un *winko*! -dijo Romero. Lo contempló más, y gritó:
> -¡*Layk'a*, por Diosito, *layk'a*! ¡No lo tires!
> Palacitos pudo llegar a mirar el trompo.
> -¿Quién dice *layk'a*? ¿Lo tenías en la capilla, cuando el Hermano nos echó la bendición?
> -Sí -le contesté.
> -¡Ya no es brujo entonces! ¡Ya está bendito! ¡Hazlo bailar, forastero! -exclamó Palacitos con energía.
> Sentí pena.
> -¿Ya no es *layk'a*? -le pregunté al "Añuco".
> Me miró, reflexionando.
> -Siempre ha de haber algo. ¡Tíralo!
> Lo arrojé con furia. El trompo bajó girando casi en línea recta. Cantaba por sus ojos, como si de los huecos negros un insecto extraño, nunca visto, silbara, picara en algún nervio profundo de nuestro pecho". 400

Popular culture for Arguedas is by definition eclectic and, like the *zumbayllu*, incorporates elements from various sources:

> "¡Qué *zumbayllu* tienes! -le repetí, entregándole el pequeño trompo-. En su alma hay de todo. Una linda niña, la más linda que existe; la fuerza del 'Candela'; mi recuerdo; lo que era *layk'a*; la bendición de la Virgen de la costa. ¡Y es *winko*! Lo harás bailar a solas".401

According to Arguedas, moreover, at the heart of Andean popular culture stands the topic of resistance, expressed in unambiguous tones by Ernesto' moving message to his father, transmitted by the *zumbayllu*:

> "Dile a mi padre que estoy resistiendo bien -dije-; aunque mi corazón se asusta, estoy resistiendo. Y le darás tu aire en la frente. Le cantarás para su alma".402

In this sense, the ritual use to which the spinning top (originally a non-Indigenous toy) is put represents, in fact, a form of cultural resistance to the dominant Hispanic culture, as Julio Ortega argues:

> "También el orden dominante puede decidir sobre el otro con su propia magia: entre el objeto "brujo" (el trompo híbrido) y la bendición católica (que imparte el Hermano) se produce una lucha de la información en dos distintos modelos... O sea, la colonización que el modelo dominante impone, a través de sus aparatos, extravía la naturaleza cultural de los objetos mágicos. No obstante, la lucha no cesa: la manifestación de sus términos es una de sus formas. Ante la duda de si el trompo es o no es brujo luego de la bendición, Romero protesta: "¡Algo ha de tener!"... Este pasaje es un programa sintético de esa cultura plural que el texto elabora: el objeto "mestizo", un objeto introducido en la cultura andina desde fuera, y colonizado por ella, es, en verdad, un instrumento proliferante (*winku*: marcado por su forma protuberante, no del todo redonda); esto es, un signo heterodoxo, capaz de significar una y otra cultura, incorporar datos de una y otra fuente; y confrontando incluso la fuerza de la otra cultura, capaz de reafirmarse en su marca diferencial".403

The spinning top, thus, becomes a "magical weapon" which can be opposed to the repression by the police following the rebellion of Doña Felipa in Abancay:

> "En el canto del *zumbayllu* le enviaré un mensaje a doña Felipa. ¡La llamaré! Que venga incendiando los cañaverales, de quebrada en quebrada, de banda a banda del río. ¡El Pachachaca la ayudará!".404

As the work of Arguedas shows, the use of magic and myth in magic realist works refers to a particular ideological stance which reflects both the world view and the demands

for change of those sections of Latin American society that find themselves subjected to oppression and discrimination. It signifies a real or a desired identification of the writer with those social groups. This can be seen as operating also in other magic realist novels:

> "...l'abolition de la chronologie ou la transformation du temps de l'histoire en une sorte de continuum, comme dans *Cien años de soledad*, prennent ici une dimension supplémentaire qui peut s'expliquer par le maintien ou le rétablissement du contact entre l'intellectuel latino-américain et son peuple. Les traditions indigènes et les mythes qui leur servent de support sont en effet toujours vivants. Le refus du matérialisme, incarné en l'espèce par le colonisateur nord-américain ou européen, ne se révèle pas incompatible avec la mise en exergue de valeurs bien réelles et contemporaines. Mieux, le recours au mythe -s'il permet, comme en Europe, de voir l'histoire à distance- sert aussi à édifier l'avenir et, le cas échéant, à soutenir un projet politique de gauche, voire d'inspiration marxiste".405

To recapitulate, in this chapter I proceeded to define cultural resistance as a set of cultural practices carried out by the subordinate groups which aim at subverting or replacing the hegemonic order, and which form part of a strategy to resist domination. The concept of hegemony, elaborated by Gramsci, was used to explain the dynamics of domination and subordination in the cultural domain, and more specifically within popular culture, which for the purposes of my argument I defined as peasant, urban working-class, Indigenous and Afro-Latin American cultures, and the areas where they overlap. I then concluded that there is an underlying theme of cultural resistance in the magic realist novel in Latin America which draws from the counter-hegemonic characteristics of popular culture. This discussion on critical concepts will serve as the basis for a historical and political reading of the Latin American magic realist novel which I will attempt to do in the next chapters, beginning with the next one where the political economy of magic realism is explored.

CHAPTER 4. THE CARNIVAL AND THE FIESTA: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MAGIC REALISM.

"Magic and life. We had the relation and the distribution of physical goods, moral goods and the goods of dignity.

(Oswald de Andrade, *Anthropophagite Manifesto*.)

Contemporary Latin American literature has been at times characterized as "carnivalesque". Although this adjective can have patronizing connotations of the supposedly "exuberant", "exotic" and "freakish" nature of Latin American fiction406 (the corollary being that this proves its alleged lack of seriousness and maturity, or even its "a-historicism"407), it is not at all inaccurate when used to describe a thematic preoccupation with some forms of popular culture, especially with the popular-festive408 and ritual aspects of the latter, such as the Carnival and the Fiesta. In this sense, the carnivalesque is an important theme of magic realist fiction.

In this chapter I will argue that the Carnival and the Fiesta, as major themes in magic realist fiction, correspond to ritual and festive aspects of popular culture such as the patron-saint Fiestas and Carnivals practiced by Indigenous and Afro-American societies in various parts of Latin America. These practices form part of a culture of resistance (see pp. 71-72), in that they provide not only an alternative symbolic system and a different set of moral values to that of the hegemonic culture,409 but represent a model of economic, social and political organization which is in many ways opposed to integration in the world capitalist system and to the kind of modernization identified with economic development along capitalist lines. Further still, I will argue that these aspects of popular culture are partially responsible for the cultural persistence of the groups associated with them.

The Afro-American and Indigenous carnivals, and the religious Fiestas celebrated by many Indigenous cultures, like many other manifestations of Native- and Afro-American popular culture, are often considered barbaric, backward, primitive, vulgar, tasteless or even "degenerate", by the culture of the hegemonic classes in Latin America.410 However, it was precisely the "excess" and "otherness" of these manifestations, as seen within a frame of reference based on Western European bourgeois experience -what Jean Franco has called "the drunken frenzied carnival of the poor"411- that many contemporary Latin American writers tried to reproduce in magic realist novels. Indeed, magic realism can be seen as part of a general trend in Latin American literature which manifests a thematic and formal

preoccupation with the strange, the uncanny and the grotesque, and with violence, deformity and exaggeration. In one word, with excess.412

The Carnival's intemperate consumption of food and drink is an expression of this. According to Bakhtin, the Carnival's excess is an expression of collective values:

> "It must be stressed that both labor and food were collective; the whole of society took part in them. Collective food as the conclusion of labor's collective process was not a biological, animal act but a social event".413

Bakhtin goes on to contrast banquet images in the popular-festive tradition with the images of private gluttony and drunkenness in early bourgeois literature:

> "The latter express the contentment and satiety of the selfish individual, his personal enjoyment, and not the triumph of the people as a whole. Such imagery is torn away from the process of labor and struggle; it is removed from the marketplace and is confined to the house and the private chamber (abundance in the home); it is no longer the 'banquet for all the world', in which all take part, but an intimate feast with hungry beggars at the door. If this picture of eating and drinking is hyperbolic, it is a picture of gluttony, not an expression of social justice".414

The carnivalesque,415 like the Grotesque, is a popular cultural form and as such is more concerned with collective meaning than with projections of private and individual subjectivities. It is, therefore, a "realistic" form in the sense that it is concerned with the (social) construction of reality, rather than with the psychology of (individual) characters:

> "The carnivalesque is an unreal, fictive, theatrical element within history and society (within discourse) that serves to give critical perspectives on social reality, on 'things as they are'."416

The relationship between the carnivalesque as a thematic characteristic of magic realism, on one hand, and festive-ritual manifestations of popular culture, on the other, is apparent in the use of Carnival and Fiesta motifs such as dances, costumes, music, songs, drinking, food, etc., in all the magic realist novels studied.417 Descriptions of festive-ritual practices, however, are not the only way in which magic realist texts deal with these elements of popular culture. As collective activities, the Carnival and the Fiesta include organizational structures and an ideological framework on which these structures are based. Magic realist texts celebrate the forms of organization behind these practices and the alternative socio-economic models of organization they are part of. Magic realist novels, in other words, reproduce the ideological and the organizational aspects of the celebrations, as well as the celebrations themselves. My contention -and this is the point where my reading of magic realism departs from a purely Bakhtian perspective- is that the Fiesta and the Carnival are not only symbolic systems of representation but also systems of social and political organization

which are ultimately based on non-capitalist forms of economic organization.418 These systems are reproduced in magic realist novels in what amounts to a "political economy" of magic realism.

These systems of organization, furthermore, obey an internal logic which is opposed to the hegemonic ideology which demands of subordinate individuals: "(t)rabajo, silencio, devoción", as described in José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*.419 Both the Fiesta and the Carnival are, hence, counter-hegemonic practices which can be potentially used as forms of cultural resistance. That this has been the case can be gathered from an exploration of their historical origins.

The origin of the patron-saint Fiestas goes back to the creation of the *comunidades indígenas* in the 16th Century, which arose from the colonial system of *encomiendas* and *repartimiento*. The setting up of *comunidades indígenas* by the colonial authorities followed the economic imperative of controlling the supply of Indigenous labour power, which together with that of the African slaves, constituted one of the most valuable commodities in America throughout the colonial period. During this period, the Spanish Crown's worries about the physical destruction of this commodity were expressed by the Spanish viceroys' regular complaint: "se están acabando los indios".420 Indeed, the impact of the European conquest on the native population of America had been devastating: warfare, slavery and diseases brought by the Europeans had wiped out the population of the Caribbean and reduced that of Mesoamerica and the Andes by probably 65% to 75% in the first half century after the conquest, in what was probably the worst demographic disaster in History.421

After the New Laws of 1542, slavery, in the case of Native Americans, was replaced by the *encomiendas* and *repartimiento*. This, however, did not stop their physical destruction, as witnessed by Bartolomé de las Casas:

> "Satan could not have invented any more effective pestilence with which to destroy the whole new world, to consume and kill off all its people and to depopulate it as such large and populous lands have been depopulated, than the inventions of the *repartimiento* and *encomiendas*... Because of the *encomiendas* and *repartimiento* there have perished in the space of forty-six years (and I was present) more than fifteen million souls without faith or sacraments, and more than three thousand leagues of land have been depopulated".422

Because of pressure from the Church and in order to prevent the continuing decimation of the Indigenous labour force, the Crown introduced a strict policy of segregation in accordance with the medieval idea of the existence of separate authorities or "republics" in the realm: *república de españoles* and *república de indios*. This concept of corporate bodies subject to the Crown legalized the status of Native Americans as free vassals of the Spanish King, while the latter's authority was reasserted over that of his representatives in America through the direct payment of tribute:

> "Debía... buscarse una forma de pago del tributo al Rey en forma directa por el indígena evitando la intermediación española que tendía a quitar los indios de sus pueblos y utilizarlos en propio beneficio".423

Spaniards and Indigenous peoples were to live in separate villages and towns, and the latter were to be governed by authorities of their own (the *cabildos*) and ruled, partly, according to their customs. In the Andean region, for example, "from the perspective of the indigenous population, the idea of 'two republics', which implied some kind of mutual recognition between colonizers and colonized, came to embody complex Andean territorial concepts, including not only physical space but legal or political domain -the political space for self-government".424 This is the origin of the *comunidad indígena* which, with some modifications, has survived until today in Latin American countries such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay and Peru.

Far from being tolerant or enlightened, this policy of segregation was the logical conclusion of transferring the hierarchical estate-based corporative society of late medieval Castile to the multi-ethnic colonial situation of Spanish America. Ethnic relations in this colonial situation were characterized by "ethnic discrimination, political dependence, social inferiority, residential segregation, economic subjection and juridical incapacity".425 Furthermore, the survival of the Indigenous peoples as the main source of a valuable economic resource (labour) was rightly identified as being linked to the protection of the *comunidades indígenas*. Indigenous villages still had to pay tribute and supply a share (*reparto*) of labourers for a determinate period. The limited amount of autonomy given to the *comunidades indígenas*, nevertheless, was welcomed by the Indigenous peoples:

> "Supplying their own ideologies and institutions to govern local affairs, Indian communities created adjunct economies, appropriate technologies, and cultural boundaries... If these spheres were unequal in power, at least communities maintained the prerogative to shape life within the limited spheres that they themselves controlled".426

This policy of spatial segregation was originally proposed by the Church, who wanted to protect the Indigenous peoples not only from violence and abuse but also from what it regarded as influences harmful to their morals and faith. The fact that the Native Americans saw it as a preferable alternative to the *repartimiento* and *encomiendas* made them more receptive to evangelization by the Church:

> "El respeto a las formas de estructuración política y de jerarquías internas de los indígenas constituyó otro elemento de importancia para la permeabilidad de las modalidades evangelizadoras de la Compañía de Jesús".427

At the same time, the Church would achieve a degree of control over the supply of labour power from which the haciendas and mines depended. This strengthened the hegemony it had achieved over colonial society through its monopoly of evangelization. Both these imperatives, economic and ideological, were combined, for instance, in the Utopian experiment that took place in the Guaraní Missions under the Jesuits.428 In fact, the demise of the Jesuitic Missions in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay, could reasonably be linked to their success in both the ideological and economic spheres. The fact that the Jesuits were not content simply with regulating the supply of Guaraní labour to the *haciendas* but instead allowed the missions to engage in productive activities of their own, threatened the hierarchical colonial order:

> "La relativa autonomía de la propuesta jesuítica en un contexto colonial fue siempre vista como un atentado a la verticalidad del poder del Estado o del aparato eclesiástico y por ende germinó la idea del "poder dentro del poder" que terminó destruyendo esta valiosa experiencia social y cultural americana."429

The violent suppression of all autarchic forms of organization which might offer an alternative to the dominant order has been a constant in Latin America since the European Conquest. It results from the view held by the dominant groups that the existence of models of social, political or economic organization which remain outside of the hegemonic mercantilist or dependent-capitalist economic systems constitute a grave danger to the survival of the dominant order. Hence the constant and fierce acts of warfare waged upon the last redoubts of Indigenous resistance to colonization and against the African and Afro-American free communities (*quilombos* or *palenques*) by the European colonial authorities and the governments of the independent republics. This despite the fact that on several occasions the authorities recognized these free territories as independent and sovereign entities in international treaties which, needless to say, were never respected. Even today, as I write, the Maya of Guatemala and Mexico, the Yanomami of Brazil and Venezuela and the Ashaninka of Peru,430 among others, continue to fight for their physical and cultural survival.

But while Indigenous and Afro-American communities have been forcibly incorporated into the dominant mercantilist and dependent-capitalist economic systems in the 500 years following the European conquest, they have not merely accepted their fate passively but have kept challenging the dominant groups in various ways. This resistance took political, military and cultural forms which were, in turn, supported by Native American or African models of economic organization based on collective forms of labour such as the *mita* of Bolivia and Peru, the *minga* of Ecuador431, or the *coumbite, corvée* and *escouade* of Haiti.432 In those areas where the Native American population was not completely wiped out, conquest resulted in the substitution of the Indigenous ruling class by the Spaniards. In some cases, individual members of the Indigenous aristocracy were absorbed into the new elite through marriage or the granting of Spanish nobility titles, such as that of *hidalgo* given to the *curacas* (Inca nobles) in Peru, which lasted until the Tupac Amaru rebellion of 1782. Most Native

Americans, however, regardless of their standing in their own socially-stratified societies, were reduced to the condition of peasants:

> "With the disappearance of the Indian political elite, there also vanished the specialists who had depended on elite demands: the priests, the chroniclers, the scribes, the artisans, the long-distance traders of pre-Hispanic society... Under the new dispensation, the Indian was to be a peasant, the Indian community a community of peasants".433

Although the break with pre-Hispanic traditions was never as complete as the previous quote would appear to indicate,434 it is true that a new cultural identity had to be forged within the boundaries set up by the colonial authorities. In some cases, the *comunidades indígenas* were composed by peoples of different ethnic groups who spoke different languages. Occasionally they even included non-Indigenous individuals such as Africans and Afro-Americans.435 In this context, the patron saint became an ideal figure of identification for the community and the festivities associated with the patron-saint served as a vehicle for the creation of a community-based cultural identity. The Church usually encouraged these expressions of what it deemed Christian piety, while often trying unsuccessfully to suppress those aspects of them which it regarded as idolatrous.

In the late 16th Century access to the *comunidades indígenas* in Spanish America was regulated by local intermediaries appointed by the Crown (the *Corregidores*). The ecclesiastical tutelage over the Indigenous peoples was made secular by the creation of the post of *Protector de naturales*. The colonial authorities thus controlled all economic exchange with the *comunidades indígenas*. In Peru, for example, "the Spanish Crown restructured the dwindling Andean and coastal Indian societies in order to guarantee and facilitate the continued collection of tribute payments and to regulate the flow of Indian labour to the mines. Under this new regime, the Crown protected the Indian communities from disintegration and their land base from alienation by the non-Indian landed class... This policy of isolating and protecting Indian communities endured with minor changes until Peru's independence".436

The Spanish colonial authorities in many cases endorsed Indigenous land rights by granting land titles to the *comunidades indígenas*. In Bolivia, "these titles (*nayra titulu* or *ch'ullpa titulu*), even though they fell within the framework of Spanish legal concepts, encapsulated and recreated the memory of ethnic identity. Both the sacred meaning of space as the ancestor shrines and tombs, as well as traditional territorial organization in discontinuous ecological zones, managed to filter through. After Independence, colonial land titles and the notion of legal rights embodied in the Leyes de Indias were used to defend indigenous territories against the voracity of large landowners. These two dimensions of the colonial experience remain part of indigenous identity today".437 The same segregationist policy pursued by the colonial authorities in Guatemala led to "a re-emergence of suppressed Maya traits, which slowly evolved into a smooth, overtly stable cultural pattern that persisted until the 1800s".438

By then, what appeared to be a dual economy had developed in most of Spanish America (Brazil's economy developed along a different path, as did, for that matter, that of Argentina): the Spaniards (including those born in America) lived mainly in the cities and towns and owned the *haciendas* and mines. The Native Americans lived in their own villages and cultivated their communal plots (known as *milpas*439 in Central America, *chacras* or *aynuqa*440 in the Andes and *ejidos*441 in most of the rest of Spanish America) for subsistence. "But although distinct spatially and culturally, those two societies formed a single one. The Spanish towns and plantations, or haciendas, depended on the Indian villages' tribute of foodstuffs and goods to supply the distant Crown and the local officials and priests. The villages also provided... the 'repartimiento' labor which tilled the Spaniards' plantations, built their towns, cleaned their streets and homes, spun their cloth, and hauled their goods. The Spaniards and the Indians developed in relation to, and in the context of, one another".442 This pattern of internal colonialism has continued, with some modifications, until the present day in those areas where the *comunidades indígenas* survived the onslaught of dependent-capitalist development in the 19th and 20th Centuries.

Liberal ideology played a central role in the independence movements of the Latin American republics in the early 19th Century. Its tenets (individualism, private property as the basis for citizenship, and social relationships based on exchange and competition between free, equal and autonomous individuals) went against the existence of corporate entities like the *comunidades indígenas*. Indeed, shortly after proclaiming the Independence of Peru, for example, José de San Martín declared the incorporation of Indigenous peoples into the new Peruvian state. Three years later, on 8 April 1824, Simón Bolívar abolished the Indigenous Community as a corporate body and distributed community lands as private property to each member:

> "These reforms initiated and legalized a century-long process of dismantling indigenous communities and of alienating indigenous lands. With the rise in demand for wool, cotton, and sugar in the European market at this time, a new kind of agricultural property, the latifundio, and a new system of agricultural exploitation based on modern capitalist principles arose in Peru. Once the state had imposed a regime of individual private property on the Indian population and revoked all legal protection for the community structure, local mestizos, criollo landlords, and foreign wool interests among others used every means at their disposal -indebtedness, mortgages, lawsuits, bribes- to alienate and accumulate Indian lands".443

This process of dismantling of closed corporate communities444 and alienation of their lands is described in Gabriel García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad.* The egalitarian and communal values of traditional corporate communities (Indigenous and peasant) are represented by the original village of Macondo where José Arcadio Buendía "había dispuesto de tal modo la posición de las casas, que desde todas podía llegarse al río y abastecerse de agua con igual esfuerzo, y trazó las calles con tan buen sentido que ninguna casa recibía más

sol que otra a la hora del calor"445. Later on, during Macondo's first liberal government (appropriately enough), José Arcadio Buendía's son, José Arcadio, violently usurps his peasant neighbours' lands:

> "... empezó arando su patio y había seguido derecho por las tierras contiguas, derribando cercas y arrasando ranchos con sus bueyes, hasta apoderarse por la fuerza de los mejores predios del contorno. A los campesinos que no había despojado, porque no le interesaban sus tierras, les impuso una contribución que cobraba cada sábado con los perros de presa y la escopeta de dos cañones".446

Macondo's liberal ruler, Arcadio (José Arcadio's son and José Arcadio Buendía's grandson), "(o)freció simplemente crear una oficina de registro de la propiedad para que José Arcadio legalizara los títulos de la tierra usurpada, con la condición de que delegara en el gobierno local el derecho de cobrar las contribuciones".447

During the post-Independence period Indigenous Communities throughout Latin America experienced pressures on their land from the national and international economies, and faced the social and political consequences of these pressures, namely racism, discrimination and exploitation. The struggle for ownership of the land led to the sacralization of the collective land titles448 which became symbols of communal identity.449 Faced with similar pressures, Indigenous Communities in different Independent Latin American countries responded with similar strategies of resistance to those used against the European colonizers, including armed uprisings such as the one led by Gaspar Ilóm in Guatemala, a historical figure which inspired Miguel Angel Asturias' *Hombres de maíz*; and cultural resistance. The latter, indeed, has been at the very base of a wider Indigenous strategy of resistance:

> "Indigenous peoples place culture at the center of political struggle, not as an end in itself, and not only as a refuge from oppression; they see culture as the vehicle by which economic and political self-determination can be achieved".450

With the dismantling of the *comunidades indígenas* the Indigenous peoples lost more than the titles to their lands. In *Los ríos profundos*, José María Arguedas points at the close relationship between the land and the collective memory, which forms the basis of the cultural identity of Indigenous peoples. Arguedas' work and life, according to Ariel Dorfman, are characterized by "una profunda solidaridad que resuena en el universo (en la naturaleza, en ciertos objetos labrados por los seres humanos, en personas, en comunidades privilegiadas)... Aunque el mundo bloquea la perpetuación de esos valores o los relega a la periferia, a la locura, a los territorios de la insurrección, Arguedas está convencido de que se genera siempre un núcleo liberador inextinguible".451 This "núcleo liberador" present in all of Arguedas' work, "se encarna resplandecientemente en ciertos estratos de la sociedad en forma magnífica, siendo, en Perú, los comuneros indios libres los que mejor representan como un colectivo la virtualidad social de esta tendencia".452 Arguedas' novel contrasts the members of the *comunidades indígenas*, the proud *comuneros*, who still retain their links to the land, with the

colonos (tenants) of Abancay, in Peru, who are regarded as dependent "del poder dominante semi-feudal, agrario, retrógrado,"453

Unlike the *comuneros*, whose direct relationship with the land is the basis of their cultural resistance, the landless *colonos* "han perdido su memoria..., no han podido conservar una identidad propia",454 as Ernesto, the protagonist, finds out:

> "Ya no escuchaban ni el lenguaje de los *ayllus*; les habían hecho perder la memoria; porque yo les hablé con las palabras y el tono de los comuneros, y me desconocieron".455

Cultural resistance took various forms, such as the strong defence of Indigenous languages and customs, and the upholding of Indigenous structures of social, political and economic organization. The patron-saint Fiesta is an expression of these structures and thus comes to represent the mechanisms by which cultural resistance operates in Indigenous societies. Indeed, as Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui argues, "native resistance... intimately linked the political and religious dimensions by joining the struggle for liberation to the defense of a symbolic order, a cultural world-view expressed in ancient rituals and customs".456

The Fiesta system is based on the cult and veneration of the village patron saint. This cult is organized by the *cofradías*, which are based on the original religious brotherhoods set up by the Spanish colonial authorities, which later developed into a political-religious Indigenous hierarchy. Authority is based on the social prestige obtained from the performance of offices or *cargos* (services to the community; literally, "burdens"), which traditionally include the financing of the celebrations of the patron saint (the Fiesta). The successful completion of a *cargo* allows an individual to climb the political-religious hierarchy, which includes posts such as *mayordomo* (hence the *cargos* are also known as *mayordomías*), *concejal* and *principal*. It usually results, and this is partly intended, in the economic ruin of the individual and family concerned.

By institutionalizing the "destruction" or "waste" of resources, the Fiesta system operates as a levelling mechanism which ensures the minimization of internal conflict within the Indigenous community, thus increasing its chances of survival. The logic behind the Fiesta as an economic system is, therefore, contrary to that of capitalist accumulation. In fact, historically the Fiesta system developed as an adaptation to the external pressures of the national and international economies on the *comunidades indígenas*. It is part of a "social structure and cultural pattern evolved to keep intact, at whatever low levels of economic performance, the core of the Indian Community".457

I will return to the social, political and economic forms of organization behind the Fiesta, and how they are reproduced in the "political economy" of magic realism, but before, I will deal with the related question of the Carnival. While acknowledging the fact that there are important differences between the various phenomena which come under the name of

Carnival in Latin America (they include such varied forms as the Bolivian *diabladas*, the Haitian *rara* and the Uruguayan *murgas*, for example), I will concentrate on the ideological and organizational similarities that nevertheless exist between them. There are, indeed, many similarities between the Indigenous (Andean and Mesoamerican) Carnivals and the Afro-American (Caribbean, Brazilian and early Uruguayan) Carnivals which point at a common origin in popular forms of European Catholicism which in turn derive, as is well known, from the Saturnalia and other ancient Roman and Greek ritual celebrations.458 There are, nevertheless, ritual-festive contemporary practices in Latin America which can be described as carnivalesque and whose origins are almost exclusively non-European, such as the Day of the Dead celebrations in Mexico, and the *rara* peasant bands which dance in the streets of Haitian towns and villages during Lent. Both these practices follow the Catholic calendar while being closely linked, originally, to non-Christian religious cults. The fact that there were Carnival-like rituals in West Africa which pre-dated the Christian influence, such as the *Apo* ceremony of the Ashanti,459 would appear to indicate perhaps the existence of a universal "pagan" practice of the Carnivalesque.

In the case of Latin America, however, one does not need to resort to any such universalist theories in order to explain the common features that can be found in the Indigenous and Afro-American forms of Carnival. There have been, in fact, numerous points of contact between Native Americans and Africans which have led to cultural exchanges. A case in point is the famous Carnival of Oruro, in Bolivia, where dancing groups called "Los morenos" and "Los negritos" were originally composed by Africans from Guinea brought as slaves by the Spaniards, and by Afro-Americans from the Yungas region, near La Paz, respectively.460

The "Indian", on the other hand, has always been a common theme in the Brazilian and Caribbean Carnivals.461 This follows an idealistic identification on the part of Afro-Americans with Native Americans462 as demonstrated, for example, by the fact that Haitians chose to change the name of the ex-colony of Saint Domingue back to its original Taino name of Ayti.463 A less idealistic identification is due, occasionally, to racial snobbery in countries with no surviving Indigenous populations such as the Dominican Republic and Haiti: "Numerous half-castes will insist that they are quite untouched by Negro blood, ascribing their ineradicable skin tone to the aboriginal Indians of Hispaniola".464

Despite the many actual differences between the various Latin American Carnivals, there are some fundamental characteristics that they all share which are, I would argue, constitutive of the counter-hegemonic ideology of the Carnivalesque as it is reproduced in magic realist texts. There is, firstly, a conscious attempt at (re)constructing an alternative "upside down world" in which the subordinate become the dominant and viceversa. This is often accompanied by satire and ridicule of the dominant order.465 This characteristic is eminently political. The second is economic or political-economic, namely the fact that the Carnival is at the heart of an economic levelling mechanism which discourages capital accumulation and, in that way, avoids internal tensions within the communities which practice it, ensuring "a high degree of social and economic homogeneity within the community (...).

When the levelling mechanism operates properly, the only socially relevant role distinctions are age, sex, community service, and access to the supernatural".466

This economic logic of the Carnival, which is the same as that behind the Fiesta, allows accumulated resources to be transformed into social prestige but only in those ways which receive the approval of the community. Since the criteria for conferring social prestige within these systems are opposed to the ones that operate in the dominant capitalist society, one can argue that the logic behind the Carnival and the Fiesta is, in fact, counter-hegemonic. This crucial concept, which recognizes the existence of relationships of dominance and subordination between different social and cultural groups, emphasizes the aspect of resistance inherent in popular culture and should not be confused with the view developed by Oscar Lewis467 of a "Culture of Poverty" which keeps individuals poor and dependent against their will.

