South Atlantic Review

Fall 2016

Volume 81

Number 3

Journal of the South Atlantic Modern Language Association

About *South Atlantic Review*

SouthAtlanticReview@clemson.edu

Since its founding in 1935 as the newsletter for the South Atlantic Modern Language Association, the *South Atlantic Review* has become a premier academic quarterly publishing research in the modern languages and literatures, as well as in associated fields such as film, cultural studies, and rhetoric/composition. The journal welcomes submissions of essays, maximum length 8,000 words, that are accessible, and of broad interest, to its diverse readership across a number of disciplines. Submissions may be made electronically directly to the managing editor at the address above. *SAR* also welcomes proposals for special issues and special focus sections.

Additional information regarding submission requirements and book reviews can be found on our website at http://samla.memberclicks.net/sar.

In Appreciation. *South Atlantic Review* wishes to acknowledge the generous contributions and support provided by Ashley Cowden Fisk, Michael LeMahieu, and the Pearce Center for Professional Communication at Clemson University, by the Clemson University Department of English chaired by Lee Morrissey, and by the College of Arts, Architecture, and the Humanities.

About SAMLA

www.samla.gsu.edu
samla@gsu.edu

Membership. Annual membership dues for SAMLA: $35 for a student membership; $40 for an adjunct, lecturer, emeritus, or independent scholar membership; and $50-70 for a full-time faculty membership. All memberships are annual with terms running from October 1 to September 30. Institutional subscriptions are $80 per year. Membership forms are available on the SAMLA website above. All inquiries may be directed to samla@gsu.edu; SAMLA, PO Box 3968, Atlanta, GA, 30302-3968; or 404-413-5816.

SAMLA Annual Convention. Information regarding the annual convention is available on the SAMLA website. The 2016 annual convention will be held in Jacksonville, FL at the Hyatt Regency Jacksonville Waterfront from November 4-6, 2016. The 2016 conference theme is "Utopia/Dystopia: Whose Paradise is It?"

Contents

Contents

Introduction: Latino/Latin American/ Spanish Literatures

Rafael Ocasio and Ruth Sánchez Imicoz

To remark that Latin American and Latino literatures have greatly impacted the current United States book market is certainly an understatement. The literary "Boom" period, which brought to the forefront of United States readership a number of "classic" writers, such as Gabriel García Márquez, Julio Cortázar, and Mario Vargas Llosa, among others, is still going strong. Roughly framed after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution of 1959, "Boom" writers fully dwelled on their respective countries' volatile socioeconomic national scenes, often provoked by US Cold War-related policies toward Latin America. In fact, as reflected in the Nobel Prize awarded to Vargas Llosa in 2010, the political aesthetics that inspired many of the Latin American "Boom" writers still resonate deeply in today's convoluted international socio-political arena.

Post-Franco literature exhibits similar activist traits. As in post-military regimes in Latin American countries (particularly in Argentina and Chile), Spanish literature has been strongly informed by a historical exploration of the impact of Franco's 36-year dictatorship. But the Spain of today is not free of the dire social turmoil and political issues that are presumably remnants of Franco's strong hand, though it is a modern member of the European Union. In fact, also in common with the strong historical exploration of Latino and Latin American literatures, contemporary Spanish authors continue to dwell on an examination of Franco politics or to reevaluate the country's tumultuous colonial past as a faded world power.

Within the context of the United States—a country of complex multi-cultural and religious communities—Latino literatures have become a stronger medium for activists. Recording the peculiarities of their so-called "barrios" (ethnic Latino communities), committed Latino/as fulfill a social function of memorialists by means of highly inspired autobiographical works. Diverse Latino identities often intersect in "Hispanic" barrios, and Latinos face, along with other racial American groups, the harsh realities of a marginal urban existence. These racially-bound texts offer a multi-faceted view of an increasingly poly-ethnic and culturally, racially, and religiously diverse United

States. Now an important component of contemporary American literature, Latino literature highlights social urban practices while documenting popular cultural patterns as part of a vibrant new aesthetic.

The following special issue, "Latino/Latin American/Spanish Literatures," is an off-shoot of a previous special issue, "Text as Memoir: Tales of Travel, Immigration, and Exile." The overwhelming submissions of critical articles on Latino/Latin American/Spanish Literatures denoted to me, as guest editor of "Text as Memoir," the historical significance of the memoir as a literary expression in Hispanic (Spanish and Latin American) cultures. "Latino/Latin American/Spanish Literatures" continues to examine modern geographical boundaries, which are either eliminated because of the ease of modern traveling or by means of electronic media devices that facilitate instantaneous communication, unlike in any previous time period. The essays will explore how Spaniards, Latin Americans, and US Latino/as deal with intersectional historical commonalities, often the result of similar political backgrounds (military oppressions are an overwhelmingly important subject). Issues dealing with immigration (forced by exile or economic need) and post-colonial dealings with modern political and economic powers (the United States' mighty financial influence upon global markets) will also be explored. These issues are ultimately of interest to American readers who may be also experiencing similar socioeconomic issues or who are impacted by lack of governmental support in the face of social strife.

About the Guest Editors

Rafael Ocasio (PhD, Latin American Literatures, University of Kentucky, 1987) is Charles A. Dana Professor of Spanish at Agnes Scott College, Decatur-Atlanta, Georgia. He is the author of *Cuba's Political and Sexual Outlaw* (UP of Florida, 2003), *Latin American Culture and Literature* (Greenwood Press, 2004), *The Making of a Gay Activist* (UP of Florida, 2007) and *Afro-Cuban Costumbrismo: From Plantations to the Slums* (UP of Florida, 2012). Most recently, he has contributed "Queering the Cuban Exile: Reinaldo Arenas's Memoirs as a Sexual Outlaw" to *Dictatorships in the Hispanic World: Transatlantic and Transnational Perspectives* (Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2013). He is currently working on a book manuscript: *Franz Boas in Puerto Rico: Retention and Reinvention of Puerto Rican Folklore*. Email: rocasio@agnesscott.edu.

A native of Valencia, Spain, Professor Ruth Sánchez Imicoz spends most of her time between Spain and Sewanee, where she has been teaching since 1995. Most of her scholarly work deals with the Seventeenth Century Spanish Drama, mostly with the *entremeses* and with the works of Agustín Moreto in Spanish and in translation. She is the author of the book *El teatro menor en la España del siglo XVII: La contribución de Agustín Moreto* and has written several scholarly articles that deal with race, the influence of Don Quijote in British literature, and the presence of women in the seventeenth century. From November 2015 to November 2016, Ruth Sánchez Imicoz was the president of the South Atlantic Modern Language Association. Email: rsanchez@sewanee.edu.

"Un Dominican-York": Immigrants and Aliens in *How The García Girls Lost Their Accents*

Rachel Adams

The fictional characters in Julia Alvarez's 1992 novel *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* are in between worlds, navigating the boundaries between the Dominican Republic and the United States. Alvarez inverts the chronological structure of the narrative, beginning with Yolanda García de la Torre's account of returning to visit her relatives in the Dominican Republic as an adult and ending with Yolanda as a child narrating an early memory of life in the de la Torre compound on the Island. The García family—the four daughters in particular—must learn to navigate concentric circles of familial identification: each girl's identity as an individual, the four girls within their immediate family framework, and the whole family within the larger scope of the relationship between the Dominican Republic and the United States. Within these circles, issues of language, particularly naming and speechlessness, economic status (or lack thereof), and sexuality intertwine as the family struggles to negotiate its place within various spaces. The members of the García de la Torre family exist in liminal spaces, constantly negotiating boundaries and borders. Applying sociological concepts such as Elaine Neil Orr's "stranger selves," Katarzyna Marciniak's "alienhood," and Nestor García Canclini's "native foreigners," among others, to the García's lives allows for a reading of the text as an exploration of what it means to be "transnational." As Alvarez leads the reader on a journey into the past, however, it remains unclear whether, for the García de la Torres, their transnational identities are a source of power or a site of irreconcilable fragmentation.

Julia Alvarez's background provides a framework for reading *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* as a work of transnational fiction. In her short autobiographical essay, "An American Childhood in the Dominican Republic," Alvarez orients her identity in relationship to the Dominican Republic as well as to the United States: "Although I was raised in the Dominican Republic by Dominican parents in an extended Dominican family, mine was an American childhood. Technically, I am American, for I was born in New York City and lived there for three weeks before my parents returned 'home'" (71). Birth granted Alvarez United States citizenship, regardless of her brief sojourn in the country;

what for her parents was a return "home" thus became, for the three-week old, her first trip to "foreign" soil, alienating in the sense that what is considered by others the "homeland" is, for this particular individual, a new and unfamiliar place. Alvarez's background is compounded by the fact that her status as a United States citizen imbued her with "a sense of the honor and privilege the certificate conferred on [her]"—in other words, she and her family considered being legally American a gift of sorts. Her family's complex relationship to the United States is illustrated by her mother's pet names for her four daughters: "My mother referred to her first two daughters as her *Americanitas* and to the last two as *criollas* (home-made)" (71). With these nicknames Alvarez's mother not only draws a distinction between her "American" and "Dominican" daughters, but also establishes a boundary between *home* (the Dominican Republic) and *not*-home (the United States). Further complicating the Alvarez family's personal complexities was the Dominican Republic's own turbulent relationship to the United States.

In order to understand the Dominican Republic's relationship to the United States, it is necessary to first be aware of the nation's own tumultuous history. Sharing the island of Hispaniola, the Dominican Republic and Haiti were the first independent nations in the Caribbean. However, as Michael Hall points out, the Dominican Republic's independence was short-lived: the fledgling nation was conquered by Haiti in 1822 and did not regain its independence until 1844. Hall observes: "From 1844 until 1930, the Dominican Republic experienced internal war, foreign intervention, and incompetent and corrupt governments" (14). Out of this backdrop of chaos, a new leader emerged. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, known as El Jefe or Chapita, came to power in the Dominican Republic in 1930. Bernard Diederich outlines Trujillo's rise to power, beginning in 1914 when the "U.S. Marine Corps Occupying Force in the Dominican Republic" recruited him into the National Guard. In 1924, the Corps left the island, and Trujillo remained in command of the armed forces. Six years later, Trujillo led a coup against then-president Horacio Vásquez and claimed the presidency for himself. The recent history of the Dominican Republic, especially Trujillo's reign, therefore must necessarily be understood in the context of US intervention. Trujillo's legacy is as complicated as it is horrific—Michael Hall continues:

> Ruthlessly suppressing all opposition to his regime, during the Great Depression Trujillo was faced with governing a poverty-stricken nation with an empty treasury, a huge foreign debt, and a capital city destroyed by a hurricane. Within two decades, Trujillo had paid off the nation's foreign debts, devel-

> oped a national infrastructure, and laid the groundwork for economic development by promoting industrialization. (14)

In her autobiographical essay, Alvarez references this "Era of Prosperity" that marked the first two decades of Trujillo's reign and remarks on the United States' involvement in this period of development: "American businesses and shops were cropping up all over Ciudad Trujillo, as the capital had been renamed in honor of El Jefe, our dictator. The shops catered to a growing community of American advisors, businessmen, and fortune seekers who had been drawn to the country by the cheap labor and tax breaks offered by Trujillo to his good friends up north" (75). This economic Americanization, however, was not enough to overshadow the cruelty and violence that marked Trujillo's reign, and the people living under El Jefe's thumb began to resist his dominance—Alvarez's own father included.

Alvarez points out that her family's relationship to the United States was a crucial part of their survival under Trujillo's era: "What kept my father from being rounded up each time there was a purge . . . was his connection with my mother's powerful family. It was not just their money that gave them power, for wealth was sometimes an incentive to persecute a family and appropriate its fortune. It was their strong ties with Americans and the United States" (80). Afraid of losing the United States's support, Trujillo did not actively pursue Alvarez's father and others like him with American connections; in this way, Alvarez notes, the "obsession with American things" that marked her childhood in the Dominican Republic "was no longer merely enchantment with the United States, but a strategy for survival" (80).

The United States's overall involvement with the inner workings of the Dominican Republic's government can be understood as a form of neo-colonial control; Carlos María Gutiérrez notes that despite having helped Trujillo come to power, Trujillo's final successful assassins "were some of his own aides, advised directly by the CIA" (9). Having helped Trujillo come to power, the United States also helped usher him out. Alvarez succinctly delineates United States' involvement: "South America was going the way of democracy, and the United States wanted to be on top of it" (82). The fact that this "development" toward democracy came at the expense of Dominican and Haitian lives seemed to matter little to those involved. The Dominican Republic's fate after Trujillo's assassination also seems of little concern; Bernard Diederich notes that after Trujillo's assassination, the United States "occupied for a bit," but Joaquín Balaguer, president after the assassination, "regained the presidency and held on to it for [twelve] years," during which time the Dominican economy crumbled and "Dominicans whose savings

evaporated protested and were met with violence." Many of these Dominicans fled to the United States; Diederich states that "by the end of 1990, [twelve percent] of the Dominican population had moved to New York." The family featured in Alvarez's 1992 novel *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* is an early part of this mass emigration.

How the García Girls Lost Their Accents disrupts the traditionally chronological order of a novel, telling the story of the García de la Torre family's emigration to the United States in reverse chronological order, beginning in 1989 and ending in 1956. The novel thus builds backwards toward the last five years of Trujillo's reign and the economic turmoil that followed his assassination. The novel is structurally divided into three sections, each section containing five vignettes. Every member of the immediate García de la Torre family is featured as a narrator among these fifteen stories: the four girls together narrate two stories, the family as a whole narrates one, and the parents and Yolanda, the second oldest daughter, together narrate another. Carla, the oldest, narrates two vignettes on her own; Sandi, the next oldest, narrates another two individually; and Sofia, the youngest, narrates only one snapshot by herself. Yolanda seems to carry the weight of the narration, with six vignettes told from her point of view. Throughout these varied stories, the García family members struggle to construct their identities within a framework of concentric circles: the family's relationship to the Dominican Republic and to the United States, the García daughters' relationships to their immediate family, and individual girls' relationships to themselves.

The García family must come to terms with their "stranger" selves, Elaine Neil Orr's term for "double-ness or dual identity, in which, eventually, one part of the self becomes 'the stranger'" (391). Orr argues that this duality is a common thread in the narratives of Third Culture Kids, those individuals born in one culture yet "belonging" to another—and the existence of this "stranger" is not of necessity a cause for fear or alarm—in fact, only when "the child or young adult is asked to forget or deny 'the stranger,' does this identity become troubling" (391). Katarzyna Marciniak likewise argues that Alvarez's novel is in many ways "about strangers"; the family not only learns to see the strangers within themselves but also to orient themselves as strangers in a strange land. In order to do so, they must grapple not only with defining home and homeland, but also with their grasp of the multiple languages, shifting economic statuses, and cultural codes presented in both of their countries. Although there are a great many overlaps between Alvarez's biography and the history of the García family, it is important to note that, unlike Alvarez, each of the four girls is born in the Dominican Republic; they are, like their parents, legally *dominicanos*.

Like Alvarez, however, their cultural identity on the Island is complicated by their economic status: their father is a prosperous doctor, and their mother the daughter of a prominent Dominican family descended from the conquistadors who came to the Caribbean so many years ago. The de la Torre family are inherently connected to the colonial conquerors and have maintained their ancestors' economic status, and their wealth protects them from a great many dangers, but behind their economic independence is the knowledge that one side of their ancestry wreaked havoc on the Island in thrall to greed. Their feelings toward the Dominican Republic are thus a mix of pride and shame; when Laura, the mother, first learns that she and her family will be fleeing to the United States, she has just been thinking of the Island as "this crazy hellhole" (Alvarez 202). Upon learning the news, however, she notices the "glorious light" shining into the room: "She thinks of her ancestors, those fair-skinned Conquistadores arriving in this new world, not knowing that the gold they sought was this blazing light. And look at what they started," Laura thinks, "looking up and seeing gold flash in the mouth of one of the *guardias* as it spreads open in a scared smile" (212). Laura recognizes her own potential complicity in the events that unfold in her family's story; she realizes that Trujillo's greed and terror are but one recent thread in a web of violence that encompasses the Dominican Republic's history. Yet the family's money nevertheless protects them. It gets Carlos, the father, a "fellowship" in the United States that saves him from torture and execution and keeps his family out of jail. The de la Torres' ancestral wealth is therefore a Janus inheritance—a blessing and a curse, simultaneously the thing that condemns and the thing that saves them.

The extended de la Torre clan lives on a sprawling compound in Santo Domingo, each family in a separate household among which the child-cousins play without fear—and also without a clear understanding of the difference between them and other residents of the Island. One of the workers in the García family household is a woman called Chucha, a "real Haitian" with "blue-black" skin, not "Dominican *café-con-leche* black" (218). Implied in this distinction is a racial hierarchy; Chucha is a "real" Haitian, from the other side of the island, and her dark skin proves it. By contrast, the Garcías' Dominican skin is a lighter "black," that of coffee and milk. Chucha is a survivor of arguably one of Trujillo's most despotic acts of terror. One of the daughters explains: "Chucha had just appeared at my grandfather's doorstep one night, begging to be taken in. Turns out it was the night of the massacre when Trujillo had decreed that all black Haitians on our side of the island would be executed by dawn" (218). The García daughters therefore grow up with a woman who is a living testament to the horror of their dictator's ty-

rannical rule, yet the narrative does not even reveal this woman's given name: "'Chachas'—she always called us that, from *muchachas*, girls, which is how come we had ended up nicknaming her a play echo of her name for us, Chucha" (220). The girls' ability to rename this woman as an echo of their own nickname is a function of their heightened economic status; they have access to her story as the granddaughters of the man who took Chucha in, but her individual name is not as important as her social and economic place within the hierarchy of the de la Torre compound. Her own act of collectively nicknaming the four girls is thus mirrored and halved—she becomes Chucha, not even *muchacha*—a diminutive foil against which the girls' importance is reflected and magnified. Harbored in the bosom of their immediate and extended family, in this particular place—their compound on the Island—the de la Torres themselves are not strangers. Their compound is the mainland, and all other arrivals are immigrants on their shores.

The García family become strangers, both to themselves and to their larger cultural context, with the act of emigration. In her analysis of the concept of "alienhood," Marciniak delineates the following: "aliens have been historically defined in relationship to a specific national territory. In other words, one does not inherently and organically occupy the position of alienhood; rather, one becomes an alien when one crosses the border of a nation that then readily identifies the crosser as the non-native: a foreign-born person who wishes to become a resident" (9). While the role of a Third Culture Kid is often assigned by birth, the Garcías' "immigrancy" is a label attached to a specific physical act. By leaving the Dominican Republic for the United States with the intention of residing in the States (semi)-permanently, the Garcías go from being natives of one country to aliens in another, legal "others" in their new place of residence. As Silvia Schultermandl explains, "only after experiencing American culture in the United States can immigrants become aware of their foreignness. Furthermore, this sense of foreignness becomes especially acute through immigrants' acquisition of labels that denote their identities and locations in the United States" (6). Whereas the name *de la Torre* meant something in the Dominican Republic, in the United States it means nothing, and the family members must relearn their places in a new society, and they do so through identification with various labels placed on them by the citizens of their adopted home. Their identities are fragmented along economic and social lines; wealth and status in one country do not necessarily equate to wealth and status in another. As a part of that eventual twelve percent of emigrated Dominicans, the García family thus becomes part of a diaspora. As R. Radhakrishnan muses of his own experience, "Clearly, I wasn't always of the diaspora. . . . But with

my diasporic displacement, there is a 'now' and a 'then' to my life, underwritten by a 'here' and a 'there.' . . . [H]istoricizing in the diaspora becomes doubly complicated, since we now have to deal with discontinuity both in a temporal and a spatial-locational sense" (xiv). In other words, the García family's move to the United States necessitates the negotiation of new identities, marked not only by their boundaries within an existing social system but also by their intrusion into a space in which they may or may not be welcomed.

The status of *immigrant* carries a wealth of connotations, each of which is intended to differentiate between the "native" and the "foreigner." Pauline Newton likewise emphasizes the "need to distinguish . . . between a 'migrant,' someone who might move from community to community such as from Puerto Rico to the U.S. American mainland or from one ethnic and insulated U.S. mainland community to another, and an 'immigrant,' someone who requires a visa or papers to emigrate from one country to another" (3). The García family is of this latter group, needing appropriate documentation in order to reside legally in the United States. This documentation, granted by the United States government, is a form of permission—recognition that these "others" wish, and are granted permission, to live on United States soil. Critically, permission must also be given from the Dominican government; in the novel, an American undercover CIA agent delivers the news that the family's "papers have received clearance from the head of Immigration," indicating that both governments have officially approved of the family's move to the United States (211–12). This implicit collusion between governments echoes the García family's complicated mix of Dominican- and American-ness; their ties to the United States help them leave a dangerous situation on the Island, but the dangerous situation itself likely would not have existed without the help of the government of the very place in which they seek refuge.

Their status is further complicated by the fact that they are in essence political refugees. Potential repatriation surfaces several times in the novel, and for a time the girls are sent back to the Island every summer. In one of the vignettes narrated by the four girls together (indicated by all four of their names under the title as well as the use of the subject pronoun "we"), they recall their father's "final" decision not to move back to the Island:

> For three-going-on-four years Mami and Papi were on green cards, and the four of us shifted from foot to foot, waiting to go home. Then Papi went down for a trial visit, and a revolution broke out, a minor one, but still.

> He came back to New York reciting the Pledge of Allegiance, and saying, "I am given up, Mami! It is no hope for the Island. I will become *un dominican-york*." So, Papi raised his right hand and swore to defend the Constitution of the United States, and we were here to stay. (107)

The parents being "on green cards" signifies their immigrant status, not fully citizens in their new country, yet also not having given up on the possibility of moving home. When life on the Island does not seem any more hospitable than it was when they initially fled, Carlos accepts his diasporan identity, claiming himself to be *"un dominican-york*," an identity specific to the large population of Dominican immigrants living in New York City. It is significant that Carlos says *he* will become un dominican-york; he does not go as far as to rhetorically claim the same identity for his wife or his daughters. Néstor García Canclini argues, "migration is not an individual decision but a family strategy" (25); but in this case, what becomes a family strategy is effected by Carlos's individual decision.

The family as a whole fits the framework of what Canclini calls "native foreigners": "those who must live in exile from their countries, who have been persecuted not necessarily by dictatorship but also, often, by a society in which they live at odds . . . or those who leave and feel disorientated when they return, because the society to which they have returned shows only scattered signs of the one they knew before" (29). Mami and Papi fall into the first category, albeit in a complicated way, given their elite economic status. As a dissident in the Dominican Republic, Carlos lives at odds with the reigning government—he is persecuted by Trujillo and the Servicio de Inteligencia Militar (SIM) and chooses a seemingly self-imposed exile as the solution to his family's perilous situation. The daughters, however, fall into the second category in Canclini's definition of "native foreigners," but again with a twist—their palpable disorientation with each return visit to the Island seems to come not from the changes to the society they once knew, but because of changes within themselves. As Ricardo Castells points out, while the parents are immigrants, the daughters are part of a unique formulation that Ruben G. Rumbaut terms the "1.5 or one-and-a-half immigrant generation," that group of "young refugees who were born abroad and raised in the United States, and who therefore find themselves stuck between the first and second generations of American immigrants" (34–35). If the traditional understanding of a Third Culture Kid is the result of being caught between cultures, the García girls' identities as members of the one-and-a-half generation are the result of being caught between generations.

The García daughters are young when the family first moves to the United States—none of them have yet hit puberty—and so their childhoods are effectively divided, as R. Radhakrishnan observes, between the "before" of the Dominican Republic and the "now" of the United States. This one-and-a-half generation, like their parents, have the option of becoming naturalized US citizens by receiving the appropriate legal documentation, but they are, as Castells notes, members "of an intermediate generation that is not fully part of either its native or its adopted country" (36). Being born in the Dominican Republic and spending a portion of their childhood there gives them roots, in a sense, on the Island, but spending the rest of their youth and the majority of their adult years in the United States does its part to replant those roots. Just as the García family as a whole has to renegotiate its identity in relationship to the Dominican Republic and the United States, the García daughters must negotiate their identities, both as individuals and as "the García girls," within the family framework.

Alvarez's novel places a great deal of emphasis on the García girls' solidarity. The García girls are close in age and affection, enough so that their mother devises some rather analytical strategies for managing them as children: "The mother dressed them all alike in diminishing-sized, different color versions of what she wore, so that the husband sometimes joked, calling them *the five girls*" (40). If the girls and their mother are taken as a single unit, the daughters are essentially fragmented pieces of their mother's personhood—Laura even devises a color code for her daughters' clothing and then buys "rainbow clothes for herself so none of the girls can accuse her of playing favorites" (66). Yolanda's relationship with her mother, in the novel's telling, is the most complicated; Laura constantly fragments Yolanda's name, often calling her "Yo," a diminutive of Yolanda but also the Spanish word for "I." In doing so, Silvia Schultermandl argues, "Laura unmistakably claims Yolanda as part of herself and, by logical extension, as her own" (9). Yolanda's struggles to distinguish herself as an individual take the form of insisting upon the importance of her whole name. While nicknames are perhaps thought of, in the West and elsewhere, as pet names or signs of affection, for Yolanda they are verbal representations of her fragmented identity, the defining of her self in relationship to her mother and to her family as a whole. In one of the vignettes narrated by all four daughters, they recall, "With four girls so close in age, she couldn't indulge identities" (41), and indeed, Laura views her daughters, more often than not, as a single unit with interchangeable parts: "the mother confused their names or called them all by the generic pet name, 'Cuquita,' and switched their birthdates and careers, and sometimes forgot which husband or boyfriend went with which daughter" (42). To establish a semblance of individu-

ation, she nevertheless "had a favorite story she liked to tell about each one as a way of celebrating that daughter on special occasions," but it is in the day to day details of life that the García daughters are regularly considered pieces of a larger whole (42).

Given their near-constant collective identification by others, it follows that, as Julie Barak notes, the "sisters' stories are bound to repeat themselves like islands clustering in the archipelago; throughout their lives the same issues and complications reprise" (175). Indeed, on the Island they are regarded as but four members of a massive de la Torre clan. In one of the early (1960-1956) vignettes, Yolanda describes the dynamics of growing up in the de la Torre compound: "Back then, we all lived side by side in adjoining houses on a piece of property which belonged to my grandparents. Every kid in the family was paired up with a best-friend cousin" (225). On the Island, then, surrounded by extended family, the girls experience a measure of independence from each other, if not from their extended family—rather than being considered a unit of four, they are each individually paired with a cousin close in age. In the vignette immediately following Yolanda's, Sandi recalls what it was like to be a member of the vast de la Torre clan: "I was born to die one of the innumerable, handsome de la Torre girls, singled out only when some aunt or other would take hold of my face in her hand and look intently at it, exclaiming that my eyes were those of my great-aunt Graciela, that my mouth was Mamita's exactly!" (241). The children's individual identities are defined as (re)constructions of their various relatives; in the Dominican Republic, then, as in the United States, the García daughters are patchwork creations. When Sandi breaks her arm, she tellingly notes, "The cast was signed by several dozen cousins and aunts and uncles, so I seemed a composite creation of the de la Torre family" (253).

As patchwork girls, the García daughters not only need to establish their own identities in relationship to their physical location but also within their familial social structure. If they are defined by their reflection of various de la Torre characteristics, however, the question becomes how the girls learn to define themselves without the vast phalanx of cousins, aunts, and uncles to mirror their identities back to them. In moving to the United States, the girls lose the constant identification with their extended family and begin instead to be identified more specifically in relationship to one another—and to their mother. While in the Dominican Republic Carlos is the head of the family, in the United States, family dynamics change: Sandi notes that "Mami was the leader now that they lived in the States. *She* had gone to school in the States. *She* spoke English without a heavy accent" (176). The struggle to individuate themselves both from their extended

and from their immediate family marks the daughters' most intimate method of constructing their individual identities in relationship to both to the Dominican Republic and to the United States; despite their mother's attempts to classify and categorize her daughters, the individual García girls begin to distinguish themselves from their family, and from each other, almost from the beginning of their life in the United States. Their identities are shaped by their awakening sexuality, their (dis)abilities with language, and their own interpretation of their "belongingness" in both the Dominican Republic and the United States.

Several critics have commented on the interlocking roles of gender, sex, and sexuality within the novel; Barak argues that the process of negotiating shifting conceptions of their own identities is "even more complicated *because* they are girls, and growing up is more difficult for girls as they mature and come face-to-face with the double standards and demeaning cultural myths about women's bodies and women's roles in a patriarchal society" (160). It is interesting to note that Alvarez provides four different female interpretations of growing up as a member of the one-and-a-half generation, but the reader does not have access to a comparable experience from a male perspective (it is important to note here as well that there is little, if any, space in the novel for an exploration of how this particular type of transnational experience would be different for an individual who did not identify with this heteronormative framework). Likewise, the girls experience a disconnection in the very way they orient themselves through speech; Schultermandl argues that this "dislocation in language" is a "common experience" of the one-and-a-half generation (6). The novel's temporal logic provides another layer of (dis)orientation for the girls' respective identities; as the novel progresses it moves backward in time, meaning that the reader meets the García girls in the United States and travels with them backward through time, through memory, to their childhoods in the Dominican Republic. As Liliana Meneses argues, "identity integration is not really possible during the experience of living in a Third Culture; it is only when the individual is able to look back and reflect on his or her experience that the issues of identity development are integrated. In other words, as the adult TCK constructs and retells his life story, he is simultaneously describing how he is perceived by others . . . as well as how he perceives himself in the story" (287). Each García girl must thus navigate the boundaries of her individual and collective identities through narrative reconstruction, by diving through memory.

The girls' individual narratives echo similar concerns with sexuality, language, and where/how they "fit" in the Dominican Republic and the United States. As a whole, the García daughters' sexuality is intricately linked to silencing and trauma—in essence, the inability to negotiate

what is a new facet of their identities, due to a lack of the appropriate language to categorize their experiences. Yolanda's awareness of her own sexuality is directly affected by her struggles with the English language. In "The Rudy Elmenhurst Story," she recounts her first significant romantic relationship in the United States. At this stage in her life, Yolanda recalls, "English was then still a party favor for me—crack open the dictionary, find out if I'd just been insulted, praised, admonished, criticized" (87). Yolanda's relationship with Rudy is a series of sexual encounters, each thwarted by the couples' inability to speak each other's language. Yolanda cannot bring herself to think of sex in Rudy's terms, as "in the sack, screwed, balled, laid, and fucked" (97). For Yolanda language is essentially the key to her sexuality—she refuses Rudy because "His vocabulary turned me off even as I was beginning to acknowledge my body's pleasure" (96). Rudy's vocabulary is gendered; the words he uses to describe sex are assertions of what a male body does *to* another (female) body—and, implicitly, what the gendered male colonial body does to the colonized.

It is not that Yolanda cannot speak the "native" language—in fact, the one and only time Yolanda meets Rudy's parents, they compliment her "accentless English" (100). Instead, as Yolanda learns in this recollection, her ability to speak the language does not by necessity mean she is accepted in other ways—instead, it plants her firmly in a liminal space, desirous of exploring her sexuality, but only able to if the words are "right." Marciniak argues that the root of Rudy's parents' comment is an implicit "reliance on the dichotomous thinking that privileges, even glorifies, the notion of speaking like a native over accented speech" (64). If Yolanda can speak like a native, the implication is that she is one step closer to actually being native—which, in the novel, is not necessarily a desirable outcome. Marciniak argues however, "To lose an accent . . . does not necessarily mean to accelerate the desired acculturation. In Alvarez's novel we are confronted with subversive resistance to the metaphoric idea of losing an accent because to lose it means to obliterate the culturally and historically specific position marked by exile and to instantiate the idea of a full American whose uneasy, un-American differences have been successfully appeased or erased" (64). It is tempting to then read the "loss" of an accent as a metaphorical representation of the loss of a "native" identity, yet Marciniak cautions that such a simplistic reading is also not necessarily supported by the text. Yolanda does not have an accent, but neither does she quite have the vocabulary necessary to begin negotiating the boundaries surrounding her sexuality. As Joan Hoffman observes, "Words are inseparable from Yolanda's identity: it is absolutely crucial that she choose the accurate and appropriate word, that she constantly and properly identify, describe, define,

redefine, and name everything from mere objects to relationships, even to herself" (23). Without the "perfect" words, Yolanda cannot bring herself to engage sexually, and therefore remains in a liminal space, torn between her Dominican upbringing and the expectations of United States' 1960s sexual culture. In denying Yolanda access to these "perfect" words, however, the novel questions what those words might be, that would allow a woman in Yolanda's particular nexus of identification—female, immigrant, educated, wealthy—to express her sexuality. Perhaps, the novel indicates, these words do not exist.

Yolanda's unique aphasia is apparent throughout the novel, but perhaps most critically in the opening vignette, "Antojos." Having gone back to the Dominican Republic after an extended absence since her last visit, Yolanda decides that what she wants more than anything are *guayabas* and that she will travel by herself to the country to get some. This vignette establishes/echoes many of the themes that thread throughout the novel: the disconnect brought on by the family's economic status, the daughters' conflicted relationship to their "homeland" and the United States, and, most crucially, the role of language in constructing their identities. When her aunts admonish her to speak Spanish while she is there, Yolanda reflects on the way reverting to one language seems to supplant the other: "when she returns to the States, she'll find herself suddenly going blank over some word in English or, like her mother, mixing up some common phrase" (7). What is unknown to the extended family is that Yolanda has not decided whether or not she will return to the States—but as it becomes clear, neither has Yolanda fully anticipated the complications that might arise from a decision to remain in the Dominican Republic. When she blows out the candles on her welcome home cake, Yolanda wishes "Let this turn out to be my home," and her next thought is of the "maids in their quiet, mysterious cluster at the end of the patio" (11). Her thoughts fuse the idea of "home" with the image of the maids, a domestic scene that romanticizes what home in the Dominican Republic might hold for her. Yolanda continues to romanticize her wished-for "home" as she drives through the country searching for guavas; she sees "Here and there a braid of smoke rising up from a hillside—a *campesino* and his family living out their solitary life. This is what she has been missing all these years without really knowing that she has been missing it" (12). The irony of Yolanda's imagination is that this solitary existence has never been hers to miss—one of seemingly innumerable cousins, she has never been solitary, and the de la Torre name means she has never been anywhere close to a *campesino*'s economic status. Yolanda thus misses what she has never had; as Castells puts it, "It is important to

note that in reality Yolanda feels nostalgia for a countryside that is not a significant part of her personal or family history" (36).

Indeed, even as Yolanda comes as close as she has possibly ever been to the realities of life for the majority of Dominicans, it is not quite real to her: "It is hard to believe the poverty the radio commentators keep talking about. There seems to be plenty here to eat—except for guavas" (Alvarez 13). Significantly, Yolanda sees around her everything except the one thing she wants most. In order to satisfy her desire for guavas, she stops at a cantina and finds a group of boys who are willing to guide her to a guava grove. The way there is difficult, however, and her car gets a flat tire. As Yolanda tries to decide what to do, two men step out of the grove, "one short and dark, and the other slender and light-skinned . . . They wear ragged work clothes stained with patches of sweat; their faces are drawn. Machetes hang from their belts" (19). From their appearance, it is safe to assume that these men are *campesinos* like the one Yolanda earlier imagined living a solitary life with his family in the countryside. A real-life encounter with one of these workers, however, is an entirely different experience than imagining their existence.

Yolanda immediately interprets their presence as a threat and experiences classic symptoms of fear: "her legs seem suddenly to have been hammered into the ground beneath her" and "her tongue feels as if it has been stuffed in her mouth like a rag to keep her quiet" (19–20). Finally, when Yolanda does not respond their inquiries, the taller man seems to have an epiphany: "*Americana*," he says to the darker man, pointing to the car. "*No comprende*" (20). He has sized up the situation himself and determined that Yolanda does not respond because she cannot understand what they are saying. Adding her silence to the fact that she is driving an expensive car on a deserted country road, he comes to the conclusion that she is American. The smaller man is not convinced—"¿Americana?" he asks her, as if not quite sure what to make of her" (20). Of course, Yolanda has understood everything the men have said to her; as Castells points out:

> Although the scene is filled with racial and sexual tension for Yolanda, the two men merely ask if they can help her, but she is too scared to answer them. Her formerly imperfect Spanish gives way completely as she responds to the *campesinos'* offer of assistance with absolute silence. Curiously, although as a child in the Dominican Republic Yolanda could use Spanish perfectly to invent excuses and avoid punishment . . . as an adult she has completely lost this power with words. (37)

It is significant that Yolanda has lost power over *Spanish*, however, because her response to the men's realization is "a great flood of explanation" in English, "how it happens that she is on a back road by herself, her craving for guavas, having never learned how to change a flat" (Alvarez 20). In the face of her torrent of English, it is the two men who are silenced—only when she mentions the name Miranda, the distant relatives who live nearby, do their "eyes light up with respect" (20–21).

The implication in this passage is that the de la Torre connections and wealth have saved Yolanda from a potentially dangerous situation—yet it is unclear that the men had any ill intentions to begin with. Instead, as Castells argues, Yolanda's interpretation of the scenario is scripted by her wealth and by her relationship to the United States: "Although she has returned to the Dominican Republic in search of a place to call home, her linguistic shortcomings and her cultural awkwardness suggest that she is as much out place in the land of her birth" as she has been in the United States. "Unfortunately, this babbling encounter does not mean that she fully belongs in the United States either, as silence—or the inability to communicate—plagues Yolanda and her family throughout their years in their adopted home" (37). The economic disparity between Yolanda and the men adds another layer of complexity to this encounter; the men actually change Yolanda's flat, even going as far as to "lift the deflated tire in to the trunk and put away the tools" (Alvarez 21). In return, Yolanda ignores their refusal of the money she offers them and "stuffs the bills" into the pocket of the taller man, an assumptive gesture that cements her elevated economic and social status (22). Despite her earlier wish to be able to call the Dominican Republic home, in this vignette Yolanda latches onto English as a way out of a potentially volatile situation, displaying her conflicted sense of identity; as Marciniak claims, Yolanda's "inability to choose whether she is Dominican or American dramatizes her hyphenated, hybridized sense of selfhood and reveals her liminality" (69).

It is just as important, however, in taking care not to privilege the United States, to also take care not to romanticize the Dominican Republic. This is the pitfall Yolanda falls into in "Antojos"; the Island she has created in her imagination, pieced together from memory and story, does not exist. The Dominican Republic, like the United States, exists in the here-and-now, not in a mythical, idealized place in the past. The very concept of a transnational identity often runs a similar risk—as Radkakrishnan points out, it is tempting to want to ask, "Which is the real self and which is the other? How do these two selves coexist and how to they weld into one identity?" (204). In truth, there is no" real self," no "two halves" that somehow, through work or therapy or heightened awareness, merge into a singular, unified identity.

Indeed, as Marciniak cautions, "although the concept of transnational positionality seems to embrace—even at times celebrate—the idea of border crossings, it is important to acknowledge that for many exiles such crossings are extremely problematic, risky, or sometimes not possible at all" (xiv). The García family is a case in point—despite their ties to the United States, the family as a whole initially chose to stay in the Dominican Republic. It is political turmoil and the potential threat of physical danger that makes them seek refuge in the United States; crossing the border in this case is less a liberating, emancipatory act than a survival tactic. The developed ability to operate in multiple locations, in multiple languages, to tell their stories in their own words, is a crucial element of the García family's survival in the United States.

Manuela Matas Llorente notes that "Language, storytelling, becomes essential as a means of exploring one's past and coming to terms with one's present for being an insider and outsider in two cultures allows now the necessary distance for a new perception of both" (74). It is unclear, however, whether Alvarez's novel supports an interpretation that grants the Garcías a "new perception" of both of their cultures. Instead, Stuart Hall reminds us, "Silencing[,] as well as remembering, identity is always a question of producing in the future an account of the past[;] that is to say it is always about narrative, the stories which cultures tell themselves about who they are and where they came from" (5). The narrative structure of *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents* troubles a celebratory reading of the García family's identity formation; the novel opens with Yolanda's inability to repatriate to the Island, and ends with a chilling recollection of "some violation that lies at the center" of her art (Alvarez 290). Hall continues, "Identity is not in the past to be found, but in the future to be constructed" (14); by inverting the chronological sequence, Alvarez effectively guides the reader on a journey into the García family's past—the future remains beyond the scope of the novel, denying the reader, and by extension the García family, a chance to construct their identities as members of a transnational Dominican diaspora.

Works Cited

Alvarez, Julia. "An American Childhood in the Dominican Republic." *The American Scholar* 56 (1987): 71–85. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 18 February 2015.

---. *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents*. New York: Plume, 1992. Print.

Barak, Julie. "'Turning and Turning in the Widening Gyre': A Second Coming Into Language in Julia Alvarez's *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents*."

MELUS 23.1 (1998): 159–76. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 18 February 2015.

Bell-Villada, Gene H., Nina Sichel, Faith Eidse, and Elaine Neil Orr, eds. *Writing Out of Limbo: International Childhoods, Global Nomads and Third Culture Kids*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011. Print.

Canclini, Néstor García. "Migrants: Workers of Metaphors." *Thamyris/Intersecting: Place, Sex & Race* 24 (2011): 23–36. *SocINDEX*. Web. 18 February 2015.

Castells, Ricardo. "The Silence of Exile in *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents*." *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe* 26.1 (2001–2002): 34–42. *Academic Search Premier*. Web. 18 February 2015.

Diederich, Bernard. *Trujillo: The Death of the Goat*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1978. Print.

Gutiérrez, Carlos María. *The Dominican Republic: Rebellion and Repression*. Trans. Richard E. Edwards. New York: Monthly Review, 1972. Print.

Hall, Michael R. "The Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy in the Dominican Republic." *Journal of Third World Studies* 23.1: 2006. 13–18. *SocINDEX*. Web. 18 February 2015.

Hall, Stuart. "Negotiating Caribbean Identities." *New Left Review* I.29 (1995): 3–14. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 18 February 2015.

Hoffman, Joan M. "'She Wants to Be Called Yolanda Now': Identity, Language, and the Third Sister in *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents*." *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe* 23.1 (1998): 21–27. *JSTOR*. Web. 18 February 2015.

Marciniak, Katarzyna. *Alienhood: Citizenship, Exile, and the Logic of Difference*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2006. Print.

Matas Llorente, Manuela. "And Why Did the García Girls Lose Their Accents? Language, Identity and the Immigrant Experience in Julia Alvarez's *How the García Girls Lost Their Accents*." *Revista de Estudios Norteamericanos* 8 (2001): 69–75. *MLA International Bibliography*. Web. 18 February 2015.

Meneses, Liliana. "Memory, Language, and Identity: The Search for Self." Bell-Villada, Sichel, Eidse, and Orr . 278–90.

Newton, Pauline. *Transcultural Women of Late-Twentieth-Century U.S. American Literature: First-Generation Migrants from Islands and Peninsulas*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Print.

Orr, Elaine Neil. "The Stranger Self: A Pattern in Narrative." Bell-Villada, Sichel, Eidse, and Orr 391–410.

Radhakrishnan, R. *Diasporic Mediations: Between Home and Location*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996. Print.

Schultermandl, Silvia. "Rewriting American Democracy: Language and Cultural (Dis)Locations in Esmeralda Santiago and Julia Alvarez." *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingüe* 28.1 (2004–2007): 3–15. *JSTOR*. Web. 18 February 2015.