The political character of the Carnival is obvious even if its effects on the different societies where it is celebrated are necessarily ambiguous. This is due to the complexity inherent to the Carnival as a socio-cultural practice combining functional and dysfunctional elements which coincide with hegemonic and counter-hegemonic positions:

> "El Carnaval... debe ser visto como un tiempo de fiesta forjadora de cohesión social, y mantenedora de tradiciones fundantes, pero, a la vez, como un lapso de transgresión, conciencia de la alternatividad y liberación de fantasía creativa... es momento de inversión del status social y de afirmación de idealidades utópicas, funcional o disfuncional para la dominación hegemónica, políticamente relevante, ideológicamente importante, económicamente influyente".468

The question whether the Carnival is in itself functional or dysfunctional to the dominant order will not be tackled directly, since my main concern here is not with the Carnival itself but with the Carnivalesque in magic realist literature, or rather with what I have argued are the latter's counter-hegemonic features. In other words, what follows is not an argument for the characterization of the Carnival as dysfunctional to the hegemonic order, but for the counter-hegemonic uses Latin American writers have made of the political-economic aspects of the Carnival and the Fiesta in magic realist novels. This is what constitutes the political economy of magic realism.

In this context, the question that concerns me, then, is not so much the functionality or otherwise of the Carnival and the Fiesta to the dominant order, but whether they can offer an alternative to it. This is where Gramsci's concept of hegemony becomes crucial in order to understand the dichotomy between the Carnival's conforming and resisting aspects. To argue that the Carnival and the Fiesta are counter-hegemonic practices does not mean to say that they are necessarily always dysfunctional to the dominant order. It means, rather, that by their existence they challenge it, by offering the possibility of imagining other forms of organization. In this sense, both the Carnival and the Fiesta have a utopian function. Whether they are used

by subordinate groups as a form of cultural resistance or whether they are appropriated by the dominant groups in order to defuse social tension, the Carnival and the Fiesta are examples of counter-hegemonic forms of political organization and, as such, have the potential to subvert the dominant order, regardless of whether this potential is fulfilled or not.

The Carnival is, therefore, an expression of alternativity. Symbolically it contemplates the possibility of an alternative society, while being in practice the expression of a real existing parallel structure with its own rules and hierarchy which are, for the most part, in conflict with the dominant society:

> "The carnival is the repeated affirmation of the possibility of alternative relations in the midst of order and control; it is the model for a society that is not slavishly determined by any one structure or conceived in terms of any one model or theory".469

As it was argued above, the Fiesta and the Carnival are part of a complex network which includes symbolic systems of representation and also systems of social and political organization which are reproduced in the political economy of magic realism. This refers to the counter-hegemonic non-capitalist forms of production inherent in the ritual and festive forms of popular culture which I have referred to as the Carnival and the Fiesta. In this context, Gustavo Rodríguez Ostria and Humberto Solares Serrano have argued, for example, that the *chicha* (an alcoholic drink usually made from fermented maize) forms the basis for an alternative economic and cultural system in Bolivia:

> "En los valles de Cochabamba maíz y chicha eran (son) componentes centrales no sólo de su economía sino también de todo un singular modo de vida. Podríamos decir que el territorio de los valles se estructuraba en torno a dos circunstancias: el maíz... organizando el espacio productivo y la chicha ocupándose de dar sentido cultural a un extenso conglomerado de ferias, pueblos, villas y ciudades".470

The *chicha*, as a cultural and economic product, is part of a wider system which touches upon all areas of Indigenous life, political, economic, cultural and symbolic. The same can be said of coca production and consumption. This "Andean Order of Things"471 includes forms of social and political organization such as the *ayllu*, which are in turn based on a particular system of economic production. At the distribution level, it includes communal markets, *ferias* and *chicherías* (places where *chicha* is consumed). The whole system is articulated at the symbolic level through a series of cultural practices which include the Carnival and the Fiesta. This alternative system, which has been more or less forcibly integrated into the capitalist system of production and consumption, provides, nevertheless, a space, a territory where counter-hegemonic forces are able to survive. According to Rodríguez and Solares, for example, the *chicherías* of Cochabamba in Bolivia, "promovían el derrumbe de los prejuicios sociales y recreaban una fugaz realidad de mundo al revés donde el alma popular vencía por un momento al modernismo europeizante... En este precario

'espacio democrático' se derrumbaba el sistema estamental oligárquico".472 This view of the *chicherías* as centres of cultural resistance, and of *chicha* forming the basis of a counter-hegemonic system, finds an echo in José María Arguedas' novel *Los ríos profundos*, where Doña Felipa, the leader of the uprising, is a *chichera* (*chicha*-seller).

There are, however, more critical views on the usefulness of the imaginary territories provided by the coca and the chicha and their consequences for political action, such as the one illustrated by these verses by Ernesto Cardenal:

> "a los reinos irreales de la coca
> o la chicha
> confinado ahora el Imperio Inca
> (sólo entonces son libres y alegres
> y hablan fuerte
> y existen otra vez en el Imperio Inca)."473

Even here, nevertheless, despite the ambivalent tone, there is the realization that there is an alternative space to be found in these practices, even if it is only an "unreal kingdom". This tension between the revolutionary and the escapist characteristics of popular cultures is also present in magic realist texts. In *Hombres de maíz*, alcoholic drink (*güaro, charamila, boj*) can, on one hand, provide Gaspar Ilóm with superior knowledge,474 while provoking, on the other, Goyo Yic's downfall.475 In *Los ríos profundos*, expressions of Andean popular culture such as Carnival music, dances and especially the *huaynos*, play an important part in the narrative. In the novel, music is associated with sadness and nostalgia but also with heroic forms of struggle against injustice and evil, as understood by Ernesto, the protagonist:

> "¿Quién puede ser capaz de señalar los límites que median entre lo heroico y el hielo de la gran tristeza? Con una música de éstas, puede el hombre llorar hasta consumirse, hasta desaparecer, pero podría igualmente luchar contra una legión de cóndores y de leones o contra los monstruos que se dicen habitan en el fondo de los lagos de altura y en las faldas llenas de sombras de las montañas. Yo me sentía mejor dispuesto a luchar contra el demonio mientras escuchaba este canto... yo iría contra él, seguro de vencerlo".476

Popular culture contains, therefore, the possibilities of conformity and resistance, which are the two possibilities open to those in subordinate positions. As Ariel Dorfman argues in his study of *Los ríos profundos*:

> "Los dominados tienen ante sí la opción de ser héroes o víctima, de sufrir o luchar, porque en su interior se tocan o yuxtaponen dimensiones contradictorias. La música y la naturaleza descubren y expresan esta mezcla inestable".477

Music and dance in *Los ríos profundos* are more than just an entrance to an "unreal kingdom". As cultural forms of communal organization they provide the space necessary for the values of human solidarity to appear and develop, while at the same time giving them an organized expression. As Dorfman argues, they are essential to the process of growing up, becoming an adult:

> "Crecer bien es hacer el aprendizaje de ese límite entre el hielo de la gran tristeza y lo heroico, es encontrar al lado del sufrimiento y adentro de él, en sus entrañas y costra y venas, la posibilidad de la alegría, de la lucha, del baile, que no es otra cosa que encontrar al otro ser humano, compañero, hermano, hermana".478

Dorfman's juxtaposition of the ideas of dance and struggle is very apt. In fact, in Arguedas' novel, dance is repeatedly associated with struggles for liberation: "Han danzado marchando las chicheras en busca de los colonos. Ha danzado Ernesto con su zumbayllu en el patio. Bailará el indio soldado la canción de doña Felipa que va de pie en boca en pie y de pueblo en pueblo recordándola, haciendo su hazaña un mito perdurable y animador".479 After dancing wearing Doña Felipa's shawl, furthermore, the Opa becomes liberated from her sexual degradation: "Doña Felipa: tu rebozo lo tiene la opa del colegio; bailando, bailando, ha subido la cuesta con tu castilla sobre el pecho. Y ya no ha ido de noche al patio oscuro".480

The idea of dance as struggle is also found in other magic realist novels such as Miguel Angel Asturias' *Hombres de maíz*, where the Maya *cacique* Gaspar Ilóm is thus characterized by the town's elders: "grande es su fuerza, grande es su danza",481 and Abel Posse's *Daimón*, where the people known as "the eternal dancers" reveal a different form of resistance which has some of the ambivalence of Cardenal's "unreal kingdoms" (see p. 191):

> "Internados ya en el territorio del Beni se encontraron ante un pueblo de cincuenta mil bailarines que girando y danzando con los ojos entrecerrados marchaban, misteriosamente guiados, hacia la Tierra sin Mal".482

The episode of the "eternal dancers" is reminiscent of the millenarian cults which appeared among various Indigenous peoples as a reaction to Christianity, modernity and colonialism. They were often linked to ritual dances as in the case of the "Takiy unquy" rebellion ("the dance of disease" in Quechua) in sixteenth century Bolivia483 and the Ghost Dance of the Teton Sioux in North America. Although primarily religious in orientation, the rejectionist political component of these practices should be seen as part of an anti-colonialist stance.484 The escapist elements inherent in these dances, however, are also made explicit by Posse when adding that "(l)a tierra sin Mal... sólo se abre a quien entre en la ebriedad del baile".485 When one of them is tortured (ostensibly to "rescue him", for he is an assimilated Spaniard), nevertheless, a passive but effective form of resistance is demonstrated:

> "Se zangoloteaba en la parrilla. A fuego tres (el máximo) se puso a cantar como si nada. Torres, el vocado para la santidad dijo: 'Ya es de la raza fuerte. Ya es de los que

cantan en el suplicio. Es inútil asustarlo: hace rato que está en su fin. Nada puede perder, nada puede hacerlo sufrir. Sólo goza'".486

In Arguedas' novel, in contrast, music and dance are not passive but active forms of cultural resistance, as illustrated by the carnival song of the *chicheras*' march.487 In the school at Abancay, moreover, the children listen to Romero's Carnival music and state: "Como para pelear es esta música".488 In another incident, the harpist known by Ernesto as Tayta or Papacha is thrown into jail for playing a song about the peasant leader Doña Felipa. Ernesto goes searching for him and asks (naïvely, as it turns out) if the harpist is crying (an action associated throughout the novel with humiliation and defeat). A guard answers: "No seas 'pavo'. ¡Qué va llorar!... Ha jodido sus manos más bien trompeando la pared".489

In magic realist novels popular culture provides a space which permits the transformation of cultural expressions such as music and dance into political action: "la conversión de la tristeza en lucha, del sufrimiento en esperanza", as Dorfman has it.490 Popular culture provides a "region of refuge"491 which allows those who participate in it to re-establish the lost links with the land and the community lost in the historical process described in Chapter 2. In *Los ríos profundos*, the soldier who dances Doña Felipa's song in the *chichería* (the site is important), "se libera de su condición de militar, se repliega hacia su origen y su ser indígena, baila contra sí mismo y contra sus compañeros de armas".492 As Dorfman points out: "Los soldados... descritos como 'gente sin madre, nacida del viento', recuperan la tierra a través de la música...".493

This region of refuge which popular culture can provide becomes particularly important in the case of the Africans in America, who also lost the relationship to the land after being forcibly removed from Africa. As described in Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, the sound of some musical instruments can lead, first of all, to the organization of cultural resistance:

> "... un tambor podía significar, en ciertos casos, algo más que una piel de chivo tensa sobre un tronco ahuecado. Los esclavos tenían, pues, una religión secreta que los alentaba y solidarizaba en sus rebeldías. A lo mejor, durante años y años, habían observado las prácticas de esa religión en sus mismas narices, hablándose con los tambores de calendas, sin que él lo sospechara",494

and secondly, to a military rebellion against the dominant order:

> "Muy lejos, había sonado una trompa de caracol. Lo que resultaba sorprendente, ahora, era que al lento mugido de esa concha respondían otros en los montes y en las selvas... Era como si todas las porcelanas de la costa, todos los lambíes indios, todos los abrojines que servían para sujetar las puertas, todos los caracoles que yacían, solitarios y petrificados, en el tope de los Moles, se hubieran puesto a cantar en coro. Súbitamente, otro guamo alzó la voz en el barracón principal de la hacienda. Otros,

más aflautados, respondieron desde la añilería, desde el secadero de tabaco, desde el establo. Monsieur Lenormand de Mezy, alarmado, se ocultó detrás de un macizo de buganvilias".495

The counter-hegemonic character of popular culture as expressed in magic realism, then, goes further than just providing the weapons to resist the dominant society. It can lead to its actual overthrow (as in Haiti), or to its partial replacement through the creation and defence of an alternative social order. Jorge Amado's novel *Tenda dos Milagres* (1969), for example, shows how Afro-Brazilian popular culture has developed forms of organization which offer an alternative to those of the dominant culture: The poor neighbourhood of Pelourinho in Bahia is described as a vast people's university where "the whole world teaches and learns".496 "Professors are to be found in every house, every store, every workshop".497 There are wood carvers and metal workers making sculptures of African gods as well as images of catholic saints, shops preparing traditional medicines and magic spells, capoeira academies and samba circles with composers, band leaders and choreographers, street entertainers and playwrights, makers of musical instruments, ex-voto painters, and so on. For Amado, all these expressions amount to a separate civilization which exists side by side with the official culture of the dominant groups. Indeed, Pelourinho is described as a "free territory".498

This idea finds a concrete historical expression in the Afro-American practices of *marronage* (in Haiti, and the rest of the Caribbean) as described in Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, and *quilombismo* (in Brazil) as mentioned by Abel Posse in *Daimón*.499 Abdias do Nascimento argues, as does Amado, that these practices were not only restricted to those areas outside the control of the plantation system, such as the famous *quilombo* of Palmarães in Brazil, but were to be found at the very core of the African experience in America, in the cultural practices of Afro-American communities in Brazil and elsewhere:

"O quilombismo se estruturava em formas associativas que tanto podiam estar localizadas no seio de florestas de difícil acesso que facilitava sua defesa e sua organização econômico-social própria, como também assumiram modelos de organizações permitidas ou toleradas, freqüentemente com ostensivas finalidades religiosas (católicas), recreativas, beneficentes, esportivas, culturais ou de auxílio mútuo. Não importam as aparências e os objetivos declarados: fundamentalmente todas elas preencheram uma importante função social para a comunidade negra, desempenhando um papel relevante na sustentação da continuidade africana. Genuínos focos de resistência física e cultural. Objetivamente, essa rede de associações, irmandades, confrarias, clubes, grêmios, terreiros, centros, tendas, afochés, escolas de samba, gafieiras foram e são os quilombos legalizados pela sociedade dominante... Porém tanto os permitidos quanto os 'ilegais' foram uma unidade, uma única afirmação humana, étnica e cultural, a um tempo integrando uma prática de libertação e assumindo o comando da própria história. A este complexo de significações, a esta praxis afro-brasileira, eu denomino de quilombismo".500

In Amado's novel the inhabitants of this free territory record their own history in both oral and written form. The Tent of Miracles of the title is owned by Master Lídio Corró on whose old press little pamphlets and leaflets are printed. Those who write them are described as "poets, pamphleteers, historians, chroniclers, and moralists. They report and comment on life in the city, setting to rhyme both real events and the equally astonishing stories they make up themselves (...). They offer protest and criticism, moral lessons and entertainment, and every so often they father a surprisingly good piece of verse".501 Popular culture, moreover, moves beyond the purely aesthetic or symbolic into the political by organizing the people and so helping them to develop alternative political institutions of their own: "The Tent of Miracles was a kind of Senate, a gathering place for the notables among the poor, a numerous and important assemblage."502

The practitioners of popular culture share the view that it constitutes a kind of alternative society with its own structures and mechanisms of social prestige. This is demonstrated by the titles, hierarchies and institutions which are used in the organization of popular culture which in many instances aim at reproducing those of the dominant society. In Haiti, for example, the *rara* or peasant bands which dance and play drums during Lent have a hierarchical structure parallel to that of the dominant society, with titles such as "Empereur", "Président", "Reine", "Général", "brigadier", "intendant", "Préfet", "soldat", etc.503

The role that popular culture, and especially Vodou, plays in the political life of Haiti indicates that these structures are seen by those who participate in them as a kind of government in waiting.504 This lends support to Gramsci's idea that popular culture represents a blueprint for an alternative social and economic order. Alejo Carpentier explores this idea in *El reino de este mundo* when Ti Noel, at the end of the novel, has a moment of lucidity: "volvió a ver a los héroes que le habían revelado la fuerza y la abundancia de sus lejanos antepasados del Africa, haciéndole creer en las posibles germinaciones del porvenir".505 Here Carpentier makes a remarkable political statement, presenting Haiti's African heritage, not as an atavistic remnant which will inevitably disappear, but as a revolutionary Utopian project for the future (the "possible germinations" that the future holds). After experiencing so many upheavals and sufferings, Ti Noel realizes that his hopes do not lie in the kingdom of heaven but in the "kingdom of this world", which is still waiting to be constructed. This Utopian vision is shared by other magic realist texts and is based on the belief that popular culture can be the basis of a new revolutionary programme for Latin America.

To return to the central argument outlined at the beginning of the Chapter, the Carnival and the patron-saint Fiestas are not only symbolic but also economic systems of production. They are, in a very real way, systems of production for destruction. The economic surplus produced by the community during most of the year is spent in a few days on celebrations which include dancing, abundant eating and drinking of alcohol (Bakhtin's "banquet for all the world", see p. 86), and the wearing of elaborate and expensive costumes. This loss of economic resources is the price that the community pays in order to minimize its

internal socio-economic contradictions.506 These systems operate within a non-capitalist system of rewards where the incentive is not economic gain but advancement within the social prestige system.

In the Afro-American Carnival, for example, a person will invest considerable sums in order to wear the most elaborate and striking costume he or she can afford. A costume which everybody admires confers great prestige on the person who wears it. In the Native American Carnivals and patron-saint Fiestas the person, family or group which finances the celebrations acquires great social standing in the community, even if it is at the expense of economic ruin. In this sense, these practices are obstacles to the economic advancement and prosperity of those individuals and families which engage in them, as they perpetuate their dependence on non-Indigenous store owners and money lenders. The Indigenous peoples, as José María Arguedas noted in his anthropological work, are themselves not unaware of this:

> "Cada indio parece convencido de que si los naturales renunciaran a la obligación de las mayordomías, la economía familiar se fortalecería, pero, al mismo tiempo, las fiestas, como medios de recreación y de dominio social de los naturales sobre la ciudad, durante las grandes fiestas que ellos sostienen, les satisfacen de tal manera que no se les ve realmente dispuestos a renunciar a ellas".507

This loss of economic resources is seen by the participants as the necessary price to pay in order to safeguard their cultural identity in what, in fact, amounts to a "cultural tax"508 which they are prepared to pay in order to continue being themselves. The Carnival and the Fiesta can be regarded, therefore, as "cultures of resistance".

Among the Maya, for instance, the person or persons who pay for the religious patron-saint festivities are seen, traditionally, as embodying the qualities of Maya culture, such as generosity and regard for the community, while those who behave in the opposite way -saving what they earn, accumulating capital and not sharing it with the community- are seen as selfish, a trait the Maya associate with Ladino (non-Indigenous) culture. Maya identity, therefore, is associated with participation in these practices while their rejection is equivalent to a rejection of Mayan values and assimilation into non-Indigenous society.509 In this sense, the religious patron-saint Fiestas are not only part of an economic system whose inner logic is Other (both in an economic and a cultural sense) than that of capitalism, but they are responsible for the continuous creation and preservation of cultural identities.

As argued above, magic realist novels incorporate the economic aspects of the Carnival and the Fiesta, as well as the most obvious symbolic ones. The concept of a "cultural tax" which Indigenous peoples have to pay in order to preserve their cultures is neatly expressed, for example, in Abel Posse's *Daimón*. At one point Aguirre, the protagonist, is initiated into the mysteries of communion with the universe by Huaman, a Quechua *amauta* (sage), who warns him: "Serás como nosotros: te arruinarás un poco pero habitarás lo

profundo."510 Economic ruin, in other words, is the price for inhabiting the inner depths of Indigenous culture.

The material basis for the different Native American Fiesta systems is the land. They are, in fact, closely linked to the collective patterns of land use and tenure associated with the *comunidades indígenas*. This material basis of Indigenous culture is a theme present in magic realist texts. In *Hombres de maíz*, for example, Miguel Angel Asturias contrasts the traditional non-capitalist system of production for consumption practiced by the Maya with the capitalist system of exchange values of Ladino society: "El maíz empobrece la tierra y no enriquece a ninguno. Ni al patrón ni al mediero. Sembrado para comer es sagrado sustento del hombre que fue hecho de maíz. Sembrado por negocio es hambre del hombre que fue hecho de maíz".511 The Maya, the "Men of maize", have, at the beginning of the novel, an intimately close relationship with the land, as indicated in this paragraph, which is full of overt symbolism:

> "El Gaspar Ilóm movía la cabeza de un lado a otro. Negar, moler la acusación del suelo en que estaba dormido con su petate, su sombra y su mujer y enterrado con sus muertos y su ombligo, sin poder deshacerse de una culebra de seiscientas mil vueltas de lodo, luna, bosques, aguaceros, montañas, pájaros y retumbos que sentía alrededor del cuerpo".512

From a Marxist point of view, Gerald Martin argues that Asturias' novel describes in detail how through the process of modernization the Maya became fully incorporated into the capitalist system and their culture desacralized as they were set 'free' from tradition and collective land ownership:

> "In each of the three phases -tribal, feudal/colonial and capitalist/neo-colonial- an Indian protagonist is defeated, loses his woman and, cut off from the earth and the maizefield, turns to drink and despair. Each is more alienated and distanced than his predecessor".513

The lost relationship to the land and the community is symbolised in the novel by the *tecunas*, or runaway wives.514 Cultural change, however, is a complex mechanism which involves not only the loss but also the creation and re-appropriation of practices and meanings. This is recognized in the novel itself, where the postman Nicho Aquino, despite his alienation, symbolized by the fact that

> "en él, la función económica ha anulado al hombre, y es por su eficacia y su 'devoción de perro', por lo que es apreciado en su comunidad",515

still retains some links with the Indigenous roots of his culture, as demonstrated by his ability to transform himself into a coyote (his *nahual*, see p. 59). Asturias' novel, in fact, describes the historical changes in the cultural identity of the Maya (and their material conditions) during

the period when Latin American governments, following the precepts of economic liberalism, sought to incorporate the *comunidades indígenas* into capitalist production.

The justification for this was to be found in the myth of economic progress, which masked the reality of economic dependency, just as in a previous era, mercantilism tried to justify the destruction of Native American societies and their economic practices on moral grounds (evangelization, the fight against human sacrifices and cannibalism) as well as on practical ones (production for consumption is "wasteful", the land belongs to "no one"). As Eduardo Galeano points out: "Al principio, el saqueo y el *otrocidio* fueron ejecutados en nombre del Dios de los cielos. Ahora se cumplen en nombre del dios del Progreso".516 In García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad*, the god of Progress arrives in Macondo in the shape of a familiar emblem: the train.517 Significantly, as Gerald Martin points out, the character who decides to bring the train to Macondo is Aureliano Triste, "the man who turned the magical ice into a commodity , which we can construe as representative of the impact of the embryonic local bourgeoisie".518 As in *Hombres de maíz*, the impact of economic liberalism in the closed corporate community is to break all links with the land and with tradition. Progress, symbolised by the yellow train, is also responsible for bringing "the multinational Banana Company, United States imperialism, and eventual disaster".519

Non-capitalist semi-autarchic systems such as the *comunidades indígenas* were not favourable to trade, which depends on the production of a surplus. Magic realist novels such as *Cien años de soledad, Hombres de maíz, Los ríos profundos* and *Daimón*, present this contradiction between production for consumption (use values) and production for exchange (exchange values). For capitalism, furthermore, the production of a surplus or excess was an essential part of the creation of the Other, both in an economic and a cultural sense:

> "In both mercantile capitalism and production capitalism it is the site of the Other at the periphery of presence, the colony and the factory, which provided the site of excessive production. In mercantile capitalism this was thought in terms of goods, metals or agricultural products, already present in the material world but now introduced into the system of redistribution. In production capitalism it was thought in terms of the capacity to produce, by means of labour, more manufactured goods and a potentially unlimited number of them. The Other, in this context then, determines the existence of the core, of Europe, but only at the moment when the Other has been made a part of the system: when it is the same, but different. This articulates the structuring of power between the core and the periphery."520

This structuring of power, which is based on relationships of dominance and subordination between the core and the periphery, forms the background to the magic realist texts studied here. The development of colonies as providers of raw materials under mercantile capitalism is explored in Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo* and Abel Posse's *Daimón*,521 while the effects of the irruption of dependent capitalism on corporate

communities is described in Asturias' *Hombres de maíz* and García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad*.

The Other, furthermore, as the site of production (the colony), is associated with productivity (fertility). In fact, excess is one of its constituent characteristics, for excessiveness is always a mark of Otherness (pp. 85-86). This is evident in the discourse of the Grotesque, which relates to the body's reproductive functions and, hence, to fertility. Productivity (fertility), on the other hand, makes the Other part of the system of economic exploitation:

> "The very Otherness of the periphery allows for the impossibility of contained representation. It is this difference, this excessiveness which makes the Other both a part of the system and external to it."522

Excess, as surplus, is also a feature of capitalism, in as much as the latter exploits Nature's fertility: "in mercantile capitalism excess is to be found in the limitless -but always already limited- productivity of Nature".523 The embodiment of this productivity (fertility) of Nature is gold: "in the first moment of exploration the fantasy was of the earth itself as productive. The trope of this figure was the search for gold."524 This search is described in Abel Posse's *Daimón*:

> "Señor, estamos todos de acuerdo, en Cartagena se vio claro: oro es la palabra! Oro y más oro. Cumplir con el objetivo de la Jornada, dar con el Dorado! Dar tormento a muertos y vivos, pero oro, el oro del Dorado".525

Gold as a symbol of fertility is, therefore, associated with the productive and fertile Other. In Antonio Elio Brailovsky's magic realist novel *Esta maldita lujuria* (1992), this idea takes a sexually violent character, when the narrator hears a story about plants on which gold grows. He then fantasizes about obtaining a seed from one of these plants:

> "La llevaría conmigo y después la metería por entre las piernas de una mujer hermosa para fecundarla con oro. Aunque no quisiera, yo la violaría y le dejaría adentro esa semilla(...). Pasarían las semanas y el vientre se le iría abultando hasta hacérsele tan pesado que no podría caminar, y ella nutriendo esa semilla de oro que crecería en su interior, en el oscuro guardainfante de la hembra, un oro húmedo y sangriento cuyos latidos podrían sentirse al crecer, con la regularidad de un reloj. Así pasaría un tiempo desconocido, en el que quizá los dos envejeciéramos escuchando esos latidos, y finalmente ella daría a luz una estatua de oro".526

Excess, which is associated with the Other, is a source of desire, but also of fear. This conflict between fear of and desire for the Other is at the root of the "colonial anxiety" identified by Peter Hulme,527 and is evident from the very beginning of the European colonial experience in America:

> "Gold was deeply inscribed in the practice of exploration. It is linked, in the structuring complex of desire, with the Amazons. Columbus understood that 'Of the island of Martinino, the Indian said that it was entirely peopled by women without men, and that in it there is very much, 'tuob', which is gold or copper, and that it is farther to the east of Carib'".528

This sentence from Christopher Columbus' *Journal* expresses, in a very succinct way, the interconnection between all the main components of that mythical meta-narrative known as the "Discovery of America" (see Chapter 2): an island (the site, once again, is important), Amazons ("women without men"), language (Columbus translates an Indigenous word), gold, and Cannibals (the island of "Carib"). "The *Journal* is a wonderfully rich and strange text", writes Peter Hulme, "but nothing in it can compete with the final irony that desire and fear, gold and cannibal, are left in monstrous conjunction on an *unvisited* island".529

The European myths of the "Discovery" -El Dorado, the Amazons and the Cannibals- form an integral part of colonial discourse and, as such, played an important part in the construction of the colonial Other in America. It is precisely these myths that magic realist texts such as Posse's and Brailovsky's set to deconstruct. In this process they also challenge the economic basis of those myths: "The myth of limitless gold, the infinite surplus of the periphery... interweaves with the fantasies of cannibalism and Amazons. The figuring of this fantasy lies in the idea of El Dorado... It is the economic myth of mercantile capitalism".530

The economic imperative that fuelled this myth was the importance of gold in Europe in the 15th and 16th century as a vehicle of trade with the East and the subsequent role it played in the economic expansion of Europe. As we have seen, in the European colonial imagination fear and desire coincided on an island rich in gold, close to another island inhabited by cannibals.531 Cannibalism, in fact, is itself an economic fantasy, as Jon Stratton points out in his analysis of *Robinson Crusoe*:

> "The cannibals in *Robinson Crusoe* simply eat each other; the consumption is literal. Indeed they would seem to eat nothing but each other -at least this seems to be what Crusoe thinks. At this point we should remember that Crusoe was on a slaving journey when he was shipwrecked. Slavery is productive, cannibalism is not. The cannibals do not enslave their enemies, as the Turks did with Crusoe, but simply eat them -eating up labour power. Cannibalism, then, not only makes people non-human but signals the fantasy of excessive consumption without production which would destroy capitalism if it were not eradicated."532

This "excessive consumption" associated with cannibalism (practiced supposedly by Native Americans and Africans) is the same feature which the dominant capitalist ideology in Latin America finds so deplorable in both the Carnival and the Fiesta (practiced actually by Native and Afro-Americans, as well as by working-class and peasant Latin Americans) as economic systems. The myth of cannibalism,533 furthermore, served to deprive, first the

Native Americans and then the Africans, of their humanity in order to justify their enslavement. In this way colonial discourse transformed the "banquet for all the world" (see p. 86) into the gruesome and repulsive spectacle of the cannibals' feast. Cannibalism, the most hideous act conceivable in the eyes of the Europeans, marked the limit of humanity and the limit of civilization, as well as the limit of exploration (significantly, the cannibals were always just "beyond" the areas reached by the explorers).534

In the period before dependent capitalism in Latin America, the moral outrage at cannibalism was also the expression of mercantilism's perceived conflict between two economic systems: a real one (slavery), which is productive: it utilises labour power; and an imaginary one (cannibalism), which is not: it (literally) "eats up" labour power. This conflict between the plantation system of production, based on slavery, and its real or imaginary alternatives (Vodou, marronage, "African despotism", "chaos", "anarchy") is reproduced in Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*. The irony of slavery being presented by its practitioners as "civilized" as opposed to the "savagery" of the African culture of the slaves, is explored in the novel as part of the magic realist debates on identity, and the modern vs. the primitive. The site of this ideological conflict is the site of production, the colony of Saint Domingue in *El reino de este mundo*, which in the European colonial mythology of the American Other also becomes an island: Crusoe's "desert island", or Caliban's, colonized by Prospero through magic. ("Macondo está rodeado de agua por todas partes" announces José Arcadio Buendía in *Cien años de soledad*).535

If, according to colonial discourse, cannibalism de-humanizes the "savage", slavery humanizes him: "Crusoe forces Friday to give up his cannibalistic ways. Thus Friday becomes human to the extent that he can enter the capitalist economic system as a slave".536 Slavery, the economic system of organization behind the plantation economy which forms the background to Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, incorporates the "savage" into a system of economic production which makes his existence productive in both the economic and the moral senses.537 The latter aspect is of great importance for the baptized slave's condition is supposed to be superior to that of the heathen "savage" to the extent that the slave is brought into contact with European culture, christianity and civilization:

> "...l'esclavage sera offert... comme un apprentissage à la condition d'être humain, comme mode de passage de la barbarie à la civilisation".538

By exposing the slave to Christianity, the worst features of slavery become justified. Here the crucial point is not the fact of the subjection of a human being to the will of another but the religious rationale behind that subjection. That this argument is ultimately based on racism is evident from the figure of the zombi, which makes an appearance in *El reino de este mundo*539:

> "en la región de Jacmel... muchos hombres que habían muerto trabajaban la tierra, mientras no tuvieran la oportunidad de probar la sal".540

The reference to salt alludes to the traditional Haitian belief that if zombies taste it, they will become free from the spell that keeps them prisoner. Curiously, Arguedas uses the same motif in *Los ríos profundos*, where Doña Felipa distributes salt among the *colonos* of Patibamba as the first action of the *chicheras*' rebellion.541 Salt then becomes a metaphor for land, the soil, yearned for by the landless *colonos* and the captive zombies. This last figure is, in fact, a mirror image of the slave, and the terror that its condition inspires to people in Haiti has much to do with recollections of slavery ingrained in their collective memory. Just as an ordinary slave, the zombi's labour produces a surplus which feeds his or her owner:

> "le zombi est quelqu'un qui a été mis ou maintenu en situation de semi-dépérissement et dont le sorcier se nourrit quand même par le travail excessif auquel il est censé le soumettre".542

Furthermore, the zombi, a person whose will power has been broken by magical means and who is compelled to act according to the will of another, is symbolic, in the European colonial imagination, of the darkness and evil associated with Vodou. If the slave is born to a higher life as a Christian, the zombi's fate is, in a very real sense, worse than death. The fact that the zombi's master is a Black person and a Vodouist, as opposed to a White Christian, makes all the difference. As Laënnec Hurbon points out, the result of the demonization of Vodou is the barbarization of the Black.543

Cannibalism and slavery, furthermore, are linked in another way also. This relates to the belief, common among those groups which have been victims of slavery, that the groups which practice slavery are cannibals themselves.544 This seems to indicate that cannibalism, the violation of one of the strongest taboos among most human groups,545 is in fact an element in the construction of the Other,546 and therefore, of the Self's own identity:

> "Il est... probable que le cannibalisme comme fantasme soit à appréhender au niveau d'une condition universelle: au sens où toute culture est appelée à penser sa subversion ou son effondrement et donc à imaginer toujours quelque part un barbare, ou dans son passé le plus lointain, ou rôdant à ses frontières, ou clandestin dans son propre sein".547

The myth of cannibalism is, then, at the centre of the questions of identity and difference explored in Chapter 2. It is referred to in *El reino de este mundo* (Ti Noel's vision of the White masters' heads served as dishes on a table),548 Asturias' *El señor presidente* (the cannibalistic policemen), and *Cien años de soledad* (Aureliano, who is destined to break the incest taboo with tragic consequences, is described on various occasions as an "antropófago").549 In this context, magic realism approximates the ideas of the Brazilian Modernists, especially the "Antropofagia" movement, in its search for an authentic expression of Brazilian identity, although magic realism does not go as far as identifying cannibalism as a metaphor for cultural *mestizaje*. Cannibalism, therefore, provides a link between the questions

of Latin American identity, on one hand, and of the political economy of magic realism, on the other. This relates to the counter-hegemonic character of ritual-festive expressions of popular culture such as the Carnival and the Fiesta which, like cannibalism, are morally reprehensible from the point of view of the hegemonic culture. Again, like cannibalism, they are "wasteful" and for that reason dangerous to the Liberal State. Unlike cannibalism they represent the survival of non-Christian practices coated with a Christian facade (the opposite of cannibalism which is celebrated in Christian ritual only in a symbolic form).

Despite the many differences between, for example, the Afro-American Carnivals of Brazil and the Caribbean, the patron-saint Fiestas of Guatemala and Mexico, and the Carnivals and *diabladas* of the Andean region, they all, as organizational systems and economic practices, have in common a counter-hegemonic logic which goes contrary to that of capitalist accumulation. By appropriating the ideology behind these practices, magic realist texts reproduce their counter-hegemonic characteristics.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Latin American novelists writing in the magic realist mode have tried to counteract the myths of the "Discovery of America", with myths of their own. In the case of Abel Posse's novels *Los perros del paraíso* and *Daimón*, this reassessment includes a critique of the mercantilist and early-capitalist systems which produced those myths, as well as the celebration of Utopian non-capitalist forms of production. This is most apparent in the case of the myth of El Dorado.

In *Daimón*, El Dorado actually exists and is finally reached by Lope de Aguirre and his band after a series of adventures. After the initial euphoria, the Spaniards realize the impossibility of transporting the dunes of gold dust to Europe, "el único lugar donde tenía sentido tamaña riqueza".550 In this passage, Posse makes fun of the fetishistic European obsession with the metal, pointing out that outside the system of exchange value it becomes worthless. This situation, which resembles that of King Midas, is in fact the way America's original inhabitants and their gods take their revenge on the Conquistadores:

> "Insistían burlonamente, de esta forma oblicua y deslindada de que sólo es capaz el indio de América vencido por una victoria que sabe inútil y estúpida (porque sus dioses se habían vengado de los blancos concediéndoles lo que se habían demencialmente propuesto)".551

Decades before, moreover, Miguel Angel Asturias had advanced the same idea in *Hombres de maíz*:

> "Aquellos indios se vengaban de sus verdugos poniéndoles en las manos el metal de la perdición. Oro y más oro para crear cosas inútiles, fábricas de esclavos hediondos en las ciudades, tormentos, preocupaciones, violencias, sin acordarse de vivir".552

In both *Hombres de maíz* and *Daimón*, the exchange value system which characterizes mercantilism and dependent capitalism is unfavourably contrasted with the non-capitalist economic systems of production practiced by the real and mythical original inhabitants of America. Indeed, for many pre-Hispanic Native American societies, gold had considerable intrinsic value for reasons other than that of commercial exchange. In Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos* this idea is developed in the passage where Palacitos ("el único alumno del Colegio que procedía de un *ayllu* de indios"553) gives the sick Ernesto gold coins

> "Para mi entierro o para mi viaje. Palacitos, el 'indio Palacios', como solían llamarlo a veces los soberbios, y los enemigos, hizo rodar hasta mi encierro las monedas de oro que me harían llegar a cualquiera de los dos cielos: mi padre o el que dicen que espera en la otra vida a los que han sufrido".554

Gold has magical properties for Ernesto, for it allows him to communicate with the Inca past555 and with his own ancestors (as in his father's gold watch).556 Unlike the Padre Director, who accuses him of stealing it,557 Ernesto does not relish the metal for its material value but for its symbolic and magical qualities:

> "El oro es un hallazgo encontrado por el ser humano entre las rocas profundas o la arena de los ríos. Su brillo lento exalta, aun cuando creemos ver entre las arenas, o en las vetas que cruzan las paredes oscuras de las cuevas, algún resplandor semejante al suyo. Sabía que su elaboración es difícil, que se le cierne merced al fuego y a mezclas sabias que los ingenieros o los brujos conocen por largos estudios y secretos. Pero una libra de oro en las manos de un niño, lo convierte en rey, en un picaflor de aquellos que vuelan, por instinto selecto, en línea recta, hacia el sol.558

In *Hombres de maíz*, Asturias also adduces to the metal's magical properties in his characterization of the Maya leader Gaspar Ilóm, whose blood is described as gold.559

The spiritual symbolism (as opposed to the exchange value symbolism) of gold is not confined in magic realist novels to Native American cultures. The value given to gold in pre-capitalist mystical practices such as alchemy is also contrasted with its use in capitalist exchange. In *Daimón*, for example, when Lipzia, the Jew, is interrogated by Aguirre after being accused of practising alchemy, he responds:

> "Es sólo un símbolo, Lope. Un símbolo. Ese es el poder, no el que creen estos torpes. Un gran símbolo. No te mentiría. Nunca se llega, en realidad, a trasmutar plomo en oro... Ellos bien lo quisieran, por eso tanto rencor. El oro que te queda después del largo camino es sólo una forma de decir. Hay un oro, sí, pero espiritual. Buscándolo te has transformado. Resurrección, te ves renacido... Entonces puedes ver oro en todo lo que quieras, o fango en todo oro, como quieras. Es una fuerza invencible: no depende de la realidad".560

It is no wonder, then, that the enterprising José Arcadio Buendía's repeated attempts to find gold in *Cien años de soledad* would invariably end in failure, for despite Melquíades' warnings, he naïvely believes he can become rich by obtaining the metal either through science (the magnet)561 or magic (alchemy)562. His son Aureliano's approach to gold, on the other hand, is very different:

> "cambiaba los pescaditos por monedas de oro, y luego convertía las monedas de oro en pescaditos, y así sucesivamente, de modo que tenía que trabajar cada vez más a medida que más vendía, para satisfacer un círculo vicioso exasperante. En verdad, lo que le interesaba a él no era el negocio sino el trabajo".563

The Colonel's little gold fish, in fact, can be interpreted as symbolic of a pre-industrial, artisanal and pre-capitalist past linked to the spiritual and mystical practices of alchemy.564 The old colonel's marginal existence symbolizes, according to this reading, the marginalization of pre-capitalist practices, following the arrival of the dependent-capitalist economy brought about by modernization in Latin America.

To conclude, in this Chapter I have argued that the ritual and festive aspects of popular culture which I referred to as the Carnival and the Fiesta form part of a culture of resistance, in that they provide not only an alternative symbolic system and a different set of moral values to that of the hegemonic culture, but represent a model of economic, social and political organization which is in many ways opposed to integration in the world capitalist system and to the kind of modernization identified with economic development along capitalist lines. I have also argued that magic realist novels reproduce this model of organization in what I have described as the political economy of magic realism. This refers to the contrast drawn in the novels between different forms of production, namely, for consumption and for exchange.

In Abel Posse's *Daimón*, the exchange value system which characterized both mercantilism and dependent capitalism is unfavourably contrasted with non-capitalist economic systems of production practiced by American societies (real or imaginary). In the novels by Miguel Angel Asturias and José María Arguedas this contradiction is expressed, above all, in terms of the agrarian question. In *El reino de este mundo* the contradiction is between the plantation system based on slavery and a future Utopian system based on African culture and traditions. In Jorge Amado's *Tenda dos Milagres*, conflict arises between the racist and capitalist dominant society and an alternative order which emphasizes mutual help and communal values, and which is based on the celebration of Afro-Brazilian popular cultures. In García Márquez's novel, finally, we witness the dismantling (literally) of a traditional

corporate community which engages in non-capitalist forms of production, by the forces of dependent capitalism and neo-colonialism.

CHAPTER 5. CALIBAN LEARNS TO CURSE: LANGUAGE AND RESISTANCE IN THE MAGIC REALIST NOVEL IN LATIN AMERICA.

"Llegó aquí entonces la palabra,
vinieron juntos Tepeu y Gucumatz,
en la oscuridad, en la noche, y
hablaron entre sí Tepeu y Gucumatz.
Hablaron, pues, consultando entre sí
y meditando; se pusieron de acuerdo,
juntaron sus palabras y su pensamiento".
(Popol Vuh)

Prospero: "... I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that made them known..."

Caliban: "You taught me language; and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse: the red plague rid you,
For learning me your language!"
(William Shakespeare, The Tempest)

'When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean -neither more nor less.'
'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean so many different things.'
'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master -that's all.'
(Lewis Carroll, Through the Looking Glass)

In Gabriel García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad*, the inhabitants of Macondo lose their memory after a plague of insomnia. In order to fight the encroaching amnesia, Aureliano Buendía devises a plan which consists in marking every object, animal and plant in the village with its name.[565] The act of naming becomes, thus, symbolic of the function of the Latin American writer. Here García Márquez is expressing the same idea as Alejo Carpentier in relation to the role of the writer: "la tarea

de Adán poniendo nombre a las cosas".[566] This idea, as Gerald Martin argues, is central not only to magic realism but to Latin American cultural discourse as a whole:

> "...the relation between labels of all kinds and realities has been one of the central themes of Latin American cultural discourse as a whole, as well as of Latin American literature itself. This was true from the moment Columbus's eyes first fell on the 'New World' (which, to compound the problem, he had wrongly identified in the first place as the 'Indies'), long before the twentieth century debate on the relation between signified and signifier began in Europe".[567]

The problem of nomenclature, therefore, is intimately linked to the continent itself, for as Carlos Fuentes put it, "America is a name. A name discovered. A name invented. A name desired".[568] The question of language as evidenced in magic realist texts relates, in fact, to reality and the problem of representation, as García Márquez explains:

> "Un problema muy serio que nuestra realidad desmesurada plantea a la literatura, es el de la insuficiencia de las palabras (...) De modo que sería necesario crear todo un sistema de palabras nuevas para el tamaño de nuestra realidad".[569]

Hence the need, previously expressed by Carpentier in the famous prologue to *El reino de este mundo*, for the creation of a new language capable of describing the oversized reality of America, given the inability of the imported European languages to cope with the almost infinite richness and variety of forms found in American Nature.[570] Here, the links between Carpentier's admiration for the Baroque (in music, art and literature) and the magic realist discourse of Nature and the Grotesque (see p. 52), become apparent, for Carpentier ascribes the creation of the Baroque precisely to this need.[571] For Carpentier the Baroque is, in fact, the aesthetic counterpart of the luxuriant, powerful, fertile, overgrown, excessive (in one word, grotesque) Nature of America:

> "No temamos al barroquismo, arte nuestro, nacido de árboles, de leños, de retablos y altares de tallas decadentes y retratos caligráficos y hasta neoclasicismos tardíos".[572]

As a style the Baroque is an expression of excess,[573] while its identification with American Nature makes it a useful device when expressing an anti-colonialist ideological position (see pp. 57-58).[574] The Baroque, furthermore, is associated in Carpentier's works with *mestizaje*[575] and with religious syncretism, as when he describes the impact of the Baroque churches of Cuba on Ti Noel in *El reino de este mundo*:

> "el negro hallaba en las iglesias españolas un calor de vodú que nunca había hallado en los templos sansulpicianos del Cabo. Los oros del barroco, las cabelleras humanas de los Cristos, el misterio de los confesionarios recargados de molduras, el can de los dominicos, los dragones aplastados por santos pies, el cerdo de San Antón, el color quebrado de San Benito, las Vírgenes negras, los San Jorge con coturnos y juboncillos de actores de tragedia francesa, los instrumentos pastoriles tañidos en noches de pascuas, tenían una fuerza envolvente, un poder

> de seducción, por presencias, símbolos, atributos y signos, parecidos al que se desprendía de los altares de los houmforts consagrados a Damballah, el Dios Serpiente".[576]

Carpentier's ideas on the Baroque as the "estilo estético propio y característico de la cultura latinoamericana",[577] are part of a wider concern with language in magic realist texts which, as I will argue throughout this Chapter, relates to a large extent to the creation of a counter-hegemonic anti-colonial discourse as the basis for a Latin American cultural identity:

> "in his 1949 prologue, Carpentier was attempting to replenish the powers of the novelist in Latin America so that he might fulfil a role he had failed to perform adequately at Independence: he must assume the functions of a mythologist like Mackandal, whose stories bonded his people into a community by sinking roots into the past, by creating a stock of images that served to spell out a collective identity".[578]

The limitations of this undertaking and the contradictions it contains in terms of ethnic, class and gender issues (note the use of *he* and *his*, when referring to the novelist in the quote above) will be discussed in the conclusions. Magic realist novels, nonetheless, reflect the conflict between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse, the site of which is language itself. The problems of representation and realism in Latin American literature, then, are linked to questions of power and authority, from gender, class and ethnic relations, to the questions of economic dependency and unequal international economic and cultural exchanges between the core and the periphery:

> "...magic realism is a strategic commentary on the core-situated practice of realist representation: it is a mimic practice. The works of writers such as Gabriel García Márquez and Carlos Fuentes mime the realist literary conventions of Europe and... problematise the practice of realism through a self-conscious concern with representation".[579]

By reproducing the conflict between types of representation and between dominant and counter-hegemonic forms of discourse, magic realist texts recognize, explicitly or implicitly, the fact that the question of language is ultimately a political question. "The question is which is to be master -that's all", as Lewis Carroll's Humpty Dumpty would say.[580] The political dimension of language in magic realist texts can be detected in the act of naming -one of the main tasks of magic realist writers as discussed above- to which I will return now.

The act of naming is equivalent to taking possession, as Tzvetan Todorov points out in reference to the arrival of Columbus (and European colonial discourse) to America:

> "The first gesture Columbus makes upon contact with the newly discovered lands (hence the first contact between Europe and what will be America) is an act of extended nomination: this is the declaration according to which these lands are henceforth part of the Kingdom of Spain... That this should be the very first action performed by Columbus in America tells us a great deal about the importance the ceremony of naming assumed in his eyes". [581]

Unlike Adam in the Garden of Eden, however, Columbus was not naming things for the first time, but giving new (European) names to things that already had other (American) names. He was, in fact, erasing the previous names and thus dispossessing the original inhabitants as he took possession of their lands:

> "Columbus knows perfectly well that these islands already have names... others' words interest him very little, however, and he seeks to rename places in terms of the rank they occupy in his discovery, to give them the *right* names; moreover nomination is equivalent to taking possession".[582]

It is hardly surprising, in this context, to find that many Latin Americans object to the identification of America with the United States. The suspicion that the appropriation of the word "America" obeys a desire to dominate the whole continent has been confirmed by our historical experience. Writers of magic realist texts are aware of the symbolic exercise of power in the act of naming for reasons additional to this one. This relates to the fact that the power in names points, in the last instance, to a belief in a magical power, the power of the Word. Miguel Angel Asturias ascribes this belief to the Maya of his native Guatemala:

> "Yo creo que el valor de la palabra para nosotros es un valor religioso, es un valor sacramental. Es decir, para el indígena, la palabra es fundamental en el sentido de que uno se apropia de la cosa que señala... Jamás dice el verdadero nombre, porque cree que cuando alguien tenga el verdadero nombre de las cosas se habrá apropiado de las cosas mismas".[583]

One notes here the explicit identification of the Latin American novelist with the Maya people as shown by the use of the *nosotros* to refer to both. This identification, arguably, is not just romantic or idealistic but follows a political and ideological stance. Whatever the nature of this identification, the idea of the power in knowing names is present in the Popol Vuh, the reading of which influenced the work of Asturias. There, one reads about the ingenious way in which the twin brothers, Hunahpu and Ixbalanqué, resort to magic and trickery to learn the names of the Lords of Xibalbá in order to defeat them.

The identification of the name with the person is also one of the central themes of *Cien años de soledad* where naming a person condemns him or her to a certain fate: "Mientras los Aurelianos eran retraídos, pero de mentalidad lúcida, los José Arcadios eran impulsivos y emprendedores, pero estaban marcados por un signo trágico".[584] Isabel Allende also explores the idea of the magic of naming in *La casa de los espíritus*, where Clara "tenía la idea de que al poner nombre a los problemas, estos se materializan y ya no es posible ignorarlos; en cambio, si se mantienen en el limbo de las palabras no dichas, pueden desaparecer solos, con el transcurso del tiempo".[585]

The belief in the magical power of names among certain cultures results in the prohibition of using proper names, as described by Asturias above. This prohibition, as Jacques Derrida argues, is an instance of the violence of language:

> "There was in fact a first violence to be named. To name, to give names that it will on occasion be forbidden to pronounce, such is the originary violence of language which consists in inscribing within a difference, in classifying, in suspending the vocative absolute".[586]

Naming, therefore, displays a voluntaristic intention, namely the controlling of Nature. I will return below to the idea of the violence of language in relation to the question of the written word (Lévi-Strauss' and Derrida's "writing lesson"), but for now I will concentrate on another aspect of this violence: colonial discourse.

The linguistic component of Conquest was made evident by Antonio de Nebrija's first grammar of the Castilian language which, appropriately enough, appeared in 1492 (the same year as Columbus' landing in the Caribbean, the fall of the last Moorish kingdom in Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain). In his dedication to Queen Isabella of Castile, Nebrija states that "Language was always the companion of empire... language and empire began, increased, and flourished together".[587] Colonial discourse, then, is as old as colonialism. Indeed, as Patricia Seed argues:

> "In addition to being a military and political invasion, the Spanish conquest of the New World also entailed a conquest *of* language and a conquest *by* language... language became an instrument of domination, a means of coercing speakers of indigenous languages in order to mold their minds, expressions, and thoughts into the formulas, ritual phrases, and inflections of sixteenth-century Castilian culture".[588]

The (re)naming of American reality by Latin American writers such as Carpentier, Asturias and García Márquez, therefore, takes a political significance as an attempt to expropriate the usurpers and repossess the continent in the name of its peoples.[589] A contradiction arises here, however, in the sense that the vehicle for this expropriation is none other than the alien language(s) the Conquistadores brought with them. This contradiction is evident, above all, in the case of José María Arguedas, whose mother language, as is well known, was Quechua, but who produced most of his literary and anthropological work in Spanish. With very few exceptions, Latin American writers were and still are fluent only in European languages. Hence the urgent need, manifest in the work of many Latin American writers since the time of Independence, to appropriate the Spanish and the Portuguese languages and convert them into a medium for the expression of American reality. In other words, to Americanize them. From this nationalist project grew cultural movements such as Spanish-American *Modernismo*, Brazilian Modernism and the various other Latin American literary avant-garde movements. Magic realism is the latest, most radical (both in form and in content) and, arguably, most succesful, attempt to create a new and authentic language to express the reality of Latin America.

Inspired by Surrealism and Modernism,[590] but also by "the exhumation, edition and translation of classic Indian texts",[591] Latin American writers such as Mário de Andrade and Miguel Angel Asturias called for a revolution in language and consciousness. The latter's *El señor presidente* was, as Gerald Martin argues, "the first important novel to unite the call for a revolution in politics and society with the call for a revolution in language and literature, to challenge patriarchy and authoritarianism at the level of consciousness, and thus to question the very basis of Latin American social life".[592] Similarly,

the rumbustious tone of Andrade's *Macunaíma* is due, to a large extent, to its use of riddles, puns, songs and nonsense rhymes. Language is, in fact, one of the central concerns of the novel.

This revolution in language took the form, in magic realist texts, of a conflict between the dominant discourse (positivist, grandiloquent, elitist, rationalistic and always written) and the counter-hegemonic discourse of popular culture (excessive, magical, festive, iconoclastic, satirical, vulgar and usually, although not always, oral). In *Cien años de soledad*, for example, Aureliano's insistence on the truth about the massacre of the Banana Company's workers is in conflict with the official recorded version:

> "había de pensarse que contaba una versión alucinada, porque era radicalmente contraria a la falsa que los historiadores habían admitido, y consagrado en los textos escolares".[593]

García Márquez, moreover, satirizes the dominant discourse and those who articulate it, as when he makes the Banana Company's lawyers go to ludicrous extremes in order to avoid the workers' demands:

> "se estableció por fallo de tribunal y se proclamó en bandos solemnes la inexistencia de los trabajadores".[594]

The same satirical intention is evident in João Guimarães Rosa's *Grande Sertão: Veredas*, where an attempt is carried out to legislate the devil out of existence.[595] In Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma*, the dominant discourse as articulated by the professionals of repression, the police, is so alien as being completely unintelligible to the ordinary citizens. They literally speak a foreign language: "The cops didn't understand a word and began to wave their arms in the air, spouting in their alien blather".[596] Andrade, furthermore, satirizes the overcorrect Portuguese in which the hegemonic discourse of the dominant classes is expressed, while in Jorge Amado's *Tent of Miracles*, Professor Nilo Argolo de Araújo uses "euphuistic fifteenth-century Portuguese full of words like 'altiloquence', 'quincunx' and 'magniloquent perfectivism'" in order to express his racist and reactionary views.[597]

Fernanda's irritating and confusing use of euphemisms in *Cien años de soledad* should also be seen in this light, as should also the extraordinary official proclamation after the massacre of the Banana Company workers.[598] In José María Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*, the discourse of domination is articulated by the Padre Director who makes the children and the *colonos* cry and suffer with his words,[599] while flattering the powerful:

> "El Padre los halagaba, como solía hacerlo con quienes tenían poder en el valle. Era muy diestro en su trato con esta clase de personas; elegía cuidadosamente las palabras y adoptaba ademanes convenientes ante ellos. Yo era sensible a la intención que al hablar daban las gentes a su voz; lo entendía todo. Me había criado entre personas que se odiaban y que me odiaban; y ellos no podían blandir siempre el garrote ni lanzarse a las manos o azuzar a los perros contra sus enemigos. También usaban las palabras; con ellas se herían, infundiendo al tono de la voz, más que a las palabras, veneno, suave o violento".[600]

The conflict within language in magic realist texts finds another dimension in the relationship between oral and written forms of expression. Carlos Fuentes, among others, problematizes this relationship as when he writes about the exercise of Literature in Latin America:

> "...it reveals a profound perception of Latin American reality: a culture where the mythical constantly speaks through voices of dream and dance, of toy and song, but where nothing is real unless it is set down in writing -in the diaries of Columbus, in the letters of Cortés, in the memoirs of Bernal, in the laws of the Indies, in the constitutions of the independent republics. The struggle between the legal literature and the unwritten myths of Latin America is the struggle of our Roman tradition of statutory law, and of the Hapsburg and French traditions of centralism, with our intellectual response to them and ultimately with our perennially undiscovered, inexhaustible, and, we hope, redeemable possibilities as free, unfinished human beings".[601]

Fuentes' characterization of America's "unwritten" voices as being somehow less "real" than the written texts of conquest and colonization is deeply flawed, while his insistence on the struggle as being one between written and unwritten myths can be misleading, for as I have argued in previous pages, historically the real struggle has been one between a hegemonic discourse of Conquest and a counter-hegemonic discourse of Resistance, as evidenced in the recent Oaxtepec Declaration by the Indigenous peoples of America:

> "Creemos en la sabiduría de nuestros ancianos y sabios quienes nos enseñaron y legaron la fuerza y el arte de la palabra, *hablada o escrita* en los libros antiguos y que permanece viva en la memoria cotidiana de nuestros pueblos. Han pasado los 500 años de obscuridad, y hoy sabemos que éste es el tiempo del Nuevo Amanecer que ha de alumbrar el futuro de nuestros pueblos".[602]

Fuentes' assertions, on the other hand, should alert us to the written Word's ability to confer legitimacy and authority on certain myths. The alliance between writing and domination is based on this power. Indeed, as William Rowe and Vivian Schelling point out, throughout Latin American history writing has tended to play an oppressive role,[603] going back to the written *requerimiento*, whose purpose was to justify acts of bloodshed, conquest and murder against "infidels" by "warning" them to submit to the Spanish monarchs' claims to dominion over them.[604] Magic realist texts evidence two main concerns in the ways they address the question of the written Word. Firstly, the contradiction between written language and reality, and secondly, the violence of writing. Both attest to the concurrence between writing and the dominant power. The first of these is, needless to say, a function of the ideological nature of language itself but results, also, from a very specific historical configuration, namely the weakness of the State and its institutions in Latin America, where the realities of inequality, oppression and poverty belie the rhetoric of progress and development. This conflict between the high ideals of the legislators and the reality of underdevelopment is neatly expressed in Alejo Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos*:

> "se alzaba bajo un sol en perenne canícula el mundo de las balanzas, caduceos, cruces, genios alados, banderas, trompetas de la Fama, ruedas dentadas, martillos y victorias, con que se proclamaban, en bronce y en piedra, la abundancia y prosperidad de la urbe ejemplarmente legislada en sus textos. Pero cuando llegaban las lluvias de abril nunca eran suficientes los desagües, y se inundaban las plazas céntricas..."[605]

The question of the violence of writing as interpreted by Derrida[606] has a more concrete and at the same time more brutal expression in the historical experience of slavery, where the surface of inscription of colonial discourse was (literally) the living flesh of human beings:

> "They are marked with brands on the face and in their flesh are imprinted the initials of the names of those who are successively their owners; they pass from hand to hand, and some have three or four names, so that the faces of these men who were created in God's image have been, by our sins, transformed into paper".[607]

The infamy of slavery prompted an equally violent response from those who suffered from it. Jean-Jacques Dessalines' secretary replied in kind when he threatened to use a White man's blood as ink and his skin as parchment for writing Haiti's Declaration of Independence.[608] In this context, the violence of writing as an empirical possibility, understood by Derrida as "the system of the moral law and of transgression" situated at the level of "empirical consciousness",[609] is embodied by Victor Hughes, the emissary of the French Revolutionary government in Carpentier's *El siglo de las luces*, who transports both the printing press and the guillotine from France to the Caribbean.[610]

In Asturias' *Hombres de maíz* the illiterate friends Revolorio and Goyo Yic experience at first hand this violence when they are thrown into jail for smuggling liquor after losing their permit ("la guía"):

> "Los sacaron a declaración al día siguiente, esposados, custodiados, escoltados, amenazados. En la cárcel no hay malo, todo es peor... Sedientos, temblorosos, asustados, al rato de preguntarles el que se hacía de juez, contestaban, porque de momento no le tomaban asunto a lo que oían, sino hasta después, y contestaban con palabras que les costaba ir juntando. Perdieron la guía... Papelito infeliz, cuadrado, blanquito. Su valor estaba en lo que decía y en los sellos de la Administración de Rentas y del Depósito de Licores, y en las firmas".[611]

Asturias describes the two peasants' perplexity at the written Word's ability to unleash the might of the State's coercive and repressive apparatus on them, and their bewilderment at the power of the "wretched little paper" (reminiscent of the *requerimiento*) arbitrarily to make honest men or criminals out of them:

> "Sin la tal guía, contrabandistas; con la guía, personas honradas. Con la guía, libres, sin la guía, presos y presos por algo que era más grave que despacharse a un prójimo al otro potrero. Por muerte, se sale bajo fianza, por contrabandear, no, y el conque, además, de tener que solventarle al fisco el equivalente de la defraudación, multiplicado por saber cuánto".[612]

The alliance between writing and the dominant power has been explored in great detail in Latin American literature, particularly in the so-called Dictator Novels, a genre with close links to magic realism (Asturias, Carpentier, García Márquez and Posse have all written "magic realist" dictator novels, as have, arguably, Rulfo and Roa Bastos). The relationship between the Dictator -a term which originally expressed the idea of language as the vehicle of political power- and the secretary or scribe (the writer, in fact) is a familiar motif which can be found in most, if not all, of these novels.