About the Author

Rachel Adams is an English instructor born in Buenos Aires, Argentina and currently living in Western North Carolina. She is interested in the nature of boundaries and borders, and the way literature reflects, refracts, and deconstructs borders between nations and people. To this end, she studies transnationalism in literature and how the written word impacts and reflects people's life experiences. She also studies and teaches yoga. Email: racheladams18@abtech.edu or radams@unca.edu.

Mrs. Howe in Havana: Activismo político y exploraciones sociales en *A Trip to Cuba*

Leonel Alvarado

Después de pasar un mes en Cuba, a principios de 1859, Julia Ward Howe publica *A Trip to Cuba*, un libro que ha pasado desapercibido a pesar de que en él expone, en el contexto colonial cubano, algunas de las ideas que luego la convertirían en una de las activistas más reconocidas del siglo XIX. Howe compara la política racial impuesta por la Corona española en el Caribe con la que imperaba en el sur de los Estados Unidos. El discurso abolicionista de *A Trip to Cuba* está dominado por una perspectiva romántica, influida por Rousseau, propia de la literatura de viajes decimonónica (Blanton, 2002); desde esta posición discursiva y estilística también se discute la interacción entre peninsulares, criollos y africanos, como componentes de una identidad cubana en proceso de formación, aunque obstaculizada por las desigualdades raciales, de clase y de género. Su crítica del sistema colonial proviene de dos posiciones—su formación religiosa y su extracción social—que la llevan a adoptar un discurso tanto redentor como racista, que no era ajeno a la literatura de viajes escrita por mujeres en el siglo XIX. En el contexto de la literatura de viajes decimonónica, Howe es, además de una viajera-activista, una exploradora social (Pratt, 2002) que, desde un espacio narrativo definido, analiza las relaciones sociales dentro de la isla.

Julia Ward Howe llegó a Cuba a principios de 1859 como "an incorporated wife" ("una esposa incorporada"; Foster y Mills 256); es decir, realizó el viaje para acompañar a su esposo, quien fue a pasar un mes en la isla por razones de salud, como era común en la época. No era raro que muchas viajeras del siglo diecinueve realizaran el viaje con el esposo que iba a ocupar un cargo diplomático o militar o a hacer negocios. Howe, quien tenía aspiraciones literarias, gestionó para que una revista de Boston, *The Atlantic Monthly*, le comisionara una serie de crónicas del Caribe, que luego fueron reunidas en *A Trip to Cuba*.

Desde el inicio del viaje, Howe se ve a sí misma como una persona que viaja por placer; ve también la oportunidad de escapar de las restricciones que le imponían tanto la sociedad de Nueva Inglaterra como su marido, a quien en un momento dado llama "the proprietor of Julia" ("el propietario de Julia"; 158). En la misma época, en Europa prolifera el

número de escritoras viajeras que buscaban escapar de la rigidez de la sociedad victoriana (Blanton 20). En el caso de Howe, su carrera literaria y su activismo social se veían constantemente frenados por las limitaciones que sufría a manos del marido. De hecho, sus pocos amigos la consideraban "too intelectual for marriage" ("demasiado intelectual para el matrimonio"; Ziegler 30). A ella le interesaba incursionar en el terreno del activismo social, dominado por el discurso masculino; al hacerlo, asumía una posición social y familiarmente impropia. Por ello, el viaje a Cuba le ofrece la libertad de la que carecía en su entorno social y familiar; aunque viaja como esposa incorporada, le beneficia el hecho de que, ya en Cuba, su esposo no la incluya en sus asuntos, pues éstos son exclusivamente masculinos, con lo que ella tiene tiempo de sobra para movilizarse y reflexionar sin restricciones, salvo las impuestas en la sociedad cubana por la Corona española. Howe se convierte en una exploradora social y una libre pensadora que aprovecha las circunstancias del viaje para plantear algunas de las ideas que luego la convertirían en una de las activistas más destacadas del siglo diecinueve, sobre todo después de haberse incorporado a la causa del Norte durante la Guerra Civil y, luego, al involucrarse de lleno en la lucha por el sufragio femenino.

Como pensadora y activista, su crónica cubana discurre sobre tres grandes temas: las injusticias del sistema colonial, la subyugación social de la mujer y la esclavitud; la única forma de acabar con estos tres males es una intervención militar de los Estados Unidos, que ella percibe como una misión redentora en la que se funden los dos ejes de su formación: la política y la religión. De hecho, Howe ve su activismo social como una cruzada político-religiosa, de tal modo que percibe la causa política como una causa religiosa. Sin embargo, las reflexiones sobre estos grandes temas están matizadas y, a veces, encubiertas por los retratos que pinta de la sociedad cubana en sus paseos por la ciudad y sus visitas a plantaciones y casas de familia.

Aunque el relato de Howe comienza en alta mar y continúa cuando el barco en que viajan hace escala en Nassau, la crónica tiene como eje narrativo la ciudad de La Habana, desde donde realiza varios viajes a otros lugares, como San Antonio de los Baños y Matanzas; viaja también a las afueras de esas ciudades a visitar plantaciones, pero siempre regresa al centro urbano, como una "fixed position that organizes the narrative" ("una posición fija que organiza la narrativa"; Pratt 159). El hecho de instalarse en un locus narrativo era frecuente entre las "exploradoras sociales" del siglo diecinueve, como las llama Marie-Claire Hoock-Demarle (cit. por Pratt 160), quienes se instalaban en un centro urbano que les ofrecía un espacio ideal para sus observaciones etnográficas; es lo que hacen viajeras como Flora Tristán, quien visita Perú,

María Graham, en Chile, y la misma Howe. El hecho de contar con un espacio definido y reconocible es un elemento esencial en la narrativa de las mujeres viajeras, tanto así que todas ellas privilegian, no sólo el centro urbano, como base, sino, sobre todo, la casa y, más aun, el cuarto propio como "refuges and sources of well-being" ("refugio y fuentes de bienestar"; Pratt 226). El ejemplo más llamativo es el de María Graham, cuyo esposo, quien iba a ocupar un cargo militar en Chile, murió en la travesía, por lo que Graham desembarcó sola en un país desconocido sin hablar el idioma; de inmediato busca un lugar donde vivir y se refugia en su cuarto a reflexionar y hacer un recuento de su situación, es decir, se hace de un espacio privado que le permite recobrar el aplomo necesario para enfrentarse a las circunstancias en que se encuentra. Por su parte, Tristán tiende a violar el convencionalismo social al retirarse constantemente a la privacidad de su cuarto. De la misma manera, Howe dice del hotel: "was to us a fortress and a rock of defence" ("para nosotros era una fortaleza y una roca de defensa"; 133).

No es de extrañar que el ambiente doméstico sea de mayor importancia en la literatura de viajes escrita por mujeres que en la de los hombres. A diferencia de los hombres, quienes desde Colón son los impulsores del proceso de colonización, el único territorio reclamado por las mujeres es "[a] private space, a personal, room-sized empire" ("un espacio privado, personal, un imperio del tamaño de una habitación"; Pratt 227). Desde este espacio de enunciación, las viajeras salen a explorar el mundo. En cierto sentido, las viajeras del siglo diecinueve experimentaban lo que Paul Theroux llama "el viaje como una versión de estar en casa", es decir, una versión idealizada del hogar; obviamente, la aseveración de Theroux tiene mucho más que ver con el turismo masificado del siglo veinte, uno de cuyos elementos esenciales es la oferta de confort: España, dice Theroux, es el Hogar pero con sol, India es el Hogar pero con sirvientes. En el siglo diecinueve, no existía el confort, lo que se vuelve un tema recurrente en las crónicas de las viajeras sociales, quienes hablan una y otra vez de las penurias del transporte, en coche, tren o a caballo, los malos hoteles, la severidad del clima, la falta de aseo y de privacidad, el insomnio, los perros, los mosquitos, entre otras cosas. Por ello, las viajeras parecen aprovechar cualquier oportunidad para reconstruir la imagen ideal del hogar y así suplir estas carencias.

La imagen del hogar se reduce, en la mayor parte de los casos, a la reconstrucción de una escena familiar, casi siempre ligada a la comida y el entretenimiento de amigos: Florence Dixie "organiza" una cena para algunos visitantes en la Pampa y Julia Howe confiesa que lleva su té bostoniano a todas partes porque "where the tea-table is, there is home" ("donde está el té, está el hogar"); observa "this sacred rite" ("este sagrado ritual") del té y lleva a todas partes su "precious pound of black tea,

brought from home" ("valiosa libra de té negro traído de casa"; 195). De esta forma, trasplanta la proyección ideal del hogar al espacio del viaje, reproduciendo, así, la imagen del hogar en el extranjero. Visita la casa o, mejor dicho, el hogar de una familia de Estados Unidos y encuentra la imagen perfecta del hogar en tierra extranjera, pues la casa posee calor humano y un confort modesto y civilizado; se siente cómoda y segura "with people of our own race and our own way of thinking" ("con gente de nuestra propia raza y nuestra forma de pensar"; 53). De la misma manera, el té se convierte en el pasaporte al mundo civilizado y antecede casi siempre al paseo con amigos de la misma clase social. Ellos y el ritual del té le ofrecen el refugio que tanto busca y que describe en su texto: el barco es el último refugio, el mosquitero de la cama del hotel, los jardines y, al final, el barco de regreso a Nueva York.

Una de las formas empleadas para enfrentarse a las penurias es a través de la adopción de una pose que Pratt califica de masculina. Es decir, las viajeras se empeñan en demostrar que ellas también tienen la fuerza y la entereza necesarias para realizar actividades y, a veces, hazañas propias de los hombres. Para el caso, Flora Tristán es la única mujer en una caravana que cruza el desierto a caballo; los hombres adoptan la posición de protectores, pero ella se empeña en demostrarles que está al mismo nivel que ellos. Parte de esta actitud masculina o, mejor dicho, masculinizada es también vestirse o disfrazarse de hombre o al menos no usar ropa propiamente femenina; esto tiene que ver no sólo con la pose de que habla Pratt sino con uno de los elementos esenciales del viaje: recurrir a lo práctico. Por ello, estas viajeras se vuelven precursoras del viaje femenino moderno, basado en lo práctico del vestir. Ellas introducen también lo que Foster y Mills llaman una "notion of difference" ("noción de diferencia"; 3), desde la que se asume una posición de enunciación en la que el género no es el único factor decisivo. En otras palabras, la viajera es una más del grupo, capaz de hacer lo mismo que los hombres, sobre todo actividades que demandan cualidades no consideradas tradicionalmente femeninas para la época. El contexto imperial, continúan Foster y Mills, parece conferirles a las viajeras las condiciones ideales para realizar hazañas que no podrían llevar a cabo en su país de origen (217).

Las viajeras se ven en la necesidad de "credencializarse" como mujeres; como señalan Foster y Mills, ellas muestran a menudo una gran preocupación por la importancia de vestirse y comportarse "correctamente", es decir, como mujeres, pues son juzgadas según estos parámetros. Su preocupación tiene que ver con la forma en que ellas, como protagonistas de su propia aventura, serían percibidas por los lectores de sus crónicas; el mero hecho de viajar a lugares exóticos, léase incivilizados, no era considerado femenino, además de que iba en contra del

sentido de respetabilidad propio de las mujeres. De ahí que muchas viajeras tiendan a dedicarle espacio en sus crónicas al establecimiento de la feminidad de la narradora. En la segunda mitad del siglo diecinueve aparecieron varios manuales, como el *Hints for Lady Travellers (Consejos prácticos para las damas viajeras)* (1889), en el que la autora especifica que la ropa debe ser práctica y, a la vez, ajustarse al canon femenino (Foster y Mills 219).

Sin embargo, las viajeras nunca renuncian a la posibilidad de asumir su condición de género cuando lo consideran necesario; esto se manifiesta, sobre todo, en la importancia que para ellas siempre parece tener el hogar; viajeras como Howe, Tristán, Graham y Dixie comparten el apego al hogar como refugio que las alivia de las penurias. En todas ellas existe la necesidad de encontrar un lugar apartado, ya sea un cuarto de hotel o de pensión, que les permita estar solas para así recobrar la privacidad que sólo tenían en su propio hogar. Todas buscan reconstruir en el extranjero la imagen ideal del cuarto propio, de ahí la predilección, de fuerte tono romántico, por los espacios cerrados, una de cuyas expresiones favorecidas por todas ellas es el jardín cerrado. En el tiempo que pasa en La Habana, Howe visita tantas plantaciones como jardines, e incluso, cuando visita las primeras, lo primero que tiende a describir es la hilera de palmeras de la entrada. Esta avenida de palmeras representa, como los jardines que visita, una versión domesticada de la naturaleza, lo que parece hacerla sentirse segura, protegida; lo que ocurre es que, esencialmente, la naturaleza domesticada es la forma más evidente del espacio seguro y, sobre todo, controlado de la casa. El jardín se convierte en espectáculo y en una prueba del triunfo de la civilización sobre la naturaleza salvaje.

Sin embargo, la domesticidad asociada al viaje era vista también desde una perspectiva positiva. Para el caso, en 1845, la viajera y escritora inglesa Elizabeth Rigby planteaba que, precisamente, la esfera doméstica equipaba a la mujer viajera con un penetrante sentido de observación, así como con fortaleza, sentido práctico e independencia (cit. por Foster y Mills 10). Además, lo doméstico es un área que acerca a la escritora viajera a sus lectoras, quienes podían reconocer en ella su propia proyección de la esfera familiar, no importaba que esta esfera hubiera sido trasplantada a un lugar totalmente ajeno a la experiencia inmediata de las lectoras. Esta identificación se ve posibilitada también por el interés que las viajeras muestran no sólo por asuntos femeninos, sino por la composición de las familias que visitan o el trato de los niños, tal como ocurre en Howe, quien varias veces describe su interacción con los niños, sobre todo con los hijos de los esclavos. Este interés, ausente en la literatura de viajes masculina, crea un sentido de

inmediatez entre la autora y las lectoras, basado en la exclusividad que les daba a ambas el conocimiento íntimo del espacio doméstico.

Asimismo, la visión de la naturaleza es esencialmente romántica; la misma Howe reconoce que a veces se deja llevar por el romanticismo en sus descripciones de la naturaleza caribeña. Lo que parece importarles a las viajeras es la proyección, en la mejor expresión del romanticismo sentimental, de su mundo interior en la naturaleza, con lo que la narrativa afirma la condición de género de quien escribe. La naturaleza puede ser también hostil, como en el caso de Tristán, pero, a diferencia de los viajeros renacentistas, la naturaleza nunca se ve como recurso explotable, tal como la describió, para el caso, Colón; tampoco es espacio para aventuras redentoras, como la vio Raleigh, o fuente de estudio científico, como la percibió Humboldt. En el caso de Howe, las visitas a las plantaciones de azúcar no le llevan al cuestionamiento de la explotación de los recursos naturales, sino que ve en ellas la expresión tanto del sistema colonial como de las relaciones sociales. Es decir, la plantación es el espacio donde se manifiestan el poder económico-político colonial y las relaciones entre las diferentes clases sociales; de este último tema, lo que más le llama la atención es la relación que existe entre los peninsulares y los esclavos. Por lo tanto, la naturaleza pasa a ser un espacio natural y social en el que la única explotación que parece importarle a Howe es la de los esclavos, no la de la tierra.

Asume, a veces, como Flora Tristán, el discurso masculino, por ejemplo, cuando decide explicarles a sus lectores el mecanismo de la molienda; en este caso, su narrativa se sale de la esfera femenina para incursionar en el espacio discursivo masculino. Así, reclama su derecho a un lenguaje que tradicionalmente sólo les pertenecía a los viajeros científicos y exploradores. La adopción de este lenguaje es parte de una estrategia discursiva que llega a su clímax cuando Howe incursiona en el discurso sociopolítico, una esfera, por lo demás, reservada a los hombres. De hecho, su marido, un prominente activista de la época, la criticaba por esta actitud y trató de impedirle muchas veces, sin éxito por el espíritu libertario de Howe, que se involucrara en el activismo feminista. El viaje a Cuba ofrece a Howe la plataforma ideal, lejos de las restricciones de la sociedad de Nueva Inglaterra, para expresar sus ideas feministas, religiosas y, sobre todo, políticas. El penúltimo capítulo del libro, después de haber entretenido a los lectores de *The Atlantic Review* con sus historias de paseos por La Habana, San Antonio de los Baños y Matanzas, es un paréntesis en el viaje, cuyo fin es atacar directamente el sistema de esclavitud que imperaba en el sur de los Estados Unidos. Por lo tanto, el libro ya no es una crónica de viajes, sino un discurso sociopolítico, más a tono con todo el activismo en el que Howe se embarcaría a su regreso de Cuba. De hecho, unos

meses después, ella y su marido fueron recibidos por Lincoln, e inmediatamente después de esa reunión escribió su obra más conocida: *The Battle Hymn of the Republic (El Himno de Batalla de la República)*.

Tanto en el *Himno,* como en la crónica cubana, Howe plantea que la liberación de los oprimidos sólo será posible a través de una cruzada redentora en la que converjan la política y la religión, dos de los ejes esenciales de la vida y la obra de Howe. La liberación del sur de los Estados Unidos es tan necesaria como la de Cuba; en ambos prevalece un sistema de opresión, que sólo la espada divina puede destruir. En varios pasajes de *A Trip to Cuba* sugiere que la forma más expedita de poner fin al dominio español en la isla sería por medio de una intervención militar norteamericana, que ella ve como un designio divino. Para el caso, al entrar al Morro, considera cómo podría ser penetrado; ve "a point where trenches could be opened with advantage" ("un lugar donde sería fácil construir trincheras"; 80). Al asistir a una misa militar, describe la actitud de la tropa y se pregunta "how long it would take a handful of resolute Yankees to knock them all into" ("cuánto tiempo se tardaría un puñado de yanquis resueltos en derrotarlos"; 144). Esta observación militar es también una incursión directa en el discurso masculino, al que recurre cada vez que se refiere al régimen colonial y a la esclavitud. Sin embargo, reconoce que un hombre podría apreciar mucho más el aspecto militar del Morro, es decir, reconoce sus límites como mujer, lo que no era raro entre las viajeras del siglo diecinueve, quienes, incluso, llegaban a disculparse con sus lectoras por esa falta de conocimiento.

Sin embargo, la actitud de Howe frente a la esclavitud resulta conflictiva porque lo que para ella es más relevante sería la expulsión de los peninsulares de Cuba, no tanto la liberación de los esclavos. Ella no predica, así en sentido religioso, poner fin al sistema de esclavitud; arguye que si los esclavos son bien tratados, el sistema mismo puede ofrecerles protección. Como señala Harper, Howe creía en la emancipación, pero no que la igualdad racial debía ser el fin último (202). Howe parece no haber abandonado esa actitud frente a los esclavos que heredó de sus parientes esclavistas de Carolina del Sur, quienes veían con temor el fin de la esclavitud porque, según esta mentalidad, los esclavos serían capaces de asesinar a sus amos (Grant 130). El sistema ideal era un status quo en el que los esclavos podían ser protegidos de amos crueles y de sus propios instintos incivilizados; la mejor forma de protegerlos y, en última instancia, de salvarlos de los otros y de ellos mismos, era cristianizándolos. De esta forma, la religión no dejaba de ocupar un papel vital como reguladora de las relaciones sociales. Por esa razón, cuando la señora de una casa que visita amenaza a uno de sus esclavos con venderlo, Howe le ruega que le tenga paciencia y que "Enlighten his dark mind, let Christianity be taught him, which will

show him, even in his slave state, that he has conquered his fellow servant better than by drawing a knife upon him" ("ilumine su mente oscura, permita que se le enseñe el cristianismo para que aprenda que, incluso en su estado de esclavitud, puede hacerse querer del otro sirviente [con el que constantemente pelea] en vez de amenazarlo con el cuchillo"; 121). Es decir, le pide a la señora de la casa que domestique al esclavo a través del Evangelio.

Howe llega a Cuba con una predisposición hacia los peninsulares, a quienes crítica y aborrece desde el primer contacto: "As soon as we had dropped anchor, a swarm of dark creatures came on board, with gloomy brows, mulish noses, and suspicious eyes. This application of Spanish flies proves irritating to the good-nature Captain, and uncomfortable to all of us" ("En cuanto echamos el ancla subió a bordo un enjambre de criaturas de piel oscura, semblante deprimente, nariz de caballo y ojos sospechosos. Esta dosis de moscas españolas le resultó irritante al buen capitán e incómoda a nosotros"; 30). Después de ser sujetos a un chequeo burocrático que le parece excesivo, concluye que "the first glance at this historical race makes clear to us the Inquisition, the Conquest of Granada, ant the ancient butcheries of Alva (sic) and Pizarro" ("Un primer vistazo a esta raza histórica nos dejó en claro la Inquisición, la conquista de Granada y las matanzas ancestrales de Alva y de Pizarro"; 31). Esta actitud frente a los peninsulares contrasta con una gran simpatía por los criollos, a quienes ve como sustitutos de los peninsulares en el gobierno de la isla; despliega una actitud paternalista o, mejor dicho, maternalista con fuertes matices racistas hacia los esclavos, lo que parece contradictorio en una intelectual tan involucrada en la lucha racial. Sin embargo, aunque se apiada cristianamente de los sirvientes, no los reconoce como sus iguales; los ve como una raza inferior que debe ser instruida, cristianizada, pero no necesariamente blanqueada porque no ve en ellos las habilidades necesarias para alcanzar un alto grado de civilización. A fin de cuentas, Howe es una intelectual cuya base crítica está dictada por su extracción social y su formación religiosa (Grant 135).

La crítica a los peninsulares o a otros viajeros estadounidenses es un elemento integral de la exploración social como una práctica política (Pratt 227). En Howe es frecuente la crítica institucional, dirigida al gobierno español, y, por medio de éste, al Sur de los Estados Unidos; sus ataques van dirigidos a la burocracia española, como en el ejemplo anterior, o a las costumbres que observa en su contacto con la sociedad española; para el caso, se burla de la devoción católica y de la forma de vestir de las damas españolas que asisten a misa: "some of them bring their children, bedizened like dolls, and mimicking mamma's gestures and genuflection in a manner more provoking to sadness than to satire"

("algunas llevan a sus hijos, vestidos de muñecos que imitan los gestos y genuflexiones de su madre de una manera que provoca más tristeza que sátira"; 141). Tampoco sus compatriotas se escapan de este tono sarcástico, tanto a nivel institucional como individual. Para el caso, del servicio diplomático de Estados Unidos dice que "one of the requisites of an American foreign Official being that he shall be capable of no foreign language. This rule has been rigorously adhered to by the Administration for twenty years past, and in some instances, a tolerable ignorance of English has been added, as a merit of supererogation" ("uno de los requisitos de un diplomático americano es que sea incapaz de hablar un idioma extranjero. Este reglamento ha sido observado rigurosamente por la Administración por 20 años, y, a veces, se ha añadido una ignorancia tolerable del inglés como mérito adicional"; 180).

El discurso y el tono sociopolíticos de Howe no difieren del de muchos hombres de la época. En el caso de *A Trip to Cuba*, sobre todo en las interacciones con esclavos, el género de quien escribe no es un factor determinante. En muchos casos de mujeres viajeras del siglo diecinueve, Tim Youngs señala (cit. por Foster y Mills 4), no se puede establecer una simple polarización de género, ya que éste no es siempre el factor determinante en la escritura. De la misma manera, Chaudhuri y Strobel señalan que no todas las viajeras occidentales se oponían al colonialismo, llegando a veces a ser "more ideologically dangerous in their aparent sympathy for women in colonised countries, since this sympathy is more difficult to counter" ("ideológicamente más peligrosas en su aparente simpatía hacia las mujeres de países colonizados, ya que esta simpatía no era fácil de contrarrestar"; cit. por Foster y Mills 4). Foster y Mills concluyen que no se puede generalizar y creer que la escritura de las mujeres viajeras sea homogénea y completamente diferente de la de los hombres porque, para el caso, hay muchas instancias en que la simpatía va acompañada de declaraciones abiertamente racistas, tal como ocurre en el libro de Howe (4).

Del mismo modo, en el texto de Howe es frecuente la percepción del esclavo como el buen salvaje, a quien describe con el mismo lenguaje pintoresco con el que a veces describe la naturaleza. Los viajeros del siglo diecinueve, como lo hace ver Casey Blanton, acogen las ideas de Rosseau; así, la xenofobia eurocéntrica de la época medieval y del Renacimiento es reemplazada por la idea del buen salvaje, es decir, adoptan una perspectiva paternalista sobre las virtudes morales de la gente primitiva (16). De esta forma, Howe atribuye al esclavo la misma nobleza que a la naturaleza domesticada; muestra una clara predilección por la naturaleza domesticada y le teme a la naturaleza salvaje, así como en su familia se le temía al esclavo no sometido. La nobleza de espíritu, tanto en el esclavo como en la naturaleza, puede lograrse a través,

precisamente, de una domesticidad basada en el dominio ejercido por el blanco, quien impone el orden en las avenidas de palmeras y en los galpones bajo llave donde viven los esclavos. Sin el toque civilizador, el esclavo no puede salir de su ignorancia, de la misma manera que, en su opinión, la naturaleza americana no puede ser completamente domesticada porque sólo se cuenta con la mano de obra no calificada del esclavo; esto es, el esclavo representa la fuerza bruta que debe estar bajo el mando civilizador del amo. Para el caso, al visitar una plantación de Matanzas se burla de la ignorancia del esclavo que el capataz les asignó para que les sirviera de guía: "Our negro guide had not been very lavish or inteligible in his answers to our numerous questions. We asked him about these cattle. 'Dey cows,' he replied. We asked if they gave milk, and if butter was made on the plantation. He seemed quite puzzled and confused, and finally exclaimed, --'Dat cows no got none wife.' Coming nearer, we found that the cows were draught oxen." ("Nuestro negro guía no era muy locuaz ni inteligente en sus respuestas a nuestras preguntas. Le preguntamos acerca del ganado. 'Son vacas', respondió. Le preguntamos si eran lecheras y si en la plantación se producía mantequilla. Pareció confundido y por fin exclamó: 'Esas vacas no tienen esposa'. Al acercarnos comprobamos que las vacas eran bueyes"; 137-38). El esclavo es un guía completamente ineficaz, es decir, no cumple la función utilitaria que tradicionalmente los guías americanos cumplieron durante el proceso de colonización y exploración. Pratt señala este papel utilitario del guía, quien no sólo mostraba el camino, sino también los lugares donde se encontraban los recursos naturales (130). Igual ocurre en los viajes de Humboldt, cuyos guías le muestran las plantas que luego pasan a formar parte de su inventario, tanto para ser estudiadas como explotadas o trabajadas "by our turners and cabinet makers" ("por nuestros torneros y carpinteros"), como dice Humboldt (cit. por Pratt 130). En este caso, el guía carece de nombre y no pasa de ser una función, un ente indefinido, cuya cualidad más destacada es la disponibilidad; en una narrativa en la que el ser humano aparece disminuido frente a la vastedad de la naturaleza americana, "the Americans..., dice Pratt, come alive, but only in the immediate service of the Europeans. The only action they are seen to initiate is to point out exploitable resources to the visitors" ("los americanos...sólo cobran vida al servicio inmediato de los europeos. La única acción que parecen propiciar es señalar los recursos explotables a los visitantes"; 130).

Si bien en el texto de Howe, el guía y el criollo, el peninsular y los esclavos aparecen con una identidad definida, todos son percibidos desde una posición de superioridad. Aunque el trato con la gente de distintas clases sociales sea directo, algo que era impensable en la narrativa de los viajeros exploradores y científicos, Howe recurre a una

mirada propia de estos viajeros: lo que Pratt llama "the view from the balcony" ("la mirada desde el balcón"; 216). Desde este sitio privilegiado, convertido en mirador, el viajero observa y "dominate the scene" ("domina la escena"), como Casey Blanton señala, a propósito de Paul Theroux en Bolivia (109). Las exploradoras sociales, Howe entre ellas, recurren frecuentemente a esta posición narrativa privilegiada para describir el paisaje, aunque, a diferencia de Theroux, su mirador tiende a ser un punto geográfico: en Tristán y Graham son frecuentes las descripciones desde la cumbre de un cerro o de una montaña; en el texto de Howe ocurre también este tipo de posicionamiento geográfico y narrativo. Para el caso, en Matanzas sube a una cumbre desde donde se ve el Valle del Yumurí, que describe en tonos románticos, típicos de los libros de viaje de la época: "the Cumbre is lofty, the view extensive, and the valley lovely, of a soft, light green, like the early leaves and grass of spring" ("la cumbre es alta, la vista amplia y el valle hermoso, de un verde suave y ligero, como las primeras hojas y hierba de la primavera"; 137). La naturaleza aparece en su estado puro, no como un espacio para ser poseído o explotado, como ocurría en los textos del viajero explorador o del científico, sino como una proyección sublimizada del mundo interior de la viajera. Lo que sí comparte con los viajeros anteriores es la visión de una naturaleza desde arriba y sin seres humanos; se trata, así, de una percepción de la naturaleza primitiva e incivilizada, es decir, no habitada ni barbarizada por el americano, que compartían autores tan diversos como Colón, Humboldt y Raleigh. La ausencia del ser humano es parte de una estrategia discursiva con fines abiertamente coloniales que convierte la naturaleza americana en *terra nullius*, es decir, un espacio que al carecer de dueño puede ser jurídicamente demarcado y reclamado para su posesión (Elliott 30). El texto de Howe está lejos de los propósitos colonialistas de estos autores, pero coincide en su negación de la presencia humana, lo que quizá se explique por su actitud de rechazo y racismo ante las clases bajas.

Foster y Mills señalan, además, que las viajeras no eran racistas en todas las circunstancias ni tampoco el contenido de su racismo era el mismo en toda su narrativa (6). Sin embargo, algunas de ellas evidenciaban claros prejuicios raciales, producto de su extracción social, pues algunas de ellas, como Howe, Graham y Dixie, provenían de la clase alta; así, a través de su simpatía hacia las mujeres de los países que visitaban, demarcaban una posición de superioridad social que antecedía al viaje y que luego sería vital para la publicación y la recepción de la crónica. Sus lectoras potenciales eran, precisamente, mujeres de su misma clase, a quienes, a veces, se dirige con consejos prácticos, como cuáles lugares visitar, en cuál hotel quedarse, cuánto pagar por un paseo en coche, dónde comer, cómo tomar el té (con qué tipo de

mermelada), qué pedir y no pedir en el café; aconseja también ir al café Dominica por los refrescos y el entretenimiento social (110).

En el libro de Howe se observa este mismo tipo de simpatía mezclada con superioridad maternalista, tanto hacia las mujeres como hacia los esclavos. En una de sus visitas conoce a Polonia, una sirvienta que ha heredado la deuda de sus padres y que seguramente se la pasará a sus hijos; "so the world to the slave is a debtor's prison, with a good or bad jailer" ("así el mundo de un esclavo es la cárcel del deudor, con un carcelero bueno o malo"; 196); después de compadecerse de la esclava, la llama "dear old half-mad charcoal figure" ("querida figura de carbón, vieja medio loca"; 208). Compara a los esclavos de Nassau, quienes son "ugly, clumsy, and unserviceable" ("feos, torpes y displicentes"), con los cubanos, quienes están "better cut" ("mejor hechos"); las mujeres tienen mejor porte y aunque "beauty of feature is not so common among them; still, one meets with it here and there" ("la belleza física no es común entre ellas, se encuentra de vez en cuando"; 121-22). Este posicionamiento discursivo se basa en una dicotomía colonial entre uno(a)-el otro, nosotros(as)-ellos, el(la) superior y el(la) inferior, que deriva en la adopción de una postura postcolonial u orientalista, para recurrir al término de Edward Said, que lleva a observar al otro no-europeo desde una posición imperialista basada en la supremacía europea; el otro no sólo es definido, sino que también es construido como una abstracción: los sirvientes del hotel o los esclavos de la plantación son el otro que, según los percibe Howe, es necesario liberar y, más aún, redimir; esto puede ocurrir sólo a través de la superioridad protestante y militar estadounidense. Howe propone una intervención imperialista para contrarrestar la supremacía del imperio español en la isla; el sujeto colonial se encuentra, así, entre dos imperios que al oprimirlo o liberarlo terminan definiéndolo. En este sentido, la percepción del otro da pie para la formulación de una propuesta pragmática, con lo que el texto de Howe se apropia, nuevamente, del pragmatismo masculino.

Un elemento que definitivamente separa la escritura de Howe de la producida por hombres viajeros es, aparte de la percepción de la vida doméstica, las limitantes a las que se enfrenta como mujer. Para el caso, señala que en Cuba las mujeres no pueden salir solas: "public opinion, even in San Antonio [de los Baños], would never have permitted Maria Luisa, or any other female under sixty to have walked the quiet streets without escort" ("la opinión pública, incluso en San Antonio, no le habría permitido a María Luisa o a otra mujer menor de 60 años andar por la calle sin escolta"; 193). Tampoco pueden visitar lugares nada femeninos por ser considerados peligrosos para ellas, no para los hombres; tal es el caso de las prisiones. El itinerario social de las viajeras del siglo diecinueve incluía visitas a "prisons, orphanages, hospitals,

convents, factories, slums, poorhouses, and other sites of social management and control" ("cárceles, orfanatos, hospitales, conventos, fábricas, barrios pobres y otros sitios de manejo social controlado"; Pratt 227). El marido de Howe le prohíbe que visite una prisión y ella acata esa orden, pero no deja de manifestar su descontento; así, el texto le sirve de única vía de escape, pues al escribir goza de la libertad que no tiene fuera de la casa. Para poder salir y hacer sus visitas se ve en la necesidad de negociar una serie de relaciones sociales que le permitan moverse con más libertad y llevar a cabo su tarea de cronista de viaje. Por su extracción social, es capaz de establecer relaciones con familias de clase alta que la invitan a paseos, casi siempre por plantaciones o a veladas artísticas. Lo interesante es que todas estas familias son peninsulares, lo que resulta contradictorio por sus ataques vehementes a todo lo que representa la presencia colonial en la isla. Lo que parece imponerse es el trato de clase, es decir, la identificación con gente de su mismo nivel social. Aunque a veces no deja de criticar las costumbres ridículas de las señoritas españolas, lo que prevalece es el roce entre gente de la misma clase. Para el caso, en una velada artística se deja seducir por el refinamiento europeo de la familia peninsular; describe al detalle el piano, como símbolo de ese refinamiento elitista; en tales momentos la libre pensadora da paso a la exploradora social.

Aparte de las limitantes sociales que imponía el género, Foster y Mills plantean que las mujeres escritoras también se veían obligadas a acatar una serie de reglas y sistemas de representación y significación dictadas por discursos estéticos e imperialistas que, para el caso, determinaban qué parte del territorio visitado podía entrar en la prosa como paisaje y qué emociones podían esperarse en los lectores potenciales en relación con ciertas formaciones geológicas (5). Las mujeres, continúan, no podían obviar ciertas estrategias discursivas típicamente masculinas, ya que su escritura estaba formulada según parámetros construidos social y literariamente, tal como los que tienen que ver con los discursos estéticos e imperialistas y los relacionados con la producción de conocimiento o la descripción de las emociones. Volviendo a la pregunta de si existe una literatura de viajes esencialmente femenina, la respuesta es que tal escritura no puede limitarse al género, sino a la persona, su extracción social, su formación y los propósitos de su viaje, entre otros. Es decir, los libros de las exploradoras sociales del siglo diecinueve comparten tantos elementos discursivos con aquéllos escritos por hombres en la misma época o incluso antes; para el caso, la descripción romántica del paisaje puede encontrarse en la prosa científica de Humboldt como en las crónicas de Tristán, Howe o Graham. De la misma manera, en los textos de las viajeras hay ejemplos de la descripción de ciertos procesos mecánicos, como cuando Tristán y Howe visitan ingenios azucareros;

aunque su fin parece más informativo que científico, adoptan un discurso que para la época era esencialmente masculino. Obviamente, como se ha señalado, hay elementos intrínsecos que caracterizan la escritura de las viajeras decimonónicas, sobre todo su percepción del hogar y las relaciones que establecen con otras mujeres.

Pratt señala que en los textos de las exploradoras sociales se fusiona lo personal con la política, de tal forma que los libros se convierten en un proyecto de autorrealización y en una fantasía de armonía social. Esta dinámica explica por qué autoras como María Graham y Flora Tristán terminan sus crónicas "with episodes that allegorize the personal quest in highly political terms" ("con episodios que alegorizan la búsqueda personal en términos altamente políticos"; 235). De esta forma, la transformación interior experimentada en el recorrido del país extranjero se proyecta hacia la búsqueda de un bien mayor que trasciende la esfera personal. En la literatura de viajes del siglo diecinueve, señala Blanton, la relación entre el yo y el mundo se vuelve más compleja porque el viajero se debate entre el idealismo y la perspectiva imperialista (16). Howe concluye su viaje y su libro con una propuesta de transformación social que acabaría con el dominio español de Cuba, pero no necesariamente con el fin de la esclavitud ni en Cuba ni en Estados Unidos. El viaje a Cuba le ofrece un espacio de enunciación que le permite formular y, sobre todo, publicar sus ideas sin restricciones sociales o discursivas; también facilita el transgredir, como lo hicieron otras viajeras, las limitantes discursivas de la época al adoptar una posición narrativa privilegiada por los hombres. Podría concluirse que, como Tristán, Howe se dirige no sólo a sus lectores, sino a la posteridad; en ambos casos, el libro de viaje es el antecedente directo de una obra y una vida dedicadas por entero a un activismo político que, al provenir de su formación religiosa y su extracción social, no dista de los discursos condescendientes y racistas adoptados por otras viajeras a lo largo del siglo diecinueve.

Obras Citadas

Blanton, Casey. *Travel Writing: The Self and the World*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Impreso.

Brown Wagoner, Jean. *Julia Ward Howe, Girl of Old New York*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1962. Impreso.

Callcott, María. *Diario de mi residencia en Chile en 1822*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1956. Impreso.

Colón, Cristóbal. *Diario de a bordo.* Madrid: Alianza Ediciones, 2002. Impreso.

Cristoff, María Sonia. *Acento extranjero: Dieciocho relatos de viajeros en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000. Impreso.

Elliott, J. H. *Empires of the Atlantic World. Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2006. Impreso.

Foster, Shirley and Sarah Mills, eds. *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing*. Manchester: Manchester UP; New York: Palgrave, 2002. Impreso.

Harper, Judith E. *Women during the Civil War: An Encyclopedia.* New York: Routledge, 2004. Impreso.

Hetherington Grant, Mary. *Private woman, Public Person: An Account of the Life of Julia Ward Howe from 1819-1868*. Brooklyn, NY: Carlson, 1994. Impreso.

Howe, Julia Ward. *A Trip to Cuba*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860. Impreso.

--- *Is Polite Society Polite? And Other Essays.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Literature House, 1970. Impreso.

Lacey, Robert. *Sir Walter Ralegh*. London: Weidenfeld, 1973. Impreso.

Pickman Clifford, Deborah. *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Biography of Julia Ward Howe.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1979. Impreso.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 2002. Impreso.

Ralegh, Walter, Sir, 1552?-1618. *The Discouerie of the Large, Rich, and bevvtiful Empire of Guiana...* London: Robert Robinson, 1596. Impreso.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, 1978. Impreso.

Theroux, Paul. *Sunrise with Seamonsters: Travels and Discoveries 1964-1984.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1985. Impreso.

Tristán, Flora. *Peregrinaciones de una paria*. La Habana: Casa de las Américas, 1984. Impreso.

Williams, Gary. *Hungry Heart: The Literary Emergence of Julia Ward Howe.* Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1999. Impreso.

Ziegler, Valarie H. *Diva Julia: The Public Romance and Private Agony of Julia Ward Howe.* Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2003. Impreso.

Sobre el Autor

Leonel Alvarado es doctor en literatura hispanoamericana por la Universidad de Maryland; actualmente coordina el Programa de Español de Massey University, New Zealand. Ha publicado varios libros de poesía, crítica y narrativa, entre ellos: *Driving with Neruda to the Fish 'n' Chips* (2014), *Xibalbá, Texas* (Premio Centroamericano "Rogelio Sinán", 2014), *Retratos mal hablados* (Mención Especial Premio Casa de las Américas, 2013) y *Vida y obra de Bulnes, el memorioso* (2007). Email: l.alvarado@massey.ac.nz.

Man Up!: Flawed Sandinista Reforms Dramatized in Nixtayolero's *Ustedes tienen la palabra* (1980) and Teyocoyani's *Los ojos de Don Colacho* (1984)

Dennis Miller, Jr.

Historical Context

1979 marks a pivotal year in Nicaraguan history: the end of the brutal Somoza regime and the Triumph of the Nicaraguan Revolution. The Sandinista government that replaced dictator Anastasio Debayle Somoza, for the first time in history, reached out to the marginalized groups in Nicaraguan society, such as women, the poor, and the *costeños*.[1] The revolutionary ideology encouraged cultural production among all members of society, not just the privileged bourgeoisie. Influenced by Marxism, the Sandinista government emphasized its pluralized nature. The Sandinistas claimed their principal goal as follows: "The revolutionary government will endow revolutionary power with a structure that allows the full participation of the entire people, on the national level as well as the local level" ("The Historic Program of the FSLN" 14). The revolutionary government's desire to have all sectors of society participate is particularly evident in the explosion of the number of theater groups that were formed immediately after the Sandinista triumph on July 19, 1979. It is estimated that there were approximately 250 theater groups at the time of the Revolution ("Teatro tercera" 36). Making culture available to all members of society and encouraging the creativity of all Nicaraguans is the first attempt in Nicaraguan history to truly democratize culture, an integral component of early Sandinista cultural policy. In fact, Tomás Borge, one of the founding members of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) made these following remarks emphasizing the importance of culture in the Nicaraguan Revolution: "la cultura es el pueblo . . . la cultura es la revolución" ("culture is the people . . . culture is the revolution"[2]; qtd. in Craven 20). In 1980, revolutionary Nicaraguan poet Ernesto Cardenal stated the goals of the ministry of culture: "We're not seeking a low level of bad culture for everyone but rather an el-

evated culture that is readily accessible to all . . .We seek an integration of popular culture and high culture, of indigenous culture and international culture" (qtd. in Craven 12). Theater, without a doubt, was the most successful Sandinista cultural policy. In this revolutionary context, Karen Hermassi emphasizes how a performed play can help the spectators cope with life: "As the dramatic action becomes a living part of the audience's minds, fulfilling the conscious desire to be entertained, the unconscious desire is to extrapolate something from the performance that will enable us to tolerate the conditions of this world" (85). Theater not only helped Nicaraguans to reconstruct themselves through the performances they viewed, but it is also provided Nicaraguans with a tool to cope with the adversities they had to confront. Alan Bolt, one of the most important Nicaraguan playwrights of the twentieth century, expressed the importance of Sandinista theater in the following words: "el teatro constituye un arma para conocer a la realidad" ("theater constitutes a weapon to face reality"; Espinoza Domínguez 102). While the Sandinistas made numerous strides in improving the lives of most Nicaraguans in the 1980s, especially the early 80s, their failures (and successes) will be examined in two dramatic texts that exemplify the plays typical of this time period: Nixtayolero's *Ustedes tienen la palabra* [*You have the floor*] (1980) and Teyocoyani's *Los ojos de Don Colacho* [*Mr. Colacho's eyes*] (1984).[3] The eventual failures of Sandinismo are seen through the uncontested replication of misogyny and homophobia, which contradicts the original Sandinista goals of embracing all marginalized groups.