The conflict between written and oral language provides another important theme for magic realist novels. Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma*, in this context, challenges and subverts the dominant discourse through its ironic contrast between elitist (written) and popular (oral) forms of expression in Brazil:

> "In their conversations the Paulistas use a barbarous and multifarious dialect, uncouth and polluted with colloquialisms, but which does not lack gusto and forcefulness in figures of speech and coital idioms... But although such vulgar and ignoble language is used in conversation, as soon as the natives of these parts pick up a pen, they divest themselves of such crudities and emerge every whit as Homo latinus (Linnaeus), expressing themselves in another language, closer to that of Virgil, to speak as a eulogist in a mellow tongue which, full as it is of everlasting grace, could be called -the language of that immortal bard- Camões!"[613]

Magic realism's concern with the spoken word is reflected at the stylistic level where the rhythms and some of the forms of oral narrative such as repetitions and incantations are present (see p. 47). This is concurrent with the belief in the magic power of the spoken Word. Asturias, for example, quoting from one of his own poems, explains how he conceives of this power:

> "'El del Copal del Canto está allí/ y más allá de las palabras./ No es el canto por la palabra,/ es la palabra por la magia./ Prometedor es su prodigio.' Nótese que el solo sonido, el solo canto, no es bastante para producir encantamiento, estados de arte poético. Lo que va a crear este mundo nuevo de irrealidad es la magia de la palabra, es la profundidad y el océano de la palabra: sonido, proyección interna, relación con las palabras cercanas, lejanas, derivaciones, estribaciones, transmutaciones... En la palabra, todo; fuera de la palabra, nada".[614]

The Cuban-born Italian writer Italo Calvino, himself an author of magic realist novels, links the magic of the spoken Word with the figure of the story-teller:

> "The immobile world that surrounded tribal man, strewn with signs of the fleeting correspondences between words and things, came to life in the voice of the storyteller, spun out into the flow of a spoken narrative within which each word acquired new values and transmitted them to the ideas and images they defined. Every animal, every object, every relationship took on beneficial or malign powers that came to be called magical powers but should, rather, have been called narrative powers, potentialities contained in the word, in its ability to link itself to other words on the plane of discourse".[615]

The story-teller in magic realist novels is not just a picturesque figure, he or she is the trusted custodian of communal memory, a source of both magic[616] and resistance and the articulator of a powerful counter-hegemonic discourse. In Andrade's novel, for example, Macunaíma mesmerizes a crowd of city-dwellers with his stories about the origin of the Southern Cross constellation:

> "From the crowd a long, blissful murmuring rose which seemed to reinforce the scintillation of those beings, those Fathers of Birds, Fathers of Fishes, Fathers of Trees, Fathers of Insects, all those well-known folk up there in the spacious sky. Great was the satisfaction of that crowd of Paulistas gazing with wonder at those people, at those Fathers of the Living, dwelling shining in the sky".[617]

Andrade contrasts the beauty and power of Indigenous myths and their effectiveness in the creation of a shared identity, with the empty myths of the Modernizing State and its appeals to allegiance based on an abstract idea of the Nation. Indeed, the counter-hegemonic character of Macunaíma's stories lies in the fact that they offer a competing popular version to the dominant discourse which celebrates the Day of the Southern Cross, a public holiday "newly invented by Brazilians so that they could take more time off"[618]:

> "The people left the park deeply impressed, with happiness in their hearts, full of enlightenment and full of living stars. No one was bothering anymore about the Day of the Southern Cross".[619]

The function of the story-teller as a kind of political agitator and organizer of cultural (and indeed other forms of) resistance is based on its role as custodian of the communal memory. This is apparent in the character of Mackandal in Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, whose "voz grave y sorda le conseguía todo de las negras", while "sus artes de narrador... imponían el silencio a los hombres".[620] Mackandal is in fact, among other things, an oral historian:

> "Con su voz fingidamente cansada para preparar mejor ciertos remates, el mandinga solía referir hechos que habían ocurrido en los grandes reinos de Popo, de Arada, de los Nagós, de los Fulas. Hablaba de vastas migraciones de pueblos, de guerras seculares, de prodigiosas batallas en que los animales habían ayudado a los hombres..."[621]

As Franco Ferrarotti argues, oral history, as the memory of a community, is one of the components of cultural resistence:

> "No es casual si la historia oral, en los países que la han desarrollado mayormente, se transforma en un instrumento precioso para construir una memoria histórica de la colectividad más allá y contra las censuras, las mutilaciones y las discriminaciones de la oficialidad y de la historiografía tradicional".[622]

Moreover, as the figure of Mackandal demonstrates, under certain conditions oral history can serve as a blueprint for a new social and political order:

> "la historia oral no es necesariamente la 'voz del pasado' o la voz de un mundo que desaparece. Es también la garantía, el presagio de un nuevo mundo que surge fatigosamente a la luz o bien el término de referencia de un mundo que no se resigna a morir. Más aún: es concebible un uso de la historia oral como historia alternativa a la historia oficial."[623]

Oral history, thus, provides an alternative counter-hegemonic version of History, as in Aureliano's oral and true version of the massacre of the Banana Company workers in *Cien años de soledad*. By viewing oral expression as a valid alternative to the written Word, magic realism contradicts the view, predominant in Europe since the Renaissance, of alphabetic writing as a sign of cultural superiority, an ethnocentric belief expressed in these terms by Claude Lévi-Strauss:

> "Of all the criteria by which people habitually distinguish civilization from barbarism, this one should at least be retained: that certain peoples write and others do not".[624]

In fact, as is well known, barbarism, in its original sense, did refer to a linguistic instance. It was not, however, a characterization of the supposed inability of some peoples to write but, rather, to speak. The term "barbarian" was used by the ancient Greeks to refer to speakers of languages other than Greek whose tongues, to Greek ears, sounded like a cacophonous "bar-bar" noise. The idea of a distinction between Self and Other based on the faculty of speech appears also among other peoples.[625] In this respect, it is interesting to contrast the Greek attitude towards their Persian, Scythian and Egyptian "barbarian" neighbours, with that of XVI Century Europeans such as Jean de Léry, whose "writing lesson" among the Tupinamba[626] predates Lévi-Strauss':

> "la comparaison des *Histoires* d'Hérodote avec les récits de Jean de Léry sur les Tupinamba est révélatrice de la différence de régime sous lequel sont appréhendés les Barbares chez les Grecs du Ve siècle avant J.C. et chez les Européens du XVIe siècle. Alors que Jean de Léry donne une leçon d'écriture aux Tupinamba et entreprend une tâche de traduction de leur langue en français, Hérodote, lui, ne voit aucun lien entre barbarie et oralité. Perses et Egyptiens connaissent déjà l'écriture. C'est que pour les Grecs..., il pouvait encore exister des *sagesses barbares*".[627]

As Laënnec Hurbon points out, the term "barbarian" suffered a semantic shift during the XVII Century which resulted in the definition of barbarians as "peuples brutaux, cruels, sauvages et infidèles".[628] The use of the written Word, which the Europeans erroneously considered their sole preserve (many Native American civilizations developed writing systems), played an important part in the barbarization and dehumanization of Native Americans. At the time of the Spanish invasion, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in his apologia of conquest,[629] for example, went as far as suggesting that the supposed absence of writing among the Native Americans was proof of their lack of humanity: "those little men in whom you will scarcely find traces of humanity, who not only lack culture but do not even know how to write".[630]

Magic realism, by acknowledging the importance of oral expression, questions the view of the superiority of alphabetic writing. In fact, magic realist texts coincide with ancient classical writers such as Cicero, who cited speech, rather than writing, as the special quality that distinguishes human beings.[631] Thus in García Márquez' *El amor en los tiempos del cólera*, Dr. Juvenal Urbino's command that "nothing that does not speak will come into this house", draws, as Jean Franco argues, "an ideological boundary between the human world which possesses language and the animal, in other words creating the Other as those who do not speak".[632] When José Arcadio Buendía in *Cien años de soledad*, furthermore, is warned of the frightful consequences of incestuous sexual relations with his wife and cousin Ursula[633] (offspring with the tail of a pig), he answers: "No me importa tener cochinitos, siempre que puedan hablar".[634]

García Márquez, furthermore, exposes the artificial and conventional nature of writing, while making fun of the written Word's ability to fix meaning over time and codify memory, as when he writes of the inhabitants of Macondo's ingenious but futile attempts to fight amnesia: "Así continuaron viviendo en una realidad escurridiza, momentáneamente capturada por las palabras, pero que había de fugarse sin remedio cuando olvidaran los valores de la letra escrita".[635] The author, furthermore, mocks writing in general, and literature in particular, as a kind of device or contraption to store memory. Indeed, as William Rowe argues, José Arcadio Buendía's memory machine[636] is a metaphor for writing.[637]

Significantly, it is Melquíades, whose room is rightly identified by Gerald Martin as the abode of memory,[638] who magically restores Macondo's with "una sustancia de color apacible",[639] an act befitting his role as the chronicler of Macondo's history. Also significant, as Gordon Brotherston has pointed out, is the fact that Macondo's plague of amnesia originated in an oral community: the neighbouring Native Americans.[640]

Although it is partly identified with the discourse of violence and domination, the written Word in magic realist novels plays, in fact, an ambivalent role. This, needless to say, has to do with the fact that they are themselves written texts.[641] In *Cien años de soledad*,

> "(t)he material... is predominantly oral, but it passes through a solidifying written form. There is a double mode of operation: on the one hand the oral stories, and on the other a fixed code of fatality, embodied in the notion of Melquíades's prophecies".[642]

It is, in the last instance, Melquíades' manuscript that we read in *Cien años de soledad* (the manuscript is the novel), although we are told of the songs of Francisco, El Hombre. In Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus*, equally, Clara's manuscripts become the novel. Interestingly, Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* differs in this respect, for it is supposed to be an entirely oral narrative transmitted, in fact, by a parrot:

> "in the silence of the Uraricoera only the parrot had rescued from oblivion those happenings and the language which had disappeared. Only the parrot had preserved in that vast silence the words and the deeds of the hero".[643]

Parrots, of course, mimic language -a quality which allows one of them to circumvent Dr. Urbino's rule in *El amor en los tiempos del cólera* (see p. 124), and be allowed into his home, with tragic consequences- and this makes them emblematic of the "power of 'colonial' mimicry to ridicule hegemonic discourse".[644] Andrade's novel, published in 1928, coincides with Asturias' *El señor presidente* (1946) and *Hombres de maíz* (1949), and Guimarães Rosa's *Grande Sertão: Veredas* (1956) in their revolutionary incorporation of oral language. The creative use of speech forms in these earlier novels is, in fact, considerably more daring than in the later novels of García Márquez, Allende and Posse.

The written Word, nevertheless, has some redeeming features. Its unique ability to solidify speech makes it both a prison and a refuge. In *Cien años de soledad*, Aureliano is said to be "encastillado en la realidad escrita".[645] Literature, "el mejor juguete que se había inventado para burlarse de la gente",[646] can provide a space into which one can escape. This space, symbolised by Melquíades room, provides a region of refuge (see p. 99) where forces can be gathered before going out into the world. The refusal to leave this refuge, which can also be found in music, dance, myth, childhood and Nature, is the temptation of not growing up as encountered by Ernesto in Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos*. To fall into this temptation is to use the weapons of cultural resistance in order to escape. It is to hope for the Kingdom of Heaven instead of trying to build the Kingdom of this World. It is to fall into a kind of "cultural armadilloism"[647] and to fall into the temptation of incest. It is, moreover, to lose this refuge forever, as happens to the narrator of Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos*.

If there is magic to be found in the spoken Word, the written Word is not without some magic of its own. This is recognized and used in magic realist novels, as in *El reino de este mundo*, for example:

> "Sobre un tronco, aplanado a filo de machete en toda su longitud, estaba un libro de contabilidad, robado al cajero de la hacienda, en cuyas páginas se alineaban gruesos signos trazados con carbón".[648]

Mackandal thus uses writing to send "messages across the island, virtually uniting the island by writing in a secret code".[649] The magic of the written word can be consequently used as a form of resistance.[650] The ambivalence towards the written word in magic realist texts stems, among other things, from the fact that its magic, as Carlos Fuentes argues, is based, above all, on the power to legitimize:

> "Legitimacy in Latin America has always depended on who owns the written papers: Mexico's Porfirio Díaz, the aging patriarch who justifies himself as the repository of the Liberal Constitution? Or Emiliano Zapata, who says he owns the original deeds to the land granted by the King of Spain? (...) The truth is that Zapata owns more than a piece of paper: he owns a poem, a dream, a myth."[651]

The ownership of the Word is, hence, of pivotal importance in Latin American culture as well as in politics and political economy. Magic realist texts present a view of Latin American literature as the equivalent of the sacralized land titles of the Indigenous peoples, an idea explored by Fuentes in *El gringo viejo* (1986). Hence the search for an authentic American expression which, in the form of a new Latin American literature, will provide a title of ownership to the continent.

The role of Latin American literature, as evidenced in magic realist novels, is to recreate symbolically Zapata's and other popular heros' dreams and myths. By creating texts which legitimize the "unwritten myths of Latin America", magic realist novels participate in the symbolic re-creation of History. If the aim of writers such as Eduardo Galeano has been to de-mythologize Latin American History by exposing the falsehood behind official versions of History, magic realism attempts to go one step beyond and (re)create a new set of myths based on popular culture. The contradiction in magic realist texts, then, is not one between myth and History, but one between competing myths of History (the official myths of the modernizing liberal State and the "unwritten" myths of popular culture). Abel Posse, in this respect, has stated that the function of Latin American Literature is to

> "recuperar la visión del hombre de América real, escribir la Contrahistoria, contra la versión oficial, y esto ha llevado a que se usen los textos para hacer una nueva interpretación de los mismos, o que simplemente se fabriquen los textos, como hago yo en algunos casos, porque la mentira del historiador tiene que ser corregida por la mentira del poeta. Y esa mentira del poeta es sagrada (como decían los griegos: el poeta miente en forma sagrada) porque es la imaginación que sustituye al texto que ha servido para negar la vida".[652]

The text that serves to deny life is none other than colonial discourse: "Nosotros hemos tenido una historia escrita por el soldado guerrero imperial; por el monje, el hombre de religión que tenía una visión demoníaca del Otro, que no quería descubrir al Otro, quería simplemente atraerlo a su propia religión, o excluirlo, o eliminarlo".[653] At this point, the anti-colonial nature of the magic realist project becomes evident. The reasons why contemporary Latin American novelists such as Posse still feel compelled to denounce colonial discourse nearly 200 years after Latin America's political Independence, are to be found in the realities of economic dependency but also in the failure of 19th Century liberal ideology to provide the basis for new cultural identities:

> "by the end of the nineteenth century the task of expressing the 'realities' of America remained unfulfilled: the old gods had not been successfully replaced and such new stories as had been invented -with rare exceptions- lacked the potency of the fables that thrived among the common people".[654]

And it was precisely to the common people and their culture that writers of magic realist novels turned as a source of inspiration. Native American texts, be they real as in the case of the *Popol Vuh* in Asturias' novels, or invented as in Posse's *Los perros del paraíso*, lend authenticity (the magic of legitimation through the written Word) to the magic realist project of creating a national or continental cultural identity. The vehicle for the expression of this identity will be the Spanish and the

Portuguese languages but the discourse that they will articulate will no longer be one of conquest and domination but one of cultural resistance. Since colonial discourse can be expressed in both oral and written form, the main contradiction in magic realist texts is not so much the one between written and oral language, but the one between colonial and anti-colonial discourse.

Magic realism is part of the revolution in language and consciousness announced by Asturias and Andrade, the objective of which was to renovate Spanish and Portuguese and to shape them into adequate vehicles for the expression of American reality. In the words of Elena Poniatowska: "Through the word Latin America has become unified, from the Río Bravo to Tierra del Fuego. Through the word we safekeep our memory. The word has been an instrument of struggle, the word has made us laugh, and the word has risen up against silence and suffering".[655] From being "un idioma de segundo orden, apropiado para los asuntos domésticos y la magia", as Spanish is described by Esteban Trueba in Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus*,[656] the new languages will grow into powerful instruments capable of naming (and thus repossessing in the name of its peoples) all the wonders of the marvellous and monstrous Nature of America.

CONCLUSIONS: MAGIC REALISM AND THE SEARCH FOR UTOPIA

As stated in the Introduction, the central argument of this thesis is that there is an underlying theme of cultural resistance in the magic realist novel in Latin America which draws its sustenance from the counter-hegemonic characteristics of popular culture. From this original hypothesis, the thesis went on to explore the different ways in which the primary sources selected deal with the notion of cultural resistance in different historical, social and political contexts. The first part of the thesis was devoted to an exploration of magic realism both as a concept and as a body of texts. Chapter 1 discussed the history of magic realism as a critical concept and its subsequent evolution as a literary category. The relationship between magic realism and other categories such as the Fantastic and surrealism was explored in some detail and a working definition was developed of magic realism as a cultural practice which presents, on equal terms, contrasting views of the world based on two different epistemological systems of cognition, one magical, intuitive and non-modern, and the other rationalistic, discursive and modern.

Chapter 2 then proceeded to identify the salient literary, historical and ideological characteristics of the Latin American magic realist novel, concentrating on the issue of cultural identity in Latin America and its role in the production of magic realism. The view of the Grotesque as representing an ideology opposed to the dominant social order, as developed by Mikhail Bakhtin, was applied to the Latin American magic realist novel as part of this discussion. During the analysis of magic realism, both as a concept and as a cultural practice in the first two chapters, a number of theoretical problems became apparent. The first set of problems had to do with the boundaries of magic realism as a critical concept, a question which demanded the development of a working definition.

The second set of problems encountered in the first part of the thesis had to do with the question of identity. Here the discussion revolved around the exact point of insertion of magic realist texts in the wider tradition of Latin American texts dealing with this issue. A further question, that of the "authenticity" of magic realism has been, so far, left unanswered. This relates to magic realism's self-imposed task of creating a specifically Latin American literary form, and in this respect the main question is to what extent does magic realism offer a true insight into Indigenous or Afro-Latin American myths -given the close links between French surrealism and writers such as Asturias and Carpentier- and the fact that, with the exception of Arguedas (see Appendix), the authors of the magic realist texts considered are only proficient in European languages.

Here the danger is of Western-educated novelists inventing the mythology of the Indigenous or Afro-Latin Americans on their behalf.[657] In this respect, Martin Lienhard argues that:

> "En *Hombres de maíz*, una conciencia estética de formación 'surrealista' compone un discurso 'indígena' a partir de retazos de los textos mesoamericanos antiguos. La polifonía carnavalesca de la novela, por otra parte, suscita una serie de 'distancias' cuyo efecto tiene, para un lector,

> matices entre irónicos y humorísticos. Ningún lector, en realidad, puede llegar a creer sinceramente que los 'mayas' se expresen -o se hayan expresado alguna vez- de este modo".[658]

Two observations are in order here. Firstly, the fact that Asturias' novel, and magic realist fiction as a whole, belong to Latin American literature, as opposed to Native American literature. This obvious fact is sometimes forgotten by those who want to see *Hombres de maíz* as "una novela representativa de lo 'indígena'",[659] but also by critics who judge it in terms other than its own. As José Carlos Mariátegui convincingly argued in respect of Indigenist literature,

> "la mayor injusticia en que podría incurrir un crítico, sería cualquier apresurada condena de la literatura indigenista por su falta de autoctonismo integral o la presencia, más o menos acusada en sus obras, de elementos de artificio en la interpretación y en la expresión. La literatura indigenista no puede darnos una versión rigurosamente verista del indio. Tiene que idealizarlo y estilizarlo. Tampoco puede darnos su propia voz, su propia ánima. Es todavía una literatura de mestizos. Por eso se le llama indigenismo y no indígena".[660]

Secondly, magic realist fiction represents an attempt to create, in Spanish or Portuguese, linguistic equivalences to the indigenous languages through the process of transculturation described by Angel Rama.[661] Although it would be ridiculous to reproach Asturias for not being an authentic indigenous voice, therefore, it is important, nevertheless, to criticize his assumption to speak on behalf of the Maya, especially since, as Lienhard rightly points out, there was at the time a more satisfactory alternative in the form of "testimonial writing", such as Ricardo Pozas' *Juan Pérez Jolote* (1948).[662] This is, undoubtedly, one of the major limitations of the magic realist ideological project of rescuing the cultural, economic and social values found in popular culture for the purpose of creating an anti-colonialist Latin American identity. The fact that writers such as Arguedas and Augusto Roa Bastos -who have a deeper understanding of Indigenous cultures by virtue of their knowledge of Quechua and Guaraní- have continued to work within the magic realist mode (as defined above) and the fact that there is some evidence of Indigenous peoples themselves using this idiom, however, seem to validate the relevance of this project.

The question of authenticity brings us, in turn, to the accusation levied against magic realist novels that they help to perpetuate stereotypes and prejudices about Latin America and that, indeed, their popularity outside the continent results from this fact. As I argued in Chapter 3, such readings of magic realism owe a great deal to disparaging views of magic as a subject fit only for children. This views are, in turn, based on an understanding of magic as either "illusion" (magic as the art of conjuring tricks) or of magic as a feeling of wonder and amazement produced by surprising or unusual occurrences (magic as "the Marvellous").

These interpretations tend to dehistoricize magic realism and to link it with fantasy and escapism. In the second part of this thesis I have attempted to move away from such readings and to return to the original understanding of magic as a technique to influence the course of events by controlling secret principles of Nature (magic in the anthropological sense). Such an interpretation places magic realism in a social and historical context close to its sources in popular culture. This is the

first step towards the historical and political reading of magic realism which I attempted in the second part of this thesis (Chapters 3, 4 and 5).

Chapter 4 built on the discussion on the ideological characteristics of the Latin American magic realist novel, especially on the view of the carnival as an ideology opposed to the dominant social order, and went on to consider the social and economic forms of organization that constitute the material basis of that ideology. In this respect, Chapters 3 and 4 explored how, throughout the colonial and post-Independence periods, subordinate groups developed different strategies and patterns of resistance, including military, political and cultural resistance, and how magic realist texts deal with these patterns and strategies. These two chapters established how cultural resistance is expressed through manifestations such as magical practices, patron saint festivities and the Carnival. Chapter 4, moreover, examined the popular forms of economic organization and social and political structures of resistance on which these cultural manifestations are based (their political economy), and how they can constitute "cultures of resistance" which actively oppose the dominant order. The mechanics of these power relationships in the cultural sphere were analysed in the context of the Latin American magic realist novel by resorting to the critical concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony developed by Antonio Gramsci. These, and other critical concepts such as popular culture and cultural resistance, had already been explored in some detail in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 dealt with language and cultural resistance in relation to the primary sources selected, and included an exploration of the anti-colonialist ideological position attributed by Carpentier to the Baroque, as the appropriate and characteristic style of Latin American culture.[663] Carpentier's ideas evidence a wider concern with language in magic realist texts which relates, to a large extent, to the creation of a counter-hegemonic anti-colonial discourse as the basis for a Latin American cultural identity. As Angel Rama points out, however, Carpentier's project suffers from an inherent contradiction:

> "Detrás de ese problema de estética, cuya significación es tanta que determina el estilo del escritor de toda América Latina -según Carpentier-, subyace la apropiación del sistema literario europeo, su axiología y hasta el público que lo integra".[664]

Magic realist novels reflect the conflict between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse, the site of which is language itself. The problems of representation and realism in Latin American literature, as the example of Carpentier's work shows, are linked to questions of power and authority, from gender, class and ethnic relations, to the questions of economic dependency and unequal international economic relationships.

This political dimension of language is reaffirmed in magic realist texts in the symbolic act of naming, which in the case of writers such as Carpentier, Asturias and García Márquez becomes an attempt to repossess the continent in the name of its peoples. Magic realist texts, from this point of view, present a view of Latin American literature as the equivalent of the land titles used by Indigenous peoples in their cultural resistance:

> "Ayudándole a construir la cosmogonía maya, las fuentes indígenas igualmente le mostraron a Asturias cómo integrarla en un argumento político e histórico. El *Popol Vuh* se ha categorizado como el ejemplo máximo del 'título', tipo de documento indígena que abundó en Mesoamérica a resultados de la invasión europea y cuyo propósito es precisamente defender lo que se puede de lo propio... A diferencia del mito 'atemporal' de los antropólogos estructuralistas, aquí las creencias mayas conducen directamente a un argumento político, justificando la defensa de territorio y de economía propios, precisamente como es el caso en 'Gaspar Ilóm' y *Hombres de maíz*".[665]

Hence the search for an authentic American expression which, in the form of a new Latin American literature, will provide a title of ownership to the continent. This notion is, in fact, at the heart of magic realism's cultural and political project, which consists of appropriating the counter-hegemonic and utopian features of popular culture. In Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*, for example, in spite of the number of imperfect regimes which succeed one another in Haiti, the final message of the novel is still one of hopeful utopianism: the need to create the Kingdom of this World as the only way to achieve redemption.

There is, however, a tension between Utopianism in the sense of an impossible return to the "lost paradises" of popular culture and the demands of political praxis in the Latin American magic realist novels examined. *Hombres de maíz* and *El reino de este mundo*, for example, depict an inescapable process by which utopia is inevitably lost but conclude on the possibility of its recuperation through the communal values found in Indigenous or Afro-American cultures. *Cien años de soledad*, on the other hand, represents the nostalgia for a lost American Arcadia, while *Los pasos perdidos* is about the impossibility of a return to the original "lost paradise". The Brazilian novels of Andrade, Amado and Guimarães Rosa, for their part, tend to express an almost boundless celebration of popular culture. The tension between an optimistic celebration of the utopianism of popular culture and an assessment of its consequences for political action reach an equilibrium in Arguedas' *Los ríos profundos* where there is also a conscious effort to take Indigenous culture in its own terms, unlike in Asturias' novel where, as it was argued above, there is a tendency to "invent" myths on behalf of the Maya. In Abel Posse's novels, mythification becomes a conscious strategy concurrent with the Argentine writer's preoccupations with the American continent's ability to transform Europeans (Columbus in *Los perros del paraíso*, Lope de Aguirre in *Daimón*, and Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in *El largo atardecer del caminante*) into Latin Americans.

In Isabel Allende's *La casa de los espíritus*, the distancing of popular culture from Afro-Latin American and Indigenous cultures, and the negative view of the latter (as in the episode of Blanca's marital experiences in Chile's far north in Chapter 8, and the depiction of Indigenous cultures as "el maléfico reino de los incas",[666] which verges on racism) result in magic becoming less a cultural and anthropological practice and more an expression of eccentricity on the part of the characters (spiritualists, theosophists, Esperanto-speakers and other "cranks"), as it tends to do also in *Cien años de soledad*. Popular culture, furthermore, is associated in Allende's novel with childhood as a "magical" stage (which implicitly results in it being placed "outside" history) and, consequently, has to be abandoned as the novel progresses toward the more realistic "historical" descriptions of Pinochet'

coup and the subsequent repression at the end of the novel.[667] Accusations of plagiarism in respect of García Márquez' novel apart, Allende's novel contains an explicit criticism of the nostalgia for traditional patriarchal values evidenced in *Cien años de soledad*. The fact that writers such as Isabel Allende, Rosario Castellanos, Laura Esquivel, Rosario Ferré and Gioconda Belli, continue to experiment with the magic realist mode indicates that women writers in Latin America feel that the limitations of the original magic realist ideological project can be overcome and that magic realism can still provide a useful perspective on matters of gender.

Magic realism's parodic features and its concerns with language have led some critics such as Roberto González Echevarría[668] and Jon Stratton[669] to identify it with postmodernism. Its emphasis on the material basis of culture and its historicity, however, seem to support Fredric Jameson's view that magic realism represents in fact an alternative to postmodernism.[670] Indeed, I would argue that the utopianism which underlines the magic realist ideological project constitutes a radical departure from postmodernism. Its emphasis on the material and its appropriation of the counter-hegemonic and oppositional values derived from popular cultures, furthermore, also distinguish magic realism from the idealistic, nostalgic and, in some cases, reactionary tendencies that pervade Romanticism, a movement that, in many ways, shares magic realism's approach to popular culture as a source of national cultural identities (see p. 78).

Latin American magic realist novels, finally, are not alone in recognising the utopianism of popular culture. In *The Joke* (1967), for example, Milan Kundera draws a parallel between popular culture and utopian ideals as "regions of refuge". In Kundera's Czechoslovakia of the 1950's, however, popular culture has been reduced to "folklore", that is, to "senseless schematic signs", beautiful but incomprehensible[671] and devoid of meaning;[672] while utopian ideals have become identified with a repressive State. In Latin America, on the other hand, popular culture has not yet lost its counter-hegemonic content and it remains a growing and organic force capable of threatening the dominant system. These facts can be interpreted from two different ideological positions. The utopian features of popular culture can be seen as offering a revolutionary project for the future, as in the case of magic realist texts, or feared as an irrational and sinister force bent on plunging the feeble edifice of civilization into chaos, as in the case of Mario Vargas Llosa's more recent novels.

APPENDIX. ANTINOMIES AND CULTURAL RESISTANCES IN ARGUEDAS' *LOS RÍOS PROFUNDOS*.

In Chapter 1 a case was made for the characterization of magic realism as an autonomous literary category which presents contrasting views of the world based on two different epistemological systems (one magical, intuitive and non-modern; and the other rationalistic, discursive and modern). It was also noted how magic realist texts attempt to create a convincing and coherent picture by referring to societies and cultures where these two systems of knowledge co-exist. Where this is the case, as in Latin America, the relationships between the groups that hold these views are shaped by patterns of domination and subordination between them. As maintained throughout this thesis, subordinate groups historically have responded to this situation with a strategy of resistance, which includes various forms of cultural resistance.

Antinomy, it was argued, is one of the defining features of magic realism (see pp. 27-30). At the cognitive level, magic realist texts resolve antinomy by the use of authorial reticence, with both magic and science being presented as equally valid (or equally unsatisfactory) systems of knowledge. Magic realism, nevertheless, raises other antinomies -at the cultural, ethnic and political levels, to name a few- which are more difficult to resolve. Indeed, one of the main challenges confronting writers working within the magic realist mode has been how to deal satisfactorily with the tension resulting from these antinomies. What is at stake is more than just the form of the magic realist novel, for, as Pierre Macherey argues, the relationship between stylistics and practice is always problematic:

> "(s)tylistics identifies certain of the problems which a writer must resolve when he is faced with certain particular and decisive choices... These choices can be explained: but before they can be accounted for they have to be effected. Now the activity of the writer is not solely or directly governed by the laws of stylistics, defined in themselves: on the contrary, it is his activity that determines these laws. The writer is not someone who 'practices stylistics' consciously or unconsciously... He encounters certain specific problems which he solves as he writes, and these problems, and the solutions which actually constitute them, are never simple, unlike those of stylistics".[673]

In the case of magic realism these "specific problems" take a special political and ideological significance, given the failure of the modern State in Latin America to devise adequate policies to deal with cultural, ethnic and social antinomies as they arise in practice. The question of antinomy, therefore, brings us directly to the relationship between literature and ideology, a subject around which the debate on cultural identity in Latin America has always revolved (see Chapter 2). In this context, it might be worth examining the dynamics of this relationship in more detail, with reference to one of the texts studied. Of these, *Los ríos profundos* by José María Arguedas provides us with what is perhaps the clearest insight into the various cultural antinomies which magic realism displays in areas such as language, ethnicity, class, gender and age. Indeed, Arguedas is an obvious example of a writer who, confronted with certain stylistic problems, found a solution that is as relevant to artistic expression as to political praxis. This appendix will explore the ways in which Arguedas attempts to

resolve some of these antinomies and the means by which he represents various forms of cultural resistance to the dominant ideology.

One of the most apparent antinomies in *Los ríos profundos* is that between the Spanish and the Quechua languages. In this respect, Arguedas has explained how he found himself in a dilemma when he tried to portray life in the Andes using "literary" Spanish:

> "¿Cómo descubrir esas aldeas, pueblos y campos; en qué idioma narrar su apacible y a la vez inquietante vida? ¿En castellano? ¿Después de haberlo aprendido, amado y vivido a través del dulce y palpitante quechua? Fue aquel un trance al parecer insoluble".[674]

Having opted for writing in Spanish as a language of wider access, the challenge he faced was to reproduce Quechua patterns of thought in this "almost foreign" language. This, as he acknowledged, was tantamount to **translating** Quechua speech forms into Spanish:

> "Realizarse, traducirse, convertirse en torrente diáfano y legítimo el idioma que parece ajeno; comunicar a la lengua casi extranjera la materia de nuestro espíritu".[675]

He thus rejected the conventions used by writers when portraying Quechua speech in their texts: either using a Spanish heavily embellished with Quechua words and expressions ("quechuisms"), or imitating the "incorrect" Spanish of Quechua speakers recently arrived in Lima, a device which he considered "falso y horrendo".[676] After a "long and anguished search",[677] Arguedas' came to the conclusion that he needed to create a special language ("un lenguaje castellano especial"[678]) to achieve his goal. He is careful to explain that this language is not the one in which the Indigenous peoples of the Andes speak:

> "...los indios no hablan en ese castellano ni con los de lengua española, ni mucho menos entre ellos! Es una ficción. Los indios hablan en Quechua".[679]

The text facing the reader of *Los ríos profundos*, therefore, can be regarded as a Spanish translation from an implicit Quechua (oral) text, with the written text performing simultaneously two processes: the translation from one language into another and the recording of speech in written form. It would be more accurate, perhaps, to say that the language in the text aspires to create in the reader the illusion that he or she "understands" Quechua. Arguedas' stylistic solution, however, does not resolve fully all the problems raised by the complex linguistic reality of the Andean region, as he himself acknowledged:

> "los dos mundos en que están divididos estos países descendientes del Tahuantinsuyo se fusionarán o separarán definitivamente algún día: el quechua y el castellano. Entre tanto, la *vía crucis* heroica y bella del artista bilingüe subsistirá".[680]

In *Los ríos profundos* his efforts resulted in a richly embroidered text containing everything from the juxtaposition of Spanish and Quechua texts, as in the *huayno* lyrics; to passages which purport to represent dialogues in "imperfect" Spanish; to actual Quechua words and expressions, sometimes followed by long explanations about their meaning (notably at the start of the "Zumbayllu"

chapter); all this besides the more straightforward accounts of Ernesto's (the novel's narrator) conversations in Spanish and "Quechua". The constant tension between all these different levels of language and the ways in which they interact retrace the difficult path followed by Arguedas in his attempt to give the Andean world a universal dimension through the vehicle of the Spanish language:

> "Creo que en la novela *Los ríos profundos* este proceso ha concluido. Uno sólo podía ser su fin: el castellano como medio de expresión legítimo del mundo peruano de los Andes; noble torbellino en que espíritus diferentes, como forjados en estrellas antípodas, luchan, se atraen, se rechazan y se mezclan, entre las más altas montañas, los ríos más hondos, entre nieves y lagos silenciosos, la helada y el fuego".[681]

In the novel, Arguedas identifies another antinomy, that between the written and the spoken language. The dominant ideology's axiomatic restriction of writing to Spanish, which automatically confines Quechua solely to oral forms of expression, is challenged by Ernesto in the passage where he agrees to write a letter to Salvinia on behalf of Antero:

> "`¿Y si ellas supieran leer? ¿Si a ellas pudiera yo escribirles?' Y ellas eran Justina o Jacinta, Malicacha o Felisa; que no tenían melena ni cerquillo, ni llevaban tul sobre los ojos. Sino trenzas negras, flores silvestres en la cinta del sombrero... `Si yo pudiera escribirles, mi amor brotaría como un río cristalino; mi carta podría ser como un canto que va por los cielos y llega a su destino'. ¡Escribir! Escribir para ellas era inútil, inservible. `¡Anda; espéralas en los caminos, y canta! ¿Y, si fuera posible, si pudiera empezarse?' Y escribí: `Uyariy chay k'atik'niki siwar k'entita...'".[682]

This passage, whose significance has been, surprisingly, ignored by critics, is remarkable, not least in the way it challenges dominant assumptions about literacy and orality. Moreover, it illustrates what is in fact Ernesto's main strategy to cope with the different forms of oppression which he encounters throughout the novel. This consists of resorting to Andean culture (the Quechua language, the music of the *huaynos*, the *Apu* or mountain god, and so on) in order to find in it the possibility of imagining a different reality ("¿Y, si fuera posible...?"), and with it the realization that an alternative to the existing order is possible. Yes!, Arguedas, seems to be saying, Quechua **can** be written,[683] peasant girls **can** learn to read, Andean culture **can** adapt to changing circumstances and new technologies, transforming itself to offer a viable alternative to assimilation.

The social implications of using Spanish and Quechua in the context of the Peruvian Andes are tackled in the text. While Spanish is used in formal occasions, Quechua is a more familiar and intimate vehicle for communication. Don Joaquín (a client and friend of Ernesto's father), for example, switches from Spanish to Quechua as he begins to feel more at ease.[684] Equally, the worsening in the relationship between Ernesto and Antero is mirrored in the way Ernesto shifts from a Quechua nickname ("Mark'aska") to a Spanish one ("Candela") when talking to his friend.[685] The change and the distancing involved is immediately noticed by the latter.[686]

The choice of either language has clear ideological and political implications, and these are further explored by Arguedas. Spanish is the language in which the hegemonic classes articulate their discourse of domination. Padre Linares chooses this language when he delivers a sermon in which he

flatters the powerful, reproducing the ideology of the Conquest ("¡Hay que recordar Cajamarca...!"[687]). At the same time, in a clear act of defiance, Ernesto uses Quechua in order to "communicate" secretly with Doña Felipa. Ernesto, thus, uses Quechua as a form of cultural resistance to the hegemonic discourse.

The text, however, does not simply equate Spanish with domination and Quechua with resistance. Always conscious of the complex and subtle relations between language, power and ideology, Arguedas avoids any such simplisitic conclusions. Quechua, after all, is spoken not only by the Indigenous peoples, but by the local *hacendados* and by Padre Linares, who uses it to make the *colonos* cry (see pp. 118-119). Most characters in the text, in fact, are bilingual, and Abancay is portrayed as a diglossic community in which each language has a specific social function. The degree of bilingualism of Abancay's inhabitants ranges from that of the soldiers and the *chicheras*, with their limited Spanish,[688] to that of the snobbish Valle, who is said to understand Quechua well, but cannot express himself in it.[689]

Spanish and Quechua are alternative linguistic systems from which bilingual individuals draw at will. When they want to insult the military authorities, for example, the *chicheras* resort to both languages.[690] Doña Felipa, significantly, chooses a Spanish expression ("¡Avanzo, avanzo!"[691]) to lead the *chicheras* in their rebellion. Valle, the most "Westernized" of the students, on the other hand, uses a Quechua word ("k'ompo") to refer to the special tie knot he has invented.

A further antinomy which permeates the novel is that between the Andes and the coastal lowlands. This becomes more apparent when Abancay is occupied by the Army following the *chicheras*' revolt. The tensions between the *abanquinos* and the military, the "señores recién llegados",[692] make their way to Ernesto's boarding school, where, under the influence of Gerardo (the son of the military commander and a symbol of the hegemonic coastal culture),[693] the local students feel the pressure to abandon their own culture for the more "advanced" culture from the coast. Romero feels this pressure to the extent that he starts to feel ashamed of playing *huaynos* and speaking Quechua in front of Gerardo.[694]

Ernesto's response is to defend Andean culture from a position of knowledge of the other culture ("Yo he estado en la costa, hermano"[695]). Ernesto occupies a privileged position since he has had access to both cultures and can draw from both on equal terms. His situation is, in fact, identical to that of Arguedas, who had this to say about his own individual experience as a bilingual writer and scholar, with a knowledge of Andean culture from the inside and, at the same time, "bien incorporado al mundo de los cercadores"[696]:

> "intenté convertir en lenguaje escrito lo que era como individuo: un vínculo vivo, fuerte, capaz de universalizarse, de la gran nación cercada y la parte generosa, humana, de los opresores... El cerco podía y debía ser destruído; el caudal de las dos naciones se podía y debía unir".[697]

Far from rejecting "Western" culture *in toto*, Arguedas proposes to rescue the humanistic values that it contains. However, he questions the view that the only way to achieve a synthesis is through the partial assimilation of Andean culture:

"el camino no tenía por qué ser, ni era posible que fuera únicamente el que se exigía con imperio de vencedores expoliadores, o sea: que la nación vencida renuncie a su alma, aunque no sea sino en la apariencia, formalmente, y tome la de los vencedores, es decir que se aculture".[698]

Arguedas went on to pronounce his famous statement against acculturation,[699] in which he proudly and defiantly outlined his own literary project of articulating an existing social and cultural reality made up of a plurality of identities:

"Yo no soy un aculturado; yo soy un peruano que orgullosamente, como un demonio feliz, habla en cristiano y en indio, en español y en quechua. Deseaba convertir esa realidad en lenguaje artístico y tal parece, según cierto consenso más o menos general, que lo he conseguido".[700]

The reality he refers to, however, is one where a number of cultural identities co-exist in a state of constant tension which, occasionally, explodes into violence. Indeed, while portraying the antinomy between the Andes and the Coast, Arguedas depicts an Andean world which is far from homogenous, containing a series of further contradictions based on social class, language, gender, age, ethnicity, etc. The novel explores each of these in detail, as when it differentiates between the big and the small *hacendados*, for example. Because of their close relationship with the Indians, the latter have acquired some of their characteristics (they speak Quechua, they participate in the Patron Saint fiestas, etc.).[701] Ernesto admires their bravery and repeatedly describes them as "generous" in marked contrast to the "señorones avaros"[702] epitomized by El Viejo. Despite sharing many cultural traits with the Indigenous peoples, however, their class interests set them apart and the small *hacendados* are as ready to welcome the alien forces of military repression as the other members of Abancay's ruling classes.

Ernesto's friend Antero belongs to this social group and his evolution from Ernesto's magical ally to a young *hacendado*,[703] seems to indicate that for Arguedas class differences are ultimately more important than language and culture. Both Antero and Ernesto arrive at this conclusion after the *chicheras*' revolt, the event that, significantly, marks their gradual separation: "...a los indios hay que sujetarlos bien. Tú no puedes entender, porque no eres dueño",[704] says Antero to Ernesto, while the latter replies by placing himself and Antero on opposite sides in the conflict raging in Abancay:

"-¿Por quién crees que está el Pachachaca?
-¿Hablas de **nosotros**? ¿De tí y de mí, y de Salvinia y Alcira?
-No, Candela, hablo de los colonos y de los chunchos y de Doña Felipa, contra **ustedes** y los guardias".[705]

The agents of repression, the armed forces, are not without contradictions of their own. Ernesto, for example, is keen to distinguish between the "humildes gendarmes" and peasant soldiers, on one hand, and the young officers, on the other, who, to his horror and disbelief, manage to fascinate and seduce the upper-class young women of Abancay.[706] Apart from the sexual jealousy that Ernesto experiences as a result of this episode, it has the effect of confirming his suspicions that, when faced with the subordinate groups' demands for social justice, the regional elite will invariably ally itself with the coastal power, betraying Andean values.

While showing these contradictions, the text also presents antinomies within the subordinate groups, such as the tensions between the inhabitants of the free Indigenous communities (*ayllus*) and the landless *colonos* who depend on the *haciendas*.[707] By the same token, Andean popular culture is not portrayed as uniform and homogenous but as a dynamic entity possessing a series of separate regional identities which can come into conflict with one another, as demonstrated by the way in which Abancay's musicians play *huaynos* from other regions, adapting and transforming them in the process:

> "Casi siempre el forastero rectificaba varias veces: '¡No; no es así su genio!' Y cantaba en voz alta, tratando de imponer la verdadera melodía. Era imposible. El tema era idéntico, pero los músicos convertían el canto en huayno apurimeño, de ritmo vivo y tierno. '¡Manan!', gritaban los hombres que venían de las regiones frías; los del Collao se enfurecían, y si estaban borrachos, hacían callar a los músicos amenazándolos con los grandes vasos de chicha".[708]

This passage illustrates how cultures strive to give meaning to different practices. The struggle for meaning is, in fact, a constant theme throughout the novel, with one culture trying to impose its set of meanings over another's: from the Spaniards using Inca stones to build their churches,[709] to the *zumbayllu* being blessed in the chapel.[710] But as these examples show, despite the attempts by the dominant culture to erase the memory of the vanquished from these objects, superimposing on them its own interpretation, some traces of the previous meanings always remain, resisting colonization. Ernesto's undertaking is precisely to rescue these traces in order to subvert and reverse the sign of the dominant ideology.

One of the ways in which this ideology is articulated is through religion. The relationship between religion and ideology, nevertheless, is ambiguous, a fact which the text recognizes. In *Los ríos profundos* this relationship is explored mainly through the character of Padre Linares. Through his articulation of the hegemonic discourse, Linares legitimizes the actions of the powerful. Moreover, because of his privileged position as a repository of the sacred (he is a "saint"), he can influence the perceptions and the behaviour of the subordinate groups. Ernesto, nonetheless, seems unable to decide whether he is a purely negative influence, although there are many instances that point towards his final identification with El Viejo towards the end of the novel. This hesitancy could be attributed to either Ernesto not being totally immune to Linares' discourse or to an inherent ambivalence within this discourse. Whatever the case it may be, the result is a complex relationship where Ernesto sees negative traits in Linares but also sees him as a protector.[711]

The relationship between Ernesto and Padre Linares is, in fact, characterized more by mutual incomprehension than by open hostility: "Me miró más extrañado aún. -No te entiendo, muchacho - me dijo-. No te entiendo, igual que otras veces".[712] In Linares' view, Ernesto is "crazy", "sick", "confused" or "disturbed".[713] At the same time, despite Linares ascendancy over Ernesto, the latter's view is that the disturbed or misguided one is, in fact, the priest:

> "Me clavaba los ojos a lo profundo, y se perdía, cada vez más, como todo aquel que intenta encontrar en lo infinito indicios extraviados, premeditados por su propia turbación, por los falsos pensamientos".[714]

Ernesto's complex relationship with Padre Linares mirrors his own deeply ambiguous position with respect to the Catholic religion.[715] He is, in fact, confronted with two different aspects of Catholicism: an oppressive one, allied to the dominant order, and a more humane and compassionate one. The first is associated with Cuzco Cathedral, El Viejo and, to a large extent, Linares, while the other is represented by the Jesuits' church ("la Compañía"),[716] Brother Miguel and Ernesto's own father.[717]

This antinomy is introduced in the first pages of the book, where the action takes place in Cuzco. Despite being his father's native town, and the place where the María Angola bell and Inca Roca's magical stones are found, Cuzco frightens Ernesto.[718] The Cathedral projects an oppressive shadow over the square and the town,[719] while the image of Christ is said to cause suffering:

> "Renegrido, padeciendo, el Señor tenía un silencio que no apaciguaba. Hacía sufrir; en la catedral tan vasta, entre las llamas de las velas y el resplandor del día que llegaba tan atenuado, el rostro del Cristo creaba sufrimiento, lo extendía a las paredes, a las bóvedas y columnas".[720]

To Ernesto, Catholicism in its repressive "official" form is an ideology of suffering which sanctions and justifies social oppression. It becomes synonymous with evil, the source of which is none other than El Viejo. He is "el dueño de las cuatro haciendas", the four corners of this satanic world. Ernesto's father, in fact, describes him as the Antichrist.[721] There is, however, a counterpart to this evil religion in the shape of "la Compañía", a building which does not oppress (it makes Ernesto want to sing happy songs).[722] When he complains about the Cathedral "causing suffering", his father responds: "Por eso los jesuitas hicieron la Compañía. Representa el mundo y la salvación".[723]

Salvation, then, is to be found in this world (Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo* reaches the same conclusion) and not in the future Kingdom of Heaven which Padre Linares promises the suffering *colonos*. This is, arguably, an allusion to the progressive current in Latin American Catholicism which would later give rise to Liberation Theology. As William Rowe argues, "Ernesto ha comenzado a vislumbrar el papel social de la religión",[724] (and its ideological content, one could add) which, in the case of "official" Catholicism, is none other than that of being an agent of mystification. This is important in the context of the accusations levied against Ernesto to the effect that his constant mythification of people, animals, objects and places is, in itself, a form of escapism. Mario Vargas Llosa, for example, has argued that:

> "Su sensibilidad exacerbada hasta el ensimismamiento por la realidad natural, llevará a Ernesto a idealizar paganamente plantas, objetos y animales y a atribuirles propiedades no sólo humanas, también divinas: a sacralizarlas... Desde su condición particular, Ernesto reproduce un proceso que el indio ha cumplido colectivamente y es por ello un personaje simbólico. Así como para el comunero explotado y humillado en todos los instantes de su vida, sin defensas contra la enfermedad y la miseria, la realidad difícilmente puede ser lógica, para el niño paria, sin arraigo entre los hombres, exiliado para siempre, el mundo no es racional sino esencialmente absurdo. De ahí su irracionalismo fatalista, su animismo y ese solapado fetichismo que lo lleva a venerar con unción religiosa los objetos más diversos".[725]

This reading contains a number of serious flaws. Firstly it equates magic and myth with irrationality. This, as previously argued in Chapter 1, is inaccurate. Secondly, the view that magic results from fatalism and that it is an expression of hopelessness, goes against the evidence of it being, in fact, an attempt by human beings to understand and control their environment. In this regard, it could be argued that "official" Catholicism is in fact much closer to the "fatalist irrationality" which Vargas Llosa remarks upon, than magic. Thirdly, the above comments imply that fetishism, like magic and myth, are exclusive to Andean culture, while science and rationality are the prerogatives of Western industrial societies, a view which, again, will not stand up to serious scrutiny.

Despite these flaws, Vargas Llosa's reading of *Los ríos profundos*, raises the important question of the dichotomy between escapism and resistance in magic realism. Ernesto, according to Vargas Llosa, hides constantly in the past, forever lamenting the lost paradise of an idealized Indigenous Community:[726]

> "Ocurre que hubo un tiempo en que todavía no tenía conciencia de la dualidad que malogra su destino y vivía en complicidad inocente con los hombres, dichoso sin duda, al amparo de ese 'ayllu que sembraba maíz en la más pequeña y alegre quebrada que he conocido'".[727]

The existence of social formations such as the *ayllus*, which have a different set of values from those of Western society is an objective reality, however, and not just a product of Ernesto's fantasy and, although it is possible for him to idealize them, it is also true that they can provide a model of a social order different from the one Ernesto finds in Abancay, as William Rowe points out:

> "El pasado que él evoca es uno donde él pertenecía al orden indio; este orden es una realidad objetiva que se halla en oposición al mundo de Abancay. En realidad, Ernesto no se refugia en la memoria, sino que pone al pasado en confrontación con el presente".[728]

Ernesto's memories are a function of a concerted strategy of resistance. He is dealing with the present on his own terms, confronting it with his past experiences and, thereby, seeing the possibility of an alternative to the existing order. He is, in other words, giving a political dimension to memory, and not "apoyándose en lo actual para impulsarse hacia atrás",[729] as Vargas Llosa argues. This is not to say that the past cannot also act as a place where Ernesto can seek refuge from the inequities of everyday life under the dominant social order. The concept of "regions of refuge", introduced in Chapter 4, allows us to see "escapism" and "resistance" not as rigidly antithetical positions, but as complementary parts of a fluid and dynamic relationship. Indeed, the concept implies a territory beyond the boundaries of the hegemonic order, where the subordinate groups can escape to **in order to resist**.

Thus, historically, to escape to a region of refuge was part of a strategy of resistance by the Indigenous and Afro-American peoples. It can be argued that Ernesto's memory acts also as a region of refuge (see p. 99). This is not to deny the possibility of Ernesto withdrawing completely from reality and immersing himself into his dream world. This form of escape is, after all, one of the possibilities open to those in subordinate positions. Hence, the tension between Ernesto's "tentación continua" to fix things in the past,[730] and his need to go out into the world in his voyage towards maturity.[731] This

antinomy, with all its difficulties and contradictions, can be seen operating, in what is one of the novel's crucial processes: Ernesto's propensity for mythification.

Critics such as Ariel Dorfman[732] and William Rowe[733] have explored the mechanisms through which Arguedas' novel transforms myth into social action. In *Los ríos profundos*, they argue, myth is an active principle which can be directed towards social change, and not simply a form of mystification as Vargas Llosa claims:

> "Desde el punto de vista de los objetivos políticos efectivos, mito es mistificación, pero puede también desafiar y negar las mistificaciones de una sociedad feudal (en la cual la religión es parte integral del orden social). El mito puede volver realidad las aspiraciones sociales, en contraste con la religión 'oficial' que está designada a conducir estas aspiraciones fuera de la realidad".[734]

Rowe and Dorfman, however, are conscious of what they both describe as the "strength and weakness" of myths.[735] This dilemma is defined by Rowe as "la desproporción entre la fuerza que adquieren los colonos y el propósito trágicamente limitado por el cual esta fuerza es desplegada" (a special mass to be oficiated by Padre Linares).[736] It is important to bear in mind, nevertheless, that the history of political ideas in Latin America, and elsewhere for that matter, shows that other systems of thought, including ideology and science, are as susceptible to being manipulated or to falling short of the purposes to which they were originally applied, as myth. Although it is useful to remind ourselves of the limits of myth as a source of social action (and the ways it can be appropriated and manipulated by populism, for example), these limits should be placed in the context of the problematic relationship between political theory and practice, and not seen as something exclusive to any cognitive mode.

Having said that, there is, as Dorfman rightly points out, an inherent and constant tension between opposites in *Los ríos profundos*:

> "Las cosas, las ciudades, los ríos, y especialmente las personas, parecen habitar en la confluencia de vertientes diferentes a veces antagónicas, estan sometidos a la influencia irrebatible de tendencias opuestas o son capaces de funcionar en dos direcciones de signos disímiles".[737]

This applies, as we have seen, to places such as Cuzco, and to all the main characters, including Antero, Padre Linares, and even Ernesto. The novel, in fact, contains elements which, at times, seem to undermine the credibility of Ernesto's point of view, presenting it as disturbed or infantile, not only in the eyes of Linares, but also in the perceptions of those close to him, such as his father ("Estás confundido"[738], "estás alterado",[739] "piensas todavía como un niño"[740]), Antero ("Estás atontado, hermano"[741], "Supe que Antero dijo que yo era un forastero algo 'tocado'"[742]), Brother Miguel ("Eres un pequeño"[743]), and even his friend Palacitos ("Los zumbayllus te están loqueando"[744]).

There is in the novel, at the same time, a desire for unity and coherence, and a search for a synthesis that transcends the apparently antagonistic contradictions. This, in fact, provides the key to the way in which the various antinomies present in the novel are resolved:

> "Las cosas poseen una dualidad potencial, una disyuntiva básica, que sin embargo se va resolviendo en una unidad real. La capacidad de que algo o alguien puede tener adentro suyo un estado y su opuesto... es posible porque la gente se encuentra siempre en tensión, en un proceso dinámico, moviéndose de una manera todavía indefinida, interinfluyéndose".[745]

The idea that antinomies can be resolved and transcended is of great importance for the understanding of Arguedas' work in general, and *Los ríos profundos*, in particular.[746] Behind this notion stands the belief in the self-improvement of human beings and in the possibility of changing the social conditions under which they live. Redemption and emancipation through human solidarity are real possibilities for Arguedas, as is the need for human beings to grow up and achieve their full potential: "El estilo de José María Arguedas no puede... separarse de la liberación que promete y desea para sus personajes".[747]

The path to liberation, be it individual or collective, is never straight nor simple. Characters are constantly confronted with moral choices, and a great deal of anguish and suffering is experienced in the process. Nevertheless, as Dorfman[748] and Rowe[749] argue, the transformation of suffering into resistance is a dominant theme in *Los ríos profundos*, a conclusion reached also by Arguedas himself, when he defined cultural resistance as a major theme of his novel:

> "Con *Los ríos profundos*... empieza a revelarse, sin notoridad literaria inmediata, lentamente, ese universo humano y terreno que es de los más intrincados e interesantes del mundo porque allí la antigüedad americana ha permanecido muy fuerte, tanto más cuanto mayores modificaciones formales y de contenido tuvo que hacer para mentenerse y mantener por tanto una faz y una sustancia siempre nueva y originales debido a la lucha misma por permanecer y no ser simplemente avasallado".[750]

At the beginning of this appendix it was argued that one of the main challenges confronting writers working within the magic realist mode[751] has been how to deal with the cultural antinomies resulting from it. Arguedas' proposal, as illustrated by the statement above, that the creative processes released by cultural resistance be channelled in order to meet this challenge offers what is, arguably, the most coherent and consistent formula to solve this problem to date.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1.] See Emir Rodríguez Monegal, "Realismo mágico versus literatura fantástica: un diálogo de sordos", in Donald A. Yates (ed.), *Otros mundos, otros fuegos* (Michigan State University, 1975).
[2.] Fredric Jameson, "On Magic Realism in Film", *Critical Inquiry*, No. 12 (Winter 1986), p. 302.
[3.] Gerald Martin, *Journeys through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), p. 141.
[4.] Emir Rodríguez Monegal, op. cit., p. 27.
[5.] See A. B. Chanady, *Magical Realism and the Fantastic: Resolved versus Unresolved Antinomy* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985).
[6.] Martin Gray, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Harlow and Beirut: Longman & York, 1984), pp. 20-21.
[7.] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 4.
[8.] *Ibid*., p. 439.
[9.] "Sarmiento's struggle between civilization and barbarism, Rodó's exaltation of Ariel against Caliban, the sick continent diagnosed by Carlos Octavio Bunge and Alcides Arguedas, Count Keyserling's swamp-like dawn of creation and *tristeza criolla* (creole sadness), Ezequiel Martínez Estrada's view of Latin Americans as victims of a historical mirage, Eduardo Mallea's incommunicability, and... Héctor Murena's original-sin thesis". Gerald Martin, op. cit., pp. 222-223.
[10.] Notably Fernando Ortiz in Cuba, Jean Price-Mars in Haiti and José Carlos Mariátegui in Peru.
[11.] Roughly, Mexico and Central America. It can, arguably, be extended to the South-Western United States, an area which has been -and still is- influenced by the cultures to the south.
[12.] The Antilles and the Caribbean coasts of Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Venezuela, but also the Northern coast of South America, including coastal Guyana, Surinam, Guiana and the Brazilian North East.
[13.] The Andean mountain chain; from Mérida in Venezuela to Mendoza in Argentina. Including the Colombian, Ecuadoran, Peruvian and Bolivian highlands, the North East of Chile and the North-western provinces of Argentina.
[14.] The huge expanse of the Orinoco, Amazon and Paraná river basins, comprising the Venezuelan and Colombian *llanos*; the Amazonian territories of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil; the Guyana Highlands; the hinterland of the Brazilian North East; the Mato Grosso, and the Chaco regions of Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina.
[15.] The South of Brazil; Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. An area dominated by the major urban centres of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Montevideo, Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires.
[16.] In this respect, see Angel Rama, *La novela en América Latina. Panoramas 1920-1980* (Bogotá: Procultura, 1982), p. 196.
[17.] Elena Poniatowska, "Memory and Identity: Some Historical-Cultural Notes", Rachel Weiss (ed.), *Being América: Essays on Art, Literature, and Identity from Latin America* (New York: White Pine Press, 1991), p. 24.