I. Ustedes tienen la palabra

Ustedes tienen la palabra dramatizes the importance of pluralism/collectivism in Revolutionary Nicaragua. Antonio, the protagonist, strays from the pluralism inherent in Sandinismo, and he works against the collective by making the decision to destroy objects and reject the union. Antonio never accepts any blame for the actions that have transpired, as the following dialogue attests:

> INTERROGADOR. Antonio, se le acusa de falta de compañerismo con el resto de los trabajadores.
> ANTONIO. Que todo eso es mentira. Además, ¿quiénes son Uds. para juzagarme? (2)
> INTERROGATOR. Antonio, you are being accused of a lack of solidarity with the other workers.
> ANTONIO. That's a lie. Besides, who are you to judge me?

Antonio's peers give various testimonies. The principal theme of the text is not his plight but rather what his actions represent. This is seen in the end as the interrogator tries to justify Antonio's actions because Antonio represents more than a victim of Nicaragua's violence. The interrogator states:

> De ese pasado de miseria y explotación salen los mejores hombres . . . Son estos hombres los que el enemigo puede utilizar, y estos hombres, hombres del pueblo, trabajadores, son confundidos y se prestan a confundir a los demás que quizás, no por su culpa, no pueden ver más allá de los que le rodea. (14)
> The best men are produced from this history of misery and exploitation. These are the men that the enemy can use, and these men, the workers, are confused themselves and are used to confuse others who can't see beyond what surrounds them.

The interrogator communicates to the audience the single most important idea in this play. Even though Antonio, a dramatic construct, may be guilty of committing some transgressive behavior, he is just a victim of many decades of Somocismo. While his behavior is somewhat understandable, the priority is the success of the Revolution. The readers of this play must try to confront the little Somoza still present inside themselves even after the Triumph and focus on transforming Nicaragua into a better environment for all. *Ustedes tienen la palabra* reminds the reader that the continued success depends on the cooperation and diligence of all. The only other option is a return to the selfish, unjust days of Somocismo. Survival will lie in pluralism, the rejection of individuality.

The male characters essentialize hegemonic masculinity and undermine the positive gains of the Nicaraguan Revolution. The play also demonstrates the Sandinistas' failure in providing a more equitable system for women. First of all, we realize we are in an overwhelmingly male-oriented system as there is only one female voice: Rosario's. As cook for the collective, Rosario performs one of the traditional duties required of a woman. Rosario's realm is the kitchen, the bastion of femininity, and all that femininity connotes: maternalism, a penchant for domestic work, rearing of the children, caring for the husband, etc. She is the only witness, and the word *witness* itself in Spanish— "testigo"—does not have a true feminine form. The definite article "la" denotes a female witness. The word "testigo" itself marks the masculine gender and does not have a corresponding feminine noun, "testiga." Discursively, at best, she is a female/feminized male, alluding to the

lack of credibility of the female voice, here in the form of a female witness. Where are the other women? Where is their place in this new revolutionary society? The linguistic system itself further subordinates Rosario's position. Rosario does not have access to an exclusively "feminine" discourse, and she is forced to employ the only discursive tool that remains. In fact, Luce Irigaray states:

> Women's social inferiority is reinforced and complicated by the fact that woman does not have access to language, except through recourse to "masculine" systems of representations which disappropriate her from relation to herself and other women. The "feminine" is never to be identified except by and for the masculine, the reciprocal proposition not being "true." (85)

On the stand, Rosario speaks about Manuel's uncivil behavior with the other men while they are being served food. She makes a remark that reveals another performance required of the feminine. The interrogator asks her about one particular incident in the kitchen involving Manuel. She says "Nos tratan y dicen cosas que . . . bueno . . . no puedo repetir aquí . . . vulgaridades" ("They say things that . . . well . . . I can't repeat here . . . vulgarities."; 5). Men are permitted much more access to discourse than women. As part of her job, Rosario must listen to profanities, but she feels it is inappropriate for a woman to repeat them. This demonstrates the truly phallogocentric nature of language, as Rosario censors herself from repeating "masculine" profanities.[4] On a macrocosmic level this is an example of the greater freedom the machista system permits men. A woman must be domesticated, demure, and pure on all levels, including the discursive. Rosario has no gender slippages at all, and she embodies what Connell and Messerschmidt refer to as "emphasized femininity." They posit that "emphasized femininity" is more accurate than "hegemonic femininity" because "emphasized femininity acknowledges the asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order" (848). Because this gender paradigm is normalized, Rosario accepts her subordinate gender role.

Conversely, there are many examples of profanities (exclusively "masculine" discourse) in the text. These vulgarities demonstrate the subordination of the feminine. For example, when angry, one of the Contras[5] says to Antonio: "¡Chocho hombre!" ("Fucking pussy!"; 12).[6] The Contra shows distaste for the information Antonio reveals to the Contras by using a vulgar term related to female sexual organs. Also, using *chocho* before the word *hombre* relegates Antonio to the lower

status of the feminine. By indirectly feminizing Antonio, the Contra raises his own masculinity, further demonstrating that the Contra position (the masculine) is much more relevant than that of the non-Contras (Antonio, in this case). Feminizing the Sandinistas, of course, implies that the Contras will defeat the Sandinistas because Sandinista ideology, like the feminine, is weaker and worthless. The corresponding vulgar term for the male sexual organ, the penis, is only used to buttress the gender hierarchies because, ideologically, the phallus is the symbol of machismo.

Another profanity used both denigrates the feminine and also reveals more of the performative role of this gender. Again, one of the Contras, infuriated by the peasants' willingness to engage in voluntary work, says: "¡Puta!, se está poniendo feo esto" ("Fuck! This is really getting ugly!"; 13). In Nicaraguan Spanish *puta* (literally "whore") is a very offensive word. The anger these Contras share regarding the Sandinistas is all violently directed toward the feminine. The word *puta* reveals several important traits. First, it reveals the behaviors a woman should *not* perform. For a woman to perform her gender properly, she must not be sexually promiscuous. In fact, a woman should aspire to be as asexual as possible. Even more importantly, words like *puta* and *chocho* demonstrate a much more alarming characteristic: the feminine, whether referring to a female organ or a *mala mujer*/anti-woman, is a site of violence. This gendered violence on the discursive level seems to condone violence against the feminine, against the female body.

As the female body and its sexual organs are discursive sites of violence, the male sexual organ, in this play the *verga*, symbolizes power, violence itself.[7] A *verga* can connote pleasure, as a man is permitted to engage in unlimited sexual conquests. Even during these sexual acts, a man, by penetrating the feminine with the penis, the *verga*, is asserting his power over the feminine.[8] In the worst scenario, the *verga* is also a violent weapon. A man's *verga* connotes all the behaviors a male in this system should perform: he should be violent, always seek pleasure at the expense of the feminine, and try to augment his power. The use of other words in Spanish based on *verga* demonstrate the violence associated with this organ: *vergueada* and *verguiarse*.[9] Mario, a former friend of Antonio, relates to the public a story from Antonio's past, in which the peasants assault a Puntero, whom they regarded as an enemy. While working, the Puntero cuts himself with a machete, and as he awaits help, the exasperated peasants approach him. The following excerpt reveals what transpired:

> *Se acercan los campesinos que vienen emparejando y al ver al Puntero herido aprovechan para darle sinchazos.*

CAMPESINO 1. Mirá se cortó el puntero.
CAMPESINO 2. Lo que merece es una vergueada ese hijoeputa.
CAMPESINO 3. Verguiémoslo pues, verguiémoslo. (10)
After seeing the Puntero wounded, the peasants approach and beat him.
PEASANT 1. Look at how the Puntero was cut.
PEASANT 2. What this son of a bitch deserves is a beating!
PEASANT 3. Let's fuck him up, beat the shit out of him!

The peasants attack the Puntero, and this violent action symbolically stems from the power of the *verga*. They indirectly feminize him as they assert their own machista virility (through the power of their *vergas*) by inflicting physical harm on the Puntero's body. They also disparage him by calling him a "hijoeputa," which, again, literally directs violence towards the feminine and indirectly feminizes the Puntero. A machista male is permitted to assert his power over anyone, feminizing whomever is the object of violence. After the incident with the Puntero, Antonio, realizing what these peasants have done, informs the foreman, who docks the peasants' pay. Because of Antonio's actions, these vindictive workers devise a vicious plan of revenge, which is as follows:

CAMPESINO 2. Pongamos los tres la idea de lo que podemos hacer y no nos echen a ver.
CAMPESINO 1. ¿Qué hacemos?
CAMPESINO 3. Bueno, pensemos, pero algo hay que hacer con este desgraciado.
CAMPESINO 2. (*A Campesino 3.*) Vos le decís y lo invitás a beber guaro, nosotros vamos a estar en la cantina. Nos vamos a hacer los bolos cuando vos llegués con él y empezamos a darle guaro.
CAMPESINO 1. Cuidado te olvidás de beber guaro.
CAMPESINO 2. Nosotros no vamos a beber guaro. Cuando Antonio esté bolo[10] lo llevamos chiniado y cuando vayamos pasando por la quebrada lo subamos al agua, le mojamos la cabeza y le damos pues una buena vergueada para que aprenda el jodido. (13)
PEASANT 2. Let's all three of us decide what we can do and do it.
PEASANT 1. What should we do?
PEASANT 3. Well, let's think about it, but something must be done to this loser!

> PEASANT 2. (*To Peasant 3*). You talk to him and invite him to drink some guaro, we'll be in the cantina. We'll be drinking when you get there with him, and we'll start giving him guaro.
> PEASANT 1. Careful, forget about drinking guaro!
> PEASANT 2. We aren't going to drink guaro. When Antonio is drunk, we will drag that spoiled brat out and when we pass through the ravine we will raise the water, get his head wet, and we will give him a good beating so that asshole learns a lesson.

In this selection, again we see the violence and power associated with a man's *verga*. These *campesinos* commit another violent act, just as they did against the Puntero. In order to wreak revenge, they commit the worst act that can be committed against another man. They beat him, they give him a *vergueada*; in essence, they feminize Antonio. The usage of these violent words derived from *verga* linguistically reduces men to the power of their penis.

Under machismo a man has one of two choices: he either asserts his power (his penis) or he is feminized, made into less of a man (his penis is not as powerful as that of other men). One last area that should be mentioned from the above passage is the reference to alcoholic consumption. For a man to be *machista*, he must consume alcohol regularly. Anthropologist Roger Lancaster has written extensively on Nicaraguan machismo, which he describes as follows:

> Machismo, no less than capitalism, is a system. Like racism, homophobia, and other forms of arbitrary power, arbitrary stigma, machismo is resilient because it constitutes not simply a form of "consciousness," not "ideology," in the classical understanding of concept, but a field of productive relations. In other words, under machismo, relations between men, women, and children are structured in certain ways. Moreover, what is to properly be a man, or a woman or a child, is also defined rationally, within the logic of the system. (19)

The hegemonic masculine behaviors expected of the male characters (aggressiveness, power, diligence, violence, heightened heterosexuality) are in contrast to what Rosario symbolizes through her emphasized femininity (frailty, weakness, less productivity, non-threatening, asexual). Normative hegemonic masculinity embodies, as Connell and Messerschmidt aver, "the most honored way of being a man, it requires all other men to position themselves to it, and it ideologically legitimates the global subordination of women to men" (832). These gender

hierarchies are naturalized and portrayed as necessary for the survival and continual success of the Nicaraguan Revolution.

While Rosario certainly exemplifies the subordinate role of women through her lack of access to discourse and physical space, is the plight of men better? Yes, but the unwritten societal stipulation applies only to men who embrace hegemonic, pre-Sandinista masculinity. Through Antonio's homosocial friendships his behavior is policed to assure his compliance with societal expectations (in this text's case, to promote the Revolution). Antonio's constant questioning of the Revolution is construed as anti-Sandinista and feminine. The references to *verga* and *vergueadas* have obvious (homo)sexual undertones; either he "mans up," stops questioning the importance of the union and the goals of this particular collective, or he may be silenced by a *verga*, or symbolically raped. When other peasants want to teach him a lesson, the scenario they describe sounds almost like a planned gang rape (they will get him drunk, render him unconscious, and then deliver multiple *vergueadas*). Antonio is referred to as a she, linguistically feminized. He is not a woman, but not quite a man, stigmatized as though he were a homosexual. Antonio never responds to any of the indirect accusations, and the misogyny and fear of being labeled a "homosexual" are prevalent throughout the play. Gayle Rubin, long before the Nicaraguan Revolution, concluded that "the suppression of the homosexual component of human sexuality, and by corollary, the oppression of homosexuals is a product of the same system whose rules and regulations oppress women" (3). Fear of being labeled a homosexual (feminized man), the subordination of nonhegemonic masculinities, and devaluing the feminine are systems of control used to maintain the entire order.

Both women *and* men must submit themselves to numerous performative requirements to be properly "gendered" beings. Or, simply put, bodies are created and defined through machismo. There are no specific examples of subversive behavior on the level of gender, which only heightens the rigidity of machismo as it controls everyone's moves, down to basic body gestures. All actions within the text are heteronormative, with the constant threat of gender policing, primarily by men monitoring other men. A "true" Sandinista man submits to Sandinista ideologies, or he is against the Revolution, not a true man and, hence, feminized. This new order remains heterosexual because, as Hanne Blank theorizes, "heterosexuality is unremarkable because it is the standard by which everything else is measured. *That* is heterosexual privilege" (165, original emphasis). The female component to the revolutionary man, the new woman, reveals that some of the changes the Revolution sought were ignored.

The main goal of *Ustedes tienen la palabra*, besides trying to stress the importance of supporting the Revolution, was to provide the community with survival tools. Sandinista theater was a facilitator for action. Theater was not only a literary practice, but it was also a cultural, social, and economic practice, a means to stimulate community empowerment. The use of signs and popular traditions familiar to peasants helped foment self-esteem, self-respect, and dignity among a people forgotten for many decades, as truly Nicaraguan voices were embraced. Regarding Nixtayolero, former director Alan Bolt has written that "our theatrical creation does not try to convince anyone of anything. The people are not stupid. Our performances as theatre groups are for posing problems through theatre and music in order to stimulate local organization and the development of the critical conscience" (qtd. in Martin 60). Through collective reflection, after the play's performance, the audience could devise a workable solution together. Even more importantly, after the audience leaves, the hope was that, as a result of their experience, the audience would retain this critical attitude. Theater became a catalyst for social change.

That said, especially through Antonio, this drama depicts a world where men constantly scrutinize other men's masculinity to assure patriarchal ideals are replicated. The power differentials between masculinities are never problematized but rather perpetuated. A version of masculinity that does not devalue the feminine is not presented in this text either. In fact, as one of the female members of the theater group Nixtayolero affirmed, "it is true, Nixtayolero did plays about machismo, but from a man's perspective, it is men presenting the play to other men, they are not men who have changed because inside they have a very well-developed machismo" (qtd. in Calla Ortega 297).[11] Seemingly feminine behavior in a man (asking questions, being perceived as passive, unproductive) is squelched. In fact, even with the Sandinista emphasis on plurality and embracing the historically marginalized in Nicaragua, the sexual binary is never questioned. The reason is, theorizes Blanke, that "of all prohibitions, sexual taboo is the most useful because sex involves everyone. We have allowed our governors to divide the population into two teams. One team is good, godly, straight, the other is evil, sick, vicious" (99). The importance of performing one's appropriate gender is certainly evidenced in this play, and the same theme will reappear in *Los ojos de Don Colacho*.

While *Ustedes tienen la palabra* is an example of Sandinista drama in the early years of the Sandinista Triumph, *Los ojos de Don Colacho* is the most exemplary collective creation from a rural theater collective: Teyocoyani. Teyocoyani, like Nixtayolero, did not look to the capital city of Managua for its cultural source, but rather to the countryside.

II. Los ojos de Don Colacho

Los ojos de Don Colacho is the result of lengthy investigations in cotton fields, as indicated in the stage directions before the action starts: "esta obra es consecuencia de investigaciones realizadas en las unidades de producción (UPE), en la II Región, zona algodonera" ("this play is the result of investigations completed in the Units of Production [UPE], in the second Region, cotton zone"; 1). The dramatis personae lists the real-life individuals on whom each dramatic character is based. The play, divided into four scenes, revolves around Nicolás, who both works on a collective and is the director of a farmers' union. The play opens with the return of workers sooner than normal; they are indignant because the foreman has sent them home early, thus limiting their earning possibilities. They all crawl under their blankets and fall asleep, and Nicolás (Don Colacho) has a dream. In his dream Nicolás meets St. Peter, with whom he wants to discuss the problems found on the collective. St. Peter tells Nicolás he will show the workers the path they should *not* follow. In the next two scenes, which are actually still Nicolás's dream, the situation on this UPE deteriorates rapidly. There is a clash between the technocrats on the collective and the peasants. These difficulties culminate in a union meeting. While the peasants want to discuss practical problems on the collective, the Ingeniero does not listen and tries to cause dissension among the peasants. Even though the Ingeniero demonizes Nicolás and fires him, his plans are not successful. In the end of the dream sequence Nicolás is named leader of the directive. Pedro asks his fellow peasants who was to blame for all of the problems on the collective. He tells them (and the audience) that everyone was to blame. The purpose of the dream sequence is to remind the audience that on a farm collective everyone must work together for the greater good.

Los ojos de Don Colacho recycles almost exactly the same themes as *Ustedes tienen la palabra*, but, because it is positioned in a rural society, the gender paradigm is more rigidly structured. The characters in *Los ojos de Don Colacho* function to demonstrate one of the most basic tenets of Sandinista ideology: the Revolution will only succeed with the collective support of all, the exact theme of *Ustedes tienen la palabra,* including Antonio's gender slippage and implied homosexuality. In this play Nicolás is depicted as the true revolutionary man, whose life, macrocosmically, is centered on the success of the Revolution at every level of this cooperative. There are two other types of characters whose actions, deliberate or not, compromise Sandinismo. On the one extreme, there are individuals like Canuto, Santiago, and Chepa, workers on the collective. During the play's first scene, Nicolás and the

other workers explain to the Ingeniero that they are furious because the foreman sent them home early. The following contrasts the different attitudes of Canuto, Santiago, and Chepa with Nicolás's, as they express their frustration:

> SANTIAGO. Silencio, silencio, aquí el problema es el capataz. O lo corremos o le pegamos una machetada.
> CANUTO. Yo pienso que al capataz hay que sacarlo, él gana horas extras y nosotros nada.
> CHEPA. Yo lo que digo es que mejor anduviéramos por tarea, así me la vuelo temprano y me voy a ver a los chingüines.
> CARMELITO. Yo mejor me voy de la UPE a trabajar a otra parte.
> NICOLÁS. Éste no es el primer problema de la revolución, la revolución es como un barco que se tambalea con marea alta pero va a puerto seguro, pero con gente como ustedes, ¿a qué puerto va? (2)
> SANTIAGO. Silence, silence, here the problem is the foreman. Or we run him off or we hit him with a machete!
> CANUTO. I think we have to take the foreman out, he is earning overtime and we aren't.
> CHEPA. I say we get our work done, that way I can finish early and go see my kids.
> CARMELITO. It is better for me to leave the UPE and work somewhere else.
> NICOLÁS. This isn't the Revolution's first problem, the Revolution is like a ship staggering in high sea but headed to a safe port, but with people like you, what port is it headed to?

Nicolás, from the very beginning, demonstrates the importance of living for the Revolution. As soon as they encounter minor problems, these characters are more interested in how these adversities influence their lives, not assuring the survival of the Revolution. The Revolution can only triumph with the collective strength of all Sandinistas.

Nicolás and the Ingeniero function to reveal another important tenet of Sandinismo: the construction of the Revolutionary Man. Nicolás, of course, represents the true, selfless revolutionary, whose thoughts revolve around the survival of the Revolution. Throughout the entire play, Nicolás's actions are twofold. First, he wants to prevent the workers at this UPE from being exploited. Second, and most important, he wants to advance Sandinista ideology. During the meeting, the members of the collective demand to the Ingeniero that another foreman be chosen. Nicolás tries to discuss other issues with the Ingeniero but to

no avail. Utterly disgusted with the Ingeniero's refusal to work with the peasants, Nicolás stands up and says, "A buen fin van con vos, ladrón sinvergüenza, que te estás aprovechando de estos momentos difíciles que atravesamos. *Aplausos de los obreros*" ("To a great end they are going with you, you shameless thief, you are taking advantage of the difficult times we are experiencing. *Applause from the workers.*"; 9). Nicolás's character exemplifies the traits that the New Revolutionary Man should embody. He should be diligent, like Nicolás. More importantly, he should defend the rights of the marginalized, as Nicolás does during the meeting. Nicolás always places the needs of others over his own. The peasants are afraid to contradict the Ingeniero, who is in a position of authority. The New Man no longer blindly obeys individuals in power; a Sandinista must always remain critical and assert her/his voice when basic human rights are being threatened.

Joaquín and Ingeniero's behavior bring us to another very important aspect of *Los ojos de Don Colacho*: hegemonic masculinity naturalizes the suppression of nonhegemonic masculinities. Behaviors that are expected of a revolutionary female and male demonstrate the characters' complicity in replicating the binaristic gender paradigm. While Teyocoyani's text lends itself very well to an analysis of machismo, the role of women has not altered significantly by the year of this play's composition (1984). Chepa, like Rosario in *Ustedes tienen la palabra*, is the only female voice in a very masculine, male-dominated order. While Rosario's main function is the domestic sphere, Chepa's sole significance is related to motherhood. At the opening of the play Chepa says, "me voy a ver a los chingüines" ("I'm going to see my kids"; 2).[12] For example, Chepa, very upset over her son's ailing health, encounters Nicolás. Already angry because of the corruption found at the collective, he, perhaps funneling some of his own angst towards Chepa, says to her: "Para hacer chavalos es que servís, jodida" ("Your function is to make children, pain in the ass"; 5). Sadly, even though Nicolás possesses all the admirable qualities of the New Man, machismo still relegates women/femininity to a subordinate pole. Chepa's value lies only in her ability to produce offspring, nothing more, and in this rural setting a woman appears to be more of a body than her male counterparts. Maternalism is dramatized as an integral component of femininity. This, of course, raises several questions. What is the value of an infertile woman? Of a woman who chooses not to have children? If a woman's role is to procreate, a woman who does not reproduce has no value whatsoever. While Rosario was allowed to be one of the witnesses in Antonio's trial, Chepa's discourse has less value in rural Nicaragua. Robin Lakoff associates the following with female language: "repetitiousness, querulousness, self-deprecation, insistence on irrelevant de-

tails, anxious humors and irrational persistence" (52). The men in the play perceive Chepa's limited discourse as utterly useless and irrelevant. In fact, her infant son has more of a voice than she does. While Chepa tries to get help for her ill child, her pleas are dismissed. The men in the play pay more attention to her child's utterance—"me voy a morir, Don Colacho" ("I'm going to die, Mr. Colacho")—even though Chepa has been trying to find transportation to León, one of Nicaragua's urban centers, to obtain help for her child (3). Chepa's son has less access to discourse because of his youth, but he will eventually have more power than she could hope for because he will be a man. Jean Baker Miller refers to his inequality as temporary; "it exists only to be overcome." (178). Chepa, conversely, embodies permanent inequality because of her gender (Miller 178). If Chepa's son's discourse has more power than his mother's, what role do women have in the society organized after the Sandinista Triumph? Women historically have had three societal roles: virgin, mother, and/or prostitute (Irigaray 186). Rosario and Chepa are both mothers, who, it is implied, will raise future revolutionary sons. Their significance, especially Chepa's, will be in assuring her son's future hegemonic masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt remind us that "women are central in many of the processes constructing masculinities—as mothers; as schoolmates; as girlfriends, as sexual partners; and wives" (848). Women themselves have less value, but their most significant contribution to this revolutionary culture will be producing offspring who will accept the prevailing gender ideologies.

Even though no physical violence is directed towards Chepa, she marginally exists. Like in *Ustedes tienen la palabra*, a woman's body is still a site of linguistic violence. On numerous occasions male characters say "tu madre" to express anger or dissatisfaction. The figure of the mother is extremely important in Nicaraguan culture, and to insult one's mother has twice the linguistic resonance. A male homosocial bond can be strengthened or weakened through a female body, either through sexual conquests, procreating, or, being feminized. Before physically violent acts occur in this play, they often begin on the body of a mother, she being the first site of linguistic violence. If linguistic violence progresses to possible physical violence, as happens towards the end of the play, the men resort typically to a *vergueada* (as we saw in *Ustedes tienen la palabra)*, or, in this case, to the use of a machete (Don Colacho) or a pistol (the Ingeniero). The implied difference here is social class: Don Colacho is a worker on this collective, while the Ingeniero operates it. Don Colacho and the men on the collective repeatedly use vulgarities directed towards women's bodies such as "tu madre" and "jueputa," while the Ingeniero threatens to use the most powerful weapon of all: a gun. "Jueputa," which literally means "son of

a whore/bitch," reminds us of the double standard found in machista systems: a man's masculinity is heightened the more sexual conquests he attains, while a sexually active women is stigmatized. A sexually active woman serves two societal purposes: she serves as a release for a *machista* man's stereotypically voracious sexual appetite, yet she is scorned by society for her promiscuity. Calling a man a son of a whore/bitch insults him and his mother by referring to her as a loose woman, heightening the linguistic insult. Violence towards a woman's body is encouraged and necessary because it is often the site to prove or heighten one's masculinity.

By studying the behavior expected of the New Man, it is obvious that the traditional norms of machismo are expected. As mentioned before, the Ingeniero tries to cause an altercation between Lorenzo and Nicolás by telling Nicolás that Lorenzo wants to kill him. Nicolás's response is certainly not what the Ingeniero expected. Nicolás simply says: "Yo siempre arreglo mis problemas solo, no tengo miedo a nada" ("I always resolve my problems alone, I am not afraid of anything"; 11). This statement shows us one of the most important traits of a revolutionary man. The revolutionary man will always be brave. Whether it is against a counterrevolutionary force, a technocrat like the Ingeniero or Joaquín, or the US, the New Man will confront his enemy. It is evident that exhibiting fear is antithetical to revolutionary ideals. Early in the first scene, the workers try to forget about their difficulties with the foreman by singing, until they fall sleep. Nicolás, however, feels they are surrendering to their adversities. Nicolás tells them, "¿Saben lo que son todos ustedes? Muñecas vestidas, cochones que le temen al hombre" ("You know what you all are? A bunch of pussies, faggots that are afraid of men"; 2). This quotation is significant for two reasons. First of all, it stresses the importance of activeness and aggressiveness in men. Since, as Nicolás feels, they are simply evading a confrontation with their enemy, the foreman, he calls them "muñecas vestidas." Linguistically, they have been converted to dolls, passive objects, traditional traits of femininity. It is obvious that Nicolás certainly regards feminine traits in a man as repulsive. The last part of his invective reveals an interesting facet of Nicaraguan culture, which in turn reveals other traits in the construction of masculinity. In Nicaraguan Spanish, a *cochón* refers to the passive, anal receptor during man-to-man sex.[13] A *cochón* roughly means "faggot," although the term does not have the same vile register as "faggot" or "fag" in North American English. During this sexual act, only the passive role is stigmatized. There is no negative term in Nicaraguan Spanish to describe the male whose penis penetrates his partner's anus. This New Man must be aggressive, he must never let himself, literally and figuratively, "get fucked." He may dominate, but

he must not let himself be dominated. Also, this is another example of the disdain for the feminine prevalent in this machista system. A true revolutionary man is an *hombre-hombre*, always aggressive, and never dominated. A *cochón* is a man feminized by an active *hombre-hombre*; he is less of a man, but he is not a woman. A woman's position is still beneath that of a *cochón*. While *cochones* certainly are stigmatized, "the cochón is but a necessary precipitant of the culture of machismo, competitive masculinity. . . . Machismo's ultimate reinforcement is the threat that one might be seen as, or become stigmatized as, or become a cochón if one fails to maintain one's proper masculinity as defined by machismo" (Lancaster 248, 274). Even though passive male homosexuality was implied in *Ustedes tienen la palabra,* in this play the fear of being labeled a *cochón* is much more prevalent. Society, however, needs *cochones* because, as James Baldwin states, society

> invents faggots so they can sleep with them without becoming faggots themselves. They've created faggots in order to act out a fantasy on the body of another man and not take any responsibility for it. . . . I think it's very important for the male homosexual to recognize he is a sexual target for other men, and that is why he is despised, and why he is called a faggot. He is called a faggot because other males need him. (qtd. in Katz 103, 104)

However, even though they are necessary for the system, the word *cochón* certainly constitutes what Judith Butler refers to as "injurious speech."[14] She concludes that "some speech not only communicates hate, but constitutes an injurious act" (16). She later states that "the subject who utters the socially injurious words is mobilized by that long string of injurious interpellations: the subject achieves a temporary status in the citing of that utterance, in performing itself as the origin of that utterance" (49). Regardless of the negative connotation of the word, it must be pointed out that *cochones* were not the scapegoats of the Nicaraguan Revolution. This is certainly not the case in other Popular Revolutions, such as the Cuban Revolution. The Sandinistas did not actively seek to imprison or demonize this behavior, which has been accepted in Nicaragua for many centuries.

There is another element in this play that is even more ironical. Sandinismo emphasized pluralism and collectivity, as the government during the 1980s made an honest attempt to give all sectors of the Nicaraguan population a voice. Unfortunately, Nicolás's phallogocentric voice and misogyny are demonstrated BEFORE the dream sequence, implying that the role of women and of other marginalized groups, like *cochones*, is not going to improve. The *hombre nuevo*

was supposed to be enlightened, but, it appears, that is not the case. Women in this dramatic world are still fragmented, devalued beings. These failures under the Sandinistas inevitably foreshadowed the defeat of the Sandinistas at the polls in the 1990 presidential election.

We can certainly criticize *Los ojos de Don Colacho* for its apparent machismo, but it is still an exemplary piece of rural Nicaraguan theater. *Los ojos de Don Colacho* represents a rural perspective in contradistinction to the more urban vision of bourgeoisie theater. One common theme in both of these rural dramatic texts is the lack of dramatic illusionism. *Los ojos de Don Colacho* is laden with historical references that any rural Nicaraguan during this period would recognize, such as the unions, references to the economic blockade, and traditional music. Bourgeois theater conditions its audience to be passive recipients, but Sandinista theater demands that its spectators be critical. It was always customary for Teyocoyani to engage in a post-performance discussion.

Conclusion

The successes of the Nicaraguan Revolution cannot be denied or ignored. Nicaraguans benefited immensely from Sandinista policy, especially in the area of literacy/education, health care, and reform. Even today, decades after the Triumph of the Sandinistas, no one can deny the successes of the Literacy Crusade the Sandinistas sponsored from 1980–1981. Thousands of Nicaraguan volunteered to go all over the country in an effort to teach their fellow Nicaraguans how to read and write. When the Sandinistas assumed power, at least fifty percent of the population was illiterate. However, in just one year, illiteracy was reduced to twelve percent. As time went on, the Sandinista government became overly bureaucratic, and, as evidenced in these two plays, their attempts to provide a voice to women and dismantle machismo were not very successful.

The significance of *Ustedes tienen la palabra* and *Los ojos de Don Colacho* is their addressee. For the first time in Nicaraguan theater, playwrights and theater groups sought to establish a dialogue not only with urban Nicaraguans but also rural peasants. These collective creations addressed peasants in an attempt to emphasize their role in the revolutionary process. Also, during this time period everyone wanted to "hacer teatro," or "make theater," which helped provide these peasants with self-esteem because they too could be cultural producers. For both participants and spectators, through consciousness- raising, Nicaraguans could collectively improve their lives and well being.

The flaws of both texts are apparent. While the Somocista regime was dismantled, a *machista*, homophobic regime was buttressed and perpetuated, often without the male authors and the primarily male audiences realizing it. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick succinctly states that "society could not cease to be homophobic and have its economic and political structures remain unchanged" (4). The truly *machista* male characters encourage homophobia because it keeps them in positions of power. Heterosexual men still control the voice: who speaks and what is written. Supporting the early Sandinista government and maintaining productivity on the collectives were very important goals for Nicaraguan society. While the Sandinistas and the FSLN encouraged critical attitudes, gender differences in general are ignored, and questioning the prevailing hierarchies leads to linguistic violence ("tu madre," "jueputa," or, at the extreme, being labeled a *cochón*), or physical harm. Using homophobia to manipulate behavior is a constant force. Even though women had pivotal roles in defeating the Somoza dictator, in post-revolutionary Nicaragua women are relegated to an inferior, subordinate role. Violence toward the female body is still prevalent today in Nicaragua, as rape and femicide continue to be a problem. Crimes against homosexuals or crimes linked to homophobia have also been increasingly common in the decades after the initial Sandinista government.[15] Why does society not accept the multiplicity of genders, sexualities, and the other truly marginalized groups that comprise contemporary Nicaraguan society? Men (and many women) condone the system because they directly benefit from the patriarchal norms. Had the Sandinistas truly embraced the plurality of Nicaraguan society and had a more participatory government, perhaps these crimes would be less tolerated today.

Notes

1. The people who live in the Atlantic coastal region of Nicaragua are referred to as *costeños*.

2. All translations to English in the text are my own.

3. Both plays analyzed are collective creations. With the Sandinista emphasis on pluralism and collectivity, it is not surprising that many plays were collectively written, especially during the early 1980s. These two collective creations are the product of many different revisions, and the performances based on these plays were by no means bound to the text itself. The theater groups that produced both plays did extensive research within their respective communities to find out what issues concerned the local inhabitants. It was based on their research that these collective creations were born. The play itself is merely a script for improvisation, and, the audiences were often expected by

these groups to participate in the performance. In fact, it was nearly impossible to differentiate between the actors and the spectators.

4. For feminist Toril Moi, "*phallocentrism* denotes a system that privileges the phallus as the symbol or source of power. The conjecture of logocentrism [the position that words and writings are fixed by some external authority] and phallocentrism is often called, after Derrida, *phallogocentrism*" (197n5, her emphasis).

5. Reacting against the Nicaraguan Revolution, there was a Counterrevolutionary force that consisted primarily of ex-National Guard members from the Somoza regime. They are referred to in this play simply as "Contras."

6. In Nicaraguan Spanish, *chocho* means "pussy, cunt."

7. In Nicaraguan Spanish, *verga* means "cock, dick."

8. Luce Irigaray seems to imply that there is always an element of violence when the male penetrates the female. She describes this act as follows: "the brutal separation of the two lips by a violating penis, an intrusion that distracts and deflects the woman from self-caressing she needs if she is not to incur the disappearance of her own pleasure in sexual relations" (24). Jonathan Katz echoes this thought when he simply concludes that "the essence of being a 'woman is to get fucked by a man'" (143).

9. Both of these terms, like *hacer verga*, connote taken or seized by force.

10. In Nicaraguan Spanish, *estar bolo* is slang for "to be drunk."

11. Many female members of Nixtayolero found this situation so unbearable that they split from the group to form an all women's group, Cihuatlampa, in 1987. Cihuatlampa focused primarily on women's issues.

12. In Nicaraguan Spanish, *chingüines* means "children."

13. For an interesting discussion on the *cochón* in revolutionary Nicragua, see Lancaster (235–78).

14. In Nicaraguan Spanish, *cochón* is an example of "injurious speech," but the word *faggot* is much more injurious in US English. I have spoken to individuals about *cochones* on many occasions in Nicaragua. Most of my discussions took place in public, and I never feared bodily harm by eavesdropping strangers. This is certainly not true in the United States. I would be much more apprehensive to discuss anything dealing with homosexuality, especially male homosexuality, in the US, my native country. It appears US masculinity is much more fragile.

15. There are numerous newspaper articles noting the increased violence towards women and gay men (refer to, for example, the articles by Hutt and Romero).

Works Cited

Blank, Hanne. *Straight: The Surprisingly Short History of Heterosexuality*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2012. Print.

Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge, 1997. Print.

Calla Ortega, Rosario. *Experiencing Revolution in Nicaragua: Gendered Politics in the Negotiations Between Nixtayolero Theater Collective and the Sandinista State*. Diss. U of Arizona, 1996. Print.

Connell, R. W. and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19.6 (2005). 829–59. Print.

Craven, David. *The New Concept of Art and Popular Culture in Nicaragua Since the Revolution in 1979: An Analytic Essay and Compendium of Illustrations*. Dyfed, Wales: Edwin Mellen P, 1989. Print.

Espinoza Domínguez, Carlos. "El teatro constituye un arma para conocer la realidad: Entrevista a Alan Bolt." *Conjunto* 58 (1983): 101–06. Print.

Hermassi, Karen. *Policy and Theatre in Historical Perspective.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1977. Print.

"Historic Program of the FSLN." *Sandinistas Speak*. New York: Pathfinder P, 1985. 13–22. Print.

Hutt, David. "Homophobic Crimes Increasing in Nicaragua." *Tico Times*. Tico Times, 8 Nov. 2012. Web. 12 May 2016.

Irigaray, Luce. *This Sex Which is Not One*. Trans. Catherine Porter. New York: Cornell UP, 1985. Print.

Katz, Jonathan Ned. *The Invention of Heterosexuality*. Chicago/London: U of Chicago P, 1995. Print.

Lakoff, Robin. *Language and Women's Place*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975. Print.

Lancaster, Roger N. *Machismo, Danger, and the Intimacy of Power in Nicaragua: Life is Hard*. Los Angeles: U of California P, 1992. Print.

Martin, Randy. "Nicaragua—Performance after the 'Triumph': Two Views." *The Drama Review* 31.4 (1987): 58–76. Print.

Miller, Jean Baker. *Toward a New Psychology of Women*. Boston: Beacon P, 1976. Print.

Moi, Toril. *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory*. New York/London: Metheun, 1985. Print.

[Nixtayolero]. *Ustedes tienen la palabra*. Unpublished play, 1980.

Romero, Elízabeth. "Ya van 35 femicidios en Nicaragua." *La Prensa*. La Prense, 5 June 2015. Web. 12 May 2016.

Rubin, Gayle. "The Traffic in Women: Notes Toward a Political Economy of Sex." In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. Ed. Rayna Reiter. New York: Monthly Review, 1975. 157–210. Print.

"Teatro tercerca muestra nacional." *Chacalaca* 1 (1982): 36–37. Print.

[Teyocoyani]. *Los ojos de Don Colacho*. Unpublished play, 1984.

About the Author

Dennis Miller, Jr., received his PhD in Spanish with a minor in Literary Theory from Florida State University. He is currently an Associate Professor of Spanish at Clayton State University, where he teaches language, culture, and literature. His research areas include Nicaraguan theater, gender studies, and queer theory. He has published articles on Nicaraguan theater and the use of theater in the classroom. He has published in *Negritud: Journal of Afro-Latino American Studies*, *Dimensions*, and *Texas Foreign Language Association Bulletin*. He is currently working on a monograph that studies counter-hegemonic heterosexualities in Nicaraguan theater as a metaphor for the failures of Sandinista ideology. Email: DennisMiller@clayton.edu.

Rosario Ferré and the Memory of Space

Carmen S. Rivera

Dwellings without memory are dwellings without inhabitants.

—Labelle Prussin

In 1992, Rosario Ferré[1] published two books, *Las dos Venecias* and *Memorias de Ponce. Autobiografía de Luis A. Ferré*.[2] The first is a collection of poems and autobiographical essays about her and her mother, centered around the city of Venice, a city of explorers and adventurers, but also the city where many couples would go to celebrate their honeymoons. It was, indeed, to Venice, that both Rosario and her mother went after their weddings. The second is an autobiographical recollection of Rosario's father's (Luis A. Ferré) childhood and youth in Ponce, which he dictated on tape and Rosario adapted into text for publication. At first, the publication of both "dissonant" books seems a total coincidence. It is my contention, however, that with these two texts, Rosario creates a space where mother and father can finally speak to one another. Although they were happily married and devoted to each other, Rosario realizes that her parents could not discuss certain issues because of social constraints, a sense of propriety, and politics. Almost ten years later, Rosario published *Memoria*, in which she narrates her own childhood and adolescence as well as her career as a writer. Like the earlier texts, *Memoria* centers around the issue of space; in fact, a sub-section is entitled "La casa de la Alhambra." The first two books focus on the relationship between space and gender roles, and *Memoria* expands the discussion of space to include race and social class, as if narrating a socio-historical memoir of life in Ponce during the first half of the twentieth century. It should be noted that Rosario's novel, *Eccentric Neighborhoods*, originated as an autobiography about the occupants of these houses in which her family had lived, as she stated in an interview with Herrera and Cabranes Grant.

Rosario Ferré's fascination with architecture and spatial dynamics is not a coincidence or an accident. As described in L. A. Ferré's memoir, his family founded the Puerto Rican Cement Company that would literally provide the concrete to build new housing developments such as "La Alhambra," the highways that would connect the north and the

south coasts, and the construction boom that saw many public buildings (schools, hotels, casinos, clubs, etc.) emerge throughout the island's landscape. It was her father who would found the Museum of Art of Ponce, hiring a famous architect to design a new building. Growing up in Ponce also provided an understanding of the politics of space. San Juan was the seat of government, Ponce was a city of immigrants, of merchants, of artisans, and of racial diversity. Ponce was also where General Miles and the American troops had stepped onto the island, and where in many ways the Americanization of the island began. Ponce became the foundry in which new architectural styles were forged. While San Juan required military and government constructions, Ponce attracted architects and artisans to experiment with both residential and public designs. At the same time, Ponce housed one of the poorest and most infamous slums on the island: Barrio San Antón. Hence it is not surprising to see architecture playing such an important and central role in Rosario's work.

The essays in *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* argue one central idea from a different perspective: how space is gendered, how spaces and architectural structure reflect and inform gender-specific behavior, patriarchal values, divisions of labor, etc. In her essay "What Would a Non-Sexist City be Like?" Dolores Hayden begins with the assertion that "'A woman's place is in the home' has been one of the most important principles of architectural design and urban planning in the United States for the last century" (qtd. in Rendell, *Gender* 266). Indeed, Jane Rendell in her introduction to the segment "Gender and Space" explains "the paradigm of the 'separate spheres,' an oppositional and hierarchical system consisting of a dominant public male realm of production (the city) and a subordinate private female realm of reproduction (the home)" (*Gender* 103). Accordingly, L. A. Ferré's memoirs are mostly about the city of Ponce, while the stories about his wife are mainly about the family home outside Mayagüez. Growing up in Ponce, making the day-long trip to her maternal home in Mayagüez, going to college in New England and later in Maryland and Washington, D.C. for graduate school, living and working most of her adult life in San Juan, Rosario Ferré is naturally very cognizant not only of how space impacts our physical movements, but also of how it can establish boundaries of gender, race, and class. It can dictate and enforce social norms; it can become a refuge for individuality or a tomb for creativity. This biographical triptych can be read not only as the memories of her parents and herself but also as the memoir of a city, of an island, of a society in transition.