[18.] Patricia Seed, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse", *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 26, No. 3, (1991), pp. 181-200. See also Peter Hulme's definition in *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), p. 2.
[19.] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 87.

CHAPTER 1

20... Gerald Martin, Journeys through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century (London and New York: Verso, 1989), p. 302.
21... Jean Weisgerber (ed.), Le Réalisme magique: roman, peinture, cinéma (Bruxelles: L'Age d'Homme, 1987), backcover.
22... Franz Roh, Nachexpressionismus, magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten europäischer Malerei (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1925).
23... Seymour Menton, Magic Realism Rediscovered, 1918-1981 (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983), p. 57.
24... Ibid.
25... Quoted in Wieland Schmied, Neue Sachlichkeit und Magischer Realismus in Deutschland. 1918-1933 (Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag, 1969), p. 8.
26... Ibid., p. 7.
27... Quoted in Seymour Menton, op. cit., p. 27.
28... Quoted in Angel Flores, "Magical Realism in Spanish American Fiction", in Hispania, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Baltimore, May, 1955, pp. 187-192), p. 190.
29... Emily Braun, "Mario Sironi and a Fascist Art" in Emily Braun (ed.) Italian Art in the 20th Century (London and Munich: Royal Academy of Arts and Prestel Verlag, 1989), p. 173.
30... Bontempelli's journal 900.Novecento, published in Italy and France, defined and campaigned for the use of the term Realismo Magico in the arts and literature. See Seymour Menton, op. cit., p. 52.
31... Franz Roh, Realismo mágico, posexpresionismo, translated by Fernando Vela (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1927).
32... See Enrique Anderson Imbert, El Realismo Mágico y otros ensayos (Buenos Aires: Monte Avila, 1976). José Carlos Mariátegui was equally familiar with the term, in connection with Bontempelli's novecentismo, as demonstrated by his review of Breton's Nadja in Variedades, Lima, 15 January, 1930: "No aparece... la intención de jubilar el término realismo, sino de distinguir su acepción actual de su acepción caduca, mediante un prefijo o un adjetivo. Neorrealismo, infrarrealismo, suprarrealismo, 'realismo mágico'". José Carlos Mariátegui, Crítica Literaria (Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez, 1969), p. 278.
33... See Arturo Uslar Pietri, Letras y hombres de Venezuela (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1948), pp. 161-162.
34... Gordon Brotherston, The Emergence of the Latin American novel (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 50.
35... Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 190. See also Irlemar Chiampi, El realismo maravilloso (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1983), p. 36.

36... Alejo Carpentier, "De lo real maravilloso americano", in Tientos y diferencias (La Habana: E.C.A.G., 1966), p. 99. This essay is a reworking of the prologue to El reino de este mundo.
37... Ibid., p. 95.
38... André Breton, Manifeste du Surréalisme (Jean-Jaques Pauvert éditeur). See also Pierre Mabille, Le miroir du merveilleux (Paris: Minuit, 1962), which brings together a series of texts from various cultures and which identifies folklore as the principal source of le merveilleux. Irlemar Chiampi points at the influence of Mabille's work on Carpentier who contributed to it by translating a text from the Spanish. op. cit., pp. 39-40.
39... Second Manifeste du Surréalisme (1930), p. 154. André Breton, Manifestes du Surréalisme (Jean-Jaques Pauvert éditeur). I am grateful to Dawn Ades for alerting me to this quote. Juan Larrea, in this respect, questions to what extent surrealism succeeded in its aims: "en la práctica el surrealismo, como hijo de un mundo de transición donde pululan las contradicciones, lejos de resolver las viejas antinomias diríase que se propone enriquecer su catálogo con nuevos ejemplos concebidos en su propio seno". Juan Larrea, "El surrealismo entre viejo y nuevo mundo", Cuadernos Americanos, Año III, Vol. XV, No. 3 (mayo-junio, 1944, pp. 216-235), p. 222.
40... See Gerald J. Langowski, "Los pasos perdidos: concepto surrealista de le merveilleux", in Donald A. Yates (ed.), Otros mundos, otros fuegos (Pittsburgh: Michigan State University, 1975). See also Irlemar Chiampi, op. cit., p. 39, and Gordon Brotherston, op. cit., pp. 51-52. As Carpentier's remark shows, his quarrel seems to be with Breton's "official" version of surrealism. Carpentier's contributions to Georges Bataille's publication Documents indicate that he was probably closer to Bataille's "dissident" wing of the movement, and that he took the latter's side in the argument over theoretical and aesthetic issues on which Breton and Bataille were embarked at the time. See Dawn Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed (Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), pp. 234-241.
41... Jorge Luis Borges, "El arte narrativo y la magia", Discusión. Obras completas, Vol. 6 (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1961), p. 89.
42... Claude Lévi-Strauss, La Pensée Sauvage (Paris: Plon, 1962), p. 21. These principles are illustrated in Isabel Allende's La casa de los espíritus (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1984), where Pedro García's magical practices prove successful against a plague of ants while Míster Brown's science fails. pp. 103-104. His own daughter Pancha, on the other hand, dies in spite (or even apparently because) of his home remedies (p. 127).
43... I am indebted to Gordon Brotherston for pointing out this fact.
44... Even in Haiti there are a number of spellings of this word, such as "voudou", "vaudou", "vodoun", "vaudoo", "vodun" and "vodou". I will use the last one, which is the phonetic spelling used in the Kreyol language. When quoting directly, however, I will reproduce the spelling in the original.
45... Patrick Bellegarde Smith, Haiti: The Breached Citadelle (Boulder, San Francisco and London: Westwiew Press, 1990), p. 19.
46... "Wonder -thrilling, potentially dangerous, momentarily immobilizing, charged at once with desire, ignorance, and fear- is the quintessential human response to what Descartes calls a 'first encounter'... Such terms... made wonder an almost inevitable component of the discourse of discovery, for by definition wonder is an instinctive recognition of difference, the sign of a heightened attention, 'a sudden surprise of the soul', as Descartes puts it, in the face of the new". Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions (Chicago and Oxford: Chicago University Press, 1991), p. 20.
47... Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 190.
48... Alejo Carpentier, op. cit., p. 93.

49... See, for example, Angel Rama, La novela en América Latina. Panoramas 1920-1980 (Bogotá: Procultura, 1982), pp. 429-430, on the contradictions in Carpentier's intellectual discourse.
50... Prologue to Irlemar Chiampi, op. cit., p. 11.
51... Stephen Greenblatt, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
52... Quoted in Amaryll Beatrice Chanady, Magical Realism and the Fantastic: Resolved versus Unresolved Antinomy (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985), p. 37.
53... See his Sociología guatemalteca: el problema social del indio (Guatemala, 1923).
54... Gordon Brotherston, op. cit., pp. 31-34. See also his 'The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources', in John King (ed), Modern Latin American Fiction: A Survey (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987), pp. 70-71.
55... A useful study of Asturias' concept is provided by Carlos Rincón, "Nociones surrealistas, concepción del lenguaje y función ideológico-literaria del 'realismo mágico' en Miguel Angel Asturias". Miguel Angel Asturias, Hombres de maíz (edición crítica, coordinador: Gerald Martin; París: Archivos ALLCA XXe, 1992), pp. 695-722.
56... Luis López Alvarez, Conversaciones con Miguel Angel Asturias (San José: EDUCA, 1976), p. 163. See also Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 147.
57... Gordon Brotherston, The Emergence of the Latin American novel (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 137.
58... Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 145.
59... Ariel Dorfman, "Hombres de maíz: el mito como tiempo y palabra", in Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. 657. Dorfman's essay was published previously in Imaginación y violencia en América (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1970).
60... Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 149.
61... José Carlos Mariátegui, foremost among Latin American intellectuals, undertook a similar endeavour.
62... Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 149.
63... Angel Flores, op. cit.
64... Ibid., p. 188.
65... Ibid.
66... Ibid., p. 189.
67... Ibid., p. 190.
68... Ibid., p. 191.
69... Ibid., p. 189.
70... Ibid.
71... Ibid., p. 191.
72... Donald A. Yates (ed.), op. cit., is largely devoted to this polemic.
73... See, for example, Todorov, I. Introduction à la littérature fantastique (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970); and Vax, L. La séduction de l'étrange: Etude sur la littérature fantastique (Paris: Presses Universitaires Françaises, 1965).
74... I will use this German expression which conveys the idea of "mood" without being so vague. It refers more to the atmosphere within the text than to the possible effect on an implied reader.
75... Lovecraft, H.P. "Supernatural Horror in Literature" (New York, 1973), p.15
76... Vax, L. "La séduction de l'étrange: Etude sur la littérature fantastique" (Paris, 1965), p. 244
77... Quoted in John King, "Jorge Luis Borges: A View from the Periphery", in John King (ed.), op. cit., p. 109.

78... Ibid.
79... See, Jansen, A. "Procesos humorísticos de Cien años de soledad y sus relaciones con el barroco", in: Centro Iberoamericano de Cooperación. Universidad Complutense de Madrid. XVII Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana (Madrid, 1978).
80... Amaryll Beatrice Chanady, op cit.
81... Ibid., p. 69.
82... Ibid., p. 101.
83... Bellegarde-Smith, op. cit., p. 16.
84... Luis Leal, "El realismo mágico en la literatura hispanoamericana", Cuadernos Americanos, Year XXVI, Vol.CLIII, No.4 (Jul-Aug., 1967), p.232.
85... Enrique Anderson Imbert, op. cit., p. 19.
86... See, for example, Gerald Martin, op. cit., pp. 141 and 224.
87... See Emir Rodríguez Monegal "Realismo mágico vs. literatura fantástica: un diálogo de sordos", in Donald A. Yates (ed,), op. cit., pp. 26-27.
88... Seymour Menton, op. cit.
89... Amaryll Beatrice Chanady, op cit., pp. 21-30.
90... William Spindler, "Magic Realism: A Typology", Forum for Modern Language Studies, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1 (1993, pp. 75-85).
91... See David Lodge, "The Art of Fiction: The Uncanny", The Independent on Sunday, 26 April, 1992.
92... James J. Alstrum, "Magic Realism", in Leonard S. Klein (ed.), Latin American Literature in the 20th Century: A Guide (Harpenden: Oldcastle Books, 1988), p. 270.
93... Gerald Martin, op. cit.
94... Ibid., p. 142.
95... For the opposite view see Irlemar Chiampi, op. cit., pp. 49-56.
96... Gerald Martin, op. cit., pp. 142-143.
97... Gabriel García Márquez in some of his Doce cuentos peregrinos (Madrid: Mondadori, 1992), for example.

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98. See, for example, Julio Ortega, *La contemplación y la fiesta* (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1969), pp. 117-133, and Roberto Paoli "Carnavalesco y tiempo cíclico en *Cien años de soledad*" in *Revista Iberoamericana*, Vol. L, Nos. 128-129 (Jul-Dec 1984), pp. 979-999. See also Mario Vargas Llosa, *Gabriel García Márquez: Historia de un deicidio* (La Paz: Difusión, 1971).
99. See Diana Palaversich, 'Eduardo Galeano: entre el postmodernismo y el postcolonialismo', *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1993). See also Gerald Martin, *Journeys through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century* (London & New York: Verso, 1989), chapter 9; and Severo Sarduy, "El barroco y el neobarroco" in César Fernández Moreno (ed.), *América Latina en su literatura* (México & París: Siglo Veintiuno & UNESCO, 1992), p. 177.
100. Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Latinoamérica: Así no', in *Nexos*, Año XII, Vol. 13, Número 146 (Febrero de 1990), p. 13.
101. Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 31.
102. Ticio Escobar, `Identidad, Mito: Hoy' in *Third Text*, No. 20 (London, Autumn 1992, pp. 23-32), p. 24.

[103.] Irlemar Chiampi, *El realismo maravilloso: Forma e ideología en la novela hispanoamericana* (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1983), p. 141. Italics in the original.
[104.] Some of the key figures in this debate are José Vasconcelos, José Carlos Mariátegui, Fernando Ortiz, Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Ricardo Rojas, Alejandro Lipschutz, Roberto Fernández Retamar, Angel Rama, Noé Jitrik and Jean Franco.
[105.] Jean Franco, "Border Patrol" in *Travesía*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1992, pp. 134-142), p. 140.
[106.] José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima: Amauta, 1958), p. 296.
[107.] Quoted in Roberto González Echevarría, *The Voice of the Masters: Writing and Authority in Modern Latin American Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), p. 40.
[108.] See Angel Rama, *La novela en América Latina. Panoramas 1920-1980* (Bogotá: Procultura, 1982), p. 209.
[109.] Fernando Ortiz, "Del fenómeno social de la 'transculturación' y de su importancia en Cuba", *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1983), p. 90. Angel Rama's quote from this work contains some small inaccuracies. See Angel Rama, op. cit., p. 209.
[110.] Angel Rama, op. cit., pp. 209-217.
[111.] See Patricia Seed, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse", *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 26, No. 3, (1991), pp. 181-200. See also Peter Hulme's definition in *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), p. 2.
[112.] See Irlemar Chiampi, op. cit., pp. 127-128.
[113.] Diana Palaversich defines postcolonial writing as "una práctica ideológico-estética que se resiste al postmodernismo y su impulso 'desideologizante', y que expresa la necesidad del mundo no occidental de forjar su propia imagen e identidad", op. cit., p. 11.
[114.] See, for example, Carlos Rincón, "Nociones surrealistas, concepción del lenguaje y función ideológico-literaria del 'realismo mágico' en Miguel Angel Asturias". Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (edición crítica, coordinador: Gerald Martin; París: Archivos ALLCA XXe, 1992), p. 722.
[115.] Ticio Escobar, op. cit., p. 27.
[116.] Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 11.
[117.] Ticio Escobar, op. cit., pp. 28-32.
[118.] Eduardo Galeano, *Ser como ellos y otros artículos* (Montevideo: Ediciones del Chanchito, 1992), p. 15.
[119.] Edmundo O'Gorman, op. cit., p. 14.
[120.] Naomi Lindstrom, 'Dependency and Autonomy: The Evolution of Concepts in the Study of Latin American Literature', in *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, (Neue Folge), Jahrgang 17, Heft 2/3 (1991, pp. 109-144), p. 116.
[121.] In Brazil, José de Alencar proposed an alternative to Bello's project to Americanize the colonial languages, by celebrating in his novels the virtues of the language of the Tupi-Guaraní. Alencar's project, which became known as *americanismo*, however, was circumscribed by its idealist reading of Indigenous cultures: "The customs and speech of the Indians were to become an authentic local source of inspiration, more authentic than those proper to the imported European language (in this case Portuguese), and hence were to provide models for social and political behaviour. In practice, this meant a highly selective reading of native ethics and of the world view they were set into; and the programme made little headway, since even so the gulf between the desired source and bourgeois life in Rio de Janeiro simply remained too great". Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources", in John King (ed.), *Modern Latin American Fiction: A Survey* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 62.

[122.] José Luis Martínez, "Unidad y diversidad", in César Fernández Moreno (ed.), op. cit., p. 75.
[123.] Roberto González Echevarría, op. cit., p. 41.
[124.] *Ibid*., p. 42.
[125.] See, for example, Columbus' description of "many trees very different from ours, and among them many which had branches of many kinds, and all on one trunk. And one little branch is of one kind, and another of another, and so different that it is the greatest wonder in the world", or of tropical fish: "Here the fish are so different from ours, that it is a marvel". Quoted in Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago and Oxford: The University of Chicago Press and Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 76.
[126.] Roberto González Echevarría, op. cit., p. 4.
[127.] See Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967), ch. 4.
[128.] *Ibid*., p. 126.
[129.] William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 199.
[130.] *Ibid*.
[131.] See Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 17.
[132.] See Rubén Bareiro Saguier, 'Encuentro de culturas' in César Fernández Moreno (ed.), op. cit., p. 26.
[133.] Gordon Brotherston, *Latin American Poetry: Origins and Presence* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 32-33.
[134.] For a discussion of Bello's attempt to find a marriage between classic and American values, see *Ibid*., pp. 34-36.
[135.] Naomi Lindstrom, op. cit., p. 116. The contradiction contained in Bello's proposal is identified by Gordon Brotherston in these terms: "That his Lombard Street and City friends could read his lush description of American produce as an investor's brochure heightened the difficulty of his own hope and ambition as a Latin American in his poem". *Latin American Poetry: Origins and Presence*, p. 34.
[136.] "The `Europeanization' of American flora and fauna was not the unintended by-product of contact between the Old World and the New. It was a central objective of the Conquest: to provide the conquistadors with the foods and beasts of burden to which they were accustomed; to weaken the resistance of native peoples; and most importantly, to supply Europe with the goods it coveted.

The plantation was the organized form this process took: land was cleared, a foreign species introduced where natural predators did not exist, all species not conducive to the monocrop economy were persecuted and often exterminated". `The Conquest of Nature - 1492-1992', in *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Volume XXV, No. 2 (September 1991), p. 5.
[137.] See Peter Hulme, op. cit., p. 242.
[138.] Roberto Schwarz, *Misplaced Ideas: Essays on Brazilian Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 1992), p. 14.
[139.] *Ibid*., p. 1.
[140.] Roberto González Echevarría, op. cit., p. 11.
[141.] *Ibid*., p. 12.
[142.] Roberto Schwartz, op. cit., p. 15.
[143.] See Estuardo Núñez, 'Lo latinoamericano en otras literaturas', in César Fernández Moreno (ed.), op. cit., p. 115, for an account of how French and Catalan authors began to use the term *Amérique latine* from the second half of the 19th Century onwards.

[144.] José Carlos Mariátegui wrote of Spain that "(p)ara nuestros pueblos en crecimiento no representa siquiera el fenómeno capitalista". *Crítica Literaria* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Jorge Alvarez, 1969), p. 193.
[145.] op. cit., pp. 12-13.
[146.] *Ibid*., p. 9.
[147.] Angel Rama, op. cit., p. 221.
[148.] Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist*, p. 8.
[149.] Gordon Brotherston, "Gaspar Ilóm en su tierra". Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (edición crítica, 1992), p. 595.
[150.] Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 126.
[151.] José Eustasio Rivera, *La Vorágine* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1985), p. 59.
[152.] Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist*, p. 86.
[153.] José Eustasio Rivera, op. cit., pp. 142-143.
[154.] *Ibid*., p. 150.
[155.] *Ibid*., p. 109. See also p. 138: "¿Por qué no ruge toda la selva y nos aplasta como a reptiles para castigar la explotación vil? ¡Aquí no siento tristeza sino desesperación! ¡Quisiera tener con quien conspirar! ¡Quisiera librar la batalla de las especies, morir en los cataclismos, ver invertidas las fuerzas cósmicas!".
[156.] *Ibid*., p. 176. See also p. 181.
[157.] *Ibid*., pp. 48-49.
[158.] *Ibid*., p. 83. Rómulo Gallegos' *Canaima* (1935), while dealing with the same themes, takes a more positive view of Indigenous peoples. See Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist*, p. 88.
[159.] José Eustasio Rivera, op. cit., p. 86. As Gordon Brotherston notes, however, Rivera does incorporate a fragment of Amazonian cosmogony in the form of the Mapiripana narrative. Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources", p. 75. See José Eustasio Rivera, op. cit., pp. 97-99.
[160.] *Ibid*., p. 86.
[161.] *Ibid*., pp. 90, 100, 138, 141-142.
[162.] *Ibid*., p. 85.
[163.] Rubén Bareiro Saguier, "Encuentro de culturas" en César Fernández Moreno (ed.), op. cit., p. 37.
[164.] Irlemar Chiampi, op. cit., p. 22.
[165.] Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources", p. 65.
[166.] Roberto Fernández Retamar, "Intercomunicación y nueva literatura", in César Fernández Moreno (ed.), op. cit., p. 319.
[167.] Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources", p. 65.
[168.] Earlier a cultural movement called *Modernismo* appeared in Spanish-speaking America towards the end of the nineteenth Century. It sought the renewal of the Spanish language and looked at the French symbolist poets for inspiration. *Modernismo* was to influence many twentieth-Century Latin American writers, including authors of magic realist novels. Indeed, the first Latin American novel with magic realist characteristics was the *modernista* Pedro Prado's *Alsino* (1920). *Modernismo* reflected the contradictions within the bourgeoisie's hegemonic cultural discourse, which contained an affirmation of American identity despite its reliance on European models. Important figures within the *modernista* movement such as the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío, and the hero of Cuban Independence, José Martí, a figure who links the revolution in language brought about by *Modernismo* with the anti-colonial struggle, warned of the United States' imperialist designs towards Latin America. The main *modernista* text that deals with the relationship between the rising power of the United States and Latin America is

Ariel by the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó. Rodó's text also introduces the characters from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* to the Latin American debate of cultural identity as emblems for civilization and barbarism.

[169.] Angel Rama, op. cit., p. 222.

[170.] *Ibid*., pp. 294-360.

[171.] José Eustasio Rivera, op. cit., pp. 97-99. Alejo Carpentier, whose narrator in *Los pasos perdidos* undertakes a similar journey to that of Rivera's Arturo Cova, refers to the same myth: "El bosque tenía un dueño, que era un genio que brincaba sobre un solo pie". Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1973), p. 86.

[172.] Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources", p. 75.

[173.] Ricardo Güiraldes, *Don Segundo Sombra* (edición crítica, coordinador: Paul Verdevoye; París: Archivos ALLCA XXe, 1991), pp. 80-88. Story-telling is included in the novel as one of Don Segundo's many skills (p. 66). The importance of the arts of the story-teller in magic realist texts will become apparent as this thesis progresses. Furthermore, Don Segundo, it is insinuated, could be also a magician (pp. 114-115). All this, together with the many references to his shadowy origins, evidenced in his name, make Don Segundo a mysterious and almost supernatural figure, comparable to those of story-tellers found in magic realist texts.

[174.] *Ibid*., p. 232 (Eduardo Romano, Notas Explicativas, endnote 51).

[175.] *Ibid*., endnote 56.

[176.] *Ibid*., p. 83.

[177.] José Eustasio Rivera, op. cit., pp. 97-99.

[178.] Ricardo Güiraldes, op. cit., p. 81.

[179.] Roberto González Echevarría, op. cit., p. 11.

[180.] Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources". See also *The Emergence of the Latin American novel* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge Universtiy Press, 1977).

[181.] Angel Flores, "Magical Realism in Spanish American Fiction", in *Hispania*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Baltimore, May, 1955, pp. 187-192), p. 189.

[182.] Prado's story of a boy who wants to fly, becomes crippled after falling from a tree, and who finally grows wings, has echoes of the Andean myth about an age when "everyone will have wings" (William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit., pp. 60-61. See also Ariel Dorfman, *Hacia la liberación del lector latinoamericano*, Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1984, p. 77). It is not clear, however, whether this was a source for *Alsino*. García Márquez also explores this theme in his short story "Un señor muy viejo con unas alas enormes" (1968).

[183.] See Gordon Brotherston, "Pacaraima as Destination in Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos*", in *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1993).

[184.] *Ibid*.

[185.] See Angel Rama on the regenaration of the regionalist novel. op. cit., pp. 127, 204-208.

[186.] Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 138.

[187.] *Ibid*.

[188.] This reveals a concern with the interconnections between dissimilarities and the search for common denominators or affinities amongst heterogenous categories. This is all related to magic as an epistemological practice.

[189.] Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, p. 68.

[190.] Miguel Angel Asturias, *El Señor Presidente* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1977), p. 7.

[191.] Quoted in Georg Lukács, "Franz Kafka or Thomas Mann?", in D. Craig, *Marxists on Literature. An Anthology* (Penguin Books, 1975), p. 380.
[192.] Gabriel García Márquez, *El olor de la guayaba: Conversaciones con Plinio Apuleyo Mendoza* (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1982), p. 41.
[193.] Quoted in Angel Flores, op. cit. p. 189.
[194.] Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad* (Bogotá: Editorial La Oveja Negra, 1989), pp. 21-22.
[195.] *Ibid*., p. 14.
[196.] *Ibid*., pp. 179-180.
[197.] *Ibid*., p. 180.
[198.] *Ibid*., pp. 180-181.
[199.] *Ibid*., p. 210.
[200.] Eugenio Dulog Matibag, *The Sleep of Reason: Alejo Carpentier and the Crisis of Latin American Modernity*, PhD Thesis, University of California, Irvine, 1986, pp. 3-4.
[201.] Carpentier's choice of this title is, of course, ironic, as he himself revealed. *Ibid*., p. 8.
[202.] *Ibid*., p. 4.
[203.] *Ibid*., p. 10.
[204.] *Ibid*., p. 78.
[205.] Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad*, p. 315.
[206.] Gabriel García Márquez, *El olor de la guayaba: Conversaciones con Plinio Apuleyo Mendoza*, p. 104.
[207.] *Ibid*., p. 112.
[208.] See Roberto Paoli, op. cit. See also Julio Ortega, op. cit., pp. 130-131, and Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, *El barroco literario en Hispanoamérica* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1991), p 123.
[209.] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 19.
[210.] Mário de Andrade, "Extremely Interesting Preface" in *Hallucinated City* (*Paulicea Desvariada*, translated by Jack E. Tomlins, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), p. 8.
[211.] Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 227. Note here Bakhtin's comments on Rabelais' style and his "carnivalesque use of numbers". Numbers in Rabelais, according to Bakhtin, are "striking and produce a comic effect through hyperbole... the comic effect is obtained by a pretense at exactitude in situations where a precise count is impossible... Furthermore, the count is quite unnecessarily precise...". Bakhtin, moreover, contrasts the "unbalanced and unstable" numbers found in Rabelais (inexact, asymmetrical figures such as two hundred sixty thousand four hundred and eighteen) with the antique and medieval aesthetics of the number, which he defines as "determined, finite, rounded, symmetrical". Mikhail Bakhtin, op. cit., pp. 463-465.
[212.] Carol Lacy Salazar, *La cosmovisión primitiva del narrador magicorrealista*, PhD Thesis, The University of Arizona, 1984, p. 218.
[213.] Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad*, p. 181.
[214.] *Ibid*.
[215.] Eugenio Dulog Matibag, op. cit., pp. 120-121.
[216.] Mikhail Bakhtin, op. cit., p. 18.
[217.] *Ibid*., p. 4.
[218.] *Ibid*., pp. 439-453.
[219.] This idea is explored in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*.
[220.] op. cit., see Chapter 6, "Images of the Material Bodily Lower Stratum", pp. 368-436.
[221.] *Ibid*., p. 21.

[222.] Michael O'Pray, "Surrealism, Fantasy and the Grotesque: The Cinema of Jan Svankmajer", in James Donald (ed.), *Fantasy and the Cinema* (London: BFI, 1989), p. 258.
[223.] In Alejo Carpentier's *El siglo de las luces*, "la Máquina" is none other than the guillotine. The identification of scientific progress with the technology of death is made explicit also in *Los pasos perdidos*, where the narrator expresses his horror at the atrocities commited by the Nazis, which he encounters in a visit to post-war Europe as an interpreter:
"Lo nuevo aquí, lo inédito, lo moderno, era aquel antro del horror, aquella cancillería del horror, aquel coto vedado del horror que nos tocara conocer en nuestro avance: la Mansión del Calofrío, donde todo era testimonio de torturas, exterminios en masa, cremaciones, entre murallas salpicadas de sangre y de excrementos, montones de huesos, dentaduras humanas arrinconadas a paletadas, sin hablar de las muertes peores, logradas en frío, por manos enguantadas de caucho, en la blancura aséptica, neta, luminosa, de las cámaras de operaciones". (pp. 95-96). Given this identification between machines and death, it is not surprising to find the narrator, in the same text, proclaiming with relish: "yo pensaba en lo mucho que se exaspera el hombre, cuando sus máquinas dejan de obedecerle". (p. 57).
[224.] Eugenio Dulog Matibag, op. cit., p. 94.
[225.] See Mikhail Bakhtin, op. cit., p. 21, on the principle of "degradation" in grotesque realism.
[226.] *Ibid*., p. 32. See also Michael O'Pray, op. cit., p. 256.
[227.] In *Les fonctions mentales dans les societés inferieures* (1912), Lucien Levy-Bruhl referred to a special kind of psychological relationship with natural objects, which he named *participation mystique*, in which the individual cannot clearly perceive a separation between him or herself and the object. This condition was supposed to prevail in "primitive" societies where it gave rise to animism and panteism. Needless to say, there is nothing inferior or primitive about such forms of thought, which are, in fact, indicative of philosophies more in tune with ecological principles, than the ones that have resulted in the exploitation and destruction of our planet.
[228.] Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American novel*, p. 28.
[229.] Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (Edición crítica, coordinador: Gerald Martin; París, México, Madrid, Buenos Aires: Klincksiek, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), p. 82.
[230.] Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad*, p. 115.
[231.] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[232.] Isabel Allende, *La casa de los espíritus* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1984), p. 12.
[233.] Alejo Carpentier, *El siglo de las luces* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979), p. 125.
[234.] Alejo Carpentier, *El reino de este mundo* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1986), pp. 20-21.
[235.] *Ibid*., p. 33.
[236.] *Ibid*., p. 36.
[237.] Miguel Angel Asturias, *El Señor Presidente*, p. 8.
[238.] *Ibid*., p. 160.
[239.] *Ibid*., p. 161.
[240.] *Ibid*., p. 13.
[241.] *Ibid*., p. 23.
[242.] See Seymour Menton, *Historia Crítica de la Novela Guatemalteca* (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1985), p. 221, and his reference to the "biological processes" of the Grotesque in Asturias.
[243.] Miguel Angel Asturias, *El Señor Presidente*, p. 36.
[244.] José Arcadio's sexual prowess, for example, p. 80. See also the copulation of the prehistoric creatures in Abel Posse, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[245.] In this context, it is interesting to note Ernesto's concerns about Doña Felipa's body, as pointed out by Ariel Dorfman: "Ernesto mismo, con su zumbayllu, trata de proteger a la amotinada, especialmente su cuerpo, para que no sufra los vejámenes reservados a esa otra mujer, la opa: 'No podrían quizá alcanzar su cuerpo. Eso era importante, pensaba. Los gendarmes, furiosos, ante un cuerpo atravesado, odiado y tan deforme, qué no le harían?'". Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
[246.] See Aureliano Segundo's eating contest with a woman known as "The Elephant" in *Cien años de soledad* (pp. 209-210), and the Giant Piaiman's grotesque death in Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma* (London, Melbourne, New York: Quartet Books, 1984), p. 129.
[247.] Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, p. 95. Compare this excerpt with the following: "The pre-Islamic Arabs believed that the poet possessed supernatural wisdom by reason of his alliance with spirits... The poet's chief function was to compose satire (*hijá*) against the tribal enemy. The satire was like a curse; it was always thought to be fatal, and it was as important an element of waging war as the actual fighting itself. Arab tribesmen thought of the *hijá* concretely, as a weapon which rival poets hurled at each other as they would hurl spears; and indeed a man at whom the *hijá* was directed might dodge, just as he would try to dodge a spear, by ducking and twisting and dancing aside". Robert C. Elliott, *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 15. In Salman Rushdie's magic realist novel *Midnight's Children* (London: Picador, 1981), moreover, one of the children of the title was "a sharp-tongued girl whose words already had the power to inflict physical wounds, so that after a few adults had found themselves bleeding freely as a result of some barb flung casually from her lips, they had decided to lock her in a bamboo cage and float her off down the Ganges to the Sundarbans jungles (which are the rightful home of monsters and phantasms)". (p. 198). This theme in magic realist texts points to the magic of the spoken word, to which I will return in Chapter 5.
[248.] Mikhail Bakhtin, op. cit., p. 27.
[249.] Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad*, p. 200.
[250.] See, for example, Gloria Bautista Gutiérrez, *Realismo mágico, cosmos latinoamericano* (Bogotá: Editorial América Latina, 1991), pp. 72-80.
[251.] Gabriel García Márquez, *El amor en los tiempos del cólera* (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1985), p. 71.
[252.] Isabel Allende, op. cit., p. 113.
[253.] Outside of the Latin American context, Gunther Grass' *The Tin Drum* is full of grotesque deaths: the protagonist's mother, for instance, dies of fish poisoning after eating huge quantities of fish, and Matzerath, his putative father, dies by swallowing a nazi insignia. Greff, the greengrocer, furthermore, builds a contraption that will not only kill him but also play music afterwards. See also the description of the death of Rear Admiral Koproshmatin's widow in Andrei Mikhailovich Sobol's *Panopticum*.
[254.] Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, p. 129.
[255.] William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit., p. 203.
[256.] Mary Russo, "Female Grotesques: Carnival and Theory" in Teresa de Laurentis (ed.), *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
[257.] Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel*, pp. 5-8.
[258.] William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit., p. 40.
[259.] Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel*, p. 7.
[260.] William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit., pp. 38-39.
[261.] Quoted in *Ibid*., p. 40.
[262.] *Ibid*.
[263.] *Ibid*.

[264.] In contrast to Latin America, Spain has produced very few examples of magic realist fiction. Caballero Bonald's novel is a rare example.
[265.] Luis López Alvarez, *Conversaciones con Miguel Angel Asturias* (San José: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1976), p. 204.
[266.] Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 67.
[267.] See, for example, Gordon Brotherston, "Gaspar Ilóm en su tierra", p. 600, in relation to Asturias' *Hombres de maíz*.
[268.] José Eustasio Rivera, op. cit., pp. 147 and 200.
[269.] Ricardo Güiraldes, op. cit., pp. 109-110.
[270.] Abel Posse, *Daimón* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1989), p. 27.
[271.] Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (edición crítica, 1981), p. 8.
[272.] Jean Franco, "Dr. Urbino's Parrot", *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, Vol 1, No. 2 (Spring 1993).
[273.] Ernesto's interpretation of the plague being caused by Abancay's evil, embodied by Lleras, for example. This view is made explicit in the identification of the latter with the plague in the novel's closing paragraph. José María Arguedas, *Los ríos profundos* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1967), p. 261. Palacitos shares Ernesto's magical views on disasters being caused by crimes against nature. When Lleras pronounces racist insults against the Hermano, for example, Palacitos cries: "¡Qué sucederá! ¡Qué habrá! ¡Lloverá quizá ceniza! ¡Quizá la helada matará a las plantitas! ¡El cielo va a vengarse, hermanitos!", p. 143.
[274.] Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad*, p. 320.
[275.] "Pietro Crespi dijo:
-Es su hermana.
-No me importa -replicó José Arcadio.
Pietro Crespi se enjugó la frente con el pañuelo impregnado de espliego.
-Es contra natura -explicó- y, además, la ley lo prohíbe". Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 80. See also the passage where the last Aureliano is invited to get drunk by a man with "un brazo seco y como achicharrado por haberlo levantado contra su madre". *Ibid*., p. 323.
[276.] *Ibid*., p. 182.
[277.] *Ibid*., p. 17.
[278.] Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, p. 42. See also the description of insect life in p. 58.
[279.] *Ibid*., p. 60.
[280.] Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (edición crítica, 1981), p. 8.
[281.] See Gordon Brotherston, "Gaspar Ilóm en su tierra".
[282.] Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 177.
[283.] Such as the yellow rabbits which "resist, mock and prevail like guerrillas darting unpredictably in and out of natural cover", Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel*, p. 27.
[284.] Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (edición crítica, 1981), p. 11.
[285.] *Ibid*., Gerald Martin, "Estudio general", p. lxxxv.
[286.] *Ibid*., p. xcii.
[287.] Ricardo Güiraldes, op. cit., p. 40. Note also Güiraldes' misogyny in pp. 62 and 65. In Rómulo Gallegos, *Doña Bárbara* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1985), furthermore, the *llanos* are referred to as "tierra de los hombres machos", (p. 40).
[288.] The eponymous Doña Bárbara who, according to Gallegos (op. cit., p. 5), symbolises the plains, is a *mestiza* (p. 21). In the novel's opening pages, moreover, Gallegos distinguishes between people of "razas inferiores, crueles y sombrías" and the (presumably *mestizo*) inhabitants of the plains (p. 8).

289. *Ibid*., pp. 39 and 40.
290. *Ibid*., p. 18.
291. Note, in this context, how Gallegos compares Doña Bárbara with "las monstruosidades de la naturaleza". *Ibid*., p. 120.
292. *Ibid*., pp. 5, 21. Note that, although she comes to represent the plains, Doña Bárbara's origins lie in the jungle, pp. 21-23.
293. Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1973), p. 114.
294. *Ibid*., p. 114. Apart from Carpentier's unnamed narrator's obvious *machismo*, his admiration for "hombres que fueron tomados por centauros" (p. 115) is deeply suspect, for in the context of the Latin American political imaginary, horsemen are identified with *caudillismo, caciquismo*, and other authoritarian political forms. Gallegos, in *Doña Bárbara*, establishes this link: "aquella raza de hombres sin miedo que había dado más de un centauro a la epopeya, aunque también más de un cacique a la llanura", op. cit., p. 18.
295. Gioconda Belli, for example, establishes a direct relationship between the land and Woman as fertile bodies in her magic realist novel *Sofía de los presagios* (Managua: Vanguardia, 1993). Sofía, the heroine, "(c)uando hace sus ritos silenciosos, siente la fuerza de la humedad en sus huesos, siente que su cuerpo es parte del campo arado y del jardín. Pero no es suficiente ese poder. La tierra tiene poder porque seduce al sembrador y convierte en plantas la semilla", pp. 190-191.
296. Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, p. 43.
297. Rómulo Gallegos, op. cit., p. 5.
298. "Rosario... De la mañana a la tarde y de la tarde a la noche se hacía más auténtica, mas verdadera, más cabalmente dibujada en un paisaje que fijaba sus constantes a medida que nos acercábamos al río. Entre su carne y la tierra que se pisaba se establecían relaciones escritas en las pieles ensombrecidas por la luz, en la semejanza de las cabelleras visibles, en la unidad de formas que daba a los talles, a los hombros, a los muslos que aquí se alababan, una factura común de obra salida de un mismo torno. Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, p. 107.
299. Alejo Carpentier, *El siglo de las luces*, p. 227. In Gioconda Belli's novel *Sofía de los presagios* the cult of Nature and the Goddess is thus described by Xintal: "La Diosa anida en los vientres de las mujeres y en el falo de los hombres, porque allí es donde comienza la vida desde donde todo lo demás se genera. Sólo la oscuridad de las almas extrañadas de la naturaleza, ha podido inventar un dios macho con una madre virgen, para quien el placer que produce la vida, es pecado". Gioconda Belli, op. cit., p. 147.
300. Alejo Carpentier, *El siglo de las luces*, p. 233.
301. *Ibid*., p. 230.
302. *Ibid*., p. 233.
303. *Ibid*., p. 234.
304. *Ibid*., p. 230.
305. Peter Hulme, op. cit.
306. Jon Stratton, *Writing Sites: A Genealogy of the Postmodern World* (London and New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 153.
307. Rómulo Gallegos, op. cit., p. 111.
308. Abel Posse, op. cit., pp. 61-63.
309. William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit., p. 23.
310. For Doña Bárbara's magical practices see Rómulo Gallegos, op. cit., pp. 11, 25, 29, 52, 53, etc. Note the syncretic character of Doña Bárbara's beliefs: "Dios o demonio tutelar, era lo mismo para ella, ya que en su espíritu, hechicería y creencias religiosas, conjuros y oraciones, todo estaba revuelto y confundido

en una sola masa de superstición, así como sobre su pecho estaban en perfecta armonía amuletos de los brujos indios y escapularios, y sobre la repisa del cuarto de los misteriosos conciliábulos con 'el Socio', estampas piadosas, cruces de palma bendita, colmillos de caimán, piedras de curvinata y de centella, y fetiches que se trajo de las rancherías indígenas, consumían el aceite de una común lamparilla votiva" (p. 29).

311. See Laura Esquivel, *Como agua para chocolate* (New York: Doubleday, 1993), pp. 105-108.

312. See the episode about Blanca's marital experiences in Chile's far north in chapter 8, and her description of "el maléfico reino de los incas", which, frankly, verges on racism. Isabel Allende, op. cit., p. 232.

313. See, for instance, this version of the origins of the Afro-Brazilian popular religious practice of *candomblé*, as related by a *pai de santo* (priest): "El primer convento de candomblé... fue fundado por una esclava liberada que solamente comprendía mujeres, todavía no habían nacido los *babalaos* hombres". Rosalba Oxandabarat, "Yemanjá en el Río de la Plata", *Brecha*, Año VI, No. 271 (Montevideo, 8 de febrero de 1991), p. 20.

314. María Luisa Bombal, "El árbol", in Héctor Medina and Phoebe Ann Porter (eds.), *Exploraciones imaginativas: Quince cuentos hispanoamericanos* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), p. 124.

315. See, in this context, Sofía's transformation from an unhappy wife looking for a place to hide (p. 41) to a woman versed in magic and "prepared for life", thanks to the teachings of Xintal (p. 149), in *Sofía de los presagios*. Gioconda Belli, op. cit.

316. Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad*, pp. 41, 57.

317. Rosario Ferré, "La muñeca menor", in Héctor Medina and Phoebe Ann Porter (eds.), op. cit., p. 182.

318. *Ibid*. p. 183.

319. Deformity as a characteristic of the shaman extends to Ernesto's zumbayllu (which functions as a medium or messenger) in *Los ríos profundos*: "Era de verdad *winku*, es decir, deforme, sin dejar de ser redondo; y *layk'a*, es decir, brujo, porque rojizo en manchas difusas. Por eso cambiaba de voz y de colores, como si estuviera hecho de agua". José María Arguedas, op. cit., p. 140.

320. Rosario Ferré, op. cit., p. 185.

321. Susan Bassnet, "Coming out of the Labyrinth: Women Writers in Contemporary Latin America", John King (ed.), op. cit., p. 252.

322. Marta Lamas, "Identity as Women?: The Dilemma of Latin American Feminism" in Rachel Weiss (ed.), *Being América: Essays on Art, Literature and Identity from Latin America* (New York: White Pine Press, 1991), p. 133.

323. Isabel Allende, op. cit., p. 77.

CHAPTER 3

324. Gerald Martin, Journeys through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century (London & New York: Verso, 1989), p. 235.

325. William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, Memory and Modernity, Popular Culture in Latin America (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 214.

326. Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 219.

327. Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 12.

328. Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 225.

329. Raymond Williams, Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 145.
330. Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 108-109.
331. Ibid., p. 110.
332. Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Cultural Writings (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985), p. 41.
333. Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature, p. 112.
334. Néstor García Canclini criticizes what he considers the formulation of the subordinate and the hegemonic cultures as separate systems in the Gramscian approach: "Un problema común a toda la orientación gramsciana es que, por insistir tanto en la contraposición de la cultura subalterna y la hegemónica, y en la necesidad política de defender la independencia de la primera, llega a concebir a ambas como sistemas exteriores entre sí". Las culturas populares en el capitalismo (México: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1986), pp. 70-71. Although this criticism might be valid when applied to some of Gramsci's followers, it could not be more inaccurate in the case of Gramsci himself, as any reading of his works would show (see p. 138, for example).
335. Gramsci, for instance, when writing about the role of intellectuals in society, argues that the apparatus of State coercion "is constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis in command and direction when spontaneous consent diminishes". Antonio Gramsci, The Modern Prince and other writings (New York: International Publishers, 1968), p. 124. In other words, the State resorts to coercion only in moments of crisis when consent breaks down, and not as the main mechanism of class rule. This ignores the possibility of State formations based to a large extent on violent repression and coercion, not as temporary measures but as permanent features of political rule. Such forms of government have existed in Latin America in the recent past, and in some countries they continue to exist and operate (in Haiti, for example). For a study of the dynamics of State violence and repression in Latin America see John W. Sloan, "State Repression and Enforcement Terrorism in Latin America", in Michael Stohl and George A. Lopez (eds.), The State as Terrorist: The Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), pp. 83-98. See also Eduardo Luis Duhalde, El estado terrorista argentino (Buenos Aires: El Caballito, 1983). For the effects of government repression in Latin American countries see the various reports of Americas Watch and Amnesty International, particularly the latter's "Guatemala: A Government Program of Political Murder" (1981) and "Haiti: Human Rights held to Ransom" (1992).
336. José Carlos Mariátegui, Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana (Lima: Amauta, 1958), p. 295.
337. See, for example, Donald L. Shaw, Nueva narrativa hispanoamericana (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), pp. 65-66; and William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit., p. 156.
338. Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources", in John King (ed), Modern Latin American Fiction: A Survey (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 66.
339. Gordon Brotherston, The Emergence of the Latin American novel (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 21.
340. Gramsci writes in this respect that "there is a 'morality of the people', understood as a determinate (in space and time) set of principles for practical conduct and of customs that derive from them or have produced them. Like superstition, this morality is closely tied to real religious beliefs. Imperatives exist that are much stronger, more tenacious and more effective than those of official 'morality'. In this sphere, too, one must distinguish various strata: the fossilized ones which

reflect conditions of past life and are therefore conservative and reactionary, and those which consist of a series of innovations, often creative and progressive, determined spontaneously by forms and conditions of life which are in the process of developing and which are in contradiction to or simply different from the morality of the governing strata". Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Cultural Writings, p. 190.

341. The notion of "run-away slaves", as Jean Casimir points out, is not only a contradiction in terms (a free person is no longer a slave) but denotes an implicit acceptance of the legal right of ownership of the plantation owner over the person who escaped from it. See Jean Casimir, La cultura oprimida (México: Nueva Imagen, 1981), p. 51.

342. As in the siege of La Paz by Tupac Katari in 1781.

343. See Josefina Oliva de Coll, La resistencia indígena ante la conquista (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1988).

344. Jean Casimir, op. cit., p. 95. See also Carlos Esteban Deive, Los guerrilleros negros (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1989).

345. Such as the neo-Inca state that Tupac Amaru attempted to create in Peru from 1780 to 1781. In the case of Afro-Americans, Jean Casimir writes of the Haitian Marron society as a production system of "counter-plantation", in opposition to the plantation system based on slavery. op cit. pp. 91-99. See also Abdias Do Nascimento, O Quilombismo: Documentos de una militância pan-africanista (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1980), pp. 262-265.

346. Antonio Gramsci, The Modern Prince and other writings, p. 89.

347. William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit. p. 11.

348. When they write, for instance, of the Brazilian cantadores (travelling singers): "in the large cities, the practice of the cantadores has been marked by its **cultural resistance** and, paradoxically, this has in part been due to the use which they have been able to make of the culture industry as a way of maintaining their cultural identity". Ibid., p. 96. (Emphasis added).

349. It is necessary to emphasize, however, the ambiguous and fluid nature of cultural practices, including those of popular culture, which allow them to operate at different levels of meaning simultaneously. New meanings, furthermore, can be given to old practices at any point, subverting them and reactivating their counter-hegemonic characteristics.

350. Some examples include: June Nash, We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Michael Taussig, The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Victoria Reifler Bricker, The Indian Christ, the Indian King: The Historical Substrate of Maya Myth and Ritual (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981); Steve Stern (ed), Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); and Kay B. Warren, The Symbolism of Subordination: Indian Identity in a Guatemalan Town (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989).

351. William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, op. cit., p. 94.

352. Ibid., pp. 186-188. See also Oriana Baddeley and Valerie Fraser, Drawing the Line: Art and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Latin America (London and New York: Verso, 1989), p. 120.

353. See Ana Cecilia Wadsworth and Ineke Dibbits, Agitadoras de buen gusto: Historia del sindicato de culinarias (1935-1958) (La Paz: Tahipamu-Hisbol, 1989).

354. For the following discussion on popular culture I will draw considerably on William Rowe and Vivian Schelling's comprehensive overview Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America and on the writings on culture of Raymond Williams in Marxism and Literature and Keywords.

355. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit., p. 3.
356. The term "folk-lore" was invented by William Jonathan Thoms in a letter to the British journal The Athenaeum in 1846. Williams, Keywords, p. 136. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit. pp. 3-4.
357. Williams, Keywords, p. 137.
358. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit., p. 4.
359. Williams, Keywords, p. 136.
360. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit., p. 4.
361. Ibid.
362. Ibid., p. 6.
363. Ibid.
364. For an assessment of the ways in which Latin American populist movements have used culture in order to build up their political power, with various degrees of success, see Néstor García Canclini, Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad (México: Grijalbo, 1990), pp. 245-251.
365. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit., pp. 138-142.
366. Enrique Florescano, 'Guadalupe de todos', in Nexos, Año X, Vol. 10, Núm. 109 (Enero de 1987, pp. 29-35), p. 29.
367. Ibid., p. 31.
368. Ibid., p. 35.
369. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit., p. 4.
370. Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Cultural Writings, p. 189.
371. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit., p. 4.
372. Paulo de Carvalho-Neto, El folklore en las luchas sociales (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1973).
373. Celso A. Lara F., Contribución del folklore al estudio de la historia (Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1977).
374. Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, Dialectic of Enlightenment (London, 1973).
375. Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic (New York, 1975).
376. Here it is interesting to note that one of the senses of "media" is the description of newspapers or broadcasting services as media for advertising. Williams, Keywords, p. 203.
377. Rowe and Shelling, op. cit., pp. 113-122.
378. Ibid., p. 8.
379. Williams, Marxism and Literature, p. 115.
380. Rowe and Schelling, op. cit., p. 2.
381. Gordon Brotherston, The Emergence of the Latin American novel, p. 1.
382. Williams, Marxism and Literature, p. 115.
383. Ibid.
384. Ibid., p. 116.
385. Monsieur Lenormand de Mezy's prayers to cure chilblains, for example (p. 60), or Paulina Bonaparte's magical practices under the direction of her slave Solimán (pp. 76-77). Alejo Carpentier, El reino de este mundo (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1986).
386. Gerald Martin, "Estudio general" in Miguel Angel Asturias, Hombres de maíz (edición crítica; París, México, Madrid, Buenos Aires: Editions Klincksieck & Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), p. cxxviii (footnote).
387. Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. 159.

388. Williams, Keywords, p. 90.
389. The term "folklorization", therefore, will not be understood in the sense of the process by which a practice or an institution belonging to the dominant classes is appropriated by the subordinate classes, as Celso Lara, for example, understands it, op. cit., p. 46; but as the opposite process, namely the appropriation by the dominant groups of practices and institutions which originate in the cultures of the subordinate groups.
390. This definition of the popular, furthermore, corresponds to the concept of "popular movements". See, for example, Daniel Camacho and Rafael Menjívar (eds.), Los movimientos populares en America Latina (México: Siglo Veintiuno & Universidad de las Naciones Unidas: 1989), pp. 28-30.
391. In this respect note Néstor García Canclini's view that "(l)a dificultad de definir qué es lo culto y que es lo popular, deriva de la contradicción de que ambas modalidades son organizaciones de lo simbólico engendradas por la modernidad, pero a la vez la modernidad -por su relativismo y antisustancialismo- las erosiona todo el tiempo". Culturas híbridas: Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad, p. 339. The difficulties of establishing the boundaries between popular and "high" culture in magic realism can be inferred from the recent appearance in Colombia of the cumbia "Macondo" which offers a commentary on García Márquez' Cien años de soledad: a case of mass-reproduced literary criticism (which can be sung, listened and danced to) of a literary work (which is also an international best-seller) which draws heavily on popular culture sources.
392. This coincides with the absence of the idea of mass culture as popular culture in the magic realist texts themselves.
393. The significance of this idea rests on the fact that it recognizes the importance of **use** rather than **origin** as markers of the popular. As Néstor García Canclini remarks: "Para que un hecho o un objeto sean populares no importa tanto su lugar de nacimiento (una comunidad indígena o una escuela de música), ni la presencia o ausencia de signos folklóricos (la rusticidad o la imagen de un dios precolombino), sino la utilización que los sectores populares hacen de ellos". Las culturas populares en el capitalismo, p. 202.
394. Unlike the earlier La tía Julia y el escribidor (1977), this novel does not deal with popular mass culture but, rather, with Andean Indigenous and peasant popular culture. It conforms then with the notion of popular culture as defined in this chapter.
395. Mario Vargas Llosa, Lituma en los Andes (Barcelona: Planeta, 1993), p. 81.
396. Ibid., pp. 310-312.
397. José María Arguedas, Los ríos profundos (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1967), pp. 148-149.
398. Sara Castro Klaren, El mundo mágico de José María Arguedas (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1973), p. 92.
399. José María Arguedas, op. cit., p. 140.
400. Ibid., pp. 154-155.
401. Ibid., p. 155.
402. Ibid., p. 140.
403. Julio Ortega, Texto, Comunicación y Cultura: "Los ríos profundos" de José María Arguedas (Lima: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Participación, 1982), p. 65.
404. José María Arguedas, op. cit., p. 171.
405. Jean Weisgerber (ed.), Le Réalisme magique: roman, peinture, cinéma (Bruxelles: L'Age d'Homme, 1987), p. 239.

CHAPTER 4

406. See Anthony Burgess, 'Latin Freakshow', in *The Observer*, 19 May, 1985 and Alfred J. Mac Adam, *Textual Confrontations: Comparative Readings in Latin American Literature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 175, where the adjectives "strange", "bizarre" and "eccentric" are associated with Latin American literature. See also in this context the characterizations of the work of Miguel Angel Asturias as "tropicalist", "baroque" and "exotic". Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (Edición crítica), (París, México, Madrid, Buenos Aires: Klincksiek, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), critical study by Gerald Martin, p. lxxxiii.
407. "(T)he essential characteristic of the novel, its historiographic core, is absent in Latin American fiction". Alfred J. Mac Adam, *Modern Latin American Narratives: the Dreams of Reason* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 6.
408. See Bakhtin's discussion of "Popular-Festive Forms and Images in Rabelais". Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 196-277.
409. This idea conforms with Bakhtin's notion of a "culture of folk humour", *Ibid*., p. 4.
410. The use of the present tense in this statement has to be qualified, for a process of folklorization has taken place in many Latin American countries where these manifestations have been, to some extent, appropriated by the hegemonic culture and the State, which after removing them from their original contexts, have defused their subversive charge in order to incorporate them in the creation of a national culture. This process is most obvious in Mexico and Brazil, but has taken place in some form or another in all Latin American countries. I feel that this statement is justified, nevertheless, by the fact that the ideology of the Spanish conquest is still used today to condone the genocide of Indigenous peoples in the Americas, as well as acts of cultural vandalism such as the recent razing by property developers of a pre-Hispanic archaeological site near San Salvador, or the construction of the infamous "Columbus Lighthouse" in the Dominican Republic.
411. Jean Franco, "Dr. Urbino's Parrot", *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1993), p. 164.
412. Jean Franco, for example, identifies in García Márquez' novels a "familiar juxtaposition of tradition and modernity, popular excess and bourgeois temperance". *Ibid*., p. 165.
413. Mikhail Bakhtin, op. cit., p. 281. Néstor García Canclini offers an alternative view of the Fiesta as a compensatory mechanism: "Esa *diferencia* de la fiesta, sus excesos, el derroche y la expansiva decoración, se entienden al vincularlos con las carencias rutinarias". *Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* (México: Editorial Nueva Imagen, 1986), p. 80.
414. Mikhail Bakhtin, op. cit., pp. 301-302.
415. Although colonial texts such as *El periquillo sarniento* and *El carnero* provide early examples, the first modern Latin American carnivalesque novel is Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (see Gerald Martin, *Journeys through the Labyrinth. Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, London & New York: Verso, 1989, pp. 143-144). In the European Literatures the Carnivalesque is present in a range of texts from the medieval Passion Plays via Erasmus and Rabelais, to Swift, Sterne and Gogol, and more recently, Bulgakov, Grass and Calvino.
416. David Carroll, quoted in James Donald (ed.), *Fantasy and the Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1989), p. 230. See also David Carroll, "Narrative, heterogeneity, and the question of the

political: Bakhtin and Lyotard", in Murray Krieger (ed.), *The Aims of representation: subject/text/history* (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 91-95.
417. See, for example, the gargantuan eating contest between Aureliano Segundo and Camila Sagastume in Gabriel García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad* (Bogotá: La Oveja Negra, 1989, pp. 203-204), or the description of the food eaten at Gaspar Ilóm's *fiesta* in *Hombres de maíz* (Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., pp. 15-17).
418. In the Indigenous cultures of the Andean region, for example, there is a close link between the hierarchy of the *ayllu* and the carnival: The *ayllu* authorities organize the groups of dancers every year at carnival time and take an active part in the celebrations. See Douglas Gifford and Pauline Hoggarth, *Carnival and Coca Leaf* (Edinburgh and London: Scottish Academic Press, 1976), p. 7.
419. José María Arguedas, *Los ríos profundos* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Universitaria, 1967), p. 247.
420. Pierre L. van den Berghe and G. P. Primov, *Inequality in the Peruvian Andes* (University of Missouri Press, 1977), p. 37.
421. Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), p. 12.
422. Bartolomé de Las Casas, "Thirty Very Juridical Propositions", in Columbia College Contemporary Civilization Staff (eds.), *Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West*, Vol. I (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 542-543.
423. Ramón Gutiérrez, *Las misiones jesuíticas de los guaraníes* (Rio de Janeiro: Unesco, 1987), p. 11.
424. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, 'Aymara Past, Aymara Future' in NACLA, 'The First Nations, 1492-1992', *Report on the Americas*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, (December 1991, pp. 18-23), p. 20.
425. Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Classes, Colonialism and Acculturation" in Irving L. Horowitz (ed.), *Masses in Latin America* (New York: Oxord University Press, 1970), p. 269.
426. Sheldon Annis, *God and Production in a Guatemalan Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), p. 17.
427. Ramón Gutiérrez, op. cit., p. 13.
428. This subject is given a somewhat idealistic literary treatment by Ernesto Cardenal in his poem "La Arcadia perdida", in *Los ovnis de oro (poemas indios)* (México: Siglo veintiuno, 1988).
429. Ramón Gutiérrez, op. cit., p. 21.
430. The Guardian, August 21, 1993, p. 12.
431. See Les Field, 'Ecuador's Pan-Indian Uprising', in NACLA, 'The First Nations, 1492-1992', *Report on the Americas*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, (December 1991, pp. 39-44), p. 40.
432. See Laënnec Hurbon, *Le barbare imaginaire* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Henri Deschamps, 1987), p. 221.
433. Eric Wolf, "Colonial Heritage: the Indian Community in the 1950s" in Jonathan L. Fried, et al. (eds.), *Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History* (New York: Grove Press, 1983), pp. 32-33.
434. Gordon R. Willey, for instance, argues that "we see in the Maya heritage a remarkable cultural unity and integrity that has been maintained over a sizeable territory... for almost 4,000 years". Gordon R. Willey, "The Maya Heritage", in *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 12-13.
435. Sheldon Annis, op. cit., p. 17.
436. Richard Chase Smith, "Liberal Ideology and Indigenous Communities in Post-Independence Peru" in *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 1982, pp. 73-82), pp. 77-78.
437. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, op. cit., p. 20. See also Sylvia Torres, "La terquedad de una raza: los sutiavas", in *Gente*, Año III, No. 139 (Managua, 9 de octubre de 1992), p. 6.