Memorias de Ponce is a short autobiography of merely 90 pages, focused on L. A. Ferré's life in that city. Ponce becomes a character that

seems to grow along with the boy, who then becomes a business man, a philanthropist, and finally, the governor of the island. Space and politics constantly intersect at every corner in both the city and the pages of L. A. Ferré's memoir. In fact, the memoir starts with "La primera casa en la que viví en Ponce estaba en la calle Salud No. 22" ("The first house in which I lived was 22 Salud Street"; *MP* 15). One can almost follow a map of the city as we read the names of the streets: "calle de la Torre esquina calle Reina," "calle de la Villa esquina calle Méndez Vigo," "calle Leon No. 13," "calle Marbella," etc. These are the streets where family, piano teachers, and schools were situated. L. A. Ferré then goes on to describe one of the first developments in Ponce, La Alhambra, where he lived with his young wife.

L. A. Ferré also stops along the way to speak of public spaces such as Teatro La Perla, the Casino of Ponce, and the building "Las Esfinges." The discussion of these structures includes their architectural design, their history, and their social function within the community. He also makes specific references to local architects such as Manuel Domenech and Alfredo Wiechers, who were responsible for the design and/or renovations of many of these buildings. The neighborhoods in the periphery of the city come up, as does Barrio San Antón—where most of the black population lived and where the "plena," an African-based music genre still popular today originated—and Barrio Arrastrao where other poor people lived. L. A. Ferré does not delve into the everyday life in these slums, however, but rather provides a nostalgic glance of a naïve young boy who remembers with affection some of the people who lived there, with no consciousness of their circumstances. Rosario Ferré will describe in *Memoria* how protected and isolated they were from the reality of the economic crisis of the Depression.

One should be aware that L. A. Ferré earned a masters degree in electrical engineering, following a long family tradition. In fact, it was L .A. Ferré's father, who with his children, founded the Puerto Rican Iron Works Company in Ponce. They designed and manufactured the equipment needed for the foundries and for the sugar mills across the island. L. A. Ferré describes in detail not only the foundation of the family business but also how actively involved he was in the design and development of the physical structure that housed the business. As the business grew, the facilities had to be expanded, and L. A. Ferré himself designed the renovations (*MP* 66–67).

Years later, Ferré would also become involved in the design of the Museum of Art in Ponce. His memoirs narrate the origins of the collection, the original museum in an old house on Calle Cristina, and the hiring of Edward Stone to design the existing museum (*MP* 77–79). Stone was a renowned and award-winning architect, recognized

for such work as the Lincoln Center in Washington, D.C. When Stone brought up the sketches for the museum suggesting traditional square rooms for the galleries, Ferré suggested instead hexagonal rooms that would allow more natural light and better movement for the public. The hexagonal design has now become the logo of the Museum, one of the largest in Latin America. It attracts thousands of tourists and scholars, not only for one of the best and most complete collections of Puerto Rican art, but also for the largest collection of Pre-Raphaelite paintings outside of England.

Memorias de Ponce is written in a tone of nostalgic affection for a happy childhood and for a city of growth. Ponce is the idyllic place where young Ferré learned to play the piano, was educated by affectionate and inspiring teachers, and suffered the first pangs of love. At the same time, it is a vibrant city filled with economic opportunities for him and for his family. L. A. Ferré describes his other commercial endeavors such as the purchase of the newspaper that later became *El Nuevo Dia*, still published (*MP* 49), and the establishment of the Puerto Rican Cement Company, which had a pivotal role in the "urbanization" of the island (*MP* 69–70). The company went on to supply cement used as far away as Miami, Florida, and Venezuela, where they established another factory.

For his wife and Rosario's mother, Lorenzita Ramírez de Arellano, Ponce is a densely populated place, covered with a dust cloud from the cement company and from the sugar mills. Different from the plantation home of her family in rural Mayaguez, Ponce was a city of heat where she felt trapped inside the dark and suffocating cement houses of the emerging urbanizations. In spite of her love for her husband, Lorenzita resented a marriage that took her away from her big family, from life on a plantation where there was a lot more freedom of movement, even for women. Abelardo Díaz Alfaro, a Puerto Rican writer from the thirties and forties, laments the emergence of these urbanizations: "Como que el cemento y las varillas les van cubriendo el alma. Viven para sí. Son ahora vidas cerradas. Se les va nublando la visión del paisaje, del vecindario y van creando en torno de sus vidas un muro de piedras duras y frias" ("It's as though concrete and reinforcing rods slowly but surely wall up people's soul. They live for themselves alone. They are shuttered lives. They are slowly blinded to the landscape, the neighborhood, and around their lives they build a wall of hard, cold stone . . ."; cit. and trans. in Gallart 58–59). For Lorenzita, life is just that, an enclosed life, with a landscape of cement that leaves her cold.

In the introduction to *Las dos Venecias*, an essay by the same title, Rosario remembers her mother's singing to her. The melancholic song was about Venice. For the little girl, Venice was "un lugar de tránsito, de

paso a otras realidades"("a place of passage, on the way to other realities"; *DV* 7); the place from which people such as Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, and Americo Vespucci set out on adventurous trips. As she grows up, Rosario realizes that the city has a different connotation for her mother and for many other women in Puerto Rico. Venice was the favorite destination for honeymoons of well-to-do couples. The port-city was not the launching pad into new worlds and adventures but the site of "un cruel rito de pasaje, que nos obligaba a las mujeres a cambiar de estado. De él no regresábamos nunca al lugar del cual habiamos partido, ni regresábamos de la misma manera" ("a cruel rite of passage, that forced women to change our status. From it we never returned to the same place of departure, nor did we return being the same" *DV* 14). The beautiful Canals became for the married women a horrible foreshadowing of what their function would be after marriage, "El canal por el cual generaciones venideras llegarían al mundo" ("The canal through which future generations would arrive into the world"; *DV* 14). Hence, the young bride would travel to Venice where her tomb would be sealed over her individuality and freedom as a woman. Rosario, the adult woman, realizes that her mother's song was not a nostalgic lullaby but a warning against marriage and against the place where her daughter too would go never to return to her side. Ben A. Heller sees the word *Venice* becoming a "warning" against "the dangers of maternity," against the "same dispersion and fragmentation of self into other identities" that result from the abrupt separation from the parental home (409). The introductory essay ends with an affirmation of a new meaning of Venice: "descubrí la existencia de esa otra Venecia, tan distinta del paraíso perdido de la niñez que ella me describía en su canción" ("I discovered the existence of that other Venice, so different from the lost paradise of the childhood that she was describing in her song"; *DV* 16). As a writer, Rosario becomes "mi propia descubridora, y pude, . . . vivir en una casa abierta y sin murallas, sin temerle a los caminos desconocidos y muchas veces traicioneros del agua" ("my own discoverer, and was able . . . to live in an open house without walls, without fear of unknown roads and at times treacherous waters"; *DV* 16). In creating her own words, Rosario manages to create her own spaces, charging them with new meanings and definitions of self.

The book traces such a journey. Divided into six sections, it begins with "Venecianas," a series of poems exploring the canals of Venice and the female body of the mother. Dealing mainly with pain and death, the tone of this section is sad and dark, but it has also a sense of urgency and of search. On the other hand, the book ends with "Melografiadas," a selection of poems, a short story, and essays that celebrate and affirm the act of storytelling and the existence of the writer.

The poems in that first section, "Venecianas," introduce a very dark and almost funereal portrait of the Italian city. Venice is a "Gótica caverna voluptuosa" producing "vagidos guturales," reminiscent of a woman's screams during labor ("voluptuous gothic cavern," "guttural moans"; *DV*, "Venecia Goyesca" 32). Venice is "ataud luctuoso" of "lúgubres membranas" ("a sad coffin" of "lugubrious membranes"; 32). In the poem "La Ciudad Interior," there is a journey into the "The Interior City," the female body. In it, "madre e hija / navegaron juntas" ("mother and daughter / sailed together"; *DV* 35) to the center of the female body, where the mother lifted her clothes and "le develó a la hija la prueba / de la inconstancia del Dios;" ("showed her daughter the proof / of God's inconstancy"; 35). The flaccid body of her mother is a commentary on the ironic fate of women: the body, supposed to give women pleasure, betrays them in pregnancy and renders them slaves as they become nourishers and care-takers of their progeny. For Rosario, *Las dos Venecias* is a search for the body of the mother, an attempt to claim back not only her body but also her spirit so that the mother can go back to being a woman, a person who lives for her own dreams and aspirations, not for those of her husband and her children.

To the mother's voice in "La ciudad interior," Rosario responds with "La ciudad navío" ["The Seafaring City"], an ode to the Venice of the Caribbean, Old San Juan. Rosario describes the sensation of seeing Old San Juan for the first time, a city in which the blue sky, the sea, and the cobblestone streets seem to intersect and go on forever. "[Y]o venía de Ponce, donde las casas eran terreras / y polvosas, asfixiadas por la miopía estéril de las tierras del sur," mourns the poet ("I came from Ponce, where the houses were one-story / and dusty, asphyxiated by the sterile myopia / of the southern lands"; *DV* 38). Old San Juan is indeed "la ciudad navío," where you can literally get into a ferry to Cataño, a town across the bay, or take a cruise to explore the Caribbean: "¿En qué otro lugar del mundo cuesta un vellón el boleto al Paraíso, / aunque solo sea al paraíso falso de Cataño" ("In what other place in world does the ticket to Paradise cost a nickel / even though that false Paradise is Cataño"; *DV* 41). Ferré goes on to describe the qualities of a port city: "Todo puerto es adolescente en su fuero interno, / y quizá también en su seno más / tierno. Hay siempre alguna dársena / secreta que se abre, como una vena suicida, / en dirección al mar, algún callejón / que deambula por la oscuridad marina, / hacia esa fugacidad perdida que buscamos" ("All ports are adolescents in their heart of hearts, / and maybe even so in their tenderest bosom. / There is always a secret dock / that opens up, like a suicide vein, / towards the sea, an alley that wanders in the marine darkness, / towards the lost brevity we look for"; *DV* 41–42). The poem is filled with this kind of ambivalent imagery of the intersections of open

and closed/secret spaces and images of constant movement. The poem begins with the acknowledgement "Me pregunto si existes" ("I wonder if you exist"; *DV* 37), and it ends with the same sense of uncertainty: "Pero lo cierto es que todavía no la hemos encontrado, / imposible descubrir su ubicación exacta" ("But the truth is we still have not found it, impossible to find its exact location"; *DV* 46).

In his examination of Caribbean writers and thinkers such as Edouard Glissant, Ben A. Heller observes that the geography of the island, "the omnipresence of the sea" becomes "a constant invitation to voyage," imagery that tends to permeate the literature of the region. In *Las Dos Venecias*, Heller believes that Rosario Ferré is claiming a sense of "errancy," the locus of transit as the point of departure for new discourses of individual, gender, and national identity. For Rosario's parents, the desirable destiny of their voyage was Venice and other European locations, as she describes in detail the various trips they made during the fifties and sixties in *Memoria*.[3] The "European honeymoons," according to Heller, not only served to validate the union of the Puerto Rican elite but also to solidify their ties with their "European past" (409–10). With *Las dos Venecias,* and specifically with the poem "La ciudad navio," Heller argues that Rosario "brings the discourse on Puerto Rican cultural identity into the migratory present" (412). For Rosario's generation, the voluntary and involuntary migration will not be to ancient cities in Europe, but to the "false paradise" of the United States, "o al genuino cielorraso de New York / donde los bosques supuran heroína y alcohol" ("or to the true sky of New York / where the forests ooze heroin and alcohol"; *DV* 41), and leisure journeys across the sea are now "una muerte lenta" ("a slow death"; *DV* 41). While Venice was the preferred destination of the elite at the turn of the century, New York became "the promised land" sought by the thousands of Puerto Rican immigrants of Rosario's generation. The writer deconstructs, however, the romanticized views of both destinations, depicting Venice as a tomb in which a young married woman buries her freedom, her independence, and any dreams of self-realization and New York as the cemetery where the bodies of Puerto Ricans were laid after succumbing to poverty, to drugs, to violence, etc. Instead of focusing on the locations across the sea, Rosario centers the poem on the port city of Old San Juan that serves as point of departure, transforming it: "Cada calle era un muelle / abandonado, un duelo a muerte con la resignación / y con la madre, restallando, como Nora / el portazo furioso con el que nos fuimos de casa" ("Each street was an abandoned wharf / a deadly duel with resignation / and with the mother, banging, like Nora, / the door through which we left home"; *DV* 40). Old San Juan is where again and again Ibsen's play, "The Doll's House," is staged and its streets bear constant witness to

that door-banging rebellious act that affirms the independence and the freedom of those who choose to walk away from the traditional social conventions. At the end of the biographical section in *Memoria*, Rosario summarizes her ancestry: "Como puertorriqueña y caribeña, llevo en mi cuerpo la memoria de un bisabuelo corso, de un tatarabuelo francés que emigró a Cuba y luego a Panamá . . . de un tatarabuelo castellano y de uno cordobés que emigraron a la Isla buscando fortuna" ("As Puerto Rican and Caribbean, I carry in my body the memory of a Corsican great-grandfather, of a French great-great-grandfather who migrated to Cuba and then to Panama . . . of a Castilian great-great-grandfather and a Cordobes one who migrated to the island seeking fortune"; *Memoria* 109). She emphasizes the fact that she is the product of all of those migrations: Corsicans, French, Cubans, and Spaniards. In the poem, the young woman claims the open spaces of this maritime city where she can walk freely and explore all of its alleys and corners, from the colonial balconies, churches, and fortresses to the bordellos and seedy bars of Calle Luna and Calle Sol. Here the young poet denounces the romantic depictions of Noel Estrada's songs, of Clara Lair's poems, and of José Campeche's paintings of an idyllic city. In "La ciudad navío" the reader can see, hear, and smell the not so beautiful corners of the city, in all its reality and vibrancy.

The section ends with the essay, "Correspondencias" (*DV* 47–53), in which Rosario describes the death of her uncle a few months after her birth, and the grief of her mother. The mother went on to mourn the death of her brother for ten long years during which she dressed completely in black and went every Sunday to the cemetery to put fresh cut flowers on the mausoleum. Rosario was to accompany her mother on these trips. When Rosario made her first communion six years later, the mother ordered the "recordatorios" to be imprinted as if they were obituaries. Rosario describes how her mother "buried" herself in a tomb of grief for those ten years. If Luis A. Ferré's autobiography is written in a light tone of joyful reminiscence, the first half of *Las dos Venecias* is heavy with the sadness and pain of the mother.

With *Las dos Venecias*, Rosario allows her quiet mother to engage in a dialogue with her husband about public and private spaces and about the definitions of their gender roles in the political and social arena of a society in a rapid process of industrialization and modernization. However, Rosario, the adult daughter, the woman writer, interrupts the conversation to reject both of their views about gender roles and marriage, claiming what Hayden would call her "political and spatial rights" (40). Rosario reclaims the canals of the port city and recreates them as a Venice of open spaces, of ports and gondolas that invite and allow constant movement. Rosario, daughter and grown-up

woman, realizes that she does not have to accept the "sentence—fate" against which her mother had warned. She arrives to the white page as a shipwreck, from which she will embark into new literary spaces, new adventures. It should be noted that Rosario's essay about translation, and the transference of meaning from one language to another, uses the metaphor of a woman floating adrift through the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal along the Potomac River.[4]

The rest of *Las dos Venecias* travels to other spaces. The section "Primitivas" includes a series of poems and stories entitled "El sueño de . . .," in which the writer explores the dreams of characters from *A Thousand and One Nights* and of historical figures such as Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz and Van Gogh. In the section "Nórdicas," Rosario writes with great poignancy about the streets of Washington, D.C., populated with homeless and forgotten Vietnam veterans. She describes the painstaking efforts of a homeless man to clean "his house" on the corner of Q Street and Connecticut, right at the exit of a metro station, while hundreds of people walk by without noticing (*DV*, "Homeless WDC" 103). In another poem, we find the same homeless man, Sam Roger walking around the Mall, "taking a shower" in the reflection pool, grabbing the coins at the bottom to get breakfast, and trying to imagine himself in the monuments to Lincoln and to Jefferson, while remembering Vietnam and trying to make sense of the friends who died there (*DV*, "Oda al Soldado Desconocido" 109–11).

The book's voyage ends with the section "Melografiadas," in which Rosario explores the space of creativity, the world of a writer. With this section, Rosario interrupts the dialogue between her parents and has the last word with a series of poems and essays about the art of storytelling, of writing poetry, and about creativity and being an artist. Almost as if in direct response to her father, the entrepreneur and great business man, Rosario writes the poems entitled "El contable" ("The Accountant")[5] and "El *teller*." However, this time "el contable" "cuenta cuentos" ("gives fictional accounts") and the teller sits under a mango tree to "tell us" stories. To her mother's song of sadness, the writer recites the poem "Rosario de cuentos," a pun on her name and its meaning, "rosary." She affirms her identity as "Rosario of short stories," Rosario the one who tells stories, but also the "rosary" or prayer of a storyteller to invoke the creative power of stories.

The next-to-last entry, "La sombra y su eco," is indeed an echo to the essay "Correspondencias" of the first section. The daughter keeps seeing her mother's image in the mirror and hearing her voice. As in "Correspondencia," the mother is dressed in black, consumed with her grief and the visits to the cemetery. The daughter follows the mother to the crypt, "Mamá se me ha adelantado y me aguarda sentada junto

a la boca de la cripta. Los pliegues de su falda negra se acumulan a sus pies en un embalse sombrío. Es exactamente igual a mi falda, sólo que está inmóvil, tallada en mármol sobre la lápida" ("Mom has gone ahead and is waiting for me at the opening of the crypt. The folds of her black skirt gather at her feet in a somber pond. It is exactly the same as my skirt, except that it is still, carved in marble on the tombstone"; *DV* 153–54). While the mother ends frozen in her mourning, like one of the carvings in the mausoleum, the daughter replies, "Creo que ahora podré empezar a contarlo:" ("I think now I can begin to tell about it:") and the story ends. Ending the last sentence of the story with a colon signals the opening of many pages that will be filled with words, stories, and poems. Ultimately, Rosario wants to be in control of her own space, as an artist, as a woman, as a human being. In the last entry, "Recapitulaciones," she expands on her philosophy about writing as a way to dissipate her fears of silence, of non-being. Her mother was a quiet woman, and when Rosario saw her dead, dressed in her shroud, it reminded her of a doll, and she realized that her mother never spoke up (that image inspired her short story "La muñeca menor" ["The Youngest Doll"]). Rosario identifies the silent acquiescence of her mother and of women like her, who accept their place in society, with their journey through the funereal tombs in the Venetian canals. For Rosario, not to have control is like "vivir de reflejo" ("to live in the reflection"; *DV* 155). Writing gives her power and control of her own life, writing is the only way she knows she can be the author of her own life, to have authority and authenticity.

Memoria actually provides a more authentic and broader recollection of life in Ponce during the first half of the century. The first house in Rosario's memory was "Sambolín," the maternal farm house outside San Germán, on which children played freely, riding horses and swimming in a nearby river. Even though Rosario never lived in this house and only saw it from outside, the stories about life there made Sambolín a "magic place" that represented "la fusión entre la memoria y la imaginación, la realidad y la ficción" ("the fusion of memory and imagination, of reality and fiction"; *Memoria* 44). From there, the Ramírez de Arellano family moved to a beautiful house in Guanajibo, outside of Mayaguez, from which one could admire "the sea of sugarcane" and the Caribbean Sea. Rosario describes in detail the tile floors, the gardens, and the idyllic life of the family. The grandfather was given the nickname of the "Zeus of Guanajibo" with his eight daughters as "Ledas of Olympus" who lived in this "paradise" surrounded by twelve-foot walls that protected them from reality (50). While Rosario reminisces about the "aesthetic" ethos that informed the costumes and daily activities in the house, she also acknowledges the life beyond the walls—the poverty and starvation

of the rural population, the high rate of infant mortality, the violence and suicide that was common among the farm workers (51)—yet inside there was an abundance of fruits, vegetables, and all kinds of animals (hens, pigs, ducks, and crabs) carefully fattened for meals. In a study of housing and gardens in Ponce, Zaire Zenit Dinzey-Flores observes that these idyllic and Edenic gardens "are enclosed places, so that the lifestyles of the privileged are contained and realized behind walls and fences" (*Locked In* 99). She goes on to argue that "Fenced homes, streets, and social and recreation clubs protect the garden lifestyles and provide spaces to build a community for the rich, effectively escaping the New Deal vision and outwitting its ideal of integration" (101).

The next section of Rosario's memoir, "La casa de La Alhambra," traces the "mysterous geography" of her family's dwellings, drafting the gardens in the La Alhambra house, the social activity in the Club Deportivo, and symbols of "security and modernity" embedded in the new cement houses while interrupting the narratives with references to World War II, or to the Depression, and introducing portraits of the domestic employees who also inhabited these homes. The houses in La Alhambra were built by the families of the "sugarcane bourgeoisie" who insisted on living in "unbridled fantasy" (*Memoria* 54), even though they were beginning to have financial difficulties. These houses were designed by well-known architects such as Pedro de Castro. Residents conducted their social life in the "Club Deportivo de La Alhambra," a beautiful building designed by the renowned architect Alfredo Weichers. The club was surrounded by a stone wall to protect its members from the suspicious residents of the slum La Milagrosa. Dinzey-Flores painfully describes the "long tradition of exclusion" that private clubs such as Club Deportivo and Club Naútico upheld, extending to her own Dominican family and guests of members (111). According to Rosario Ferré, the club regularly celebrated festivals and carnivals inspired by classical or exotic themes such as *A Thousand and One Nights*. The writer acknowledges the incongruence of life within the walls of this organization and that of the streets outside: "Estos carnavales estaban más a tono con las novelas de Pierre Loti que con la caótica realidad social y económica del Ponce de aquel entonces" ("These carnivals were more in tune with Pierre Loti's novels than with the chaotic social and economic reality of the Ponce of that time"; *Memoria* 56). While families celebrated debutante balls and children's carnivals within the walled neighborhood, Rosario describes the "turbulent times" on the island: "los levantamientos nacionalistas, las huelgas de la caña y la Guerra de Corea" ("the nationalistic insurrections, the sugar cane strikes, and the Korean War"; *Memoria* 54). Rosario is very much aware of the desperate strategies of escapism attempted again and again by her own family and

by all the other members of the Puerto Rican elite. In 1942, she goes on to narrate, they moved to a new house in La Alhambra, constructed with the first cement bags, and designed by her father. The idea was, according to the advertising campaign of the Puerto Rican Cement Company, that with cement, one was building for "eternity"; it would resist natural disasters as well as protect from social problems such as "the vengeful fires" and the violence stemming from the strikes and economic crisis of the sugar industry (*Memoria* 60).

One of the features of houses in La Alhambra was the walled garden, a colorful luscious paradise surrounded by cement. Rosario argues that these gardens were symbols of "control and discipline," of the new ideas of "positivism and pragmatism" introduced by the United States. For Rosario, such control over nature suggests sexual and political repression, themes that she had already explored in several stories in *Papeles de Pandora* and also in *Las dos Venecias* (*Memoria* 62).

These idyllic and Edenic sites are destabilized by the presence of the domestic employees who constantly disrupt with their mere presence the European norms of aesthetics and behavior. Rosario introduces Guanime, a Guatemalan Mayan woman, who arrived at their door barefooted. There were Manuel, the gardener, and Luz María, who were fired by Rosario's mother for falling in love. There were the chauffeurs, Carmelo Bocachica and Carmelo Martínez, and Gilda Ventura, a ten year-old girl who was hired to take care of a seven-year-old Rosario. Rosario observes that this Gilda was not like *Rigoletto*'s heroine, but big, tall, and black. It was Gilda who introduced Rosario to a whole different world beyond the walls of her white bourgeois upbringing. Originally from the notorious slum Barrio de San Antón, Gilda introduced Rosario, who grew up surrounded by Classical music, to the Afro-Caribbean rhythms of "bomba" and "plena," and to popular songs heard on the radio. The lyrics spoke of sad departures and longings for those who left for the Korean War or for the United States. It was Gilda who explained the brewing political storm between the governor and the Catholic Church, which inspired the popular plena, "Mamita llegó el Obispo" ["Mami, the Bishop has arrived"]. And it was Gilda who exposed a young Rosario to the harsh life of the rest of the population. Innocently and naively, a young Rosario asked Gilda if the turban on her head was an imitation of "Aunt Jemima" figure and of American culture. The offensive inquiry provoked Gilda's explanation of life in her neighborhood, where women had to carry large tin cans of water on their heads, hence the turban, because they did not have running water. With Gilda, Rosario learned that they did not live in "California or Spain, but in Latin America," and that life for the majority of people on the island and on the continent did not take place within the quiet,

secured, and safe spaces of plantation homes or modern neighborhoods (*Memoria* 72–73).

The dichotomy between these two worlds is repeated in an anecdote from Rosario's childhood about crossing the Rio Loco with her mother to visit her family in Mayaguez. The river, totally unpredictable and hence its name, would flood without warning and threaten to wash away their car. In the introductory essay of *Las dos Venecias*, Rosario Ferré describes the scene: "Era como estar en una pesadilla, vestida con volantes y lazos domingueros y sentada junto a mi madre en el Paraíso contenido dentro del estuche aterciopelado del carro, mientras a nuestro alrededor veíamos flotar el infierno a cámara lenta" ("It was like being in a nightmare, dressed in Sunday laces and ruffles sitting next to my mother in the Paradise contained in the velvet case of the car, while all around us we saw an inferno float by in slow motion"; *DV* 13). Outside were the poor farm workers with their oxcarts, who were paid a dollar to push the car out of the muddy waters, risking their own lives. The juxtaposition of the paradisiacal interior of the car with all the food brought for the family and the "infernal" exterior is "an enactment of social difference," according to Ben A. Heller, as well as an analogy of the transition between two worlds, "a rural past and an urban present" (412).

The biographical section of *Memoria* ends with Rosario Ferré's going away to the US to study. The Calvinist appearance of her surroundings in New England clashed with the luxurious French and Italian décor of her home in Ponce. The freedom she enjoyed during the weekends travelling to New York City made her returns to the island more difficult, since she was expected to accompany her parents or be chaperoned at social functions (*Memoria* 108–09). Growing up constantly negotiating between public and private spaces, between the rural agrarian world of her mother's family and the modern, industrialized city of her father's, and between the socioeconomic boundaries defined by gender, class, and race; it is not surprising that Rosario Ferré claimed the open space of the port city of Old San Juan, of the blank space where she could chart her own adventures, when she could draft her own dreams. Ben A. Heller believes that in the poem "La ciudad navío" and in her essay about translation, there is an affirmation of "Ferré's belonging to an intermediary space, the site of flux. . . . she belongs neither in San Juan nor in Washington." In order to write about Puerto Rico and Puerto Rican culture, the writer adopts what Heller considers "a feminist embrace of a fluid non-place, the vulnerable location of the in between that receives both cultural currents" (413–14). The story of the Ferré family cannot be reconstructed without constantly moving from Ponce and her father's memoirs, to Venice and her recollections

of her mother, to the sites of her own travels in the United States, to Mexico, and finally to her residence in San Juan.

In the introduction to *Memorias de Ponce*, Rosario explains the difference between memoirs by men and those by women. Men's autobiographies "afirma(n) por lo general un ser público, una conciencia de la nacionalidad" ("generally affirm a public being, a consciousness of nationality"; *MP* 12). On the other hand, women focus on "un ser privado que se rebela ó que se propone un autoexámen profundo" ("a prívate being that reveals itself or who attempts a profound self-examination"; 12). Dolores Hayden reinforces this connection between space and gender. In *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life*, Hayden explains how "One can describe suburban houses as filled with gender stereotypes, since houses provide settings for women and girls to be effective social status achievers, desirable sex objects, and skillful domestic servants, and for men and boys to be executive breadwinners, successful home handymen, and adept car mechanics" (33–34). In fact, Hayden argues that the emergence of Levittown in New Jersey was a deliberate response to the end of World War II and the return of thousands of veteran men. By removing the family into the suburbs, the home provided a safe haven for the men to retreat to at the end of a long day at work. Women did not need to continue working in the factories, since they now had plenty of work to keep the new homes (24).

The pictures included in *Memorias de Ponce* seem to illustrate Hayden's point. The majority depict the Ferré men in public spaces: with their new cars at the turn of the century, in front of the buildings they just built, in their offices, and in public social functions like Luis A. Ferré in the White House. Pictures of women are mainly professional photographs with neutral backgrounds. If women appear in public spaces, it is usually in the official capacity of companion to the father/husband/brother. There is one picture taken in the residence of Ferré's brother. The couple seems to be in the elegant living room of the house. The wife is seated at the grand piano while her husband is seated across from her and watching her while holding a cigar in his hand. The picture is a clear statement of the "object" of the man's appreciation: his wife, "placed" there for his pleasure, like all the other elegant furniture in the room. Many of those pictures reappeared in *Memoria,* but there are many more images of the author in various public spaces such as in college in New York, working at the literary journal *Zona de carga y descarga*, public presentations of her work at local libraries. There are also photos of Rosario with other Puerto Rican scholars and writers and with German publishers and translators upon the publication of her work in that country.

Luis A. Ferré and Lorenzita Ramírez de Arellano conceive of Ponce and Venice as static spaces, as what Doreen Massey calls "a surface" on which things happen, people live, etc. Massey proposes a notion of "Space as a product of interrelations . . . as the sphere of the possibility of coexistence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality" (9). She perceives a need "to liberate space from its ties to closure and stasis" (19). Rosario also wants to liberate herself from confining spaces that impose gender, political and social roles. Rosario has spent her career as a writer in constant movement through spaces, whether it is through *The House on the Lagoon* or *Eccentric Neighborhoods* or the critical forum she provided in her journal, *Zona de Carga y Descarga*. She ends the poem "La ciudad navío" with an affirmation of the impossibility of situating the city within a fixed location, within a static space:

> Pero lo cierto es que todavía no la hemos encontrado,
> imposible descubrir su ubicación exacta,
> el latido preciso de su longitud
> geográfica, la ciudad no sufre paralelos
> ni puntos de partida,
> no admite vectores que tracen punto fijo
> a su vertiginoso corazón. (*DV* 46)
> But the truth is that we still have not found it,
> Impossible to find its exact location,
> the precise heartbeat of its geographical latitude,
> the city has no parallels,
> no points of departure,
> it will not accept vectors to trace a fixed point
> to its dizzying heart.

In 2000, the University of Puerto Rico published *San Juan siempre nuevo. Arquitectura y modernización en el siglo XX.* The collection of essays reviews the establishment of San Juan City and the urban development that transformed the city into a major metropolitan area, expanding from Puerto Nuevo to Rio Piedras, from Santurce to Condado. The essays describe how the Americanization of the island had an impact on housing designs and how laws about access-controlled urbanizations were the results of conflict between socio-economic and racial divisions. I believe, however, that Rosario Ferré had been writing about Puerto Rican architecture long before this book was published. Since 1973, with the publication of *Papeles de Pandora,* Rosario has been creating a map of the island marking varied locations such as el Rio Loco, the plantations, industrial cities like Ponce, and cosmopolitan ones like San Juan. Rosario Ferré's narrative is a "maqueta" or model

of Puerto Rican architectural styles from the plantation homes to the "prairie" mansions created by Antonin Nechodema, to Art Deco and the super-urbanizations. Rosario Ferré gives us instructions on how to navigate the streets and alleys of Puerto Rican everyday life, including traffic signs warning us about potholes and landslides that constantly threaten to slow down, asphyxiate, and even silence the island's inhabitants.

Hence, I don't believe it was a coincidence that Rosario published in the same year two books that explore space. It is true that *Memorias de Ponce* and *Las dos Venecias* are books that stand on their own. When they are read together, one realizes that Rosario intended them to be an intimate and very public dialogue between spouses. And purposefully, part of the dialogue is the argument of how each of them perceived the private and the public spheres in which they lived and worked. Rosario grew up in the shade of two parents she loved dearly. By publishing these two texts at the same time, each stands with its own reconstructions of memories and space. Rosario claims a space of her own, that of the City of San Juan, with her open bay allowing for transit, for communications, for fluidity and a plurality of voices, classes, and ethnicities that would have shocked her parents. But in that moment when Rosario's parents came face to face, the child turned writer finally exposes the realities of their own "fantasies" and the fantastic adventurous world she conjures for herself.

Notes

1. From now on Ferré will refer to the father, Luis A. Ferré, and Rosario to the writer.

2. *DV* will be used to refer to *Las dos Venecias* and *MP* will refer to *Memorias de Ponce*. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified. Although there are translations of some of the poems in *Las dos Venecias*, they are different versions that would require further analysis. Other scholars have written about Rosario Ferré's "translations" as a process of rewriting.

3. There are ten pages dedicated to a detailed narration of the four trips made by sea to Europe, where they visited France, Switzerland, Germany, and Post-Civil War Spain.

4. In her essay, "On Destiny, Language, and Translation; or, Ophelia Adrift in the C&O Canal," Ferré describes a dream in which she is floating across the Cheasapeake Bay, not being able to reach the shore of Washington, D.C. on one side and that of San Juan, on the other side. The metaphor and the essay describe her attitudes and feelings about translation from Spanish into English.

5. *Contador* means "accountant" in English. In Spanish, the verb *contar* refers to both the telling of stories and jokes, and the counting of things.

Works Cited

Dinzey-Flores, Zaire Zenit. "The Secret Gardens." *Locked In, Locked Out: Gated Communities in a Puerto Rican City.* Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013. 98–122. Print.

Ferré, Rosario. *Las dos Venecias*. México: Joaquín Mortiz, 1992. Print.

---. *Memoria*. 2nd ed. San Juan: Ediciones Callejón, 2012. Print.

---. *Memorias de Ponce. Autobiografía de Luis A. Ferré.* Narrada por Rosario Ferré. Colombia: Grupo Editorial Norma, 1992. Print.

---. "On Destiny, Language, and Translation; or, Ophelia Adrift in the C&O Canal." *The Youngest Doll*. Foreword by Jean Franco. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1991. 153–65. Print.

Gallart, Mary Frances. "Ahora seremos felices: modelos de urbanizaciones en San Juan." *San Juan siempre nuevo: Arquitectura y modernización en el siglo XX.* Ed. Enrique Vivoni-Farage. Rio Piedras, PR: AACUPR, 2000. Print.

Hayden, Dolores. *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life*. New York: Norton, 2002. Print.

---. "What Would a Non-Sexist City be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design and Human Work." Rendell 266–81.

Heller, Ben A. "Landscape, Femininity, and Caribbean Discourse." *MLN* 111.2 (1996): 391–416. Print.

Massey, Doreen. *For Space*. London: SAGE, 2005. Print.

Prussin, Labelle. "Excerpts from 'The Creative Process.'" Rendell 306–13.

Rendell, Jane, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, eds. *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

About the Author

Carmen S. Rivera is a professor of Spanish, Latino Studies and Women's and Gender Studies at SUNY Fredonia. She is the author of *Kissing the Mango Tree. Puerto Rican Women Rewriting American Literature* (2002). At the present time, she is working on a book, *Las casitas de Rosario Ferré: Foundations, Structures, Spaces* examining the complete works of the Puerto Rican author. She also assisted Daniel Torres in the edition of "*I'm Still Standing": Treinta años de Poesia / Thirty Years of Poetry by Luz María Umpierre-Herrera.* Email: Carmen.rivera@fredonia.edu.

En camino hacia el punto de partida: El viaje circular en *Los siete libros de La Diana* de Jorge de Montemayor

Linda Marie Sariego

La metáfora literaria del viaje

El viaje como metáfora literaria ha sido ubicuo en los variados géneros de la literatura. Los escritores a través de los siglos han admitido la importancia y complejidad de este tema ya sea en la odisea de un héroe mitológico, o en el sentido más amplio de la jornada personal cotidiana. Además de la trayectoria del viaje, la crónica del viaje sirve de compañera integral para recordar la totalidad de la experiencia. El tema del viaje o el recuerdo del viaje memorable ofreció una oportunidad de reflexionar sobre la función del texto como memoria, y sobre todo, en los cuentos de viaje, inmigración y exilio. Para seguir este acercamiento, me he establecido el reto de considerar una novela pastoril, *Los siete libros de La Diana*, o simplemente *La Diana*, de Jorge de Montemayor, dentro de la clasificación de cuento de viaje. En este breve trabajo, intento analizar tres puntos integrales: primero, que *La Diana* de Montemayor es justificadamente una narrativa de viaje, inmigración y exilio; segundo, que el viaje más significativo es el viaje de mínima distancia y de menos acción dramática; y tercero, que este viaje más importante se dirige al verdadero punto de partida.

En la gran cantidad de literatura renacentista española, no se suele considerar la novela pastoril fácilmente entre las narrativas del viaje porque los estudios literarios notan diferencias entre la novela de acción y la novela pastoril. Una diferencia notada es que, distinta a la novela de acción donde "domina la acción, en la pastoril se analiza, aunque sea en forma artificial, el mundo interior de los personajes" (Del Rio 149). Pero colocar *La Diana* entre los cuentos de viaje no nos debe sorprender. Desde la antigüedad, la metáfora del *viaje* fue la base de cuentos mitológicos y legendarios del mundo oriental y occidental. Esta metáfora no eludió los géneros ibéricos tampoco, y por eso, Bruno Damiani nos recuerda que el viaje es omnipresente en la literatura española del Siglo de Oro (Damiani 67), o como el recorrido físico de un lugar a otro, o como el tránsito de una a otra etapa de la vida. Para

considerarse un viaje, no es necesario dar ningún paso físico y la narrativa de un viaje puede referirse a un procedimiento transformador, iluminativo, emocional, etc. De cualquier forma que sea, sin embargo, sea concreto, virtual, psicológico o emocional, el viaje siempre necesita que haya un cambio de posición.

La universalidad del *viaje* como tema literario captó el interés del ensayista Tzvetan Todorov quien planteó que el viaje como tema es inevitable en la vida porque la vida no es otra cosa que un viaje. Todorov dice: " . . . the journey coincides with life, no more, no less" (287). Todorov nos hace pensar en la probabilidad de que la mayoría de obras literarias sean narrativas de viajes porque tocan un aspecto de la vida. La literatura en sí siempre engloba algún tipo de viaje porque los conceptos del viaje y de la vida parecen inseparables.

El viaje en la novela pastoril

Los géneros identificados fácilmente como narrativas de viaje también constan en una narrativa con detalles del itinerario o de una meta en común. La narrativa tiende a incluir varios lugares recorridos y los eventos que ocurrieron. A primera vista, un género como la novela pastoril no parece congruente con la narrativa de viaje, porque se concentra principalmente en las tristezas del amor perdido. La novela pastoril, no obstante, forma parte del estudio de Rosilie Hernández Pecoraro quien comenta que *La Diana* es una narrativa de viaje si se lee como metáfora, porque la metáfora es el proceso de interpretar la relación entre dos entidades que parecen incongruentes o sorprendentes en un sentido cambiado (41). Esta perspectiva subraya el tema de este artículo, es decir, un estudio de la novela pastoril, o más específicamente en este trabajo, de la novela pastoril llamada *Los siete libros de La Diana*, como narrativa de viaje.

Los siete libros de La Diana (Valencia 1559) o *La Diana* de Jorge de Montemayor es la obra que goza de la distinción de ser la primera novela pastoril española. Califica como un texto de memorias porque en *La Diana*, todo el argumento es una historia narrada desde la memoria de un narrador que nunca se conoce pero que narra no solamente las acciones de los personajes, sino los sentimientos y motivos por tales acciones. El narrador explica que el amor es la fuerza infatigable y la meta que dirige a este grupo de pastores que se sienten traicionados por un amor fracasado. El amor, este compañero ineludible, se les presenta como el motivo para desarraigarse de su vida ordinaria y marcharse sin rumbo fijo.

La Diana es una narrativa de viaje porque el argumento es la crónica del triste peregrinaje de algunos protagonistas desamados. Al estilo de los peregrinos en los *Cuentos de Canterbury*, los protagonistas cuentan sus propias historias a los oyentes recién encontrados que se convierten en sus compañeros de camino. Los oyentes se compadecen con las partes de la historia que reflejan sus propias circunstancias. Las historias forman los eslabones de una cadena de recuerdos seleccionados por el autor y presentados al principio de la obra como " . . . muy diversas hystorias, de casos que verdaderamente an sucedido, aunque van disfraçados debaxo de nombres y estilo pastoril" (Montemayor 7). Cada protagonista entra en el escenario narrativo y empieza a lamentar su pena emocional. Cuando los oyentes le preguntan la razón por su aflicción, el personaje evoca de su memoria y comparte con sus oyentes los detalles de su pueblo del origen, la razón del fracaso de su amor, la urgencia que exigió su inmigración al ambiente campestre y las circunstancias de su auto-exilio debido a la cruel mano de Fortuna. Una serie de eventos ocurre y la narración sigue el camino de los pastores. Son peregrinos que han sufrido desgracias por causa del amor. Al principio de la narración, no les interesa alcanzar ningún destino; pero por los que encuentran en el camino y por las posibilidades que les presentan, se lanzan en búsqueda de la felicidad. El narrador omnisciente conoce bien el alma de cada protagonista y nos revela las razones y las faltas de estas acciones. Pensando que no les queda otro remedio, los peregrinos se dedican a continuar el camino y, en la medida en que van clarificando el motivo y la meta del viaje, también van forjando su destino, a veces cambiando su dirección, pero siempre dirigiéndose hacia la felicidad.

Si se puede aceptar que un argumento dramático resulte de la ficción elaborada frecuentemente asociada con la novela pastoril, es más plausible entonces colocar la novela pastoril entre las narrativas de viaje. Desde el comienzo de *La Diana*, el narrador llama la atención a la acción dramática. En la primera página de la obra, por ejemplo, el narrador empieza con: "Baxaba de las montañas de León el olvidado Sireno . . . " (9) e inmediatamente aparece el personaje en la escena. Pronto, el desconsolado Sireno lamenta su tristeza, y sus quejas llegan al oído de otro pastor Sylvano quien se acerca y pronto se compadece de sentimiento. Este ciclo de tristeza, llantos y el encuentro con otro compañero forma la base de la narrativa del camino y se repite como hitos intermedios. Al poco entra Selvagia en la escena, la pastora que también ha sufrido una desgracia amorosa. El narrador anota que "vieron salir dentre el arboleda . . . " (34) y luego, el grupo de tres continúa en el camino. A los compañeros les interesa solamente pasar tiempo con otros que comparten su sufrimiento. La tristeza los hace

muy ensimismados; su interés se limita en conocer a otras personas que han sufrido la misma injusticia por el amor. Sin rumbo específico, no obstante, los tristes pastores andan como grupo en el camino.