438. P. J. Viggers, "The Mayas and Ladinos of Guatemala" in G. Ashworth (ed.), *World Minorities*, Vol. 2 (1978, pp. 64-69), p. 66.
439. The *milpa* is a plot of land where maize is cultivated, usually intercropped with beans and other secondary crops, by members of a single family. As Sheldon Annis argues, it is "the physical and intellectual 'suprastructure' of a versatile and surprisingly practical productive system". op. cit., p. 34.
440. The *aynuqa* is a plot of land which belongs to the members of the *ayllu*. The *ayllu* is the characteristic unity of social organization of the Andean region, based, traditionally, on kinship. Denise Y. Arnold, Domingo Jiménez and Juan de Dios Yapita, *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1992), p. 248.
441. The *ejido* is a plot of land communally owned by the inhabitants of a village. During the Colonial period in Latin America (and in Spain) its existence was juridically recognized.
442. Jonathan L. Fried, et al., (eds.), op. cit., p. 22.
443. Richard Chase Smith, op. cit., pp. 78-79.
444. See Eric Wolf, "Closed Corporate Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java" in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 13 (1957), pp. 1-18.
445. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 15.
446. *Ibid*., p. 96.
447. *Ibid*.
448. See Guzmán-Böckler, C. and Herbert, J. L., *Guatemala: una interpretación histórico-social*, (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1970), pp. 90 and 159.
449. Sylvia Torres, op. cit.
450. NACLA, 'The First Nations, 1492-1992', in *Report on the Americas*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, (December 1991), p. 12.
451. Ariel Dorfman, *Hacia la liberación del lector latinoamericano* (Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1984), p. 17.
452. *Ibid*., p. 18.
453. *Ibid*., p. 16.
454. *Ibid*., pp. 16-17. Note here than in the *haciendas* belonging to "El Viejo" (Ernesto's tyrannical uncle), all Andean popular festive expressions are banned: "Don Manuel Jesús es severo y magnánimo; es un gran cristiano. En su hacienda no se emborrachan los indios, no tocan esas flautas y tambores endemoniados; rezan al amanecer y al *Angelus*; después se acuestan en el caserío. Reina la paz y el silencio de Dios en sus haciendas". José María Arguedas, op. cit., p. 247.
455. José María Arguedas, op. cit., p. 58.
456. Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, op. cit., p. 20.
457. Manning Nash, "The Impact of Mid-Nineteenth Century Economic Change upon the Indians of Middle America" in Magnus Mörner (ed.), *Race and Class in Latin America* (1970), p. 173.
458. Mikhail Bakhtin, op. cit., pp. 6-7. See also William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London & New York: Verso, 1991), p. 131.
459. See, Robert C. Elliott, *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 78-79.
460. The dances that these groups perform, moreover, have a marked counter-hegemonic character: "La danza es un poco sátira a los métodos utilizados por los conquistadores en el laboreo minero y otro poco, la melancólica manifestación o denuncia de sus sufrimientos como esclavos". Elías Delgado Morales, *Oruro capital del folklore boliviano* (La Paz: Biblioteca Orureña, 1988), p. 93.

461. According to the Haitian scholar Louis Maximilien, "(l)e carnaval haïtien... en totalité presque, est d'origine indienne". See, Louis Maximilien, "Quelques apports indiens dans la vie haïtienne", in Christophe Philippe Charles (ed.), *Christophe Colomb, les Indiens et leurs survivances en Haïti* (Port-au-Prince: Editions Christophe, 1992), pp. 178-183.
462. This identification has been based occasionally on historical facts, as in the case of the Garifuna or "Black Caribs", a racially mixed group which was forced out of the island of St. Vincent by the British and settled in the Caribbean Coast of Central America.
463. On 4 December 1803, when the war against the French interventionist forces is finally won "(o)n songea tout de suite à donner un nouveau nom à cette terre qui formait un nouvel Etat. Le nom d'Haïti rappelent les aborigènes qui s'etaient fait exterminer en défendant leur liberté sortit de toutes les bouches. Il fut accueilli avec enthousiasme et les indigènes s'appelèrent Haïtiens...". Dessalines and Pétion's provisional government, furthermore, was called "Government of the Incas", "en allusion au soulèvement des Incas du Pérou, contre la colonisation, en 1780". Jean Fouchard, "Où, quand et par qui fut choisi de redonner a notre Patrie le nom Indian d'Ayti", in Christophe Philippe Charles (ed.), op. cit., p. 220.
464. Ian Thomson, *'Bonjour Blanc': A Journey Through Haiti* (London: Penguin, 1993). p. 97. See also Franklin J. Franco, *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Editora Nacional, 1969).
465. Satire further links magic realism with the Carnival. Magic realist texts contain examples of both implicit and explicit satire, such as Musús' comment that "funcionario quiere decir persona que siempre tiene razón", in Asturias' *Hombres de maíz*, (p. 152), or the fact that in *Cien años de soledad* dreams, signs and omens are more reliable than the telegraph. Robert C. Elliott (op. cit.), furthermore, traces the origins of satire in art and literature back to magical practices.
466. Manning Nash, op. cit., pp. 178-179.
467. See, for example, Oscar Lewis, *Antropología de la pobreza* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961).
468. Rafael Bayce, "Carnaval: fiesta, fantasía, catarsis, inversión de status, control", *Cuadernos de Marcha* (Tercera época), Año VII, Número 69 (Marzo de 1992). pp. 13-20.
469. David Carroll, quoted in James Donald (ed.), op. cit., p. 230.
470. Gustavo Rodríguez Ostria and Humberto Solares Serrano, *Sociedad oligárquica, chicha y cultura popular* (Cochabamba: Editorial Serrano, 1990), p. 139.
471. See Denise Y. Arnold, Domingo Jiménez A. and Juan de Dios Yapita, *Hacia un orden andino de las cosas* (La Paz: Hisbol, 1992).
472. Gustavo Rodríguez Ostria and Humberto Solares Serrano, op. cit., pp. 142-143.
473. Ernesto Cardenal, "Economía de Tahuantinsuyu", in Julio Ortega (ed.), Antología de la poesía hispanoamericana actual (México; Siglo Veintiuno, 1987), p. 271.
474. Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 33.
475. Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., chapter 12, pp. 94-120.
476. José María Arguedas, op. cit., p. 197. See also p. 169.
477. Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 64.
478. *Ibid*.
479. *Ibid*., p. 68.
480. José María Arguedas, op. cit., p. 183.

481. Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. 9. See also pp. cviii and cix of Gerald Martin's study for an exploration of Asturias' views on the relationship between dance, poetry and thought.
482. Abel Posse, *Daimón* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1989), p. 103.
483. "(T)he 'Takiy unquy', which began in Huamanga (in present-day Peru) and spread south toward La Paz and Chuquisaca... was something of a collective religious phenomenon, a radical reaction against the imposition of Christianity and a call for a return to the pre-Inca cult of *wak'as*, or ancestor worship". Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, op. cit., pp. 19-20.
484. Friedrich Engels, in this context, regarded millenarian movements as attempts by oppressed groups to change the world and remove their oppression here and now, rather than in the afterlife, see Michael Haralambos, *Sociology, Themes and Perspectives* (University Tutorial Press, 1980), p. 473. This idea, ultimately, is also fundamental to Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo*.
485. Abel Posse, op. cit., p. 104.
486. *Ibid*.
487. José María Arguedas, op. cit., pp. 117-118.
488. *Ibid*., p. 162.
489. *Ibid*., p. 211.
490. Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 50.
491. See Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Regions of Refuge* (Washington: The Society for Applied Anthropology Monograph Series, 1979).
492. Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 64.
493. *Ibid*., p. 65.
494. Alejo Carpentier, *El reino de este mundo* (Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1986), pp. 61-62.
495. *Ibid*., p. 56.
496. Jorge Amado, *Tent of Miracles* (London: Collins Harvill, 1989), p. 3.
497. *Ibid*., p. 5.
498. *Ibid*.
499. Abel Posse, op. cit., p. 90.
500. Abdias do Nascimento, *O Quilombismo* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1980), p. 255.
501. Jorge Amado, op. cit., p. 5.
502. *Ibid*., pp. 108-109.
503. Laënnec Hurbon, op. cit., p. 183.
504. Patrick Bellegarde Smith describes how Haiti's Vodou secret societies operate as a "govenman lannuit" ("nighttime government") that governs while the official government is asleep. *Haiti: The Breached Citadelle* (Boulder, San Francisco and London: Westview Press, 1990), p. 19.
505. Alejo Carpentier, op. cit., p. 143.
506. Néstor García Canclini reaches the opposite conclusion. op. cit., pp. 81-82.
507. José María Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura nacional Indoamericana* (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1975), p. 78.
508. See Sheldon Annis, op. cit., pp. 75-98.
509. In the last two decades the panorama in the Guatemalan highlands has become more complex with the emergence of a large number of Evangelical Christian sects which have managed to build a considerable following among the Maya. These sects are vehemently opposed to traditional religious practices such as the Fiesta. There are indications, nevertheless, that religious converts do not necessarily reject Maya identity in all cases, but are moving towards a cultural identity not based on

traditional religious practices. See Sheldon Annis, op. cit., and Kay B. Warren, *The Symbolism of Subordination: Indian Identity in a Guatemalan Town* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989).
510. Abel Posse, op. cit., p. 177.
511. Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. 8.
512. *Ibid*., p. 5.
513. Gerald Martin, *Journeys through the Labyrinth. Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, (London & New York: Verso, 1989), p. 176.
514. *Ibid*., p. 175.
515. Gerald Martin's critical study in Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. cxxxvii.
516. Eduardo Galeano, *Ser como ellos y otros artículos* (Montevideo, Ediciones del Chanchito, 1992), p. 18.
517. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 178.
518. Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 230.
519. *Ibid*., p. 230.
520. Jon Stratton, *Writing Sites: A Genealogy of the Postmodern World* (New York, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), pp. 145-146.
521. "'Ahora Vuesamercé lo ve claro, el poder de la Corona es el comercio, sólo el comercio!', dijo Lipzia al Viejo que estaba manifiestamente apesadumbrado ante aquella visión de poderío". Abel Posse, op. cit., p. 78.
522. Jon Stratton, op. cit., p. 146.
523. *Ibid*., p. 147.
524. *Ibid*., p. 152.
525. Abel Posse, op. cit., p. 90.
526. Antonio Elio Brailovsky, *Esta maldita lujuria* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 1992), p. 140.
527. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986), p. 2.
528. Jon Stratton, op. cit., pp. 167-168.
529. Peter Hulme, op. cit., p. 41.
530. Jon Stratton, op. cit., p. 167.
531. The subject of cannibalism (imputed to Brazil's Indians) appears in the first paragraph of Francisco Vázquez' chronicle of Pedro de Ursua's expedition to El Dorado. See Francisco Vázquez, *El Dorado: Crónica de la expedición de Pedro de Ursua y Lope de Aguirre* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989), p. 50.
532. Jon Stratton, op. cit., p. 166. Stratton's economic reading of Robinson Crusoe owes considerably to previous work, notably Stephen Hymer, 'Robinson Crusoe and the secret of primitive accumulation', *Monthly Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4 (1971-72, pp. 11-36), and to Peter Hulme, op. cit.
533. Although cannibalism as a ritual practice has undoubtedly existed among certain societies in the past, in this thesis I will deal exclusively with the construction of cannibalism as a mythical feature of the (non-European) Other.
534. Peter Hulme, op. cit., p. 83. See also Jon Stratton, op. cit., p. 164.
535. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 18. Fernando Aínsa compares the settings of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Cien años de soledad*: "El espacio, perfectamente circunscrito, identifica absolutamente al héroe con ese medio, al punto que una situación anómala original, la de náufrago, se convierte en el modo natural de entender a Robinson Crusoe... Macondo -esa otra "isla" incomunicada- constituye en la narrativa latinoamericana un ajustado ejemplo de integración de un espacio exterior

a la estructura novelesca y a la conciencia de sus héroes". *Los buscadores de la utopía: la significación novelesca del espacio latinoamericano* (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1977). Peter Hulme, moreover, establishes a connection between island settings and "colonial Utopias", op. cit., pp. 187-188.
536. Jon Stratton, op. cit., p. 166. See also Peter Hulme, op. cit., p. 209, on Friday's education.
537. See Peter Hulme, op. cit., p. 222.
538. Laënnec Hurbon, op. cit., p. 135.
539. Most of the characters in Abel Posse's *Daimón*, who are dead, can also be considered zombies.
540. Alejo Carpentier, op. cit., p. 32.
541. José María Arguedas, *Los ríos profundos*, pp. 115-120.
542. Laënnec Hurbon, op. cit., p. 174.
543. *Ibid*., p. 191.
544. *Ibid*., pp. 165-166.
545. Another equally powerful taboo is incest, examples of which abound in *Cien años de soledad*.
546. See Peter Hulme's idea of the "ideological role of cannibalism", op. cit., p. 87.
547. Laënnec Hurbon, op. cit., p. 168.
548. Alejo Carpentier, op. cit., p. 10.
549. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., pp. 231, 306.
550. Abel Posse, op. cit., p. 109.
551. *Ibid*., pp. 88-89.
552. Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. 204.
553. José María Arguedas, *Los ríos profundos*, p. 71.
554. *Ibid*., p. 245.
555. *Ibid*., p. 31 and p. 246.
556. *Ibid*., pp. 30-31.
557. *Ibid*., pp. 248-249.
558. *Ibid*., pp. 245-246.
559. Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. 9.
560. Abel Posse, op. cit., p. 97.
561. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., pp. 9-10.
562. *Ibid*., pp. 13-14.
563. *Ibid*., p. 161.
564. *Ibid*., p. 27.

CHAPTER 5

565. Gabriel García Márquez, *Cien años de soledad* (Bogotá: La Oveja Negra, 1989), pp. 44-45.
566. Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor, 1973), p. 74.
567. Gerald Martin, *Journeys through the Labyrinth. Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century*, (London & New York: Verso, 1989), p. 6.
568. Carlos Fuentes, *Myself with Others* (London: Picador, 1989), p. 183.
569. In P. González Casanova (ed), *Cultura y Creación Intelectual en América Latina* (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1984), p. 176.

570. Alexander von Humboldt encountered the same problem in his travels and explorations with Aimé Bonpland in Central and South America between 1799 and 1804. These are recounted in *Voyage de Humboldt et Bonpland aux Regions Equinoxiales* (1805-1834, 23 vols.).
571. See Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, *El barroco literario en Hispanoamérica* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1991), pp. 83-84; and Irlemar Chiampi, *El realismo maravilloso* (Caracas: Monte Avila, 1983), pp. 102-105.
572. Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, op. cit., p. 71. Severo Sarduy takes the opposite view: "El festín barroco nos parece, al contrario... la apoteosis del artificio, la ironía e irrisión de la naturaleza, la mejor expresión de ese proceso que J. Rousset ha reconocido en la literatura de toda una 'edad': la *artificialización*". Severo Sarduy, "El barroco y el neobarroco", in Cesar Fernández Moreno (ed.), *América Latina en su literatura* (México y París: Siglo Veintiuno & UNESCO, 1992), p. 168.
573. "El barroco, superabundancia, cornucopia rebosante, prodigalidad y derroche -de allí la resistencia *moral* que ha suscitado en ciertas culturas de la economía y la mesura, como la francesa-, irrisión de toda funcionalidad, de toda sobriedad...". Severo Sarduy, op. cit., p. 176.
574. As Severo Sarduy points out, the ideology of the Baroque coincides with that of the Carnivalesque in being both parodical (*Ibid*., pp. 174-175), and "wasteful": "La exclamación infalible que suscita toda capilla de Churriguera o del aleijadinho, toda estrofa de Góngora o Lezama, todo acto barroco, ya pertenezca a la pintura o la repostería: '¡Cuánto trabajo!', implica un apenas disimulado adjetivo: '¡Cuánto trabajo *perdido*!, ¡cuánto juego y desperdicio, cuánto esfuerzo sin funcionalidad!". *Ibid*., p. 182.
575. Irlemar Chiampi, op. cit., p. 162. See also Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, op. cit., p. 71.
576. Alejo Carpentier, *El reino de este mundo* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1986), pp. 66-67.
577. Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, op. cit., p. 70.
578. Edwin Williamson, "Coming to Terms with Modernity: Magical Realism and the Historical Process in the Novels of Alejo Carpentier" in John King (ed.), *Modern Latin American Fiction: A Survey* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 85.
579. Jon Stratton, *Writing Sites: A Genealogy of the Postmodern World* (London and New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 148.
580. Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass* (Harmondsworth: Puffin Books, 1975), p. 274.
581. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), p. 28.
582. *Ibid*., p. 27.
583. Luis López Alvarez, *Conversaciones con Miguel Angel Asturias* (San José: EDUCA, 1976), pp. 200-201.
584. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 148.
585. Isabel Allende, *La casa de los espíritus* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1984), pp. 151-152.
586. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 112.
587. Quoted in Patricia Seed, "Failing to Marvel: Atahualpa's Encounter with the Word", in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1991, pp. 7-32), p. 11. Also in Tzvetan Todorov, op. cit., p. 123.
588. Patricia Seed, op. cit., p. 12.
589. The use of the term "America" when referring to that continent in the face of its monopolization by the United States obeys the same objective. See Alfredo Jaar's project "A Logo for America", in

Rachel Weiss (ed.), *Being América: Essays on Art, Literature, and Identity from Latin America* (New York: White Pine Press, 1991), pp. 123-126.
590. See Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 191.
591. Gordon Brotherston, "The Latin American Novel and its Indigenous Sources", in John King (ed), op. cit., p. 67.
592. Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 150.
593. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 274.
594. *Ibid*., p. 238. The same idea, in the context of another developing country, appears in Salman Rushdie's magic realist novel *Midnight's Children* (London: Picador, 1981): "in a country where the truth is what it is instructed to be, reality quite literally ceases to exist, so that everything becomes possible except what we are told is the case" (p. 326).
595. João Guimarães Rosa, *Gran Sertón: Veredas* (Bogotá: La Oveja Negra, 1985), p. 19.
596. Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma* (London, Melbourne, New York: Quartet Books, 1984), p. 94.
597. Jorge Amado, *Tent of Miracles* (London: Collins Harvill, 1989), p. 317.
598. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 243.
599. José María Arguedas, *Los ríos profundos* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1967), pp. 133-135. After this, Ernesto bitterly complains: "El Padre también es extraño... ¡No lo comprendo! ¿Por qué me azotó ayer? Decía que porque me quería. Y ahora, frente a los indios, ha hablado para que lloren. Yo no me quise arrodillar, mientras hacía llorar a los colonos. Creo que me ha amenazado..., p. 137.
600. *Ibid*., p. 225.
601. Carlos Fuentes, op. cit., p. 193.
602. "Declaración de Oaxtepec", Segunda Reunión Cumbre de Pueblos Indígenas, Oaxtepec, Morelos, México, 8 de octubre de 1993. Emphasis added.
603. William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America* (London and New York: Verso, 1991), p. 205.
604. See Patricia Seed, op. cit., p. 13.
605. Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, p. 42.
606. In his critique of Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes Tropiques*, Jacques Derrida writes of "what may be called the anthropological war, the essential confrontation that opens communication between peoples and cultures, even when that communication is not practiced under the banner of colonial or missionary oppresion. The entire 'Writing Lesson' is recounted in the tones of violence repressed or deferred, a violence sometimes veiled, but always oppressive and heavy". op. cit., p. 107.
607. Vasco de Quiroga in a letter to the Council of the Indies, quoted in Tzvetan Todorov, *op. cit*., p. 137.
608. Ian Thomson, *'Bonjour Blanc': A Journey Through Haiti* (London: Penguin, 1993), p. 7.
609. Jacques Derrida, op. cit., p. 112.
610. "'¡Conque esto *también* viajaba con nosotros!', exclamó Esteban. 'Inevitablemente -dijo Víctor, regresando al camarote-. *Esto* y la imprenta son las dos cosas más necesarias que llevamos a bordo, fuera de los cañones'. 'La letra con sangre entra', dijo Esteban. 'No me vengas con refranes españoles', dijo el otro...". Alejo Carpentier, *El siglo de las luces* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979), p. 88.
611. Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (edición crítica; París, México, Madrid, Buenos Aires: Editions Klincksieck & Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), p. 117.
612. *Ibid*., pp. 117-118.

613. Mário de Andrade, op. cit., p. 82.
614. In Luis López Alvarez, op. cit., p. 173.
615. Italo Calvino, 'Cybernetics and Ghosts' in *The Literature Machine: Essays* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1987), p. 5.
616. The strict magic rules that govern story-telling are demonstrated in Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma*, where the punishment for breaking them is the same as that for incest in *Cien años de soledad*: "... whoever tells tales by daylight grows a guinea-pig's tail". Mário de Andrade, op. cit., p. 88.
617. *Ibid*., p. 86.
618. *Ibid*., p. 82.
619. *Ibid*., p. 86.
620. Alejo Carpentier, *El reino de este mundo*, p. 15.
621. *Ibid*., p. 12.
622. Franco Ferrarotti, *La historia y lo cotidiano* (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1991), p. 22. In this context, García Márquez in *Los funerales de la Mamá Grande* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1972) writes: "ahora es la hora de recostar un taburete a la puerta de la calle y empezar a contar desde el principio los pormenores de esta conmoción nacional, antes de que tengan tiempo de llegar los historiadores" (p. 127).
623. Franco Ferrarotti, op. cit., p. 21.
624. Quoted in Patricia Seed, op. cit., p. 8.
625. Tzvetan Todorov, op. cit., p. 76. See also Jacques Derrida, op. cit., p. 123.
626. Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578).
627. Laënnec Hurbon, *Le barbare imaginaire* (Port-au-Prince: Henri Deschamps, 1987), p. 31. Here Hurbon draws on the work of François Hartog, *Le Miroir d'Herodote. Essai sur la représentation de l'autre* (Paris: Gallimard, 1980).
628. Laënnec Hurbon, op. cit., p. 34.
629. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Demócrates segundo, o de las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios* (1535).
630. Quoted in Patricia Seed, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
631. *Ibid*., p. 8. In *Cien años de soledad*, García Márquez makes humorous references to classical Sanskrit, Greek and Roman sources (in Melquíades' texts). See Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 133.
632. Jean Franco, "Dr. Urbino's Parrot", *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring 1993), p. 169.
633. On the subject of incest it is worth mentioning that, as William Rowe argues, the "definition of relationships through naming is crucial to incest prohibitions: without names the prohibition cannot operate, since mother, father, son, daughter etc. are a function of naming". William Rowe, "Gabriel García Márquez" in John King (ed.), op. cit., p. 197.
634. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 24.
635. *Ibid*., p. 45.
636. *Ibid*.
637. William Rowe, op. cit., p. 196.
638. Gerald Martin, op. cit., p. 231.
639. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 46.

640. Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American novel*, p. 130. See also William Rowe, op. cit., p. 196.
641. "Monuments to writing are built by writers: from the midst of the system within which our knowledge of the world is organized, we take legitimate pleasure in our own tools". Stephen Greeblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago and Oxford: The University of Chicago Press & Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 12.
642. William Rowe, op. cit., p. 197.
643. Mário de Andrade, op. cit., p. 168.
644. Jean Franco, op. cit., p. 171.
645. Gabriel García Márquez, op. cit., p. 303.
646. *Ibid*., p. 304.
647. Taban lo Liyong, *Popular Culture of East Africa* (Nairobi: Longman, 1986).
648. Alejo Carpentier, *El reino de este mundo*, p. 24.
649. Eugenio Dulog Matibag, *The Sleep of Reason: Alejo Carpentier and the Crisis of Latin American Modernity* (PhD Thesis, University of California, Irvine, 1986), pp. 109-110.
650. "Reading and writing are the basis of our cultural resistance". Elena Poniatowska, "Memory and Identity: Some Historical-Cultural Notes", in Rachel Weiss (ed.), op. cit., p. 20.
651. Carlos Fuentes, op. cit., p. 193.
652. 'Encuentro con Abel Posse', in *Encuentros*, Vol. II, No. 4 (Autumn 1992), p. 15.
653. *Ibid*., p. 14.
654. Edwin Williamson, op. cit., pp. 79-80.
655. Elena Poniatowska, op. cit., p. 25.
656. Isabel Allende, op. cit., p. 267. A similar association between Spanish and domesticity, childhood and nostalgia is established by the narrator of Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos*: "He aquí, pues, el idioma que hablé en mi infancia; el idioma en que aprendí a leer y a solfear". Alejo Carpentier, *Los pasos perdidos*, p. 44.

CONCLUSIONS

657. Gordon Brotherston, *The Emergence of the Latin American Novel* (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 36.
658. Martin Lienhard, "Antes y después de *Hombres de maíz*: la literatura ladina y el mundo indígena en el área maya", Miguel Angel Asturias, *Hombres de maíz* (edición crítica, coordinador: Gerald Martin; París: Archivos ALLCA XXe, 1992), p. 588.
659. *Ibid*., p. 584.
660. José Carlos Mariátegui and Luis Alberto Sánchez (et al.), *La polémica del indigenismo* (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1988), p. 38.
661. Angel Rama, *La novela en América Latina. Panoramas 1920-1980* (Bogotá: Procultura, 1982), pp. 211-214.
662. Martin Lienhard, op. cit., pp. 585-586.
663. Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, *El barroco literario en Hispanoamérica* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1991), p. 70.
664. Angel Rama, op. cit., p. 114.

665. Gordon Brotherston, "Gaspar Ilóm en su tierra", Miguel Angel Asturias, op. cit., p. 601.
666. Isabel Allende, *La casa de los espíritus* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1984), p. 232.
667. Allende, for example, writes of *La casa de los espíritus*: "En general uso el tiempo cronológico... Lo más alejado de la narradora (Alba), tiene un tono de ensoñación, como siempre ocurre con las historias contadas muchas veces, con la tradición oral. Cuando Alba nace, procuré que el lenguaje fuera más real, pero todavía teñido por la visión de un niño. Después ella se hace mujer y su tono es mucho más realista, hasta alcanzar visos de reportaje crudo en el capítulo del Terror". In Gloria Bautista Gutiérrez, *Realismo mágico, cosmos latinoamericano* (Bogotá: Editorial América Latina, 1991), pp. 134-135.
668. Roberto González Echevarría, *The Voice of the Masters: Writing and Authority in Modern Latin American Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), p. 4.
669. Jon Stratton, *Writing Sites: A Genealogy of the Postmodern World* (London and New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 148.
670. Fredric Jameson, "On Magic Realism in Film", *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 12 (Winter 1986, pp. 301-325).
671. Milan Kundera, *The Joke* (London: Penguin, 1984), p. 244.
672. "The Ride of the Kings is a mysterious rite; no one knows what it signifies, what its message is, but just as Egyptian hieroglyphs are most beautiful to people who cannot read them (and perceive them as mere fanciful sketches), so perhaps the Ride of the Kings is beautiful to us at least partly because the message it was meant to communicate has long been lost, leaving the gestures, colors, and words to stand out all the more clearly". *Ibid*., p. 221.

APPENDIX

673. Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 100.
674. José María Arguedas, "La lucha por el estilo, lo regional y lo cultural" in Juan Larco (ed.), *Recopilación de textos sobre José María Arguedas* (La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1976), p. 401.
675. *Ibid*., p. 402.
676. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
677. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
678. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
679. *Ibid*., p. 404.
680. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
681. *Ibid*., p. 405.
682. José María Arguedas, *Los ríos profundos* (Lima: Horizonte, 1993), p. 86.
683. Note, in relation to this point, Arguedas' recourse to Quechua written texts in other works, especially in *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*.
684. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
685. See Ariel Dorfman, *Hacia la liberación del lector latinoamericano* (Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1984), pp. 50-51.
686. *Los ríos profundos*, p. 164.
687. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[688] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.
[689] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[690] *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.
[691] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[692] *Ibid.*, p. 200.
[693] See Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 55.
[694] *Los ríos profundos*, pp. 222-223.
[695] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[696] José María Arguedas, "No soy un aculturado" in Larco, Juan (ed.), op. cit., p. 432.
[697] *Ibid*.
[698] *Ibid*.
[699] See the debate about this term in Chapter 2.
[700] *Ibid*.
[701] *Los ríos profundos,* pp. 42-47.
[702] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[703] See Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., pp. 34-39.
[704] *Los ríos profundos,* p. 163.
[705] *Ibid.*, p. 164 (emphasis added).
[706] *Ibid.*, pp. 212-215.
[707] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[708] *Ibid.,* p. 53.
[709] *Ibid.,* pp. 16-18.
[710] *Ibid.,* pp. 147-148.
[711] See Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 47.
[712] *Los ríos profundos,* p. 243. Ernesto, for his part, complains to Brother Miguel: "El Padre también es extraño... ¡No lo comprendo!". p. 129.
[713] See, for example, *Ibid.,* pp. 48, 123, 127, 253.
[714] *Ibid.,* p. 244.
[715] William Rowe, "Mito, lenguaje e ideología como estructuras literarias", in Juan Larco (ed.), op. cit., p. 282.
[716] *Los ríos profundos,* pp. 17, 28.
[717] See *Ibid.,* pp. 14, 15, 20, 49.
[718] *Ibid.,* p. 27.
[719] *Ibid.,* pp. 15, 17, 26.
[720] *Ibid.,* p. 26.
[721] *Ibid.,* p. 19.
[722] *Ibid.,* p. 17.
[723] *Ibid.,* p. 28.
[724] William Rowe, op. cit., p. 270.
[725] Mario Vargas Llosa, "Ensoñación y magia en 'Los ríos profundos'", in Arguedas, José María, *Los ríos profundos* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1978), p. xii.
[726] *Ibid.,* pp. ix-x.
[727] *Ibid*., p. x.
[728] William Rowe, op. cit., p. 268.
[729] Mario Vargas Llosa, op. cit., p. x.

[730.] Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 46.
[731.] *Ibid.,* p. 62.
[732.] *Ibid.,* pp. 59-61.
[733.] William Rowe, op. cit., pp. 279-281.
[734.] *Ibid.,* pp. 280-281.
[735.] Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 59; William Rowe, op. cit., p. 281.
[736.] William Rowe, op. cit., p. 281.
[737.] Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., pp. 65-66.
[738.] *Los ríos profundos*, p. 14.
[739.] *Ibid.,* p. 15.
[740.] *Ibid.,* p. 19.
[741.] *Ibid.,* p. 82.
[742.] *Ibid.,* p. 221.
[743.] *Ibid.,* p. 129.
[744.] *Ibid.,* p. 86.
[745.] Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 66.
[746.] This notion seems to owe less to Marxist dialectics than to traditional Andean beliefs, as Arguedas himself explained: "Las dos naciones de las que provenía estaban en conflicto: el universo se me mostraba encrespado de confusión, de promesas, de belleza más que deslumbrante, exigente. Fue leyendo a Mariátegui y después a Lenin que encontré un orden permanente en las cosas... ¿Hasta dónde entendí el socialismo? No lo sé bien. Pero no mató en mí lo mágico". José María Arguedas, "No soy un aculturado" in Juan Larco (ed.), op. cit., p. 432.
[747.] Ariel Dorfman, op. cit., p. 67.
[748.] *Ibid.,* p. 64.
[749.] William Rowe, op. cit., p. 272.
[750.] Larco, Juan (ed.), op. cit., pp. 23-24. Arguedas, moreover, identified the same theme of cultural resistance at the heart of Andean oral literature, which was a major influence in his work. *Ibid*., p. 27.
[751.] It is important to note that Arguedas placed his own work unambiguously within Magic Realism. *Ibid*., p. 27.