El camino como trasfondo principal

El camino es el trasfondo principal de la narración; pasando por diferentes espacios (urbano, bucólico y preternatural), el camino es el locus de la formación y la transformación de los peregrinos. En el Libro II de *La Diana*, el camino les ofrece a los andantes una experiencia inesperada cuando los tres encuentran a unas ninfas que muestran conocimiento de la triste historia de cada compañero. Acaban de encontrarse con Sireno, Sylvano y Selvagia y las tres ninfas son agredidas por unos hombres salvajes (87). Los pastores tratan de defenderlas, y por poco quedan vencidos. En medio de este peligro, sin embargo, el narrador señala que: "No tardó mucho que de entre la espessura del bosque . . . salió una pastora . . ." (89) quien se les presenta como la hermosa Felismena, otra compañera cuya historia está llena del engaño, la tristeza, la fortuna y la pérdida de su querido don Felis. Felismena mata a los salvajes y rescata a las ninfas. A pesar de la maravilla de esta acción valiente, la narración no demora mucho en esta escena porque, en este punto en *La Diana,* la narración se remite a los acontecimientos principalmente para demostrar su impacto en el viaje de los protagonistas. El reconocimiento es breve, porque después de la valiente acción de Felismena, la narración relata un breve caminar en el ambiente bucólico " . . . a la fuente de los alisos que está junto al bosque . . . " (91). Pronto los pastores le piden a Felismena que les haga saber de ella y las ninfas explican que ellas sirven a Felicia, "cuyo oficio es dar remedio a pasiones enamoradas... " (93). El misterio de la historia de Felismena se aclara a través de casi treinta páginas en la novela; a continuación, las ninfas les ofrecen a Felismena y a los pastores otra meta y un desafío definitivo: poner su fortuna "en manos de la discreta Felicia . . . " (129). Es posible que la resolución de los problemas amorosos parezca muy temprana en este punto de la narración porque el narrador disminuye la potencia de esta oportunidad. El Libro II concluye simplemente con el comentario: " . . . se fueron todos juntos por donde las tres nimphas los guiavan . . . " (139), aunque Damiani nos asegura que este peregrinaje es el único viable para los protagonistas en esta obra (69). La conclusión de Libro II de *La Diana* marca también la conclusión de un trecho del viaje.

La narrativa con detalles del ambiente

El narrador anónimo es el guía turístico y no repara en dar detalles paisajísticos del ambiente. El argumento empieza con "Baxaba de las montañas . . . " y anuncia los sentimientos y preferencias del triste Sireno (Montemayor 7). En el Libro II, el narrador comenta que los pastores " . . . por los campos del caudaloso Ezla apacentaban sus ganados, se començavan a mostrar cada uno con su rebaño por la orilla de sus cristalinas aguas . . . quando la hermosa pastora Selvagia por la cuesta que de la aldea baxava al espesso bosque . . . " (63). Cuando empieza el Libro III, el narrador describe el terreno, anuncia la hora y revela la disposición de los caminantes:

> Con muy gran contentamiento caminavan las hermosas nimphas con su compañía por medio de un espesso bosque, y ya quel sol se quería poner, salieron a un muy hermoso valle, por medo del que yva un impetuoso arroyo de una parte y otra, adornado de muy espessos salzes y alisos, entre los quales avía otras muchos géneros de árboles más pequeños que, enredándose a los mayores, entretexéndose las doradas flores de los unos por entre las verdes ramas de los otros, davan con su vista gran contentamiento. (131)

El viaje continúa por entre unos árboles y un estanque. Pronto nos enteramos que "en medio del estanque estaba una pequeña isleta" (131). De repente, esta narración del camino se interrumpe para permitir entrar en la escena (y en la peregrinación) a otra protagonista Belisa quien también ha sufrido la pérdida de su amor y ha llamado la atención del grupo en el camino que compadece su angustia. Los caminantes se demoran un poco para pedir que Belisa les cuente la historia trágica del fracaso de su amor y Belisa revela que el padre de su querido se enamoró de ella y que la tristeza de su historia culminó con la muerte de su querido en un duelo trágico entre padre e hijo. Mientras los pastores responden con lágrimas y compasión al oír la historia de Belisa, el narrador dirige nuestra atención al aviso con que la ninfa Dórida le consuela: "Y para esto te ruego que vengas en nuestra compañía . . . podrás escoger la que quisieres y no avrá persona que estorvalla pueda" (160). Con esta invitación, el viaje procederá después de que los compañeros descansen, una decisión que merece la atención del narrador al final del Libro III cuando comenta simplemente: " . . . eran más de tres horas de la noche y . . . reposaron del cansancio del día" (161)—o sea otro trecho del viaje.

El dinamismo de los espacios

La Diana se basa en una forma espacial, en la cual el espacio/ambiente y sus propios componentes (seres humanos, animales, plantas, etc.) existen en una dinámica mutua y constante. Este dinamismo recíproco libera una energía entre el ambiente y sus componentes. La dinámica favorece las condiciones óptimas para los relatos de viaje, exilio e inmigración, no por su cualidad tranquilizadora sino por la potencia cenestésica. El movimiento en el ambiente espacial es constante, aunque la acción no sea siempre físicamente perceptible. Este concepto del movimiento continuo es imprescindible para *La Diana* como relato de viaje. En los primeros tres Libros, percibimos un movimiento centrípeto. El viaje de los protagonistas avanza hacia el centro. En el presente del argumento dramático, Sireno "baxaba de las montañas" (7). Luego vio que Sylvano "venía por una cuesta abaxo que del aldea venia al verde prado . . . " (15) y un poco después, los dos vieron a Selvagia "salir dentre el arboleda . . . " y "se vino derecho a la fuente a donde los pastores estavan" (36). El viaje sigue sin rumbo específico y solamente para seguir instrucciones. Cuando oyeron voces, los tres "su passo a passo, se fueron hazía aquella parte donde las vozes se oyan" entre unos árboles y en el prado de laureles (71) encuentran a tres ninfas. En el Libro II, Felismena salió "de entre la espessura del bosque junto a la fuente donde cantavan" (89). Al final del segundo Libro "se fueron todos juntos por donde las tres nimphas los guiavan" (130). El grupo sigue en una dirección hacia el interior—y pasando piedras a una isleta que estaba por medio del estanque (131). En los tres primeros Libros de *La Diana*, el movimiento se repite hacia abajo y hacia adentro como un laberinto simbólico o presagio del viaje interior que les espera a los peregrinos en este camino.

Un viaje hacia adentro

Las historias de las tres protagonistas, Selvagia, Felismena y Belisa, ocurrieron en un tiempo previo a la acción del argumento. Al nivel del pasado dramático, también, se puede observar un movimiento centrípeto en cuanto al origen de cada protagonista. Primero, la pastora Selvagia dice que viene de Portugal; luego, Felismena cuenta que su naturaleza es de Vandalia o Andalucia, y después, Belisa dice que su historia empezó "No muy lexos deste valle, hazía la parte donde el sol se pone, [donde] está un aldea en medio de una floresta, cerca de dos ríos que con sus aguas riegan los árboles amenos, cuya espessura es tanta que, desde una casa, la otra no se parece" (136). Cada historia que sigue comienza en una región más cerca del grupo, y que les re-

sulta más conocida a los oyentes, como si el camino de las historias anduviera hacia dentro. Además, en la progresión de Portugal, luego de Andalucía y últimamente, de la aldea más cercana, cada protagonista pasó un exilio, o por el mandato de su padre, como en el caso de Selvagia, o por su propia reacción a la tristeza que había sufrido. Cada protagonista también inmigró a un ambiente aislado para lamentar sus penas. En esta primera parte de *La Diana*, el argumento se desarrolla dentro de un cuento de exilio, inmigración y viaje.

A pesar de estas pausas, el viaje avanza hacia el lugar prometido, el palacio de la sabia Felicia. Al empezar el Libro IV de *La Diana*, la narración nos dirige y también dirige al grupo andante hacia este ambiente sobrenatural. Este es el espacio preternatural de la obra y el lugar donde el grupo logra otro nivel de conocimiento. En esta etapa del itinerario, los pastores están para entrar en el camino más inolvidable. Curiosamente, el narrador quiere que los lectores reconozcan que este destino ajeno no está en una tierra lejana, pero hace falta que alguien sea dirigido por otra persona que conozca el camino. El narrador declara que "mas no uvieron andado mucho quando llegaron a un espesso bosque, que a no ser de las tres nimphas guiados, no pudieran dexar de perderse en él" y a continuación, "aviendo ydo quanto media legua por la espessura del bosque, salieron a un muy grande y espacioso llano en medio de dos caudalosos ríos" (162–63).

El Libro IV de *La Diana* es la parte narrativa que tiene lugar en el palacio de la sabia Felicia. Para apreciar la importancia de este Libro, es preciso analizar la estructura balanceada de la obra entera. Por un lado, los Libros I–III, notamos que la acción narrativa procede casi en forma circular hacia un centro. Se ha mencionado que tanto el presente de la narrativa con la trayectoria del grupo andante como el pasado de la narrativa con las trayectorias de las historias de los amantes desamados andan en secuencia de un lugar más lejano hacia uno más cerca. El objetivo deseado es llegar al ambiente donde la felicidad y la resolución de los problemas amorosos sean posibles. Esta tierra anhelada es el palacio de Felicia y es el trasfondo del Libro IV de *La Diana*. Después de que los peregrinos andan hacia lo más interior del palacio y experimentan lo que allí les esperaba, el camino del viaje de los peregrinos empieza a desenrollarse, animándolos a salir para cumplir con los requisitos de su búsqueda. En la estadía corta del palacio de la sabia Felicia, el viaje que para los pastores consistía en exilio e inmigración a un lugar aislado ahora cambia a ser un viaje de emigración y luego de vuelta al palacio (al núcleo) para alcanzar su querido amor. El palacio de la sabia Felicia es el corazón del viaje circular, un laberinto metafórico en cuyo ambiente se hizo posible un nuevo nivel de la iluminación personal de los amantes peregrinos.

Volviendo a la idea subyacente que empieza en el Libro IV, se ha comentado que esta parte de la obra trata del tiempo corto que pasa el grupo en el espacio preternatural y de los varios personajes y experiencias inefables que toparon. Este trecho de la peregrinación llena la narración del Libro IV y parte de los Libros V a VII de *La Diana*. Lo notable es que esta parte de la peregrinación, de hecho, recorre la distancia más corta, medida desde la entrada al bosque por media legua (162) y saliendo "a un muy grande y espacioso llano en medio de dos caudalosos ríos, ambos cercados de muy alta y verde arboleda . . . a un gran palacio" (163). Al llegar por esta senda al palacio, lo que queda del viaje es el recorrido por los salones y jardines de este lugar extraordinario. El narrador dirige el itinerario por esta residencia y, para complementar (o explicar mejor) las vistas indescriptibles, revela los sentimientos de los viajeros. Los personajes caminan y experimentan nuevas vistas; su movimiento resulta en un cambio de posición y también, en un cambio de perspectiva personal. Asunción Rallo Gruss propone la razón del impacto didáctico de esta narración cuando comenta:

> [E]l libro cuarto representa otro nivel de realidad, el sobrenatural, y en él el estatismo domina toda la acción encerrada en el espacio del palacio, en el que el tiempo humano parece no existir . . . Los personajes pasan a ser menos espectadores que deben aprender de cuanto ven, formándose no por su propia vida sino por el conocimiento obtenido de la vida ejemplificativa y por la audición de las palabras de seres superiores. (84)

Con este conocimiento, el argumento traza el viaje del mayor impacto como aquello que deja pocas huellas pero que resulta en una transformación personal de los participantes. Paradójicamente, este camino corto y duro es un viaje hacia adentro que lleva a los pastores hacia el punto de partida para buscar su meta con una claridad más resuelta.

El cambio de perspectiva en el palacio de Felicia

La función transformativa del viaje es evidente en el Libro IV de *La Diana*. Antes de describir los espectáculos inefables, el narrador singulariza a cada protagonista, una técnica apropiada según un estudio de Regina Schneider quien lo analiza como la preparación metafórica hacia una reconciliación entre cada protagonista y su realidad (264). El palacio de Felicia es tan inimaginable que ninguna descripción es suficiente. Es el ambiente que fomenta una receptividad tan animada en los pastores que se les quita el deseo de escapar. Es como si el am-

biente los captara y subyugara su atención completa. Ellos responden al esplendor que les rodean. Para describir este paisaje superlativo, el narrador de *La Diana* llama la atención al comportamiento cambiado de los peregrinos. La narración nota que "ponían gran contentamiento a los que los miravan . . . " (Montemayor 162). Por medio de la experiencia, los pastores participan en una relación dinámica con todas las maravillas del palacio, y esta simbiosis inesperada resulta en una transformación personal dentro de cada uno. Los caminantes notan que en este ambiente excepcional del palacio hay chapiteles de "tan gran resplandor que parecían hechos de un finíssimo crystal" (163). La abundancia de materias preciosas que brillan también funciona como un espejo alegórico que refleja la potencia interior del ser humano de cambiar y de ser iluminado; las fases de este cambio interior y personal se lucen en las reacciones de cada protagonista a las vistas panorámicas del peregrinaje palaciego.

Antes de llegar al palacio y cuando contaban sus tristes historias en el campo bucólico, los protagonistas estaban centrados en sí mismos. El poder transformador despierta en los pastores una perspectiva nueva. Se nota el comienzo de esta metamorfosis tan pronto como ellos se acercan al palacio de Felicia. El cambio dramático capta la atención del narrador quien observa que "en llegando a la portada se pararon a mirar su estraña hechura . . . " (165). Todos los edificios, los monumentos y los habitantes eran de una excelencia nunca experimentada por los peregrinos recién llegados. Este ambiente tan único podía o facilitar o impedir las acciones de aquellos que lo experimentaban. A pesar de la atracción ineludible del ambiente palacial, el narrador deja claro que este viaje es voluntario. Desde el primer paso en el ambiente sobrenatural, los pastores tienen opciones. Sobre la entrada, observan un letrero que les recuerda el riesgo y la oportunidad de entrar. En letras de oro, el mensaje advierte: "quien entra mire bien cómo a vivido . . . Si la fe primera no a perdido, y aquel primer amor a conservado, entrar puede en el templo de Diana . . . " (163). Atraídos por la meta de felicidad, los tristes viajeros deciden arriesgarse para alcanzar el premio que anhelaban.

El perímetro más amplio en este espacio preternatural es el palacio de Felicia. Cuando el grupo entra en las partes más recónditas del palacio, el perímetro virtual de la actividad dramática se contrae. También, la narración es más minuciosa, y se dirige a las vistas insólitas del ambiente en vez que dirigirse a la distancia o dirección del viaje. Este cambio de enfoque caracteriza el próximo tramo del viaje por el palacio. El grupo ambulante entra a un patio interior donde hay una columna esculpida en la que se destacan ciertas personas virtuosas y hazañas de la antigüedad. El mensaje sin palabras audibles de esta estructura

penetra la oscuridad del entendimiento de los viajeros profundamente porque el narrador juzga mencionarlo concienzudamente. Después de ver el impresionante patrón de la columna, los caminantes aturdidos entran en una rica sala del palacio, un lugar que el narrador describe mejor como suntuosa. Las maravillas son tantas que ellas evocan una respuesta más profunda de los pastores. El narrador lo cuenta así: "En tan grande admiración puso a los pastores y pastoras las cosas que allí veyan, que no sabían qué decir, porque la riqueza de la casa era tan grande . . . que no les parecía poderse imaginar en el mundo cosa más perfecta" (178). El camino hacia el interior del palacio es la parte de este viaje en que la sensibilidad de los pastores andantes se intensifica y posibilita que ellos correspondan a estas experiencias sobrehumanas e insólitas.

Los peregrinos andan hacia las partes más recónditas del palacio. Así como la narrativa de viaje se destaca por el panorama del camino también el próximo segmento del dicho peregrinaje por el palacio de Felicia es significativo por las vistas intensificadas. Al entrar en una sala con paredes de alabastro y con esculturas de muchas historias antiguas, el grupo andante encuentra a Orfeo (179–91). Orfeo los dirige en una gira vertiginosa exhortando a los caminantes a que presten atención a su homenaje de las famosas mujeres admirables representadas. Con cuarenta y tres ejemplos, el narrador anónimo relata que este guía mitológico les canta en verso, repitiendo la advertencia de que se despierten y vean. Es un ambiente donde la hora no tiene sentido; el grupo andante se demora un poco para permitirse la oportunidad de oír la canción de Orfeo, un discurso versificado de unas once páginas de la narrativa. El narrador quiere remarcar este encuentro singular y deja notado que la canción de Orfeo "los tenía suspensos como si por ninguno dellos uviera pasado . . . " (191). Como la memoria de un espectador, la narración no presta atención ni al movimiento ni a la distancia, sino a los avisos que Orfeo insiste en repetir y en enfatizar. Desde el comienzo de la novela, los peregrinos seguían la filosofía de vivir para ver mejor. Ahora en este mundo preternatural, Orfeo les explica que la mejor opción es ver para vivir mejor. Hablando con la autoridad de su experiencia mitológica, Orfeo advierte en verso, música y ejemplos a los desamados peregrinos que cambien completamente la manera en que ellos se enfrentan a los altibajos de la vida. No es seguro si se quedaron suspensos por la letanía inefable de historias ejemplificativas o si fue por la experiencia de tener al mitológico Orfeo como anfitrión de esta parte de la visita. En este centro del laberinto metafórico (este ambiente sobrenatural), es imprescindible que los invitados no tengan prisa y que aprovechen de las experiencias que encuentran.

La inefabilidad del encuentro con Orfeo no les gana más tiempo para disfrutar la experiencia. Al contrario, después de esta experiencia maravillosa con Orfeo el narrador sigue: " . . . aviendo muy particularmente mirado el rico aposento con todas las cosas que en él avía que ver, salieron . . . por una puerta a la gran sala y por otra de la sala a un hermoso jardín, cuya vista no menos admiración les causó que lo que hasta allí avían visto . . . ." (191). La salida al jardín forma el trasfondo para el próximo cambio interior de los peregrinos. Por primera vez en la obra, el narrador incluye la mención del sentido del olfato. La descripción de los arrayanes "olorosos" da énfasis decidido a la sensibilización de los compañeros ambulantes que ahora disfrutan de la fragancia del ambiente. En esta etapa del viaje, parece que los peregrinos hayan vuelto al punto de partida. Aunque todavía no se ven transformados completamente por estas experiencias, ellos se dan cuenta de que están rodeados de belleza y encanto.

En el susodicho hermoso jardín en que entraron, la atracción es la tumba de la difunta doña Catalina de Aragón, la quintaesencia de la virtud (192). En vez de evocar la admiración de los caminantes, no obstante, el sepulcro afectó a Belisa quien "no pudo dexar de dezir con muchas lágrimas . . . " (193). Pero su apenado llanto no le interesa mucho al narrador invisible. En cambio, la narración después de las palabras de Belisa llama atención a las otras sepulturas y a la mención que los caminantes salieron por "una puerta falsa que en el jardín estava, al verde prado, adonde hallaron a la sabia Felicia que sola se andava recreando . . . " (193). El encontrarse de nuevo con la sabia Felicia quiere decir que el grupo ya cumplió su peregrinar de enseñanza. En este ambiente sobrenatural, los peregrinos están casi por cerrar el círculo de su viaje y llegar al punto donde entraron en este ambiente—en la presencia de Felicia. También con la mención de la "puerta falsa" (193), el narrador sugiere que aunque no haya terminado el viaje necesario, este tramo está por concluir pronto, porque la anfitriona Felicia les trata de la misma manera en que les trató cuando llegaron con las ninfas—los saluda, los acoge y les da de comer.

Este encuentro con Felicia al pasar por puerta falsa al jardín no desconcierta al grupo andante. Al contrario, la serenidad es la emoción que destaca en esta escena y se nota que la sabia Felicia "sola se andava recreando . . . " (193). Después de la experiencia inefable del recorrido por los salones del palacio y después de encontrar a personas de otro mundo, parece que la narración minimiza la maravilla de los espectáculos. En vez de capturar las reacciones de los peregrinos andantes a las vistas recién experimentadas, el narrador se interesa más en la hora y la comida. La narración señala que " . . . como se hazía hora de cenar, se fueron a una gran alameda . . . lugar donde las nimphas del sump-

tuoso templo, algunos días salían a recrearse" (193). Al principio nos parece superfluo anunciar la hora y describir el sitio, la atención a la cena y la agrupación de los peregrinos caminantes con las ninfas y con Felicia. Pero a continuación, la narración no enumera los detalles de la cena. Más bien, la narración que sigue intenta demostrar los cambios que han pasado dentro de los viajeros peregrinos, al relatar sus conversaciones específicas en esta escena.

Peregrinos transformados

Montemayor, por medio de su narrador, describe como los peregrinos estaban sentados en agrupaciones deliberadas, de tal manera que cada cual podía hablar "sin que estorvasse uno lo que otro dezía" (194). Felicia se sentó con Sireno y Felismena; la nimpha Dórida se puso con Sylvano; y Selvagia y Belisa se sentaron con Cinthía y Polydora (194). Sireno le pone a la sabia Felicia una pregunta sobre el amor perfecto y de su origen en la razón. Felicia contempla platicar este asunto con Sireno porque ella nota que "esta pregunta es más que de pastor" (195). Felicia juzga bien que este pastor, con espíritu cambiado, es capaz de una comprensión más profunda. Felicia le explica que el amor perfecto puede nacer de la razón, pero que no debe ser gobernado por la razón. El comentario de Felicia le hace pensar a Sireno porque le cuenta solamente unos ejemplos de muchas personas que han perdido su vida por causa del amor. Es decir, la razón no es la fuerza impulsora del amor. Además, ella le hace acordar que hay una diferencia entre el amor perfecto y el amor entre hombre y mujer y que es el segundo que aplica a Sireno. Felicia retoma la palabra, diciendo:

> Dexemos este amor: bolvamos al amor del hombre con la muger. As de saber que si el amor que el amador tiene a su dama, aunque inflamado en desenfrenada afición, nace de la razón y del verdadero conocimiento y juyzio, que por solas sus virtudes la juzgue digna de ser amada; que este tal amor, a mi parecer y no me engaño, no es ilícito ni deshonesto, porque todo el amor desta manera no tira a otro fin, sino a querer la persona por ella misma, sin esperar otro interesse ni galardón de sus amores. (198)

Estas explicaciones de Felicia le conmueven a Sireno porque le parecen palabras de verdad y autoridad.

Ahora, pastor, pastora, aldeana, y ninfa pueden debatir los temas filosóficos del amor a la par de los sabios de aquella época. Sylvano y

Polydora debaten sobre los sufrimientos del amor. Cuando Polydora comenta que estos sufrimientos pasan al alcanzar la cosa deseada, Sylvano mantiene que Polydora no tiene razón en esto porque no ha tenido la experiencia del amor humano (199–201). En otro rincón del prado donde estaban, Selvagia, Belisa y la hermosa Cínthia meditaban sobre en qué consistía la razón porque con la ausencia, el amor se enfría. Cínthia comenta que el tiempo suaviza las aflicciones del amor. A Belisa esto le parece imposible y ella dice que cree que su querido Arsileo está muerto, y estando segura de no verlo más, le tiene el mismo amor que cuando vivía (202). Cínthia le recomienda que confíe en Felicia para dar remedio a su apenado amor porque "ninguno ay a quien ella no dé remedio . . . " (202–03). Como respuesta al comentario de Cínthia, la sabia Felicia le contradice, recordándole que a veces el tiempo no basta porque uno puede morir antes de lograr el deseo de su amor. Es interesante que en estos grupos dialogantes ni Felismena ni Selvagia participen verbalmente. Felicia explica que al próximo día, ella entenderá en lo que toca el remedio de Felismena y de todos de su grupo. Con esta información agradable, se terminó la plática y todos se fueron a cenar (203).

En esta escena ya mencionada, los pastores del peregrinar se ven dramáticamente cambiados y solamente han caminado una distancia corta por este espacio preternatural. Algún cambio les ha pasado porque la plática de los amantes da testimonio de la transformación de su psique. Hace poco que llegaron al palacio como pasajeros ensimismados y después de un rato pequeño e intensificado, se han convertido en personas sensibles y compasivas. Su conocimiento de las grandes preguntas de la vida llenó el corazón, y no solamente el cerebro de cada uno. Para los caminantes peregrinos, el viaje ha sido circular y les ha dirigido al punto de partida, o sea a la posibilidad de comenzar una vida completa y feliz.

La transformación de los peregrinos no está completa todavía; les espera la apoteosis del rito de Felicia. Antes de recibir la acción de Felicia y una conversión por el agua y el libro, los cambios que les han resultado les han preparado para el próximo nivel de conocimiento en este paisaje trasformativo.

El viaje solitario de Felismena

Las experiencias inevitables del palacio de Felicia arrancaron a los peregrinos de su inercia y les ayudaron a imaginar y realizar sus sueños al regresar a su vida cotidiana. En los Libros V y VI de *La Diana*, se ven las conclusiones de la mayoría de los problemas del grupo. Belisa se

queda en palacio de Felicia. Sireno, Sylvano y Selvagia se someten al rito del agua y libro de Felicia. Sylvano y Selvagia se enamoran el uno de la otra. Sireno se queda sin amor pero sin rencor. Felismena sale de viaje y encuentra a los pastores Amarílida y Filemón (229). Felismena concede al pedido de estos pastores de juzgar la profundidad de su amor. En este compartir, Felismena descubre la presencia de Arsileo. Felismena le dice que lo conoció en la academia Salmantina (236) y con este testimonio de su autoridad, le dirigió hacia un encuentro con su querida Belisa. Felismena se entera por testimonio de Arsileo de la acción del malévolo espíritu Alfeo (234). Como otro viaje circular, la vida de Felismena y la vida de Arsileo con Belisa son como círculos concéntricos que se resuelven juntos. Luego, Felismena ejerce su valentía a lo extranjero y sale a un lugar desconocido que pronto se reconoce por el habla como Portugal. Allá se encuentra con unos pastores portugueses Dante y Duarda y también, sirve como árbitro entre ellos en asuntos de amor (282).

En los Libros V a VII, el narrador nos lleva de un episodio a otro, con ganas de dar fin rápido a estos problemas amorosos. Estos episodios parecen intervalos rápidos hacia la resolución de este viaje. Algunos —como Diana por no tener disposición apropiada, y Sireno y los pastores portugueses—quedan sin resolución. En este sentido, el viaje más largo de esta obra consiste, no en la emigración del país de origen, sino en el viaje de conversión personal que conlleva el premio irrefutable de felicidad. Este viaje es un viaje circular, o sea, un viaje hacia el punto de partida. En un estudio sobre *La Diana,* Damiani afirma esta perspectiva cuando expresa: " . . . after their education within the pastoral setting and their rebirths in the sacred Temple . . . [T]he characters, with their newly acquired wisdom, are prepared to re-emerge into the common sense world where they may love with the purest and most noble kind of love" (109).

Desanimados por el amor, los peregrinos salen de viaje, andan sin rumbo fijo, sufren, aprenden, dan vueltas y toman decisiones. El viaje los lleva al punto de partida y es desde allí que pueden marcar el rumbo hacia la felicidad. Con nuevo conocimiento adquirido, los peregrinos personifican un refrán conocido[1] que sugiere hay una gran distancia entre las palabras y las acciones. Para los amantes peregrinos, sin embargo, el viaje de mayor impacto deja pocas huellas pero resulta en una transformación personal formidable en los participantes. Paradójicamente, este camino corto y duro es un viaje hacia adentro que lleva a los pastores hacia el punto desde el que pueden embarcar con más claridad y sabiduría.

Parece que el mismo Montemayor contempló la importancia de esta metáfora del viaje circular que dirige al punto de partida porque *La*

Diana termina sin resolución conclusiva. Esta falta de dar conclusión final puede ser interpretada como una invitación de partir de nuevo hacia la próxima meta en la vida. Las últimas líneas de la obra sintetizan el gran tesoro adquirido por la perseverancia en seguir el camino: "Allí fueron todos desposados con las que bien querían, con gran recozijo y fiesta de todas las nimphas y de la sabia Felicia . . . " (Montemayor 300). Y a continuación, la circularidad del viaje en la obra es validada en la dedicación de las últimas líneas al protagonista encontrado en la primera página de la obra, el que todavía está sin alcanzar su meta: " . . . .a la qual no ayudó poco Sireno con su venida, aunque della se le siguió lo que en la segunda parte deste libro se contará, juntamente con el sucesso del pastor y pastora portuguesa, Danteo y Duarda . . . " (300).

Un mensaje profundo bajo disfraz sencillo

La novela pastoril merece atención por ser una entendible manifestación filosófica del planteamiento de Empson[2] (Empson 22). En *Los siete libros de La Diana,* una obra del siglo XVI, el autor Jorge Montemayor abraza los elementos de un cuento de viaje y desarrolla las cuestiones de inmigración y del exilio de unos personajes lanzados en una odisea hacia la felicidad anhelada. Hay varios viajes que se entrecruzan y, con ellos también, las vidas de los peregrinos. Después de todo, no obstante, el viaje más crítico es el viaje individual e interior, transformador y animador como punto de partida hasta otra etapa de la vida.

Dentro de esta metáfora del *viaje,* hay otros temas perennes de asuntos humanos. Por ejemplo, la referencia bíblica es explícita en la frase de la "muy angosta senda"[3] (162) que los peregrinos tienen que traspasar. También, hay un mensaje patente en la importancia del encuentro con el forastero en la vida humana. Y es evidente notar el aviso de que la vida más feliz y exitosa es una vida en que se acepta la ayuda de otra persona. También, el cuento relata un mensaje profundo de la fuerza del amor bueno que supera distancia, tribulaciones, malentendidos y las exigencias de otras personas. Y en el mismo proceso de transformación en *La Diana* resuenan las palabras del salmista.[4] Aún sin explicación apropiada, estos ejemplos demuestran el arte del autor Montemayor en poder incorporar estos y otros temas profundos dentro de un cuento aparentemente sencillo.

Desde una perspectiva contemporánea, *La Diana* parece una novela superficial, el cuento de angustia exagerada de unos pastores que no tienen mucho para ocupar su atención. Al contrario, yo postularía que es una historia de la jornada humana, del éxodo personal de una desdi-

chada procedencia y tragedia personal hacia un exilio escogido, y luego del viaje en búsqueda de la anhelada utopía. Lo irónico es que la obra fantástica sintetiza la experiencia humana y nos demuestra que el viaje más importante es el viaje de una conversión personal, una transformación interior que no necesita muchos pasos, pero que necesita el consentimiento del libre albedrío. La transformación ilumina la luz del conocimiento y provee tanto el motivo como el razonamiento para que el ser humano pueda dejar sus huellas como emigrante andando los caminos de la vida designada. Además, no es un peregrinaje con fin determinado porque "della se le siguió lo que en la segunda parte deste libro se contará" (Montemayor 300). El peregrinaje de los protagonistas es de una manera otro prefacio al verdadero viaje de la vida; de otra manera, es una alegoría del peregrinar humano, un viaje circular que se dirige repetidamente hacia adentro donde se llega a otro punto de partida, y el comienzo del próximo trecho del viaje en un nivel más elevado de determinación, claridad, y visión hacia el futuro.

Notas

1. Del dicho al hecho hay mucho trecho, ver *Barron's*.

2. William Empson comenta que el proceso pastoral combina lo complicado dentro de lo sencillo.

3. Mateo 7.13–15.

4. . . . tienen boca y no hablan, tienen ojos y no ven, tienen oídos y no oyen, tienen nariz y no huelen. (Salmo 115.4–6).

Obras Citadas

Barron's 2001 Spanish and English Idioms. Ed. Eugene Savaiano y Lynn W. Winget. New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 2008. Impreso.

Damiani, Bruno M. "La Diana" of Montemayor as Social and Religious Teaching. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1983. Impreso.

Del Río, Ángel. *Historia de la literatura española. 2 vols.* New York: Dryden P, 1948. Impreso.

Empson, William. *Some Versions of Pastoral*. New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1974. Impreso.

Hernández-Pecoraro, Rosilie. *Bucolic Metaphors: History, Subjectivity, and Gender in the Early Modern Spanish Pastoral*. Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, Chapel Hill: U North Carolina, 2006. Impreso.

Montemayor, Jorge de. *Los siete libros de* la Diana. Ed. Prolog y notas Francisco López Estrada. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967. Impreso.

Rallo Gruss, Asunción. *La prosa didáctica en el siglo XVI.* Madrid: Taurus, 1987. Impreso.

Schneider, Regina. "Of Oaten Flutes and Magic Potions: Montemayor's *Diana* as Pastoral Romance." *Narrative* 10.3 (2002): 261–76. Impreso.

Todorov. Tzvetan, 'The Journey and its Narratives.' *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography. 1600–1830.* Eds. Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon. New Haven, Yale UP, 1996. 287– 288. Impreso.

Sobre la Autora

Linda Marie Sariego es una de las Hermanas de San Francisco de Aston, Pennsylvania. Recibió un doctorado de Español en 2010 de la Universidad Católica de América en Washington DC, y también una Maestría en Español de la misma Universidad y su Maestría en Estudios Bilingües/ Biculturales de la Universidad La Salle. Ha presentado en las conferencias de SAMLA desde 2008 y en otras conferencias literarias. En 2010, publicó su libro *Dynamic Spaces in La Diana of Jorge de Montemayor*. Ha hecho traducciones y trabajos editoriales. Enseña español en la Universidad Neumann en Aston, Pennsylvania. Email: sariegol@neumann.edu.

O turista aprendiz: Testimonio y patrimonio del modernismo brasileño

Cristóbal Cardemil-Krause

En 1923, Mário de Andrade (Sao Paulo, 1893–1945) le escribió una carta a su compatriota, la brasileña Tarsila do Amaral, quien se encontraba en París. Andrade nunca había sido particularmente entusiasta acerca de los viajes. A lo largo de su vida, son contadas las ocasiones en que se aleja del área de São Paulo. Así, casi se podría comprender que él estuviera pidiéndole su retorno: "Abandona Paris! Tarsila," le dice en la carta, "Vem para a mata-virgem . . . onde não há . . . arroios gentis. Há MATA VIRGEM" (Moraes 40).[1] La explicación puede parecer extraña a primera vista, pero el contrapunto sirve: en Brasil hay una fuerza inexplorada que vale mucho la pena revisar. El retorno no es solo porque él no pueda o no quiera viajar fuera de Brasil, sino además porque hay algo que no está siendo descubierto, algo que está siendo dejado de lado. Lo que le dice está en consonancia con los intereses del movimiento modernista de ese país. Es también coherente con sus propios proyectos, de una manera mucho más directa, que la fuerza metafórica de la selva. Andrade quería efectivamente hablar de ella de otra manera, lo que se hace evidente al observar lo que hace en su viaje a la Amazonía brasileña en 1927. Pese a que sus anotaciones sobre esta área de Brasil nunca fueron publicadas en su totalidad durante su vida, se pueden visitar en la obra póstuma *O Turista Aprendiz*, trabajo editado y publicado en 1976 por Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, incluye también otros de sus viajes, que realizara entre 1928 y 1929 al noreste brasileño.

En este artículo me referiré principalmente al material de Mário de Andrade sobre la Amazonía. Lopez decidió el orden final del libro, que había estado siendo trabajado intermitentemente por Andrade a lo largo de décadas. En *O Turista Aprendiz*, Lopez también añadió una serie de fotografías tomadas por Andrade, con el fin de relacionarlas temáticamente con los textos. Así, el trabajo editorial se vuelve una parte esencial del texto, como se conoce a partir de 1976, y debe ser analizado en su conjunto, como un objeto particular que marca y explica la cultura literaria brasileña hasta el día de hoy. A continuación explicaré cómo este texto modifica la comprensión de la Amazonía brasileña a lo largo del siglo XX como un espacio central dentro de los patrones del modernismo en Brasil, al mismo tiempo que se justifica su incorporación a los estudios sobre ese movimiento artístico, como testimonio y patrimonio desconocido de la época. Voy a contextualizar

la obra de Andrade dentro del espacio del modernismo brasileño, para luego observar *O Turista Aprendiz* bajo ese prisma, tanto en su texto como en el trabajo realizado por Lopez.

I. Algunas consideraciones sobre el arte modernista en Brasil

La insistencia de Andrade en la vuelta de artistas brasileños desde Europa no era solo por Amaral. Su preocupación tenía que ver principalmente con el proyecto modernista en Brasil. En distintas ocasiones, es posible verlo insistiendo en una suerte de diferenciación cultural con Francia y otros países europeos. Como Marcos Antônio de Moraes explica, Andrade estaba convencido que la intelectualidad europea no consideraba a los artistas latinoamericanos como sus iguales: "Desqualifica a presença dos brasileiros em Paris, todos 'épatés,' vendo com excessivo deslumbramento o caduco modernismo francês. Maravilhados, estavam todos, segundo Mário, na rabeira da arte. Eram 'uns caipiras em Paris'" (40).[2] Andrade insistía en la idea de que los miraban en menos y, que la obsesión de los brasileños con el arte vanguardista europeo los hacía parecer "caipiras," campesinos, en París. Se imagina a los artistas brasileños, entonces, como marcados fuertemente por su diferencia, que los hace ver, por lo demás, como provincianos. Esto tenía que ver, claramente, con sus llamados por "abrasileirar o Brasil," por hacer de Brasil un lugar más brasileño.

El objetivo principal era lograr un cierto grado de independencia cultural que hiciera del país un espacio artístico único, capaz de expresar sus características específicas en su propio arte. Para lograr ese propósito era necesario dejar de estar siempre maravillados con lo europeo. En el resto de su carta a Amaral, se puede entender mejor cómo plantea este proyecto. En ella, se declara fundador del "*matavirgismo*," del movimiento que observa y valora la selva virgen como un espacio que puede ser explotado de mejor manera: "Disso é que o mundo, a arte, o Brasil e minha queridíssima Tarsila precissam" (Moraes 41).[3] El proyecto modernista, como puede entenderse, era considerado como indispensable para el desarrollo cultural del país.

Como en el resto de Latinoamérica, el campo cultural artístico en Brasil seguía principalmente prácticas nacidas en Europa y, en particular, Francia. Este ejemplo fue común a lo largo del siglo XIX y se mantuvo durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX. La aparición de movimientos vanguardistas en Europa fue notada rápidamente por artistas brasileños, sobre todo en cuanto a los que pertenecían a las clases con mayor acceso económico, puesto que era común que ellos hicieran un

"tour europeo." Para la década de 1910, sin embargo, hubo un grupo de artistas, intelectuales y escritores que comenzó a criticar este constante copiar, ya que revelaba un atraso creativo importante. El resultado fue la *Semana de Arte Moderna,* que tuvo lugar en São Paulo en 1922. Su objetivo central era establecer y definir un movimiento artístico claramente brasileño, una vanguardia brasileña. Era necesario, ante esto, volver a pensar sobre lo que significaba ser *brasileño*, como lo explica Fernando Giobellina Brumana: "La revolución estética estaba, entonces, ligada a la apropiación de un acervo artístico diseminado por todo el territorio nacional, acervo que, hasta el momento, no había provocado más que despectivo rechazo en los aparatos culturales de un país que nacía como tal solo un siglo antes con el proyecto . . . de sus elites, de ser una nación blanca e ilustrada" (67). Esta revolución, el *modernismo* brasileño, contraponía los ideales estéticos e intelectuales defendidos por quienes pensaban Brasil desde una plataforma europea (aquélla de la copia) con quienes buscaban encontrar el país no por medio de mirar a través del Atlántico, sino por medio de volcar la mirada hacia el interior, hacia el resto del territorio nacional. El modernismo así propuesto, entonces, aunque seguía hermanado con las ideas e innovaciones del arte europeo, buscaba explotar el potencial poco explorado de otros espacios brasileños.

Entre los fundadores del movimiento modernista estaba el joven Mário de Andrade. Como explica Moraes, una de sus expresiones más famosas utilizadas para definir este movimiento estaba en la idea ya citada de "abrasileirar o Brasil," que aparece en una carta de 1924, escrita a un amigo suyo en Europa (43). Este término reflejaba sus intereses centrales en aquellos tiempos, lo que "Significava, na realidade, que o Brasil deveria encontrar meios culturais que o distinguissem de outras povos" (42).[4] Es decir, Andrade buscaba la manera de hacer de Brasil un lugar más brasileño, un lugar con una cultura y civilización específicas, que pudiera ser comprendido a partir de su gente y su tierra. Así, este proceso podía comprenderse desde una perspectiva romántica, ligada a la patria y a la tierra, a la construcción y la afirmación de la nación y a la búsqueda de una identidad nacional. Moraes lo resume de la siguiente manera: "Era preciso valorizar a 'tapera' baiana em vez de dignificar a catedral estrangeira"(45),[5] reforzando la idea de que, incluso si es que el valor "cultural" de un objeto como una modesta casa abandonada parece menor que el de una catedral, no por eso debe ser dejado de lado, puesto que, por ser brasileño, entonces su valor podrá ser descubierto luego. Moraes insiste en la idea a través de la cita de una carta que Andrade escribe en 1925: ". . . nestes tempos de agora só me interessa a minha terra e pra ela estou trabalhando com desprendimento e sacrifício" (45).[6] El trabajo de Andrade, luego, se centraba, como proyecto

vital, en la búsqueda de una identidad brasileña específica. Más importante aún, el valor que él mismo le daba a su trabajo era altísimo. Se entiende, entonces, que los nuevos movimientos estéticos en Brasil intentaban buscar algo más "esencial," quizás, que lo que se tenía hasta el momento. Luis Madureira profundiza en este aspecto: "the claims to modernity are increasingly formulated in terms of cultural authenticity and national rebirth, or, more specifically, in terms of an emblematically European reclamation of the creative power of the primitive, of the culture and language of Brazil's 'original' decimated inhabitants . . . who come to figure something like the nation's Unconscious" (29).[7] Si consideramos la imitación de modelos europeos como una insistencia en valores materiales estándares (debemos ser *así* para poder validarnos culturalmente), entonces, el aspecto espiritual estaba en volverse hacia dentro, en la búsqueda de una identidad original—nuevamente, es la oposición entre la catedral y la "*tapera.*"[8]

Esta unión entre aquéllo que es "brasileño" y un sustrato del arte de vanguardia de Europa pasó a ser llamado, entre los modernistas, como el *movimiento antropofágico*, que hacía alusión lúdica a tribus supuestamente caníbales del interior brasileño. Como explica Roberto Schwartz, la ventaja de Brasil sobre Europa era la emergencia de lo primitivo como una fuerza en sí misma, inherente al país, a su gente y su cultura, que permite a sus artistas encontrar material de trabajo sin tener que buscar motivos en el exterior: "in Brazil, the primitive emerges as an autochtonous inner force, without any need to import it from abroad" (540–41).[9] Mário de Andrade, como uno de los principales gestores de este movimiento, hacía clara su intención de trabajar sobre su tierra, en sus palabras, con "desprendimento e sacrifício" (Moraes 45). Un producto de este proyecto es su novela experimental *Macunaíma, o héroi sem nenhum carater* (1928).[10] Otro producto es su viaje a la Amazonía, a la cual partió con poco placer, pero convencido de que iba a encontrar respuestas a su búsqueda.

En este contexto de viajes por el interior del país, "abrasileirar o Brasil" se comprende desde una nueva óptica. No se trata de establecer reglas para ser ser adoptadas por artistas en otras regiones, sino más bien de ver y utilizar las particularidades de cada región por parte de todos los artistas, dejando de lado la insistencia en seguir sólo lo que estaba siendo afirmado desde Europa. Al reflexionar acerca del proceso evolutivo del Movimiento Modernista, Andrade explica que los cambios que habían sucedido en el mundo a principios del siglo XX, incluyendo un mayor desarrollo de la conciencia brasileña y americana, ". . . impunham a criação de um espírito novo e exigiam a reverificação e mesmo a remodelação da Inteligência nacional" ("O Movimento Modernista" 231).[11] Este proceso de cambio, que a su juicio comenzó en

1918, en São Paulo, fue profundizándose hasta llegar a la Semana del 22—que él describe como inmensamente escandalosa—y continuó por un tiempo más, manteniendo esa inclinación por lo nuevo. Así, y aún en torno a la idea de una inteligencia nacional (nueva, que variara de aquélla que exaltaba la copia), insiste: "O modernismo, no Brasil, foi uma ruptura, foi um abandono de principios e de técnicas consequentes, foi uma revolta contra o que era a Inteligência nacional" (235).[12] Había una necesidad de cambio, y los modernistas paulistanos eran los que lo iban a lograr. Él mismo señala que tenían, ya avanzada la década del 20, una repercusión nacional (240). Andrade comprende la importancia que tenían como grupo, y también que habían comenzado un cambio en el país que iba a modificar el campo cultural artístico y literario irremediablemente—más allá de las críticas de algunos pocos que no entendían su valor.

Esos cambios tuvieron repercusiones inmediatas en los ámbitos de la investigación estética, la puesta al día de la inteligencia artística brasileña y la estabilización de una conciencia creadora nacional (242).[13] Hubo un quiebre con el excesivo academicismo del pasado, que Andrade consideraba muy colonial (243) y una celebración de la innovación estética—el mayor triunfo del movimiento, a su parecer—que hicieron que, en general, se promoviera un cambio en la manera de pensar del intelectual brasileño, pues había más libertad para sobrepasar patrones culturales ajenos y celebrar lo que había en el interior brasileño (249). Debe recordarse, pese a todo, que Andrade, hacia el final de su vida ("O Movimento Modernista" fue publicado en 1943 y él murió en 1945), afirmaba que de todas formas el arte modernista falló puesto que le faltaba humanidad. Él se acusa, y dice que, pese a todo el amor que él sentía por su patria, no fue capaz de dejar atrás un excesivo intelectualismo e individualismo en sus afanes artísticos (252). Pero, por mucho que él insista en su falla, cabe la duda de que en realidad esté pecando de falsa modestia. Su obra, efectivamente, cambió la manera de pensar en Brasil. Su viaje a la Amazonía en 1927 sirve para comprender de qué manera estaba buscando cómo lograr eso.

II. *O Turista Aprendiz*: Una nueva manera de ver la Amazonía

Mário de Andrade viaja a la Amazonía en 1927 con el objetivo de encontrar evidencia etnográfica que probara la inmensa fuente de cultura que ofrecía el interior del país. Este desplazamiento, de acuerdo con el proyecto modernista, permitiría pensar en distintas maneras de explicar la identidad brasileña, de reforzar la idea de que existía una estética

brasileña. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez profundiza en esta idea y explica que estos viajes, que hoy podrían considerarse antropológicos, correspondían a un deseo de Andrade y otros modernistas de conocer Brasil a través de su pueblo ("Viagens Etnográficas de Mário de Andrade: Itinerário Fotográfico" 139). El objetivo de Andrade resulta ser particularmente llamativo puesto que él mismo reconoce, antes de partir, que detesta la idea de viajar. En sus cartas anteriores al viaje, uno puede encontrar evidencias de sus dudas. Odia la idea de dejar Sao Paulo. En una carta a su cercano amigo, también modernista, Manuel Bandeira, se puede ver su ambivalencia, poco después de haber salido: "Eu ia resistindo, resistindo e amolecendo também. Afinal, quando tudo quase pronto, resolvi ceder mandando à merda esta vida de merda. Vou também" (Lopez, "'Viagens Etnográficas' de Mário de Andrade" 17).[14] La única forma de derrotar esa resistencia es por medio de la ironía. Es sólo cuando decide que su vida en Sao Paulo tampoco parece ser la gran cosa que puede partir. Pero luego, a lo largo del viaje, mantiene su queja: "Nao fui feito para viajar, bolas! Estou sorrindo, mas por dentro de mim vai um arrependimento assombrado, cor de incesto" (Andrade, *O turista* 51).[15] Aunque, obviamente, recoge una cantidad enorme de material mientras está en la selva, eso no quita el disgusto que siente por el hecho de viajar. Esta actitud se mantiene hasta el final, cuando vuelve finalmente a casa: "Enfim, pelas quatorze horas, são exatamente quatorze horas e onze minutos e doze segundos, na 'minha' casa, com os 'meus', com a 'minha' gente. Fecha bem a porta, Bastiana! Fecha a porta com chave. Bastiana! atira a chave na rua!" (197).[16] Con este final, el viaje parece más bien un sacrificio. Su ida a la Amazonía, pese a que resultó ser inmensamente rica en el material fotográfico y literario producido, le causó grandes molestias. Aun así, la lectura de sus páginas permite ver que a lo largo del viaje fue capaz de sentir goce y expandir sus ideas creativas. Como se ha mencionado, hay un manejo retórico de las emociones de Andrade. No cabe duda que no le gusta viajar, pero al mismo tiempo, dentro del discurso de entrega por la intelectualidad brasileña (entrega que él dijo, en 1943, no fue suficiente porque era individualista y muy intelectual), la idea del sacrificio por lograr un cambio en las modalidades estéticas del país es central.

Independiente de lo poco llamativo que pareciera ser para Andrade la idea de este viaje, que al mismo tiempo consideraba necesario para sus proyectos, hay momentos en el texto en donde verdaderamente parece estar pasándola muy bien. Esto, sobre todo, cuando es capaz de profundizar acerca de sus ideas artísticas. Cuando parte, Andrade ya tenía al menos un borrador terminado de *Macunaíma*, cuyo héroe sin carácter nace en la Amazonía, para luego ir a vivir a Sao Paulo. Existe, claramente, una relación estrecha entre la manera en que Andrade ve

la Amazonía y cómo piensa sobre Brasil. Macunaíma no tiene carácter porque, hasta entonces, nadie se había esforzado en describir y definir lo verdaderamente brasileño. Su llegada a la ciudad hace que pierda totalmente su identidad. Pero, al mismo tiempo, queda el refuerzo de que él es el "héroe" de la identidad brasileña: "No fundo do mato-virgem nasceu Macunaíma; herói de nossa gente" (5).[17] El mismo viaje a la Amazonía, luego, se enmarca dentro de esta actividad intelectual, en este proceso de pensar Brasil, de una manera orgánica.

La experiencia del viaje, luego, se vuelve fundamental. En sus diarios, uno puede encontrar sus reflexiones acerca de la experiencia, junto con prácticas que van más allá de lo real. Es decir, hay prácticas que avanzan en el espacio de lo ficcional—así, en ocasiones se pierden un poco los límites entre lo vivencial y lo imaginado: "O confessional do diário e o referencial pertencente ao dado de viagem, embora filtrados pela arte, ainda permanecem com elementos do real, dado o hibridismo do gênero mas a seu lado, firme, intromete-se a ficção" (Lopez, "Um projeto" 31).[18] Es decir, pese a que se puede reconocer que lo que escribe tiene una referencia clara en la geografía y la gente del lugar, también se puede encontrar el goce de la escritura de ficción, de la marca que deja la experiencia amazónica en su capacidad creativa.

El placer que siente al crear se puede ver claramente en el caso de los indios Do-Mi-Sol, quienes se considerarían superiores a otros grupos humanos, puesto que su lenguaje se basaría en los sonidos musicales, mientras que las articulaciones de palabras tendrían solo un valor estilístico. A lo largo de seis entradas en el texto, este grupo indígena comienza a tomar forma, aunque en realidad tan solo ocurre en la mente de Andrade, puesto que no es una tribu verdadera. Cuando los menciona por primera vez, se ve que está tomando una experiencia de encuentro como base a una tribu que sirviera para satirizar el lenguaje de las misiones científicas, pero, al mismo tiempo, podría llegar a ser un comentario sobre la sociedad: "Eu creio que com os tais índios que encontrei e têm moral distinta da nossa, posso fazer uma monografia humorística, sátira às explorações científicas, à etnografia e também social" (*O turista* 127).[19] Pese a que su carácter ficcional es claro desde un principio, y que se sabe que es producto de su imaginación, su intención permite entender cómo su literatura busca ser parte de un proyecto de pensar Brasil (y la Amazonía brasileña dentro de ese universo) de una manera que fuera verdaderamente nacional. En esta tribu se puede ver el proyecto modernista en acción.

La discusión de los indios Do-Mi-Sol permite ver de una manera inusual las posiciones de Mário de Andrade con respecto a lo que pensaba de la sociedad brasileña. Considerando que estos indígenas serían lo opuesto a la vida "civilizada" en el país, ver algunas de sus característi-

cas principales permite ver los modelos que él mismo perseguía: "Os índios Do-Mi-Sol formavam uma espécie de matercracia comunista, como distribuição coletiva das ocupações, tendo por base a injustiça. Assim, ninguém se queixava" (140).[20] De este modo, podemos observar que la sociedad brasileña tiene una superestructura patriarcal, capitalista, en que las ocupaciones se definen de una manera individual, de acuerdo, probablemente, con una lógica mercantil. Sobre todo, se puede observar la comprensión de una sociedad en donde prima una idea de la justicia, en que se busca que todos tengan acceso a lo que es justo para ellos. Así, en esta ficción hay una pequeña muestra de la genialidad de Andrade. Obviamente, la justicia es algo noble y a lo que cada pueblo debe aspirar. Los Do-Mi-Sol son abiertamente contrarios a la justicia, y aun así nadie se queja. Pero esta paradoja arroja luz a un problema mayor de la sociedad brasileña. Si bien ésta aspira a la justicia, esa aspiración es también prueba de sus limitaciones. Entre los indios, nadie se queja porque si hay algo que es común a todos, es la injusticia con que los hacen trabajar. Mientras tanto, en la sociedad brasileña la búsqueda de la justicia implica que algunos no tienen acceso a ella, mientras que otros tienen ventajas que los hacen estar satisfechos de sí mismos, lo que no es igual a que sea justo, más bien lo contrario. La oposición, en este caso, está en descubrir que perseguir un ideal de justicia, aunque adecuado, nos remite a una indudable falta de la misma en nuestras sociedades.

Lo interesante acá es que esta situación y crítica sobre la injusticia en el país sólo puede ser comprendida desde la perspectiva del viaje—aunque lo que Andrade escribe sea, en gran medida, una ficción. A partir del viaje, de la acción de moverse por la tierra, Andrade puede ver las complicaciones y las posibilidades del proyecto modernista. Si bien el caso de los indios Do-Mi-Sol nace de un esfuerzo consciente del autor por "jugar" con la cultura brasileña, en su diario de viaje se puede apreciar que esta preocupación es constante. Hasta en sus sueños se puede ver que él piensa que hay una ruptura entre la manera en que las grandes ciudades brasileñas piensan sobre el interior y lo que sucede realmente ahí. Él sabe que hay muchas ideas preconcebidas sobre la vida de los indígenas del país. Ideas que, por lo demás, encuentran su raíz en viajes realizados por europeos, brasileños o hispanoamericanos, quienes estaban viendo aquel interior desde una perspectiva específicamente europea. Uno de los momentos más impresionantes con respecto a esta forma de comprender el interior—puesto que no solo expresa lo anterior sino que sirve de preámbulo a debates poscoloniales—está en su descripción de un sueño (que aunque pudo haber sido real o imaginado, él presenta esta vez como real), sobre un encuentro suyo con indígenas: "Com muito cuidado, escrevi um discurso em tupi

pra dizer nossa saudação a todos, quando estivéssemos entre os índios. . . . Vai, recitei o meu discurso, que aliás era curto. Mas desde o princípio dele os índios principiaram se entreolhando e fazendo ar de riso. Percebi logo que era inútil e que estavam com uma vontade enorme de comer nós todos" (56).[21] El sueño revela una serie de ansiedades que Mário de Andrade tiene sobre el viaje. En primer lugar, está el encuentro con lo desconocido, es decir, aquellos indios del interior a quienes él les va a hablar. Más importante es la decisión que toma Andrade, en su sueño, de hablarles en tupi, la lengua más común de la selva, base del histórico *nheengatú*, o "lengua general," que fuera usada durante los tiempos coloniales para la comunicación entre europeos y distintas etnias indígenas. Andrade, de esta manera, se imagina a sí mismo como parte de una tradición colonial. En segundo lugar, tenemos el miedo que podría considerarse "histórico" en cuanto a que históricamente ha sido imaginado así, de que los indígenas amazónicos, cuando están en mayoría, no pueden evitar sentir deseos enormes de comerse a los visitantes. Los indios se miran entre ellos, con miradas cómplices y sonrisas que lo hacen desconfiar de sus intenciones. Incluso, si es que en verdad no hubiera intención de comerse a los recién llegados, entonces, se revela, al menos, una clara falta de atención, una incapacidad de mantenerse ordenados. Quizás una falta de disciplina—o la marca de la ausencia de civilidad. Hasta aquí, el sueño refleja una serie de ideas recibidas sobre la manera de actuar de los indígenas.

Pero luego hay un giro narrativo fantástico, que muestra la astucia literaria de Andrade, la capacidad para iluminar lúdicamente las ansiedades occidentales, y ponerlas en evidencia como inmensamente inocentes, además de injustas y anuladoras del rol del Otro. En el mismo párrafo, justo después de afirmar que los indios se querían comer a los visitantes, Andrade continúa:

> Mas não era isso não: quando acabei o discurso, todos se puseram gritando pra mim:
> —Tá errado! tá errado! (56)[22]

Lo que se veía, luego, como una situación sacada de una crónica colonial, pasó a ser, en un instante, prueba de la obvia falta de conocimiento de la realidad de los pueblos indígenas del interior. El sueño y su escritura—que es un acto de honestidad, un acusarse a sí mismo—muestran un constante choque de culturas. Mientras él lee su discurso, cuando los indígenas se miran y se ríen, entonces, algo terrible debe estar por pasar: se lo van a comer o no saben cómo comportarse en esas situaciones. En realidad, lo que sucede es que el paulistano no conoce, y no puede entender, a los indígenas: ellos no se están riendo

a partir de su apetito voraz, o porque ignoren reglas básicas de cortesía, sino porque encuentran totalmente irrisoria y ridícula la manera en que Andrade decide comunicarse con ellos: todo está mal. Andrade quiere demostrar sus habilidades y su intención de acercarse a ellos por medio de su lengua, pero es incapaz. Todo lo que él busca en este discurso está informado por una ficción occidental sobre el indígena. Él los está haciendo ver exóticos, los trata de encontrar en ese espacio, y ellos le revelan, al final, que su acto es vacío, si no innegablemente estúpido. Y, sobre todo, demuestra algo más: los indígenas le dicen que está equivocado, en portugués, en la lengua que Andrade había evitado usar por miedo a no ser comprendido. Es decir, los indígenas conocen no solamente el tupi (por lo que pueden dejarle saber que está equivocado), sino también el portugués (a partir del cual pueden informarle, inequívocamente, que no está haciendo ningún sentido lo que decía en la otra lengua). El sueño, que revela las ansiedades del escritor con respecto al viaje, muestra la angustia que le produce el encuentro con lo desconocido. Pero esa ansiedad juega en su favor, puesto que demuestra lo mucho que todavía hay por hacer y conocer sobre el interior.

El modernismo de Mário de Andrade, así, busca el enfrentamiento con lo desconocido. Reconoce que hay diferencias culturales en el interior de Brasil y, en vez de buscar cambios que las anulen,[23] se está buscando forzar el choque cultural en la búsqueda de nuevas expresiones brasileñas. Los paulistas son incapaces de comprender a los indígenas, quienes no piensan comérselos, sino que consideran de lo más ridícula la manera en que los primeros están tratando de comunicarse con ellos. Andrade, quien se pone a sí mismo en el centro de la burla, en realidad está traspasándola a todos quienes pueden comprender esta interacción, sobre todo en cuanto al miedo que Andrade sintiera en su sueño. La ironía está en que, hasta entonces, Andrade y quienes lo rodeaban, culturalmente, saben de los indios primeramente por lo que han dicho otros (europeos, principalmente), más que por la interacción directa con ellos. Su crítica a esta insuficiencia en la interacción es más clara luego, cuando dice que los brasileños celebran ser el único país tropical civilizado, mientras que en realidad esa idea de civilidad prueba ser un defecto. Ellos deben aprender a pensar según sus propios patrones, no según el patrón de lo que otros consideran "civilizado": "Nos orgulhamos de ser o único grande (grande?) país civilizado tropical . . . Isso é nosso defeito, a nossa impotência. Devíamos pensar, sentir como indianos, chins, gente de Benin, de Java . . .Talvez então pudéssemos criar cultura e civilização próprias. Pelo menos seríamos mais nós, tenho certeza" (61).[24]

Andrade mete el dedo en la llaga de la producción cultural del país, lo que justifica el proyecto modernista en su totalidad. Es necesario

crear una cultura nueva, una cultura que sea realmente de los brasileños. Ellos deben alcanzar una cultura autóctona y dejar de perseguir un ideal occidental; es decir, deben aceptar su epistemología particular, que va más allá de São Paulo y Rio de Janeiro.[25] Lo que Andrade quiere descubrir, revelar por medio de su escritura, es que la obsesión por la civilización occidental, la antigua Europa, detiene la creación de una cultura brasileña verdadera. Es más importante, de esta manera, tener una cultura propia, incluso si es considerada inferior por los europeos, que mantenerse, servilmente, en el ámbito de la repetición.

III. Un testimonio modernista póstumo

Como publicación póstuma, la narrativa de viajes de *O Turista Aprendiz* tiene un valor documental mayor, incluso puesto que permite comprender la validez que ha mantenido el trabajo de los modernistas a lo largo de las décadas. Debemos recordar que el texto, editado en su totalidad en 1976 por Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, sigue algunas de las anotaciones iniciales de Mário de Andrade en 1943, poco tiempo antes de su muerte. Lopez afirma que ella está segura que el texto en sí mismo no estaba listo para publicación. Ella cree, a partir de su trabajo con las correcciones que abarcaban décadas, que "Mário pretendia fazer o livro dentro da estrutura do diário, ajuntando talvez às crônicas mais elementos pertencentes ao âmbito de suas emoções ou dos acontecimentos que estiveram ligados ao seu dia a dia pessoal, durante a viagem" ("Um projeto" 28).[26] Lopez explica que Andrade era sumamente obsesivo con la calidad de su trabajo, y que podía pasar largos periodos de tiempo revisitando material anteriormente editado por él. Así se entiende que hayan pasado dos décadas desde que él viajara a la Amazonía y al noreste brasileño antes de que las anotaciones vieran la luz en un formato de libro—vale decir que algunos de estos textos fueron publicados en periódicos en su tiempo. Lopez cuenta que cuando comenzó a trabajar con los escritos, Andrade ya tenía más o menos organizado el viaje amazónico en una cronología de diario, por lo que ella decidió mantener la misma estructura para el resto del texto. De esta manera, sería posible unir las emociones del viaje con los acontecimientos que ocurrían a su alrededor. Es decir, se podía unir lo personal y lo cultural de su experiencia. De este modo, en cuanto al texto y, sobre todo, en su trabajo acerca de la Amazonía, Lopez no cambia muchas cosas. La gran diferencia está en su decisión de incorporar fotografías tomadas por Andrade en sus viajes, "aproveitando o material fotográfico de ambas as viagens, escolhemos ilustrações, procurando relacioná-las a aspectos dos textos. Revelamos assim uma faceta

pouco conhecida de Mário, a de fotógrafo amador" ("A Edição" 37).[27] La inclusión logra un doble efecto: informar de mejor modo lo que estaba siendo descrito de manera textual, al mismo tiempo que presentar una faceta menos conocida de Andrade. El resultado permite comprender la obra como un trabajo de colaboración—en donde la labor de Lopez se vuelve central—ya que amplía no solamente el conocimiento de la obra de Mário de Andrade, sino que, además, el conocimiento sobre el desarrollo del modernismo y la comprensión de la Amazonía como un espacio brasileño que debe aportar a la cultura y no como un espacio vacío que está abierto y a la espera de un proyecto civilizador.

En su viaje a la Amazonía, Andrade tomó más de 540 fotografías—sobre gente, paisajes, ciudades y animales. Solo podía usar su cámara durante el día y sólo si la calidad de la luz era lo suficientemente buena. No es sorpresivo que celebrara cuando se encontraba con un día claro, como cuando hubo uno tan bueno que pudo comenzar a sacar fotos a las seis de la mañana: "A manhã é tão clara que tiro excelentes fotografias nem são ainda seis horas!" (*O turista* 166).[28] Comentarios similares nos permiten entrar en el día a día de Andrade, además de recordarnos las diferencias técnicas de aquellos tiempos. Por lo mismo, la inclusión de las fotografías en el libro fue una decisión feliz y sabia. Y eso no solo porque ayuda a entender de mejor manera ciertas partes de la narrativa, sino, además, porque quienes leen pueden comenzar a entender el trabajo de Mário de Andrade como fotógrafo y artista plástico. Lopez profundiza en esta idea: "As fotos de 1927 fornecem com exatidão o itinerário e as datas, pois, em sua grande maioria, trazem legendas especificando local, participantes, dia, ano, mês e hora. Além disso, as legendas mostram preocupação literária: desejo de encontrar um título sonoro, expressivo, moderno; vontade de fazer humor, ou ligar a imagem visual à poesia" ("Viagens Etnográficas de Mário de Andrade: Itinerário Fotográfico" 140).[29] Los esfuerzos de Andrade por marcar la información de las imágenes es otro de los elementos centrales que permiten ver el espíritu modernista en su trabajo—sobre todo, en su viaje a la Amazonía. En varias de sus fotografías se puede encontrar ese aire poético, como cuando se celebran algunos aspectos de la fotografía. Los títulos, en varias ocasiones, tienen las características de la sonoridad, la comicidad y la modernidad.

La decisión de incluir fotografías en el texto por parte de Lopez permite ver lo que Mário de Andrade consideraba positivo al captar una imagen. Sus anotaciones y la perspectiva utilizada nos permiten comprender cómo se evaluaba una imagen desde unas perspectiva modernista. En la figura 1, podemos ver una de las imágenes de Andrade en la Amazonía. En esta foto, que lleva la leyenda "Puxando cabo pra consertar palheta—8–VII–27—Ritmo,"[30] podemos ver a tres hombres

tirando de una cuerda para sacar parte de una lámina del rotor de un barco y arreglarla. La imagen parece haber sido sacada en un día particularmente brillante, por lo que quedó ligeramente sobreexpuesta. Esto, sin embargo, le da a la imagen un carácter especial, que Andrade rescata por medio del uso de la palabra "ritmo." Él, como fotógrafo, queda encantado con esta imagen, porque parece entregar una fuerza rítmica, parece tener una vida que permite comprender el esfuerzo de los hombres. El exceso de luz confunde la mirada y, pese a que las tres personas no están tirando el barco, queda la impresión que podrían estar haciéndolo—la placa, en fin, les da una imagen casi irreal, como si estuvieran sobre un campo de plata. De esta manera, la fotografía va más allá de lo puramente testimonial, busca entregar una impresión artística. Esta imagen, de una actividad rutinaria en el interior de Brasil, permite comprender de qué trata el esfuerzo modernista. Va más allá del documento hasta cumplir con un afán artístico. No es fotografiar lo pintoresco, sino integrar el interior de Brasil a una cultura artística plena y brasileña. Así, se vuelve a notar que incluir imágenes fue una decisión brillante, ya que permite comprender de mejor manera el desarrollo del modernismo a partir del trabajo de Andrade.

Fig. 1:

Mário de Andrade, *Puxando cabo pra consertar palheta—8–VII–27—Ritmo*. 1927. Arquivo do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros USP—Fundo Mário de Andrade, código do documento: MA-F-0412.[31]

IV. Una celebración del patrimonio modernista

O Turista Aprendiz da testimonio de un importante periodo en las artes y la literatura de Brasil y del acervo cultural latinoamericano en general. El texto permite comprender de mejor modo cómo se crea una particular cultura artística, cómo se modifica el campo artístico en un país que por décadas había sentido que su cultura estaba más cerca de Europa que de lo que estaba a sus espaldas. Andrade, aun con su rechazo al viaje, decide partir por su convencimiento de que es necesario seguir adelante con el proyecto modernista (que en 1927 ya estaba en sus postrimerías). Como bien expresa Mello e Sousa, "Mário de Andrade não visava apenas identificar-se com a diferença brasileira, mas confrontar duas imagens diversas do Brasil: a que ele forjara no gabinete através de uma infinidade de leituras—e de certo modo fixara em *Macunaíma*—e a que pretendia elaborar agora, a partir do contato direto com a realidade" (39).[32] Andrade buscaba representar Brasil, entonces, y como ya se ha dicho, desde una perspectiva brasileña, que incluyera la diferencia. El proyecto modernista, de este modo, puede entenderse como inclusivo y no sobredeterminante. Es inclusivo puesto que integra distintas realidades geográficas y estéticas brasileñas. Y no es sobredeterminante porque se espera poder encontrar algo particular de cada rincón, y colocarlo en un espacio horizontal, el de lo brasileño—cómo no pensar en los versos de sus "Dois Poemas Acreanos" de 1927: "Seringueiro, dorme! / Num amor-de-amigo enorme / Brasileiro, dorme!" (*Poesias completas* 206).[33]

El viaje de Andrade a la Amazonía rompe con una tradición de viaje que busca entregar soluciones o llevar la civilización al interior. Él va a la selva porque él cree que allí hay una riqueza estética enorme—en su carta a Tarsila se vuelve a pensar sobre regresar a Brasil: "Há MATA VIRGEM" (Moraes 40). En un proceso sorpresivo por la energía con que realiza su trabajo—incluso cuando sabemos que Andrade no era aficionado a viajar—se puede entender la importancia que él le daba a cumplir con lo establecido por un proyecto artístico. Por otra parte, esta narrativa de viaje permite generar una ruptura con la constante mirada exótica con que se veía el norte brasileño y sus habitantes. Volvemos a la risa de los indios porque Andrade está equivocado al hablar en tupi. Esa risa hasta el día de hoy se entiende y es pertinente, puesto que esa mirada exótica sigue presente en el imaginario cultural sobre la Amazonía. La selección de fotografías y la edición de Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, más allá, permite comprender que el proyecto perseguido por Andrade iba más allá de la escritura—había un compromiso total con el modernismo. Debía ser posible lograr ser modernista desde todas las artes, desde toda forma de expresión. Brasil, si es que iba a ser,

en sus palabras, "abrasileirado," tenía que poder serlo en todo sentido. *O Turista Aprendiz*, en este sentido, nos permite ver cómo una cultura literaria es creada y reforzada por medio de la práctica constante, del hacer y, en este caso en particular, de viajar para descubrir. Así, pese a su publicación póstuma, este texto prueba ser parte importante del patrimonio modernista brasileño.

Notas

1. "Abandona París, Tarsila . . . . Ven a la selva virgen . . . donde no hay . . . arroyos gentiles. HAY SELVA VIRGEN." (La traducción de ésta y el resto de las citas son mías, a menos que entregue nueva información bibliográfica).

2. "Desacredita la presencia de los brasileños en París, todos 'épatés' [pasmados], viendo con excesivo deslumbramiento el caduco modernismo francés. Según Mário, todos estaban maravillados al margen del mundo artístico. Eran unos 'campesinos en París.'"

3. "Eso es lo que el mundo, el arte, Brasil y mi queridísima Tarsila necesitan."

4. "Significaba, en realidad, que Brasil iba a tener que encontrar medios culturales que lo distinguiesen de otros pueblos."

5. "Era preciso volver a valorizar la *tapera* de Bahía, la antigua casa de campo abandonada, en vez de referirse tanto a la dignidad de la catedral extranjera."

6. ". . . hoy en día sólo me interesa mi tierra y por ella estoy trabajando con desprendimiento y sacrificio."

7. "Las afirmaciones de modernidad son formuladas con cada vez mayor frecuencia en término de autenticidad cultural y renacimiento nacional, o, más específicamente, en términos de un reclamo emblemáticamente europeo del poder creativo de lo primitivo, de la cultura y el lenguaje de los diezmados habitantes 'originales' de Brasil . . . que terminan por ser algo así como el inconsciente de la nación."

8. Con esto, es difícil no pensar en "The Dynamo and the Virgin" (1900), que aparece en la obra autobiográfica *The Education of Henry Adams* (1919), en que nuevamente se contrapone el espíritu tradicional europeo con lo novedoso del Nuevo Mundo: "As he grew accustomed to the great gallery of machines, he began to feel the forty-foot dynamos as a moral force, much as the early Christians felt the Cross" (298). En el caso de este texto, nos referimos a la ética industrial de los Estados Unidos.

9. "En Brasil, lo primitivo emerge como una fuerza interior autóctona que no tiene ninguna necesidad de ser importada desde el extranjero."

10. *Macunaíma (el héroe sin ningún carácter).*

11. ". . . [los cambios] obligaban a la creación de un nuevo espíritu y exigían la reverificación e incluso la remodelación de la inteligencia nacional."

12. "El modernismo, en Brasil, fue una quiebra, un abandono de principios y técnicas consecuentes, fue una revuelta en contra de lo que era la inteligencia nacional."

13. O, como se expresa en el original en portugués: "O que carateriza esta realidade que o movimento modernista impôs, é, a meu ver, a fusão de três princípios fundamentais: O direito permanente à pesquisa estética; a atualizaçao da inteligência artística brasileira; e a estabilizaçao de uma conciência criadora nacional" ("*Lo que caracteriza la realidad que impuso el movimiento modernista es, a mí parecer, la fusión de tres principios fundamentales: el derecho permanente a la investigación estética, la actualización de la inteligencia artística brasileña y la estabilización de una consciencia creadora nacional*"; "O Movimento Modernista" 242).

14. "Yo iba resistiendo, resistiendo y acobardándome también. Al final, cuando todo estaba casi listo, me decidí a ceder mandando a la mierda esta vida de mierda. Voy también."

15. "No fui hecho para viajar, ¡caramba! Estoy sonriendo, pero por dentro va un arrepentimiento aterrado, color de incesto."

16. "Por fin, cerca de las catorce horas, son exactamente las catorce horas con once minutos y doce segundos, en 'mi' casa, con los 'míos', con 'mi' gente. ¡Cierra bien la puerta, Bastiana! Cierra la puerta con llave. ¡Bastiana! ¡Tira la llave a la calle!"

17. "En las puras honduras de la Selva-Espesa nace Macunaíma, el héroe de los nuestros" (*Macunaíma: el héroe sin ningún carácter* 27). Esta novela es una obra de difícil lectura, no sólo por la diversidad de modelos o juegos estéticos que uno puede encontrar en ella, sino, además, por las distintas temáticas sobre la vida del Brasil de la primera mitad del siglo XX. El narrador del texto tiene el tono y características particulares de un narrador oral, entre ellas las de repetir constantemente apelativos y características de los personajes tratados, la indeterminación del tiempo de lo narrador (*un día*, *una vez*, *otra vez*, que lo liga al espacio mítico). Es decir, la presencia de la oralidad como fuente creativa y reproductiva del lenguaje y la cultura. También se encuentran largas enumeraciones, en ocasiones sin marcadores como comas, que llevan a quien lee a una sensación de vértigo.

18. "Lo confesional en el diario y lo referencial que pertenecen a los datos de viaje, aunque filtrados por el arte, todavía contienen elementos de lo real—a causa del hibridismo del género—pero a su lado, firmemente, se entromete la ficción."

19. "Creo que con los tales indios que encontré y que tienen una moral distinta a la nuestra, puedo hacer una monografía humorística, una sátira de las exploraciones científicas, de la etnografía y también social."

20. "Los indios Do-Mi-Sol formaban una especie de matriarcado comunista, como la distribución colectiva de las ocupaciones, teniendo por base la injusticia. Así, nadie se quejaba."

21. "Con mucho cuidado escribí un discurso en tupí para darles nuestros saludos a todos, cuando estuviésemos entre los indios. . . . Fui, di mi discurso, que además era corto. Pero desde el principio los indios empezaron a darse miradas furtivas y dar muestras de risa. Pronto me di cuenta que era inútil y que estaban con unas ganas enormes de comernos a todos."

22. "Pero no era eso: cuando acabé el discurso, todos empezaron a gritarme: / —¡Está equivocado! ¡Está equivocado!."

23. En esto, hay una gran diferencia con trabajos anteriores, como el del General Couto de Magalhães, quien en 1879 publicara *O Selvagem*, en donde explicaba el gran potencial del interior brasileño, si es que el gobierno diseñaba un programa de aculturación de la población indígena. El objetivo era "llevar" niños de las tribus indígenas que pudieran comunicarse en su lengua nativa hacia centros "civilizados," en donde se les enseñaría el portugués y las tradiciones judeo-cristianas. Una vez que hubieran aprendido el entramado cultural "civilizado," serían devueltos a sus tribus de origen para que ellos les enseñaran los valores superiores que habrían aprendido. Otro caso puede verse en las obras de Euclides da Cunha—v. *Contrastes e Confrontos* (1906), *Peru vs Bolívia* (1907) y À Margem da História (1909)—quien en su afán por demostrar que la Amazonía brasileña era parte del imaginario nacional, que a su vez estaba alimentado por un contexto internacional de demarcación de fronteras, elevó la figura del *seringueiro* venido del noreste en desmedro de la población indígena nativa.

24. "Nos enorgullecemos de ser el único gran (¿gran?) país civilizado tropical . . . Ese es nuestro defecto, nuestra impotencia. Deberíamos pensar, sentir como la gente de la India, de la China, de Benín, de Java . . . Tal vez, entonces, podríamos crear una cultura y civilización nuestra. Por lo menos seríamos más nosotros, de eso tengo certeza."

25. Aunque no es el principal foco de esta investigación, no es posible para mí dejar de notar los ecos tan fuertes entre Mário de Andrade y otros intelectuales latinoamericanos, como José Martí cuando afirma que "el vino, de plátano; y si sale agrio, ¡es nuestro vino!" (163–64).

26. "Mário quería hacer un libro con estructura de diario, uniendo quizás a las crónicas más elementos pertenecientes al ámbito de sus emociones o de los acontecimientos que estuvieran ligados a su día a día personal, durante el viaje."

27. ". . . aprovechando el material fotográfico de ambos viajes [a la Amazonía y al noreste], escogimos ilustraciones, viendo cómo relacionarlas a diferentes elementos de los textos. Revelamos así una faceta poco conocida de Mário: la de fotógrafo aficionado."

28. "¡La mañana está tan clara que saco excelentes fotografías y aún no son ni siquiera las seis!"

29. "Las fotografías de 1927 nos proveen con exactitud el itinerario y la información, ya que en su gran mayoría tienen leyendas que especifican el lugar, los participantes, el día, el año, el mes y la hora. Además, las leyendas muestran

una preocupación literaria: el deseo de encontrar un título sonoro, expresivo, moderno; la voluntad de hacer reír, o de unir la imagen visual a la poesía."

30. "Tirando de la cuerda para arreglar una lámina del rotor—8–VII–27—Ritmo."

31. Aprovecho la oportunidad para agradecer al personal del Instituto de Estudios Brasileños y a Carlos Augusto Andrade de Camargo, detentor de los derechos de autor de Mário de Andrade.

32. "Mário de Andrade no pretendía solo identificarse con la diferencia brasileña, sino también confrontar dos imágenes divergentes de Brasil: la que él se hiciera en el escritorio a través de un sinnúmero de lecturas—y que, de cierto modo, incluyera en *Macunaíma*—y la que pretendía elaborar ahora, a partir del contacto directo con la realidad."

33. "¡Siringuero, duerme! / En un amor-de-amigo enorme / ¡Brasileño, duerme!"

Obras Citadas

Adams, Henry. "The Dynamo and the Virgin." *The Education of Henry Adams—A Centenary Version*. 1918. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2007. Impreso.

Andrade, Mario de. *Macunaíma (el héroe sin ningún carácter)*. Trad. Héctor Olea. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1977. Impreso.

---. *Macunaíma: O herói sem nenhum caráter*. 9ª ed. São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1973. Impreso.

---. "O Movimento Modernista." *Aspectos da literatura brasileira*. 5ª ed. São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, 1974. Impreso.

---. *O Turista Aprendiz*. Ed. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez. São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1976. Impreso.

---. Poesias Completas. Ed. Diléa Zanotto Manfio. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1987. Impreso.

Cunha, Euclides da. À margem da História. 1909. São Paulo: Cultrix, 1975. Impreso.

---. *Contrastes e confrontos*. 1907. 6ª ed. Lisboa: Livraria Chardron, 1923. Impreso.

---. *Perú versus Bolivia*. 1907. 2ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1939. Impreso.

Giobellina Brumana, Fernando. "Mario de Andrade y la investigación etnográfica." *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos* 679 (2007): 67–81. Impreso.

Lopez, Telê Porto Ancona. "A Edição de 'O Turista Aprendiz'." *O Turista Aprendiz*. Por Mário de Andrade. Ed. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez. São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1976. Impreso.

---. "Um Projeto de Livro." *O Turista Aprendiz*. Por Mário de Andrade. Ed. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez. São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1976. Impreso.

---. "'Viagens Etnográficas' de Mário de Andrade." *O Turista Aprendiz*. Por Mário de Andrade. Ed. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez. São Paulo: Livraria Duas Cidades, 1976. Impreso.

---. "Viagens Etnográficas de Mário de Andrade: Itinerário Fotográfico." *Revista do Instituto de Estudios Brasileiros* 11 (1972): 139–74. Impreso.

Magalhães, Jose Vieira Couto de. *O selvagem*. 1876. 4ª Ed. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Impreso.

Madureira, Luís. *Cannibal Modernities: Postcoloniality and the Avant-Garde in Caribbean and Brazilian Literature*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005. Impreso.

Martí, José. "Nuestra América." *Ensayistas de nuestra América*. Tomo II. Buenos Aires: Losada, 1994. Impreso.

Mello e Sousa, Gilda de. "O Mestre de Apicucos e o Turista Aprendiz." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 32 (1995): 35–46. Impreso.

Moraes, Marcos António de. "'Abrasileirar o Brasil' (Arte e Literatura na Epistelografia de Mário de Andrade)." *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Brasilien/Caravelle* 80 (2003): 33–47. Impreso.

Schwartz, Jorge. "Tupí or not Tupí: The War Crus of Literature in Modern Brazil." *Brasil 1920–1950: De la Antropofagia a Brasilia.* Ed. Maria Casanova y Maria Victoria Menor. Valencia: IVAM Centre Julio González, 2000. 539–48. Impreso.

Sobre el Autor

Cristóbal Cardemil-Krause es Assistant Professor en la Universidad de West Chester en Pensilvania. Su investigación se centra en la construcción de imaginarios amazónicos y en literaturas no-metropolitanas de América del Sur. Ha publicado artículos de investigación en Estados Unidos y Chile. Su último trabajo es "Deconstrucciones discursivas en *Edipo entre los inkas* de César Calvo." Está trabajando en un proyecto de libro que explora la construcción discursiva de la Amazonía como un espacio nacional en Brasil, Perú y Colombia a comienzos del siglo XX. Correo electrónico: ccardemil-krause@wcupa.edu.

Archiving Transnational Struggle in Massimo Carlotto's *Le irregolari: Buenos Aires Horror Tour*

Manuel Chinchilla

Massimo Carlotto's novel *Le irregolari: Buenos Aires Horror Tour* is a work that probes into Argentina's recent history of violence using a personal narrative and politics of memory that exceed both passive commemoration and a national historical frame. The novel dramatizes the violence of the Argentine military dictatorship (1976-1983) as a criminal act that continues to haunt the Argentine population even in democratic times, and points to the revival of the political activism that state repression sought to eliminate. Essential to the book's composition is a mixture of memoir and travelogue that lends a personal tone to the author's impressions as he traverses the city of Buenos Aires with an eye to past horrors. The book's subtitle, *Buenos Aires Horror Tour*, stresses the uneasy relationship between past traumatic experience and the production of memory that often relies on an outsider's gaze and the tourist industry. The narration undermines the stability of identities and spaces that is a usual byproduct of tourism's pleasure tropes—the transformation of a place into an experience that fulfills the visitor's desire—in favor of a demand for justice about violations of human rights violations, and the necessity to constantly confront and critique any state's use of repressive power, whether past or present.

Instead of depicting a "barbaric" Argentina from the point of view of a "civilized" Europe, *Le irregolari* weaves a transatlantic narrative that links Italy and Argentina through shared similar historical experiences of political repression, migration, and radical politics. My reading of the text will center on the meaning of such transnational narration and its production of a shared archive of political struggle. My analysis will examine the construction of such an archive through generational and genealogical relationships that have the life of Carlotto as their very axis and that constitute both a history of radical politics and a personal family saga. A necessary first step in such analysis will be to compare the histories of political activism and repression of both countries during the 1970s, connecting them to the subject matter of *Le irregolari* and to Latin American post-dictatorship discourse.

Genealogy and Generations

Le irregolari's main plot is centered on the first-person narration of Carlotto's experiences in Buenos Aires, combining descriptions of his itinerary aboard a bus taking him along the city's *horror tour* with dialogues with victims of state violence and political activists. From the very beginning, however, the novel takes a detour that sets up a political backdrop against which it will produce a generational fraternity marked by past political struggle.

The novel begins with a prologue in the form of a diary entry, stating the date of September 2, 1996. In it, Carlotto recounts the beginning of his trip to Argentina by way of Santiago, Chile, where he goes to pay tribute to a dead female friend of Chilean origin. No specific information about said friend is given to the reader, but the narration makes it evident that she had been an exile who left Chile during the dictatorship, and who later became involved in clandestine political movements. Carlotto's homage to his dead friend consists of going to the Palacio de la Moneda in Santiago (Chile's presidential house) and playing a protest song in front of the building.[1] The act is meant both to commemorate his dead friend and to protest the country's authoritarian past. The building is, of course, tied to the memory of Chile's military dictatorship (1973-1989), headed by General Augusto Pinochet. On September 11, 1973, the building was bombarded by planes from the Chilean Air Force and taken over by the army, actions that led to the death of then president Salvador Allende.[2] In this sense, Carlotto's prologue functions as a historical marker signaling the beginning of a decline in leftist politics that lead to dictatorships in the Southern Cone (Chile, Argentina, Uruguay) and forced leftist parties and movements throughout the world to reconsider the goal of achieving state power. Such was the case of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which after the occurrences of 1973 changed the scope of its political objectives by seeking active negotiation with the center-right Christian Democrats. In a series of memorable essays written by then party secretary Enrico Berlinguer, all under the heading "Reflections After the Events in Chile," a new path was outlined for the party. It envisioned gradual negotiation of socialism headed by the chief political parties and organized through parliamentary politics.[3]

The PCI's new political direction was a compromise but not a complete detour from the concessions it had offered since the end of World War II. Because of pressure from the United States, its own participation in the amnesty of fascist collaborators, and in the disarmament of the Italian resistance movement, the PCI had always performed a sort of "détente" politics, which maintained the party within the boundar-

ies of parliamentary politics, yet never allowed for the formation of a communist government. In 1973, however, the "historic compromise" proposed by Berlinguer as a final way to achieve power, produced further splits within the left, which had just experienced a wave of leftist worker and youth activism outside traditional political channels.[4]

The radical student politics of 1968, which in other countries (France, the United States, Mexico) were reined in by lack of union between activists and working class subjects and/or by state repression, persisted in Italy through a series of mutations and dispersed movements that continued well into the 70s. From 1969's "autunno caldo" ("hot autumn"), which saw massive demonstrations through the alliance of students and workers, to the protests of 1977, there were again proposals of major changes in management of labor and education throughout the country.[5] It is at this point that a common history of state repression and resistance begins to link Argentina and Italy, as youth movements in both countries became radicalized, leading to extra-parliamentarian action and/or clandestine armed groups. In Argentina, many students who were part of the "Juventudes Peronistas" ("Peronist Youth") at the high school and at the university level became part of the Montoneros, a guerrilla movement active throughout the 1970s. Likewise, in Italy, due particularly to the heightening of police repression and to the improbability of the PCI's ever achieving power, urban guerrillas like the Red Brigades and other armed groups took aim at government and at society with the purpose of provoking mass revolution.[6] The violent actions taken by some of these groups should not obscure the fact that many other movements sought to create meaningful political organization at a grassroots level and abstained from the kind of violence espoused by groups like the Red Brigades. Such was the case of *Lotta Continua* (*Continuous Struggle*), an extra-parliamentary movement active from 1969-1976, and of which Massimo Carlotto was a member.[7]

In Italy, Massimo Carlotto is known for more than his writing. In 1976, while a member of *Lotta Continua*, he was accused of the murder of Margherita Magello. Carlotto always claimed innocence, maintaining that the imputation of the crime was part of the state's strategy for persecuting political activists. Fearing the lack of a fair trial, Carlotto escaped from Italy and lived for years as a runaway and under judicial suspicion, with his case becoming one of the longest in Italian judicial history. In 1993, Carlotto finally received a pardon from President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, putting an end to almost two decades of court procedures and life on the run. His experience as an exiled runaway in Mexico and in Paris, along with his several trials and incarcerations, form the subject matter of his first book, *Il fuggiasco* (*The Fugitive,* 1995). Therefore, from its beginnings, Carlotto's writing was informed

by a transnational topology—*The Fugitive* takes place in France, Italy and Mexico—narrated through a personal story, taking as its topic a series of revolutionary moments—the Spanish Civil War, the Mexican Revolution, the 1968 Student Movement, and modern Zapatismo—each part of a leftist history that the author calls on to produce a critique of current times.

In the case of *Le irregolari,* Carlotto's militancy in *Lotta Continua* is linked to similar leftist groups operating in Argentina, and in a more general sense, to the youth of that country that, just like in Italy during that time, was the preferred target of state repression. He expresses the idea of a transnational generation while talking to Santiago, the driver of the *horror tour* who takes him through Buenos Aires: "Non hai nemmeno idea, Santiago, su quante tombe di compagni, dall'Europa al Centroamerica, ho pianto e giurato di non dimenticare. Oggi, ricordo appena volti e nomi. L'enormità della sconfitta della nostra generazione si misura proprio sul numero di promesse fatte e mai mantenute" ("You have no idea, Santiago, upon how many comrades' tombs, from Europe to Central America, I've cried and sworn not to forget. Today I barely remember faces and names. The enormity of our generation's defeat is measured precisely by the many promises made, and never upheld"; 87) The novel strives, however, to go beyond a mere nostalgic reappraisal of young revolt, and to pay back on promises made.

The revisiting of rebellion and repression, of radical political movements such as nineteenth-century anarchism, and the more recent guerrilla struggles in Latin America, goes hand in hand with a critique of the 1990's celebratory discourse on democratic transition, free-market economics, and the politics of memory that re-arrange the recent past. Carlotto's text links the Italian context and the Argentine through a common problematic: mainly, how to reassess the memory of past radical politics from within a historical moment that portrays such struggles as having been surpassed by the present. The frame and scope of the book places it on a transnational plane where the histories both of Italy and of Argentina, as well as the aesthetic and critical discourses that account for them, intersect and create a novel way of positing political activism and justice. Before delving into a deeper analysis of the text, it is necessary to place *Le irregolari* within the critical discourse of Latin American post-dictatorship studies, particularly the strand that has focused on the dilemma of defeat and resistance posited by the region's history of radical movements.

In his book *The Untimely Present: Postdictatorial Latin American Fiction and the Task of Mourning*, now a classic work on the relationship between aesthetics and post-dictatorship in Latin America, Idelber Avelar proposes the concept of a "genealogy of defeat" as a way

of understanding the work of mourning that the Southern Cone has undergone after the passing of its dictatorships and the transition to democracy. Avelar begins by taking apart the triumphant discourse about the transition, indicating the complicity between democracy and the dictatorship's past: "'Transition to democracy' meant nothing but the juridical-electoral legitimation of the successful transition carried out under the military, that is, the ultimate equation between political freedom for people and economic freedom for capital [. . .]" (59). In addition to his critique of democratic transition, Avelar also reevaluates the *Testimonio* genre, which throughout Latin America denounced the abuses of capital and state in their preparation for the region's neoliberal future. For Avelar, *Testimonio* provided powerful accounts of many of the horrors of dictatorship but erred in reproducing a confidence about future justice that in turn erased Latin America's experience of defeat.[8] Although Avelar does not discount the factual experience to which *testimonio* gives voice, he envisions it as a partial truth that fails to encompass what he calls the "truth of defeat," one that needs to be articulated before any escape from official narratives of transition can take place (68).

Susana Draper, on the other hand, takes this desire for a break from the discourse of transition one step further. In her recent book *The Afterlives of Confinement: Spatial Transitions in Postdictatorship Latin America*, Draper examines how the transition from dictatorship to consumerist democracy has erased the memory of political resistance. Draper's analysis studies narratives of escape as antidote to the exclusivity of an experience of defeat when narrating and reassessing the region's past. She is particularly interested in how works of literature give visibility to subaltern histories—histories hidden away from official rhetoric and representation—that counter the very discourses of reconciliation and transition that aim for a social peace based on forgetfulness and consumerist desire. One of her case studies is the transformation of Uruguay's Punta Carretas Prison, where many of the country's political prisoners were held throughout the twentieth century and during the Uruguayan dictatorship (1973-1985), into a mall during the country's democratic transition. Draper bases her analysis on the novel *La fuga de Punta Carretas* (*Escape from Punta Carretas*), a hybrid work that combines testimonials and reenactments of a 1971 escape organized by members of the Tupamaros guerrilla.[9]

La fuga... was written just as the prison was about to be given new life as a mall and so it served as a counter-image to passive consumer society. Written by Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro, a former prison inmate who participated in the escape, *La fuga...* not only reproduces the invisible action of the 1971 escapees, but it also runs, literally, into

another narrative of escape of earlier state repression. The moment on which Draper focuses her attention is the retelling of a 1931 anarchist escape from the very same prison, which *La fuga...* reveals precisely at the moment in which the tunnel excavated in 1971 runs into the one dug by the anarchists. For Draper, the combination of the two escapes, the interruption created by their mutual narrative and historical crossing, creates the image of an underground history of marginal escapes that functions as a critique of the country's present democratic moment:

> The author's repetition of this crossroads creates a layering of erased temporalities, which are tied to the repetition of different cycles and forms of violence. The poetics of encounter lead us to grapple with the complexity of the text's composition [. . .], evoking a multiplicity of affects and memories that resist becoming homogenized or subsumed by the site's whitewashing as a symbol of the new post-transition era. (65)

Draper's emphasis, therefore, is not placed on the defeat of past struggles, but on how their recounting critiques the present:

> Signaling a present danger, the narrative of escape creates a space in this present through a peculiar image of freedom as a (collective) process that must be worked at (tunneling/writing); the space created by drilling the tunnels brought with it a counter-effect, a way of seeing the world above ground as a new prison and wall for free men. (72)

This "world above ground" would consist of the "open prison" of consumerism that Draper identifies as one of the main outcomes of democratic transition.

Carlotto's *Le irregolari* is a novel that rehearses both the melancholic "genealogy of defeat" identified by Avelar, as well as the mobilization of new perspectives upon histories of leftist struggle, seeking a remembrance of the past as contemporary critique. A particular episode exemplifies the search for a justice that will act in the present while investigating the impunity of the past. Carlotto converses with a victim of the Argentine dictatorship who has recounted a long series of military abuses left unpunished and who, angered by Carlotto's fatigue in the face of so many defeats, criticizes him for a cowardly tourism that looks away from the country's violent history. Carlotto is instantly offended and states his own commitment to justice, claiming that what bothers him is the persistence of such defeatist discourse, "Io no [. . .] ma sono

stanco di accumulare sconfitte, sia personali che generazionali. Ogni tanto mi piacerebbe vincere qualche battaglia o almeno saldare qualche conto . . ." ("Not me [. . .] but I'm tired of accumulating defeats, whether personal or generational. Once in a while I would like to win a battle or at least settle some accounts . . ."; Carlotto 108). But his interlocutor reminds Carlotto about Argentina's main problem, the persistence of impunity. Carlotto then reiterates that he is well aware of it, and that he will not look away or remain unfaithful to the memory of such impunity, but that his problem is not knowing "what to do" ("cosa fare"). In other words, Carlotto's dilemma is how to advance from passive recollection to political activism.

Le irregolari's response to memory's relationship to politics takes place under two guises: first as a representation of the past and then as the enacting of political activism. In representational terms, the text aims to revisit Argentina's violent history without turning it into a frozen past, criticizing the easy discourses of tourism, merchandising, and nostalgia that attempt to manipulate its memory. In political terms, the novel portrays a global justice—a transnational space of political activism—that transfers the knowledge gained in Argentina to political activism in Italy. Carlotto's reconstruction of his generation and genealogy in political and personal terms constitutes the contours of the transnational landscape upon which an effective politics can be enacted. By tracing a series of past struggles for justice and freedom, together with the hidden history of members of his own family as migrants in Argentina, the author sets to recover both the missing agency of the political present, and fill in the gaps of his own family history.

Archiving Struggle

Massimo Carlotto's literary output is mostly concerned with the production of noir novels. Yet there exists a common link between his crime fiction and works like *Le irregolari* and *Il fugiasco* in that they strive to historicize specific trajectories, sometimes even acting as veiled chronicles for certain places and periods.[10] Literary critic Barbara Pezzotti has highlighted Carlotto's writing as imbued with a documentary quality reflected in his interest for real-life settings and events, as well as a "pamphletary" intention that goes beyond the act of reading, creating opportunities for political activism (Pezzotti 165). Pezzotti believes the impulse behind such writing resides in Carlotto's political past and the necessity to create "counter-information" in the face of official truth: "Drawing from the counter-information experience of the extra-parliamentary organizations of the 1970s, Carlotto

writes his novels as counter-information works which display a truth that is very different from the official one" (152). *Le irregolari* conforms to Pezzotti's observations in as much as it unveils the Argentine past as a counter-narrative to a globalized, democratized, and market-driven present; at the same time that it presents the possibility of a transnational justice based on a global human rights movement. Although *Le irregolari* does entail a pedagogic tone and denouement, its form does not produce a clear program or system of beliefs. On the contrary, the genres of memoir and travelogue that inform *Le irregolari* constantly call attention to Carlotto's own doubts about how to make useful his encounters with the places, people, and history of Argentina. In this sense, his search does not consist in the configuration of a doctrine, but on the necessity to gather a knowledge that can be used strategically in the present, and against the perpetuation of impunity.

In *Archive Fever*, Jacques Derrida points to the importance of the archive with regard to political power and democracy: "There is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and access to the archive, its construction, and its interpretation" (4). The possibility of an interpretation of memory, in Derrida's thought, points to an understanding of the archive as an open knowledge, one that must take on participatory action to allow for political agency. Derrida does not conceive what he calls "archive fever" (*mal d'archive*) as the recollection of truths, facts, or information lying in wait for the researcher to save them from oblivion and guard them indefinitely. Rather, this incessant desire for the archive posits the creative and political remaking of the archive itself, of what is to become of it, of what needs to be filed within it, and for what purpose:

> [. . .] The question of the archive is not [. . .] a question of the past. It is not a question of a concept dealing with the past that might *already* be at our disposal or not at our disposal, *an archivable* concept of the archive. It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow. (36)

This concern over an active interpretation of historical memory and its possible cancellation is, in my view, what impels Massimo Carlotto to create an archive that takes on not only exceeding the idea of an "archivable" past, proposing instead an active past to be impressed upon the present, but also the restricted configuration of national boundaries as organizers of experience. By building a transnational space traversing the past struggles of both Argentina and Italy, Carlotto is

opening up the archive of twentieth-century history to be molded in an innovative form, advancing a global political activism in response to global discourses that, under the guise of democratic and economic transitions, signal an end to politics.

Le irregolari: Buenos Aires horror tour connects a series of Italian movements and histories—nineteenth century anarchism, twentieth century antifascism, the extra-parliamentary movements of the 60s and 70s—to a history of Argentine struggle crystallized in the most recent Argentine dictatorship. All of these periods and movements, whether Italian or Argentine, are depicted as moments of resistance in which civilians suffered at the hands of the state. The thread linking these diverse moments is constituted by the author's family saga and his biography, a secret family history that contains a time and lineage in the archive of the Carlotto family that can only be accessed from Argentina. Thus, Carlotto tells the reader that his trip to Argentina is meant to fulfill two objectives: learn about the history of violence that occurred during the country's dictatorship, and research the life of his Grandfather Guido Carlotto. His approach, however, is not that of a historian or a student of the written past. Rather, Carlotto is in Argentina to re-live, to witness the recreation of memory upon a particular space. Hence his *horror tour*, which revisits the places where victims lived, and where abductions, torture and murder took place.

Cultural critics Ksenija Bilbija and Leigh A. Payne, editors of *Accounting for Violence: Marketing Memory in Latin America,* propose the memory market surrounding many of the region's traumatic histories as part of a series of transactions and political actions that can exceed a financial meaning and outcome: "In speaking of a memory "market," profit is assumed. Profit, however, need not involve monetary gain. That gain, when achieved, could provide a side benefit to the ultimate goal of building a human rights culture" (12). The authors are nonetheless cognizant about the dangers of marketing memory, particularly as a global project that could possibly trivialize past violence (23). Laurie Beth Clark and Leigh A. Payne also propose the study of tourism in its relationship to past violence through the concept of "trauma tourism," defined as "the practice of visits to sites of past political atrocity," and which they envision as a politically meaningful engagement with the historical past (Clark and Payne 100). Although they identify a dangerous paradox in the idea of tourism as a marketing tool for the memory of violence—mainly, that it could lead to profiting enterprises centered on shock value—they still propose the desirability of a "trauma tourism" that engages visitors and inculcates in them "a sense of social responsibility" (100). While I do not agree with the authors' correlation between exponential marketing and the advance-

ment of a human rights agenda, I do side with their engagement of the reality of the memory market and its practices, and with their definition of "internal travel," a useful tool when assessing the experience of the individual vis-à-vis sites of memory. "Internal travel" designates the power of memory sites to stir reflection:

> These are emotionally charged sites that often take the tourist on an exploration, or discovery, of feelings. These internal travelers, moreover, can include those directly affected from the country, exiled victims and survivors who engage in "return tourism," and tourists from within or outside the country. (117)

A type of "internal travel" is also at play in Carlotto's novel, one that designates sites of memory as places that can inspire a knowledge of and engagement with the past. However, Carlotto is also aware of the dangers of diluting past suffering through a purely individualistic experience, proposing therefore a narrative of political activism.

Carlotto's *horror tour* is reproduced in the novel as a crescendo that goes from visits to sites of abduction, detention and torture centers, and ultimately to encounters with unpunished criminals. As previously mentioned, the problem of impunity is central to the politics of memory surrounding Southern Cone dictatorships, which can work not only to keep memory alive but also to neutralize it. Cathy Carruth, in a recent reading of Ariel Dorfman's play *Death and the Maiden*, has delineated such fear of a persistence of impunity. Carruth's analysis centers on the play's main character, Paulina Salas, who struggles to understand why her testimony as a survivor of state violence will not be part of the report that the truth commission is gathering during the democratic transition. Carruth offers the plight of Paulina as evidence of the reticence on the part of the democratic government to face up to the impunity of the past, "the play can be said to reenact the traumatic nature of the return of disappearance as it threatens to undo the possibility of truth and the achievement of justice, at the heart of the returning democracy" (58). The return of a "disappearance" to which Carruth alluded would not simply hide the truth but would also reiterate the danger of all those practices that were used during the dictatorship to silence the public. It is in the face of a similar danger that Carlotto strives to produce a narrative of Argentina's past violence that acts against impunity in the democratic present.[11]

In her book, *A Lexicon of Terror*, Margarita Feilowitz has analyzed the Argentine Military Junta's production of a language that created a climate of fear and repression. Feilowitz calls attention to the original use of the word *desaparecido*, which was coined by the dictatorship

"as a way of denying the kidnap, torture, and murder of thousands of citizens" (49). Use of the word has, however, been adapted to conform with a meaning that reveals the terror it originally tried to hide. This is evident in the public protests enacted by The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who use the word *desaparecido* while also wearing upon their bodies photos of the victims. Carlotto is privy to the weight of this word and to the necessity of reversing the intent of its creation, using it instead to combat impunity. The word appears in the text in the original Spanish, even when used as a conjugated verb such as *desaparecer* or *desapareció*. Carlotto tries to maintain the particularity of the Argentine language that designated violence during the dictatorship, while also aiming to represent the victims as persons who had a life and an existence before falling prey to state violence. This is a peculiar aspect of Carlotto's tour, which retraces the victims' personal lives before the moment of abduction or murder, returning to them a sense of being a person that would be absent from a narrative based solely on violence.

The enactment of the tour as a practice leading to active politics is represented most patently by a particular episode provoked by a visit to the ESMA (Navy School of Mechanics), a detention center where torture and murder were rampant during the dictatorship. The ESMA building was designated by state decree in 2004 as a museum and site of memory, thus becoming a tourist stop for those interested in the dictatorship's history. Carlotto's visit to ESMA takes place by night and without entering the building, which at the time was not yet open to the public. This circumstance creates an interesting diversion in the *horror tour* and a critical response to the transformation of spaces of violence into reflexive spaces such as museums. After seeing the building, Santiago informs Carlotto that one of the ESMA's most notorious criminals, Captain Alfredo Astiz, has never been punished for his crimes. Carlotto then decides to go and "see" Astiz. They find him in a bar and reflect on the absurdity of a democracy that allows criminals to live in freedom. Pointing to the perverse possibility of impunity as dormant violence, Santiago says that "il Capitano e i suoi complici ostentano la loro presenza non solo perché la democrazia ha garantito loro l'impunità, ma anche perché vogliono continuare a intimidire la gente, a ricordare che sono sempre pronti a riprendersi il potere" ("the Captain and his accomplices flaunt their presence not just because democracy has warranted them impunity, but also because they want to continue to intimidate people, making them remember that they are always prepared to take power"; 151).

The Astiz story is retaken toward the end of the novel after the Captain's interview with journalist Gabriela Cerruti, in which he accepted his role in kidnapping and killing "subversives" during the dic-

tatorship.[12] The interview was printed in 1998, and Carlotto narrates it as a present event, cementing the relationship between a documentary drive and the more personal tone of *Le irregolari*. After reading the article, Carlotto decides to stage a protest in front of the ESMA building aided by Santiago and singer-songwriter Ricky Gianco, who composes a *milonga* for the Captain that protests his freedom and the fate of the disappeared. The staging of protest immediately dissolves the notion of a passive reception of knowledge and of a purely individual response to it, choosing instead an active condemnation of impunity. The episode is reminiscent of the practice of "escrache" performed by H.I.J.O.S. (Sons and Daughters for Identity and Justice Against Oblivion and Silence). Its purpose was to point out criminals of the dictatorship in public spaces (through graffiti or billboards detailing their identities and crimes) and through mass protests (in which they visit houses and detention centers while chanting about the crimes of the regime). Diana Taylor has described the political performance of H.I.J.O.S., and of the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, as practices useful for transmitting "traumatic memory from one generation to another and from the Argentine political context to an international public that did not live the violence firsthand" (165). Taylor stresses the means for presenting such political performance at the center of conceptions about solidarity and an active political stance: "Bearing witness is a live process, a doing, an event that takes place in real time, in the presence of a listener who 'comes to be a participant and a co-owner of the traumatic event'" (167). This is precisely what Carlotto tries at all times to construct in his retelling of Argentine horror, a compendium of information and knowledge that must be activated in meaningful protest. Even so, such a spatial ordering of violence as takes place in the *horror tour* could still designate Buenos Aires as the privileged focus of narration and produce a deterministic approach to the events, limiting violent acts to a barbaric Latin America. But the plot grows in complexity as Carlotto begins to probe into a history of repression that includes Italians, and a personal past linked to his own family.

The patriarch of the Carlotto family, Guglielmo Carlotto, had lived in Argentina in 1886. Massimo Carlotto places his migration as a result of his grandfather's anarchist beliefs, and of his refusal to live under a monarchy.[13] The story about Carlotto's grandfather makes use of additional fictional resources, as Carlotto dreams of his grandfather and tries to place him amidst important historical events that had taken place in Buenos Aires. An interesting dream episode that again ties a political knot between Argentina and Italy is the arrival of anarchist thinker Errico Malatesta as a political refugee in 1885, complemented by Carlotto's vision of his grandfather welcoming him at the port. The

episode brings back a history of European political persecution and exile, precluding a simple dichotomy by which Latin America would act the role of a savage land, when, at least in this case, it was a haven for political dissidents. Another remarkable aspect about this seemingly common migrant story is that the grandfather does return to Italy in 1900 but refuses to speak about his life in America. The period lived in Argentina becomes, therefore, a *lacuna* in the history of the Carlotto family, a missing file in the Carlotto archive. Massimo Carlotto also mentions the fact that his grandfather, who passed away in 1940, had lived and died in poverty for his antifascist politics. We have here, then, three important national narratives of contemporary Italy: migration, antifascism, and exile. And yet they appear as mysteries, as oblique doors into a past beyond the coherence of national narratives and tied instead to a transnational space. Part of what takes place in *Le irregolari*, together with the recounting of violence during the Argentine dictatorship, is the work required to solve these mysteries and in this way expand the archive, the memory linking both nations through the Carlotto saga.

The way in which *Le Irregolari* goes about expanding the national and familial archive is twofold, it comprises both the phantom memory of the grandfather and the reality of Argentina's demands for justice. As Massimo Carlotto makes his way through an Argentine space that is at once the spectral city that had welcomed his grandfather a century before and the place haunted by the *disappeared* of the current dictatorship, he gathers information and creates relationships that enable him to supplement the lacunae besieging the archive. The turning point in his search arrives when he meets Estela Barnes de Carlotto, one of the founding members of *Las Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo*, who also happens to be the wife of a relative of Massimo Carlotto, Guido Carlotto, a cousin of the famed family patriarch, Guglielmo Carlotto. Through his interviews with Estela, Carlotto learns about the death of five hundred Italian nationals during the Argentine dictatorship, including Estela's daughter Laura, who was disappeared in 1978, and who gave birth to a son. Later the child was given in adoption by the very people who had kidnapped his mother. What had started then as a mapping of violence limited to Argentina quickly turned into a transnational violence affecting Italy. Estela informs Carlotto about several attempts to try Argentine military crimes in Italian courts, as well as the *Abuelas*' request for Vatican cooperation in the punishment of the Argentine Catholic Church for its collaboration in the illegal adoption of children of the disappeared. The appearance of such associations as the Mothers and the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo also links Carlotto's research with that of the many mothers and grandmothers seeking their lost sons and grandchildren. One is reminded of the celebrated film *The*

Official History, which represented the real-life efforts of such associations to build archives about the disappeared and the illegally adopted grandchildren as sources of knowledge that exemplified the injustices of the dictatorship.[14] Such archives have indeed served to reunite families, as the Grandmothers have been successful—most recently, Estela Barnes de Carlotto herself—in finding some of their lost grandchildren.

Carlotto's text makes an effort to represent the Argentine dictatorship as a catastrophe that carried its effects beyond Argentina, expanding its archive by incorporating into it a relationship to Italy. In one of the most carefully elaborated passages of the *horror tour*, Carlotto describes a series of abductions of Italians by grouping them under the tag of "La notte degli italiani" ("Night of the Italians") (93). The tag is a reference to that other night of abduction had taken place in 1976, at the start of the dictatorship, "La noche de los lápices" ("Night of the pencils"), in which several high school and university students were kidnapped by military personnel, an episode made famous by a 1986 film by Héctor Olivera. For an Argentine reader, or for anybody with some knowledge of Argentine history, the reference would not go unnoticed. In other words, Carlotto is translating Argentina both to the Italians reading the text, and to the very Argentines who must now also acknowledge non-nationals, or Italo-Argentines, among the victims of the dictatorship.

After his time with Estela, Massimo Carlotto was finally ready to return to Italy. He did so with a newfound understanding of himself and of his country's ties to Argentina: "Dovevo tornare in Italia e cercare di ricostruire la mia vita partendo da quel rinnovato senso di appartenenza alla mia generazione e alla sua tragedia sudamericana. Mi sentivo legato a vicende e persone che mi obbligavano a 'esigere Giustizia'" ("I had to return to Italy and try to reconstruct my life from that renewed sense of belonging to my generation and its South American tragedy. I felt tied to events and people that required me to 'cry for Justice'"; 179). Upon his return, Carlotto advanced the cause of the *desaparecidos*, making public the knowledge acquired in Argentina, forming groups of solidarity, and meeting with Argentine exiles living in Italy. This new connection to Argentina was also strengthened by a series of retributions affecting both countries and the Carlotto family. In the Carlotto family reunion, Carlotto narrated his experiences in Argentina and the lives of their South American relatives to the rest of the family, signaling that consummation of a destiny and the final gesture in absorbing the Argentine Carlotto branch into the Italian side: "Da quel momento la storia dei Carlotto d'Argentina è entrata a far parte della nostra memoria familiare" ("From that moment on, the history of the Argentine Carlotto became part of our family memory"; 184). Just as both strands of the family become assimilated into one memory, so do Argentina

and Italy. The novel recounts Estela Barnes de Carlotto's visit to Italy in 1997, when she is finally granted an interview with the Pope to discuss human rights violations in Argentina. While in Italy, she announces to Massimo that the mayor of Arzignano (hometown to the Carlotto) is planning to honor Laura by naming a street after her, producing in this way a grafting of the Argentine Carlotto onto the Italian national space.

These new entries into the Carlotto family archive and, one can add, since *Le irregolari* makes the Argentine dictatorship part of Italy's history, into the Italian national past, expand the archive and fulfill some of its gaps but do not seal it, neither in its understanding of what had taken place nor in its demand for future justice. Since many of the bodies of the disappeared are lost with no closure available to their families, justice for the crimes of the Argentine dictatorship remains open to a future fulfillment. In this sense, the archive is also forever open, always awaiting a kind of redemption that could set things right. But this future can be achieved or rehearsed only by researching the injustices of the past and claiming them in the present. Carlotto's literary approach to the past takes up Derrida's conception of the archive as illness; the archive not as a safe place where knowledge is saved, but as a process, a making and remaking of the very knowledge that constitutes it. In the words of the philosopher, it is "[the] compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive [. . .] for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement" (Derrida 91). This "absolute commencement" is not an arcadia or a return to innocence but should be understood as the continuous negotiation between life and politics, and perhaps, between violence and justice. A particular episode toward the end of the novel maintains a fidelity to this open promise hidden behind the illness of the archive.

Immediately after recounting the joyful reunion of the Carlotto family, Carlotto inserts the story of his friend Torito, a member of the MRTA (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement), killed during the hostage crisis that took place in the home of the Japanese ambassador in Lima, Peru, and that lasted from December 17, 1996, to April 22, 1997. The crisis ended with a surprise military assault ordered by President Alberto Fujimori. The attack undermined a peaceful negotiation and resulted in the deaths of all fourteen MRTA members, two soldiers, and one hostage. Fujimori's show of force brought back memories that seemed to have been surpassed by the democratic transitions of Latin America, and stirred once again debate about the excessive use of state violence. The inclusion of the episode at the end of the novel, narrated in the present tense to capture the moment in which Carlotto learns about his friend's demise, reminds the reader about the continuous

need for a critique of state violence and the celebratory discourses of democratic transition.

Epilogue

Le irregolari was written in 1998, in a moment when the possibility of bringing to justice many of the criminals of the Argentine dictatorship was still a challenging task. Many trials have taken place since then, however, resulting in sentences for some of the characters in Carlotto's book. In many cases, a transnational system of justice has proven advantageous in prosecuting perpetrators.[15] Most recently, Estela Barnes de Carlotto, with the help of the DNA archive kept by the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, finally found the grandson to whom her daughter Laura had given birth while in detention. The reunited family has been the subject of many newspaper articles in which their story is taken as a sign of the overcoming of past violence.[16] Many grandchildren remain lost to their families, however, just as several crimes of the dictatorship remain unpunished. Moreover, global discourses about the preeminence of free-market ideologies and their obligated affirmation as the only source for democratic and free governments continue to undermine the history that made possible such economic and political transitions. In this sense, works like *Le irregolari* continue to provide a relevant historicizing of the recent past as cultural and political critique of the present.

Notes

1. The song is "Fango" ("Mud") by Ricky Gianco. It is a protest song that recounts the losses of leftist politics in the twentieth century through the character of Fango, a man who failed to adapt to revolution in Leningrad, saw the fall of the Berlin Wall, and suffered torture in the United States. The song ends with Fango becoming a ghost—a clear reiteration of the opening of the Communist Manifesto—who haunts the world and has the power to transform life. The song has an uncanny resemblance to "El fantasma de Canterville" by Argentine songwriter León Gieco. Gieco's song was published in 1976 and was censored by the Argentine military junta. The song, which takes Oscar Wilde's character as an excuse to speak about the impunity rampant in the country, later became an anthem against the dictatorship. One of its stanzas directly denounced the invisibility of victims and the context of impunity during the regime: "pero siempre fui un tonto / que creyó en la legalidad / ahora que estoy afuera, ya sé lo que es la libertad" ("but I was always a fool / who believed in the law / now that I am out, I realize the meaning of freedom"). Both songs attest to the figure of the ghost and the *desaparecido* as important tropes in the representation of state violence and leftist struggle.

2. President Salvador Allende died of two bullet shots to the head. The army claimed that he had committed suicide before they could capture him, but suspicions about a probable assassination continued well after the coup. In 2011, Allende's body was exhumed and an autopsy performed, which declared the cause of death a suicide.

3. The essay was published in three separate articles in the PCI's official journal, *Rinascita*, from September 28–October 12, 1973.

4. Historian Paul Ginsborg describes Berlinguer's "historic compromise" as "a grand strategy in which Communists and Catholics would find a shared moral and ethical code on which to base the political and social salvation of Italy. The Catholic emphasis on solidarity would combine with the Communist practice of collective action to produce a new political order" (356). However, and as Ginsborg later remarks, "There was also something distinctly authoritarian and hierarchical about the historic compromise" (357). Proposing in 1973 a political project based solely on party alliance and established modes of democracy was a direct dismissal of the youth, worker, and student movements that had been active since 1968, and while the compromise forged allegiances across political parties—especially when it came to members of the middle class—it failed to seduce the more rebellious spirit of extra-parliamentarian movements.

5. The movements that conformed this "New left" in Italy were born out of the student revolts of 1968 and embraced different Marxist and Leninist traditions. They were numerous and ubiquitous, functioning in several urban centers and throughout the country. Some of them gave more weight to a "workerist" agenda, while others focused on cultural and social revolution. All of them, however, shared the ideal of autonomous action taking place outside of party politics and state institutions. Among the most influential groups were Avanguardia Operaia ("Workers Vanguard"), Potere Operaio ("Labor Power"), and Lotta Continua ("Continuous Struggle"). These groups were important not just for their militant and organizational efforts but also for the production of theories related to politics in the post-68 moment, labor, and culture. For more on the formation and history of said movements, see Wright. For an in-depth commentary and analysis of the movements' theoretical relevance, see Virno and Hardt.

6. One of the most notable crimes of the decade was of course the 1978 assassination of Aldo Moro, President of the Christian Democratic Party, at the hands of the Red Brigades. The murder did not lead to mass revolution as the Red Brigades had hoped, signaling instead the end of a period of militant politics that had created innovative forms of political action, social freedom, and solidarity. It is also worth mentioning that the 1970s are usually referred as "Gli anni di piombo" ("Years of lead"). The tag is meant to encompass acts of violence by both left and right wing extremists. However, abuse of the term sometimes confuses the political activism of the times with the extreme violence that was coterminous with it, but it was by no means a common denominator for all radical movements of the period.

7. Lotta Continua was founded in 1969 as a direct outcome of worker and student movements based in Turin. The movement advocated an alliance between students, workers, and migrant labor. The group's eponymous journal was an important militant publication of the period. Lotta Continua disbanded in 1976.

8. The theorization of *testimonio* produced a major moment of reflection within Latin American literary studies in the 1980s and 1990s. The genre was not only studied in terms of its aesthetics but also with regards to the possibility of solidarity between North American intellectuals and Latin American activists. John Beverley defined *testimonio* thus: ". . . a novel or novella-length narrative in book or pamphlet (that is, printed as opposed to acoustic) form, told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the event he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience." (Beverley 24) Essential to *testimonio*'s power was the possibility of gaining access to a knowledge that was told by the person(s) who experienced it. *Le irregolari* could be said to reprise some aspects of Latin American *testimonio*, since it recovers testimonial accounts through novelistic portrayal.

9. Plans for the transformation of the prison began to be considered in the early 1990s. The inauguration of the building as a mall took place in 1994. Important parts of the structure, such as the façade and its original clock, were left intact. The clock is symbolically stopped, a detail Draper explains as compatible with the eternal time of consumerism and forgetfulness espoused by democratic transition.

10. Many of Carlotto's novels take place in Northern Italy and chronicle the political and social corruption of the area. It is worth mentioning that some of these works also reflect on leftist histories and relate to Latin America. For example, Giorgio Pellegrini, the protagonist of *Arrivederci amore, ciao* ("The Goodbye Kiss"), is a former member of an Italian armed group who is exiled to Central America, where he participates in guerrilla warfare and grows disillusioned with revolutionary ideals. He then returns to Italy and becomes a cruel, sadistic gangster. Other novels by Carlotto engage with Latin American topics. *Il corriere colombiano* ("The Colombian Mule"), for example, has Marco Buratti, alias Alligatore ("Alligator"), Carlotto's protagonist in his detective fiction, investigate a drug trafficking ring operating between Colombia and Italy.

11. Two laws promulgated during the democratic transition, *Ley de punto final* ("Full Stop Law") and *Ley de obediencia debida* ("Law of Due Obedience") were passed in 1986 and 1987, respectively. They precluded the imputation of crimes committed during the Argentine dictatorship by military personnel. Both laws were revoked in 2005.

12. The interview was published in the *Revista Trespuntos* on January 14, 1998. For a reproduction of the original interview see Cerruti, Gabriela. "El asesino está entre nosotros." http://web.archive.org/web/20070928070113/http://www.ser2000.org/protect/docs-sobresalientes/astiz.htm.

13. The King in case is Umberto I, who ruled Italy from 1878 to 1900 and who waged war against anarchist and other pro-labor groups in the country. He is considered responsible for the Bava-Beccaris massacre, which takes the name

of the commanding general ordered to siege Milan on May 8 and 9, 1898. The siege resulted in the death of hundreds of workers. On July 29, 1900, anarchist Gaetano Bresci avenged the events of Milan by assassinating the King in Monza.

14. The film indeed pits several "archives" against each other: the hospital archives where records of children of the disappeared may or may not exist; the archive of the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo that may lead Alicia, the protagonist, to discover the truth about her adopted daughter; the high school archive that keeps track of student offenses and that may be used by the dictatorship; and the archives of corruption that Roberto, Alicia's husband and a businessman turned rich during the dictatorship, tries to destroy as the democratic transition arrives.

15. In 2011, an Argentine court sentenced Alfredo Astiz to life in prison. Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón has been instrumental in the prosecution of several Argentine criminals after filing charges on behalf of Spaniards disappeared during the dictatorship. For further discussion on transnational justice and its effect on regimes of impunity in Latin America, see Roht-Arriaza.

16. See Bertola, "The story of Guido, Laura and Walmir" and "Estela de Carlotto: No quería morirme sin abrazarlo."

Works Cited

Avelar, Idelber. *The Untimely Present: Postdictatorial Latin American Fiction and the Task of Mourning*. Durham: Duke UP, 1999. Print.

Berlinguer, Enrico. "Reflections After the Events in Chile." *Marxism Today* Feb. 1974: 39-50. *UNZ.org*. Web. 20 August 2014. <http://www.unz.org/Pub/MarxismToday-1974feb-00039>.

Bertola, Luciana. "Estela de Carlotto: No quería morirme sin abrazarlo." *Clarín.com*. Arte Gráfico Editorial Argentino, 8 May 2014. Web. 20 August 2014. <http://www.clarin.com/politica/Estela-Carlotto-Ahora-portarretratos-imagen_0_1187881652.html>.

---. "The story of Guido, Laura and Walmir." *Buenos Aires Herald*. Buenos Aires Herald, 10 Aug. 2014. Web. 20 August 2014. <http://www.buenosairesherald.com/article/166714/the-story-of-guido-laura-and-walmir>.

Beverley, John. "The Margin at the Center: On Testimonio." *The Real Thing: Testimonial Discourse and Latin America*. Ed. Geog Gugelberger. Durham: Duke UP, 1996. Print.

Bilbija, Ksenija, and Leigh A. Payne, eds. *Accounting for Violence: Marketing Memory in Latin America*. Durham: Duke UP, 2011. Print.

---. "Time is Money. The Memory Market in Latin America." Introduction. Bilbija and Payne 1-40.

Carlotto, Massimo. *The Colombian Mule.* London: Orion, 2004. Print.

--- *The Fugitive.* New York: Europa Editions, 2007. Print.

--- *The Goodbye Kiss.* New York: Europa Editions, 2006. Print.

---. *Le irregolari: Buenos Aires Horror Tour.* Rome:L Edizioni E/O, 2011. Print

Carruth, Cathy. *Literature in the Ashes of History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2013. Print.

Cerruti, Gabriela. "El asesino está entre nosotros." Interview. *Revista Trespuntos* 14 Jan. 1998: n. pag. Web. 20 August 2014. <http://web.archive.org/web/20070928070113/http://www.ser2000.org/protect/docs-sobresalientes/astiz.htm>.

Clark, Laurie Beth and Payne, Leigh A. "Trauma Tourism in Latin America." Bilbija and Payne 99-126.

Derrida, Jacques. *Archive Fever*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996. Print

Draper, Susana. *Afterlives of Confinement: Spatial Transitions in Postdictatorship Latin America*. Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 2012. Print.

Feitlowitz, Marguerite. *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*. New York: Oxford UP, 1998. Print.

Ginsborg, Paul. *A History of Contemporary Italy. Society and Politics 1943-1988*. New York: St. Martin's, 2003. Print.

Olivera, Héctor. *La noche de los lápices*. Spain: Cameo Media, 2004. DVD.

Pezzotti, Barbara. *Politics and Society in Italian Crime Fiction: An Historical Overview*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014. Print.

Puenzo, Luis. *La historia oficial*. Port Washington, NY: Koch Lorber Films, 2004. DVD.

Roht-Arriaza, Naomi. *The Pinochet Effect: Transnational Justice in the Age of Human Rights*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2005. Print.

Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke UP, 2003. Print.

Virno, Paolo, and Michael Hardt, eds. *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996. Print.

Wright, Steve. *Storming Heaven: Class Composition and Struggle in Italian Autonomist Marxism*. London: Pluto, 2002. Print.

About the Author

Manuel Chinchilla obtained a PhD in Latin American Literature from The University of Michigan in 2009. He is currently an Associate Professor at Sewanee: The University of the South. His field of research is contemporary Latin American literature and politics, with a focus on the relationship among narrative genres, social movements and the interpretation of history. He also has a strong interest in comparative and transnational approaches to the study of literature and culture. Email: machinch@sewanee.edu.

Exilios secretos y sujetos invisibles: Guillermo Cabrera Infante y Antonio José Ponte

Isabel Alvarez Borland

Mapa dibujado por un espía (2013), memoria póstuma de Guillermo Cabrera Infante publicada por su viuda, Miriam Cabrera Infante, con la asistencia del editor Antoni Munné, (Galaxia Gutemberg), así como también *La fiesta vigilada* (2007), de Antonio José Ponte, se construyen en el campo de fuerza de los espacios liminales. Ambos Cabrera Infante y Ponte reflejan el deseo de configurar un modelo expresivo que les permita manifestar la nostalgia exílica de un país perdido. Al mismo tiempo intentan insertar su estética en el contexto de otra sensibilidad de esencia liminal, es decir, aquélla que responde al momento crítico de la salida y al deseo de querer y no querer dejar el país. Y si la crónica de la represión bajo un sistema totalitario está ampliamente documentada por los dos autores, también existen en ambos textos silencios de índole personal solamente vislumbrados por el lector.

Mi lectura examina cómo ambos narradores confrontan el momento de la salida de la isla desde épocas muy distintas y se enfoca en episodios representativos de cada memoria en su dimensión autobiográfica e identitaria. Los dos recuentos, separados por casi cuarenta años, hablan de temas similares: la destrucción física de La Habana y la represión de las libertades individuales. Encontramos en estas memorias sujetos perseguidos y vigilados, quienes se comparan a aquéllos que aparecen en las novelas de espionaje. Antes que nada estas memorias narran la crisis liminal que sufre cada escritor provocada por la incertidumbre de la salida. La Habana es el escenario de estas reflexiones, espacio que Cabrera Infante—y, años después, Ponte—recorren examinando sus vacíos y silencios.

En meditaciones clásicas sobre el exilio, teóricos como Edward Said y Michael Seidel coinciden en que la literatura de exilio es una literatura de cruces: físicos, geográficos y conceptuales. En estas definiciones se trasluce la idea de un sujeto desplazado que se sabe en un lugar y se imagina en otro. Nos dice Said que el escritor exiliado posee una visión plural mediante la cual el sujeto puede percibir simultáneamente más de una situación o espacio: "This plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions . . . Thus both the new and the old environments are vivid, actual, occurring together contrapuntally"

(172). Por otra parte, Seidel afirma que un escritor exilado se define como "one who inhabits one place and projects the reality of another" (1). De acuerdo con estas interpretaciones, el exilio no es solamente un tema o sujeto literario sino que también se pudiera considerar como una poética que traduce la condición dividida del autor y refleja el desplazamiento forzado del sujeto en su perspectiva fragmentada. De ahí que conceptos como la *bilocación* [estar en un lugar y sentirse en otro] y la *liminalidad* [estar en el umbral entre dos espacios o etapas] sirvan para localizar el espacio narrativo o la perspectiva de un escritor a punto de exiliarse, como lo eran Cabrera Infante en 1965 y Ponte en el 2006—casi 40 años más tarde—momentos de crisis que comparten los dos escritores.[1]

En su introducción a *Literature and Liminality* (1986), Gustavo Pérez Firmat traza el significado de la condición o experiencia liminal y como ésta se manifiesta en obras literarias originadas en épocas distintas. "Limen" (del latín), en español quiere decir 'umbral' y en inglés 'threshold', pasa a significar—en la antropología—un término que señala el pasaje de una fase en la vida a otra, una época de transición que en las tribus primitivas se conoce como 'ritos de pasaje.' Según Pérez Firmat, la idea gana popularidad primero en la antropología a través de la obra de Van Gennep, en particular por su libro *Rites of Passage* (1909), y después en la obra de Víctor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (1967). Citando a Turner, Pérez Firmat indica que el espacio del sujeto liminal está localizado: "betwixt and between the position assigned and arranged by law, custom, convention and ceremonial" (Turner, 95). No obstante, el estado liminal implica no solamente una fase o etapa de transición sino que tambien señala un estado psicológico de crisis e incertidumbre.

Desde otra perspectiva más reciente, el sociólogo Charles La Shure medita sobre el concepto y añade que en la etapa liminar, el sujeto se muestra "invisible or ambiguous" y se coloca temporalmente "in the cracks, within the social structure itself" ("What is Liminality," n. pag.). La Shure indica cómo el estado liminal evoca una fuerte autoconsciencia en el individuo quien no necesariamente se siente parte de la sociedad en que vive y es capaz de violar sus códigos:

La Shure se concentra en la calidad temporal o transitoria del concepto:

> While in the liminal state human beings . . . are in between the social structure, temporarily fallen through the cracks, so to speak, and it is in these cracks, in the interstices of social structure, that they are most aware of themselves. Yet liminality is a midpoint between a starting point and an ending point,

> and as such it is a temporary state that ends when the initiate is reincorporated into the social structure. (n. pag.)

Por otra parte, Jason Horsley medita sobre la liminalidad desde una perspectiva cultural que se enfoca en la psicología del sujeto, la cual nos ayuda a comprender el estado de incertidumbre que se expresa en los ensayos de Ponte, así como en las memorias de Cabrera Infante:

> En el ámbito social, la liminalidad se refiere a períodos de caos en los que viejas estructuras, instituciones o tradiciones han sido derrocadas o destruídas, y en los que aún no se han establecido nuevas. Las personas atrapadas en una situación liminal no pueden actuar racionalmente porque han desaparecido las estructuras en las que su racionalidad está basada. Estar en un estado liminal significa crisis para la mayoría de las personas; las emociones se desatan y hacen que sea difícil pensar claramente. Esto lleva a aquéllos que están atrapados a un comportamiento "mimético" (imitativo). (n. pag.)

Ponte y Cabrera Infante expresan una sensación de estar atrapados en la isla. Los dos narradores buscan encontrar una comprensión de la relación de su vida con su época y es, precisamente, la tensión entre el presente de la escritura y la reconstrucción del pasado la cual provee a estas memorias su mayor interés.

Guillermo Cabrera Infante: "Ya él no estaba en Cuba" (342)

Mapa dibujado por un espía describe la experiencia de no poder salir de Cuba durante cuatro meses, época en la que nuestro autor había regresado a su país para asistir a los funerales de su madre, Zoila Infante en 1965. *Mapa* es la historia de una espera postergada y casi absurda, suerte de tragedia moderna donde no pasa nada, la cual refleja el deseo del autor de configurar un modelo expresivo que le permita manifestar la tristeza que siente ante el decaimiento del proceso revolucionario. A su vez, Cabrera Infante aprovecha el modelo confesional que le brinda la escritura autobiográfica.

El testimonio que Cabrera Infante nos ofrece en *Mapa* es una forma significativa de la historia de Cuba durante la década de los sesenta. Sobre todo, su contenido—narrado en tercera persona y en forma de encuentros o conversaciones entre el autor y sus amigos—nos muestra los efectos de la historia en su vida personal.[2] Tales sucesos se comuni-

can mediante un estilo desnudo, intencionalmente repetitivo y monótono, que siempre subraya, a través de casos específicos, la impotencia del ciudadano común ante un sistema dictatorial. Cabrera Infante describe los hechos de forma directa y tersa, que muchas veces contrasta con el horror de lo que se cuenta. Para Cabrera Infante, la Revolución de 1959 y su promesa habían fallado de la misma manera que su propia vida en el exilio no era lo que debería de haber sido.

Los sucesos que se narran en *Mapa* son reflexiones de carácter diverso: historias de expedientes secretos, crónicas de ciudadanos vigilados y meditaciones sobre un país en ruinas. Sus amigos—todos participantes originales del proyecto del 59—entre ellos Gustavo Arcos, Carlos Franqui y Walterio Carbonell—se encontraban en una situación vulnerable y peligrosa, ya que una segunda generación de revolucionarios agresiva y sedienta de poder los acechaba y trataba de acusarlos de contrarrevolucionarios. Ya desde su llegada, en camino a casa de su madre, Franqui confirma al autor el estado vulnerable en que se encuentran todos sus amigos y advierte a Cabrera Infante que sería mejor que su hermano Sabá se quedara en Europa y no asistiera al velorio de su madre: "Aquí ha comenzado una etapa de persecución y dogmatismo y sería mejor que [Sabá] se quedara en España" (45). Las palabras de Franqui vaticinan y, a la vez, resumen el horror que va a experimentar Cabrera Infante en su propia carne.

Al discurso de la crónica histórica—lleno de tristeza, melancolía y monotonía—el cual narra ejemplos de lo duro que era vivir en Cuba en 1965, le acompaña otro discurso liminal que se separa del primero por su tono íntimo y confesional en el cual el escritor constantemente oscila entre el sentimiento de estar atrapado [insilio] y el querer y a la vez el no querer salir de su país. De hecho, en el último tercio del texto, Cabrera Infante crea un espacio liminal entre su crisis personal y la historia cultural de Cuba, que de cierta manera lo paraliza. En estos segmentos la condición dividida del autor refleja una perspectiva fragmentada, producto del desplazamiento inminente del narrador. De ahí que el concepto de *la liminalidad* (estar en el umbral o limen entre dos espacios o etapas) sirva para localizar la perspectiva de un escritor a punto de exiliarse como lo era Cabrera Infante en aquella época de su vida.

En las últimas 100 páginas del libro, las cuales narran los días inmediatos a la salida de Cabrera Infante de su país, la memoria agudiza la crisis liminal del narrador. Si por una parte Cabrera Infante ya presiente su exilio, por otra, sabe que—como no ha roto oficialmente relaciones con el gobierno cubano —la posibilidad de regresar aún existe. El memorista admite que se encuentra en una situación provisional e intermedia: "Ya él no estaba en Cuba o estaba en esa zona de los preparativos de un viaje largo en que se está más allá del viaje aún antes

de emprenderlo" (342). A su vez, el autor quiere repasar los hechos que le ayuden a comprender su situación y la de sus amigos, antiguos revolucionarios ahora caídos en desgracia. Su amigo, el escritor Carlos Franqui, se da cuenta de la situación en que se encuentra el autor y le hace confrontar su indecisión en cuanto a la política del gobierno cubano: "Ahora se trata de que tú te quieres ir y al mismo tiempo no quieres pelearte con la Revolución. Esa es una posición difícil, aunque yo te recomiendo que la mantengas" (319–20). Exilado sin exilarse, Cabrera Infante pudo también sentir el desplazamiento que acompaña al exilado. De hecho, en *Mapa* la liminalidad ocurre en dos niveles: el primero es explícito y se relaciona a la política del narrador, mientras que el segundo nivel expresa una liminalidad psicológica o moral que a veces el mismo autor no entiende o rehúsa admitir que existe, subtexto que requiere la interpretación del lector.[3]

Liminalidad explícita

Cabrera Infante comparte con el lector su estrategia o plan para sobrevivir en Cuba hasta poder obtener la salida que le negaba el gobierno: "él sabía que se había vigilado, que había obrado y obraba astutamente, con cautela, que no había descuidado un momento en su misión, que era la de irse de Cuba" (314). A través de la memoria, el autor insiste en su propósito de mantenerse en la cerca e indica que ser discreto y mantenerse callado era la única manera de protegerse del gobierno castrista hasta que llegara el momento de lograr abandonar el país. En estas ocasiones, el narrador/protagonista se presenta críptico en su docilidad y aceptación del final de un ideal por el cual él y sus amigos habían luchado. Por ejemplo, cuando su amigo, el dramaturgo Antón Arrufat, le comenta que "a Cuba le esperaban días oscuros y que no quedaba más que protestar," Cabrera Infante responde que "él no creía que se podía hacer nada, que había que aceptar el futuro como un destino inexorable" (298). Más tarde, durante una conversación con su amiga, Marta Frayde, el autor expresa la misma pasividad: "Ahora no queda más que vivir sin el menor ruído posible"(248). Y, en un intercambio triste con el disidente afrocubano Walterio Carbonell, el autor le aconseja a Carbonell de no arriesgarse:

> . . . él creía que de estar en Cuba había que estar lo más callado y quieto, lo más quedo posible. Había que presentar el más bajo de los perfiles y, si no se podía soportar la situación, irse [. . .] en todo caso, habló de ser cauto y de no enfrentarse al aparato represivo de la Revolución, sino callarse y huir en la mejor ocasión posible. (342)

Carbonell, periodista quien había sido compañero y buen amigo de Cabrera Infante, vivió hasta su muerte en Cuba y nunca tuvo miedo de las consecuencias de ser disidente. El autor declara su admiración ante la valentía de su amigo, comportamiento que él no podía o no se atrevía a emular.

En otras ocasiones Cabrera Infante admite al lector que necesita fingir para sobrevivir y explica cómo había mentido a las autoridades sobre el contenido de su obra creativa y sus planes para futuros libros:

> Allí, en la entrevista, él proponía soluciones para el problema del escritor revolucionario diciendo que para un verdadero escritor revolucionario la revolución misma presentaba las soluciones. Además prometía unos libros por venir dedicados todos a la literatura revolucionaria—no a una literatura que fuera revolucionaria sino a una literatura de la Revolución. Al responder las preguntas, él bien sabía que no tenía intenciones de escribir tales libros, como al mismo tiempo pensaba que la política y la literatura estaban reñidas de por vida. (188–89)

Al examinar su propio comportamiento en cuanto a la política, Cabrera Infante no lo defiende sino que lo presenta con franqueza, a veces añadiendo comentarios sobre lo que no hizo o lo que debió haber hecho. Quizás por miedo a las autoridades, su falsa conducta se extiende también hacia quienes consideraba amigos y confiaban en él. Cuando su amiga Sara se queja de la falta de alimentos, él le responde "con la declaración hipócrita (solo él podía medir lo insondablemente hipócrita que era) [...] que estaba harto con la preocupación cubana por la comida, que quería que le hablaran de otra cosa, de razones más profundas para estar decontento" (356).

Otras veces, Cabrera Infante admite al lector su cauta hipocresía, como conducta necesaria para poder asegurarse la salida del país. Por ejemplo, cuando sus amigos artistas homosexuales, entre ellos Antón Arrufat y Virgilio Piñera—quienes temían ser encarcelados por su política disidente—le cuentan al autor sobre sus planes de protesta, el autor no está nada de acuerdo con ellos: "Me parece-dijo-que están ustedes equivocados. No se debe de hacer ninguna manifestación pública» (86). Sin embargo, Cabrera Infante admite al lector su propia incomodidad con lo que les había dicho a sus amigos aunque está lejos de comprender las razones de su conducta: «Tiempo después le pesarían estas palabras, y esa misma noche él no supo decir si hablaba como amigo o como diplomático» (87). La reacción del escritor, narrada desde el exilio [y desde el presente de la escritura], provee al lector

otra perspectiva que revela que siente cierta culpa o arrepentimiento de no haberles aconsejado a sus amigos que actuaran más decisivamente. A través de estos relatos o conversaciones Cabrera Infante busca una manera de recordar el pasado que a la vez le sirva al narrador como desahogo y como autoanálisis.

Liminalidad implícita

Existe también en el libro de Cabrera Infante una liminalidad social o moral—aludida en la definición de La Shure—que en el caso de Cabrera Infante tiene que ver con su relación con Silvia, una chica joven de quien admite haberse enamorado durante los cuatro meses de espera en Cuba:

> Se dijo que se estaba enamorando de Silvia y a la vez se dijo que eso no era posible porque él amaba a Miriam Gómez que estaba allá en Bélgica. Pero, se preguntó ¿y si fuera cierto? ¿si estuviera enamorado de Silvia, qué pasaría? ¿O podría amar a dos mujeres al mismo tiempo? (298)

Su estado emocional es tal que no puede entender sus emociones o comprender exactamente cómo se siente. El autor confiesa su obsesión con la muchacha, quien se convierte en su amante y hasta duda de lo que quiere para sí mismo: "¿Era que comenzaba a pensar en quedarse en Cuba?" (302). Durante su prolongada estadía en Cuba, el escritor se encuentra en un estado de crisis, donde sus criterios y creencias comienzan a desmoronarse: "Él sabía que estaba librando una carrera contra el tiempo, tratando de ganar espacio entre él y la realidad inmediata" (313). La ambigüedad predomina en su comportamiento y sus reacciones indican su propia confusión: "Luego, unos días más tarde, comprendió que una parte suya no quería dejar Cuba" (328).

Por último, el lector puede también identificar en el libro de Cabrera Infante una voz que él mismo ignora. Es importante destacar que esta voz, que solo el lector puede entrever, revela consecuencias psicológicas para el escritor, ya que tiene que ver con su comportamiento hacia amigos y familia que lo querían y creían en él. Por ejemplo, cuando su hija Anita se queja de que él siempre puede contar con invitaciones para almorzar, mientras que ellos en casa, a veces, no pueden hacerlo por el racionamiento tan estricto de la comida, el autor reacciona de forma violenta e inesperada y le pega a su hija: «Había detestado con toda su alma la manera tan vulgar, cubana, chusma, con que su hija le había hablado, pero no sabía por qué le había pegado. Tampoco podía entender su rabia sorda» (233). Cuando golpea a su hija sin motivo, el

lector puede intuir que Cabrera Infante sabía que su situación era distinta a la de su familia y presiente que su «rabia sorda» se originaba en el hecho de que no podía admitirse a sí mismo tal situación de privilegio.

La misma sensación de remordimiento *no examinado* se repite el día en que el memorista puede finalmente abandonar la isla: "Él, aunque se iba como exilado secreto, saldría por los salones de protocolo, los que usa el ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores para sus funcionarios y los demás organismos como sala de despedida de los invitados a Cuba" (374). El narrador se compara (con cierta culpa que no admite) con los cubanos que se iban para siempre del país y que estaban también en el aeropuerto ese día pero agrupados en la llamada "pecera de los gusanos" (374).

Mapa en su totalidad es un libro de pérdida: de la madre, del país, de los amigos y hasta de una amante. Su desnudez contrasta con la prosa luminosa de *Tres tristes tigres* y nos hace considerar a esta memoria póstuma como el reverso de su famoso libro. En *Mapa*, La Habana es una ciudad destrozada, lugar de conversaciones tristes y calladas las cuales contrastan con la energía y vitalidad del libro premiado (148, 157). Aquí también aparecen escenas y personajes, que ya habíamos conocido en aquél famoso libro como la Estrella y Rine Leal—ahora sin lustre, de una manera gris y sin adornos (187). El pasado parece haber escogido a Cabrera Infante, ya que las memorias de estos cuatro meses se quedan en su mente de manera indeleble y el autor necesita compartirlas para poder entenderlas y entenderse a sí mismo.

Antonio José Ponte : "Dentro de Cuba no veía a Cuba"(17)

En una reseña fechada (2013) que aparece en *Diario de Cuba*, Ponte comenta sobre la recién publicada memoria póstuma de Cabrera Infante:

> *Mapa dibujado por un espía* [. . .] está meticulosamente imaginado en su forma circular. Se trata de una obra imperfecta, aunque completa, y me atrevo a agradecer el hecho de que Cabrera Infante no la trabajara más, de que no se empeñara en sacarle estilo. Porque, de haberlo hecho, probablemente habría traicionado el tono de esta narración. Y es que La Habana de 1965 no es ya la ciudad que estará luego en sus libros más conocidos. No quedan en ella lugares, sino rescoldos de lugares. El ambiente político soporta mal los juegos de palabras y, antes de abandonarse a las bromas, es preciso calcular lo que se habla. (n. pag.)

En una curiosa coincidencia, Ponte había publicado una serie de ensayos en el 2007 que tenían mucho en común con el libro póstumo de Cabrera Infante. *La fiesta vigilada* nos presenta a Ponte como testigo solitario de la misma ciudad abandonada de Cabrera Infante; solo que ahora Ponte se convierte en historiador o mediador de una época que *no vivió*, evocando recuerdos de fiestas o eventos que nunca conoció en persona y que ahora ensaya e imagina para el lector. Ponte narra estos eventos desde un espacio liminal que produce más de una perspectiva.

Publicado a raíz de su salida permanente de la isla, el libro de Ponte nos da otro ejemplo de la historia regresiva de la Revolución y como ésta es meditada por generaciones de escritores más jóvenes que crecieron y se educaron durante esta época. En esta colección de cuatro ensayos sobre la censura, la represión y la vigilia, Ponte encuentra un espacio para meditar su presente de escritor en un país que parece asfixiarlo y en una ciudad donde el ensayista se describe a sí mismo como "el último habitante de una ciudad abandonada" (31).

Si por una parte Ponte idealiza un pasado que no vivió y pre-siente la angustia de un futuro de exilio, por otro lado, el ensayista lucha por evitar lo personal, lo sentimental y se esfuerza en aparecer distanciado y consciente de la manipulación por un régimen represivo que vende "el perfume de un país" a aquellos cubanos que viven fuera de él (138–39).

En "*Caja negra de la fiesta*"—a través de memorias mediadas como grabaciones y filmes—Ponte traza la evolución negativa de la fiesta en Cuba a partir de 1959 y compara la espontaneidad del documental *P.M.* de Sabá Cabrera Infante (1960) con la rigidez de eventos culturales posteriores tales como el *Buena Vista Social Club* (1990), una "fiesta vigilada" y sancionada por el gobierno cubano que, según el autor, intentaba "animarse por edicto" (97). Ponte examina tales *performances* como eventos cruciales que representaban por su carácter e impacto en el público cubano—de adentro y de la diáspora—ejemplos de la degradación y el fracaso del proyecto revolucionario.

Entre las variadas *performances* que son sujeto del análisis cultural de Ponte, se encuentra un episodio que recrea la visita de la Orquesta Aragón a los Estados Unidos, el 28 de diciembre de 1978. Ponte tiene acceso a esta visita mediante una grabación que escucha en una tienda de música cuando estudiaba de becado en Portugal. La estadía en la ciudad de Porto expone la relación compleja y conflictiva de Ponte con Cuba y su angustia de querer y no querer abandonarla. Durante este período se revela la crisis liminal de Ponte, narrador que busca aliviar la experiencia del éxodo, imaginándose su desplazamiento *antes de que le sucediera*, como si anticipar tal cosa pudiera servirle para amortiguar la angustia que ya sabe inevitable.

El narrador reconstruye en palabras el concierto de la Aragón y, a medida que transforma los sonidos de la orquesta en imágenes para el lector, lo describe como: "una función de teatro dónde cada gesto iba cargado del más pleno sentido" (133). En efecto, Ponte da una nueva vida y anima la realidad de aquel evento musical y, mientras narra lo que escucha, el autor también imagina los movimientos de los músicos en la escena: "seguramente Bacallao se desliza jabonoso por el escenario" (135). Esta recreación es curiosa porque sabemos que Ponte no tiene acceso a los gestos de los músicos ni a su teatralidad.

Sin embargo, el objetivo de Ponte al recrear la histórica visita de la Orquesta Aragón a los Estados Unidos es doble, ya que no sólo imagina lo que había ocurrido aquella noche en Lincoln Center, sino que también comparte con el lector la melancolía que siente al escuchar aquel concierto grabado en 1978:

> De esa noche en Lincoln Center oigo menos la música que los ruidos, más al público que a los artistas. Como si se tratara de fotografía, escucho el negativo de una grabación. Soy ciego y con la yema de un dedo palpo lo plano que rodea a los signos en relieve . . . escuchar una grabación en vivo despierta desesperación por ver. Soy un ciego empeñado en leer blancos [. . .]. Entendida de este modo, una canción es el lapso entre dos ruidos de sala. Y podrá juzgarse por el efecto que consigue. (137)

El autor se "empeña" en leer los blancos o vacíos de este fragmento, aquéllo que ocurría mientras la orquesta *no tocaba,* porque esos silencios lo llevan a inventarse una escena que le sirve para amortiguar su futuro exilio. En este pasaje el narrador declara su preferencia, no por la música de la Aragón, sino por "los silencios o ruidos que ocurren entre las canciones," describiéndose a sí mismo como "un ciego empeñado en leer blancos." De hecho, la experiencia del ensayista es pública y privada a la vez ya que, al imaginar la vida de aquellos inmigrantes cubanos que habían ido a escuchar una de las orquestas más famosas de su país, el escritor se identifica con ellos. Al final de la grabación, Ponte describe cómo la multitud desaloja la sala y es aquí cuando el ensayista se dispone a interpretar "los blancos" de la sala de Lincoln Center: "Se apagan los ruidos de la sala y afuera queda el frío de la noche en New York, la nieve que flota e intenta meterse entre las pestañas, el retorno a lo que horas antes, al salir hacia el concierto se entendía como casa" (137).

El concierto grabado que Ponte imagina para el lector lo lleva hacia una articulación valoradora de su presente y hacia una identidad que tiene que ver con su exilio inminente. La descripción recae otra vez en

lo personal: la imposibilidad de una casa en el exilio y la extrañeza del clima. El autor se identifica con aquel público inmigrante porque siente que está a punto de ser uno de ellos. Tal como lo había hecho José Martí en sus *Escenas americanas* y también Reinaldo Arenas en *El portero*, Ponte *ya escribe* dentro de la tradición de los escritores cubanos exiliados. Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo el autor sabía que podía regresar a su país, ya que aún no había roto definitivamente relaciones con Cuba.

¿En qué consiste escribir sobre una historia no vivida ni tampoco vista, mediada por una grabación? A través del concierto grabado, Ponte capta un momento de crisis en su vida y busca reconstruirse a sí mismo en la ausencia que presiente. La memoria vicaria, nos dice Beatriz Sarlo, nos informa más acerca de aquél que recuerda que sobre el sujeto o la memoria que se recuerda. Una memoria mediada y accedida mediante vías públicas como el episodio del concierto de la Aragón, nunca recupera lo perdido sino "una comprensión de lo que se ha perdido", que, según Sarlo, trata de "un vacío no recuperable de ninguna otra forma" (153). Bautizadas con el neologismo de "posmemorias" por Marianne Hirsch en relación con la literatura del Holocausto, la memoria vicaria se convierte en autobiografía para quien la narra y, en el caso de Ponte, se convierte en texto que pre-siente y anuncia su exilio. El pasado recreado mediante la grabación, "posmemoria" de aquella visita de la Orquesta Aragón, tiene por objeto una recuperación que coloca a Ponte "en el lugar del ausente" (Sarlo, 155).

Hacia el final del episodio, el discurso melancólico que había caracterizado al segmento se torna amargo e irónico. Aquí Ponte siente la necesidad de aclarar que existe una "lucidez engañosa" que le impide tomar sus sentimientos en serio, a pesar de que lo que hemos leído es triste y profundo. El autor se esfuerza en no expresar sentimentalidad alguna e intenta destrozar o demoler la posible emoción que antes había expresado:

> Durante mi año de beca en Portugal la música cubana comenzaba a invadir los comercios de música. Música y perfume tenían el poder de remitir a falsos recuerdos . . . La música era agente de situaciones nunca sucedidas . . . ¿Qué clase de fiesta había adentro?. . . Un aroma o una música traían memorias de cuando no se estaba vivo. (138–39)

La música exportada al exilio, como el concierto de la Aragón en NYC o los filmes como *El Buena Vista Social Club*, se describen en este ensayo como "cantos de sirena" para el público emigrado, destinado a ser víctima de la seducción comercial propagada por el sistema.[4] A Ponte también le tocaría presenciar la fiesta manipulada, lo que él llama "la

fiesta por edicto", solo que tenía que estar consciente de su poder de seducción para poder siempre verla con la distancia del "*insider*" y no con la emoción del exilado. El autor denuncia las estrategias mercantiles de un régimen represivo que vendía "el perfume de un país" a aquellos cubanos que vivían fuera de él (140).

Tampoco olvida Ponte que la visita de la Orquesta Aragón es una "fiesta vigilada" y que dentro de la delegación habría, sin duda, colegas músicos prestos a delatar a cualquiera que estuviera en contra del gobierno que los envió a NY como emisores culturales (133). Escribirlo y saberlo, sin embargo, no garantiza que el escritor no fuera también víctima de ese soborno y, de ahí, la tensión entre la melancolía que había expresado al escuchar el concierto y la frialdad de saberse manipulado por un sistema responsable de fabricar el falso "perfume" de la música. Sin embargo, al final del episodio, el ensayista admite que no es inmune a esa manipulación: "Y al escuchar ponía tanto cuidado en no lagrimear como en no mover demasiado las piernas, contención sentimental y de bailador" (138). Exiliado sin exilarse, la reconstrucción imaginada del episodio de la Orquesta Aragón le permite a Ponte sentir las emociones contrarias que conlleva la condición liminal y admitir que aquellas canciones le habían llegado "directo al corazón" (140).

Según Beatriz Sarlo, el giro posmoderno es siempre personal. El caso cubano se complica y se explica si tenemos en cuenta el efecto de la dimensión liminal en la literatura exílica. A través del libro, Ponte reitera la sensación de ser uno de los pocos escritores que no habían hecho la decisión de dejar el país: "Y sólo a estas altas horas de la noche (ahora que escribo) podría tomárseme por el último historiador de un pasado que nunca vivió" (157).

Tal como había ocurrido en *"Caja negra de la fiesta,"* en el tercer ensayo de libro, *"Un paréntesis de ruinas"* la poética de la narración otra vez fluctúa entre un discurso que admite seducción por la estética de la ruina y otro discurso de denuncia que anula al anterior al recordarnos que la ruina habanera es solo una invención creada para el consumo turístico: "Fabricar un vacío dónde falla una construcción es recurso socorrido en una ciudad que ha perdido el hábito de edificar" (149).[5] Por otra parte, entre los dos discursos sobre la ruina—el académico y aquél que protesta las injusticias—el autor inserta un episodio que sirve como un "paréntesis" y que otra vez lo remite al momento liminal de su exilio y a su indecisión sobre irse o no irse de su país (157–59).

En un episodio clave, Ponte narra un sueño en el cual conversaba con un puente humanizado. El autor recuerda al lector que el significado de su apellido en portugués era "puente" y que el sueño era una representación en diálogo consigo mismo:

> Un puente es relación sobre el vacío . . . El insomne no olvida, para sus recriminaciones, que en ese mismo instante tendría que estar durmiendo. Suele pensarse a la vez como despierto y durmiente, sufre bilocación. Y durante mi desvelo portugués yo agregaba más bifurcaciones a esa disposición doble. Porque indeciso entre exilio y retorno, me imaginaba en un lugar y en otro. (158)

La imagen liminal del puente le brinda al ensayista otro espacio que le permite narrar—en las palabras de La Shure—desde "los intersticios y desde las grietas" (n. pag.). El sueño, o "paréntesis" de carácter personal, es significativo ya que reitera la indecisión del narrador sobre lo que debe hacer, así como la doblez discursiva y emocional del ensayo. Al igual que en el episodio de la Orquesta Aragón, Ponte quiere imaginarse—antes de tiempo, esta vez en un sueño—cómo se siente el exilio, ya que en el sueño su alter ego ya "sufre bilocación". La conversación en el sueño con aquel puente "humanizado", posee también la calidad efímera de estar y no estar ("relación sobre el vacío") y se convierte así en metáfora de la condición liminal de Ponte.

"Una visita al museo de la inteligencia," ensayo que cierra el libro, relata la experiencia de ser espiado, es decir, la vida que Ponte experimentó en su propia carne. Aquí el narrador busca justificarse ante el lector admitiendo que "todos éramos policías" (235). En este final Ponte visita el museo de la inteligencia, sede del sistema represivo de la isla, y demanda que lo dejen ver su expediente. Otra vez el escritor narra desde un espacio (esta vez ficticio) que oscila y que admite más de una posibilidad. El libro termina bruscamente con una meditación sobre el efecto de la tecnología y su relación a las prácticas represivas de los gobiernos totalitarios. Nos dice Ponte, con cierta ironía, que historias como la propia no tienen ya sentido, porque expedientes secretos como el suyo podrían ser borrados por sistemas represivos como el de Cuba con "un simple golpe de tecla" (239). Ponte se distancia de su propia historia de exilio mediante un discurso irónico, manera cínica de contrarrestar el diálogo emocional, que anteriormente había entablado con el lector sobre la crisis personal que implicaba dejar su país.

¿Cómo narrar el exilio?

El análisis de la poética autobiográfica de estas dos memorias abre interpretaciones que hubieran quedado cerradas si consideramos los dos textos por separado.[6] Los episodios en *Mapa dibujado por un espía,* tanto como los ensayos de *La fiesta vigilada,* se relacionan mediante

una estructura reiterativa; cada segmento regresa al mismo momento en la vida de los narradores: la época del pre-exilio. El tiempo de la escritura no pasa sino que *repasa* el momento de la salida del país por estos autores, la narración no progresa sino que vemos en cada ensayo la misma situación desde múltiples perspectivas, algunas alegóricas y otras autobiográficas.

Roy Pascal escribe que una autobiografía es un modo de escribir que se concierne, no con el pasado en una forma concreta, sino también con una memoria contemporánea de ese presente (1960: 7). ¿Cómo narrar desde el exilio el momento crítico de cambiar una vida por otra? La respuesta de Cabrera Infante había sido acudir a una poética de la memoria que le permitiera analizar a su país, pero también analizarse a sí mismo desde el presente de la autobiografía. En el caso de Ponte la respuesta a tal disyuntiva sería preservar la tradición de "*los viejos escritores*" y, a la vez, acudir a una poética, la cual oscila entre la nostalgia y la ironía.

La tensión entre el Cabrera Infante aún idealista que llega a Cuba, esperando salir en una semana, y el Cabrera Infante que busca ordenar los hechos desde el exilio provee el mayor interés a la lectura de su memoria. Elizabeth Bruss indica que en toda autobiografía o recuento autobiográfico, el narrador es simultaneamente testigo de los eventos narrados, participante de esos mismos eventos y muchas veces historiador de ellos, ya que a veces el narrador se coloca fuera de la historia y asume el papel de comentarista (1–31). En el presente del exilio que es también el presente de la escritura, Cabrera Infante busca atribuir significado a la experiencia traumática que fue abandonar su país. Sin embargo —dada la pluralidad de subjetividades en las voces que escuchamos en esta memoria—aquellos comentarios que relatan el futuro más allá de la escritura otorgan al recuento su verdadero horror, ya que confirman con gran ironía la negra suerte que acaecería a muchos de sus amigos—en especial Gustavo Arcos, Alberto Mora y Walterio Carbonell—quienes no sospechaban las desgracias que les sucederían en un futuro no muy lejano.

Por otra parte, los ensayos de Ponte introducen en el discurso de su generación una temática reservada para olas migratorias previas: el exilio como sujeto y poética. Si los ensayos que abren y cierran el libro de Ponte sirven para plantear preguntas o posibilidades sobre cómo escribir el exilio, las respuestas se encontrarían en las prácticas discursivas evidentes en el segundo y tercer ensayo ("*Caja negra de la Fiesta*" y "*Un paréntesis de ruinas*"). El concierto de la Orquesta Aragón, escuchado fragmentariamente en Porto, nos remite a otro tiempo y lugar. Mientras narra este y otros episodios, Ponte se mantiene "entre fronteras," dentro el espacio narrativo de limen, y rehúsa confrontar

el futuro que se le avecina. Tales reflexiones sobre conciertos, puentes y expedientes perdidos nos brindan una excelente oportunidad para explorar el vacío del exilio que Ponte se empeña en leer: aquél que se encuentra entre el espacio liminal de la nostalgia y la ironía distanciada del narrador posmoderno.

Vistos en conjunto, el libro póstumo de Cabrera Infante provee un testimonio histórico a la generación de Ponte y queda como una memoria intencionalmente fragmentada que nos permite conocer muy de cerca al famoso novelista. Es evidente que, a pesar de haber vivido durante épocas muy distintas, los dos narradores residieron en el espacio del limen, conocieron el miedo y, finalmente, tuvieron la suerte de poder escapar diferentes versiones cubanas de la represión y la censura.

Notas

1. Habría que tener en cuenta aquí que la condición "bilocal" del escritor exiliado se distingue del estado liminal del autor *a punto de exiliarse*. El sujeto liminal puede oscilar entre dos espacios, mientras que el sujeto bilocal siempre está en un local y solo le es posible añorar el otro. Es por eso que la condición liminal es solo temporal y la condición bilocal tiende a ser la situación de todo escritor exiliado.

2. *Mapa*, aunque escrito mayormente en la tercera persona, coincide con la definición del relato autobiográfico de Phillipe Lejeune, la cual requiere una correspondencia explícita entre la identidad del autor y la del narrador (1989: 1–30).

3. En su estudio sobre la voz liminal en la autobiografía, Josie Arnold hace una lectura basada en el conocido ensayo de Barthes "The Grain of the Voice" (1985). El estudio de Arnold y su lectura del ensayo de Barthes iluminaron mi análisis del subtexto liminal en la memoria de Cabrera Infante.

4. En *Cuban Currency (2008),* Whitfield estudia los efectos en la literatura de la apertura comercial de Cuba al mercado internacional durante y después del Periodo Especial, y examina sus consecuencias en la obra de autores como Pedro Juan Gutiérrez, Zoé Valdés y Antonio José Ponte.

5. La última parte del ensayo lleva a Ponte a convertir la ruina en objeto estético y al ensayista en historiador de la literatura sobre las ruinas. Aquí la ruina es historia, pero esta historia no tiene nada que ver con Cuba. Mientras que el discurso de la ciudad en decadencia evoca—con T.S. Eliot y Thomas Mann —el proceso de destrucción de la ciudad moderna, el discurso académico de Ponte ahora señala las dicotomías convencionales del barroco: lo eterno y lo temporal. El tema ha producido una variedad de estudios sobre Ponte y el sujeto de las ruinas. El ya mencionado estudio de Whitfield es uno de los más completos.

6. Véase mi estudio: "Soy un ciego empeñado en leer blancos": Liminalidad y posmemoria en *La fiesta vigilada* de Antonio José Ponte."

Obras Citadas

Alvarez Borland, Isabel, "Soy un ciego empeñado en leer blancos": Liminalidad y posmemoria en *La fiesta vigilada* de Antonio José Ponte." *Caribe* 13.2 (2010–2011): 111–29. Impreso.

Arnold, Jessie. "The liminal and apophatic voice of the writer in/as autobiography: a subjective academic narrative". *Text* 14.1 (2010): 1–20. Web. 9 de septiembre de 2015. <http://www.textjournal.com.au/april 10/arnold.htm>.

Barthes, Roland. *Le Grain de la voix: Entretiens 1962–1980*. Paris: Seuil, 1981. Impreso.

Bruss, Elizabeth. *Autobiographical Acts: The Changing Situation of a Literary Genre*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1976. Impreso.

Cabrera Infante, Guillermo. *Mapa dibujado por un espía*. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2013. Impreso.

Cabrera Infante, Guillermo. *Tres tistes tigres*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1967. Impreso.

Hirsch, Marianne. *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997. Impreso.

Horsley, Jason. "La historia vista desde un espejo liminal". *pijamasurf.com* (2015): n. pag. Web. 4 de enero de 2016. <http:// pijamasurf.com/2015/02/26/>.

La Shure, Charles. "What is Liminality?" *liminality.org*. Charles La Shure, 18 Oct. 2005. N. pag. Web. 15 de agosto 2015. <http://www.liminality.or/about/what is liminality>.

Lejeune, Phillipe. "The Autobiographical Pact." *On Autobiography*. Ed. Paul J. Eakin. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1989. 3–30. Impreso.

Pascal, Roy. *Design and Truth in Autobiography*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960. Impreso.

Pérez Fimat, Gustavo. *Literature and Liminality: Festive Readings in the Hispanic Tradition*. Durham: Duke UP, 1986. Impreso.

Ponte, Antonio José (2014): "Eso que se ve al fondo es La Habana." *Diario de Cuba*. Diario de Cuba, 31 Mayo 2014. N. pag. Web. 10 de agosto 2015 <http://www.diariodecuba.com/de-leer/1401221615_8778.html>.

---. *La fiesta vigilada*. Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2007. Impreso.

Sarlo, Beatriz. *Tiempo pasado*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2005. Impreso.

Said, Edward. "Reflections on Exile." *Granta* 13 (Autumn 1984): 157–75. Impreso.

Seidel, Michael. *Exile and the Narrative Imagination*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1986. Impreso.

Turner, Victor. *The Forest of Symbols*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1967. Impreso.

Van Gennep, Arnold. *Rites of Passage*. 1908. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1960. Impreso.

Esther Whitfield. *Cuban Currency.* México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005. Impreso.

Sobre la Autora

Isabel Alvarez Borland es profesora titular en Artes y Humanidades en el departamento de Español en el College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA. Sus libros incluyen *Cuban-American Literature of Exile: From Person to Persona* (1999) y *Discontinuidad y ruptura en Guillermo Cabrera Infante* (1982). También ha co-editado *Negotiating Identities in Cuban American Art and Literature* (2009) y *Identity, Memory, and Diaspora* (2008). Hoy día ejerce como Editora Asociada de la revista *Hispania*. En el 2006 fue co-directora del seminario NEH para profesores universitarios: *Negotiating Identities in Art, Literature and Philosophy: Cuban Americans and American Culture.* Sus ensayos sobre la literatura Cubana y Latinoamericana han aparecido en revistas y antologías,entre ellas *Hispanic Review*, *MLN*, *Revista Iberoamericana*. Email: ialvarez@holycross.edu.

Transgressive Acts: Transnational Travel and Transformative Eating in Judith Ortiz Cofer's "The Witch's Husband"

Karen Cruz

We loved best the quiet hours in the afternoon when the men were still at work and the boys had gone to play serious baseball at the park. Then Mamá's house belonged only to us women. The aroma of coffee perking in the kitchen, the mesmerizing creaks and groans of the rockers, and the women telling their lives in *cuentos* are forever woven into the fabric of my imagination, braided like my hair that day I felt my grandmother's hands teaching me about strength, her voice convincing me of the power of story-telling.

—Judith Ortiz Cofer, "Casa: A Partial Remembrance of a Puerto Rican Childhood" 19

This passage from "Casa," found in *Silent Dancing*, Judith Ortiz Cofer's profoundly personal memoir, traces the powerful ways in which her grandmother's influence has informed her fiction. Ortiz Cofer's understated wit as the men go to play "serious baseball" underscores the writer's intense concern with gender. Her focus on the sensual nature of the experience with the "aroma of coffee" and the rhythmic and "mesmerizing creaks and groans of the rockers" grounds her memories in bodily experience. The quotation also emphasizes the role of the grandmother, undeniably, an influential person in her life, and a significant character in her fiction.

Indeed, more generally, the figure of the *abuela* looms decidedly large in Latina/o culture(s) and literature. For example, Ana Castillo, a well-known Chicana writer, once remarked that "we all have our *abuelita* poems" (qtd. in *Breaking Boundaries* 22, Smith College, April 17, 1987, class lecture), and I would argue, stories, too. Or we might consider the dying grandmother in the first chapter of Dominican writer Loida Martiza Pérez's *Geographies of Home,* a grandmother who telepathically projects herself to her absent daughter, or the vigilant grandmother, Celia, who opens Cristina Garcia's *Dreaming in Cuban* as she scans the island's shoreline for spies. Even a Broadway musical *In the Heights*, written by a Puerto Rican—Lin-Manuel Miranda, now more famous for the smash Broadway musical phenomenon *Hamilton*—features a grandmother. *In the Heights* conjoins the themes of both

the cultural significance of the grandmother and food, as it portrays a young Puerto Rican protagonist, Nina, who embarks for college and carries along her *abuela's* recipes to ameliorate her homesickness. At the conclusion of the musical, after the beloved *abuela* dies, a large mural of her saintly and benevolent face graces a bodega storefront almost like a religious icon and brings both comfort and unity to the struggling Washington Heights Latina/o community.

The central claim of this essay highlights the ways in which Ortiz Cofer's narrative, "The Witch's Husband," deploys and entwines the tropes of travel and of eating in order to articulate the potentially transgressive and transformative effects of both activities in the lives of women. The powerful storytelling of the grandmother in "The Witch's Husband," although not technically a memoir, echoes Ortiz Cofer's own insight that her grandmother's narratorial prowess is "braided" into her fiction too, "like [her] hair that day" ("Casa" 19), a modeling that taught Ortiz Cofer about female strength and female authority.

Narrative skill circulated in the life of Ortiz Cofer in many ways, and indeed, her *abuela* was not the only captivating and proficient storyteller in the Ortiz family circuit. When talking about her *tío,* her uncle, and his visits to Paterson, New Jersey, Ortiz Cofer describes the vitality he brought to her rather somber household with his own inspired storytelling and lifestyle: "He was the spirit of *Navidad* in our house, with just a hint of the Dionysian about him" ("The Gift of a *Cuento*" 37). *Tío* was often on the town gallivanting, womanizing and drinking rum, but the comfort, companionship and entertainment he offered Fanny, Ortiz Cofer's mother, surpassed her mother's mild disapproval of his debauched ways. Ortiz Cofer notes how

> Mami would frown through her first cup of coffee, then break down in girlish giggles when *Tío* told us a new joke or *cuento* he had picked up in his wanderings. I gathered these stories in my memory and brought them out during the loneliest times of my life. They nourished and comforted me, as they had my mother, who was always hungry for words in Spanish during those first years away from the Island. (42)

Many of Ortiz Cofer's texts treat food and consumption as important themes. Her mother's state of exile, and the subsequent solace in the company of tío, the pleasures of the renditions of his excursions and the drinking of coffee, were due in some measure to the fact that her mother rarely ventured out and that only on those occasions accompanied by her father did she journey beyond the safety of their apartment building in Paterson, New Jersey, or El Building, as she dubs it

in her fiction. Hence, the traveling that situated her in a state of exile incited a reluctance to travel out of what had become the relatively safe place of her own building and the immediate environs. These stories "nourished" Ortiz Cofer, as they fed her mother's "hunger" for words in Spanish. Ortiz Cofer's specific word choice highlights the connectedness of desires for both food and language, much as Terry Eagleton demonstrates in "Edible écriture," in which he adeptly explores the connections between writing and food, between the consumption of food and the "consumption" of words, and the various descriptors used for both texts and foods. Eagleton insists that "Food and language of some sort are essential to our survival" (205), necessities that also facilitate and maintain intimate familial bonds.

In Paterson, Ortiz Cofer's parents would shop first at the A&P Supermarket, and then the *bodegas,* Puerto Rican groceries in the barrio where her mother purchased the ingredients for her favorite Puerto Rican dishes. Ortiz Cofer remembers that "The people in these *bodegas* shot Spanish at one another like machine-gun fire. So fast did they speak that I could barely understand what they were saying" ("A Prayer, a Candle, and a Notebook" 25). Because of her father's relative success as a Navy officer, her family often seemed somewhat out of place and overdressed by barrio standards, and she explains we "were suspect to the other customers. Little pockets of silence would form around us as my mother examined the yuccas, plantains and other *viandas* she would need for the week's meals ("A Prayer" 26).

Travel generates another important motif in both Ortiz Cofer's life and writing. Much of her work demonstrates transnational dynamics. The transnational suggests a process through which a person repeatedly engages with at least two different nations. For Ortiz Cofer those specific sites are Paterson, New Jersey, and more recently, Georgia in the United States and Puerto Rico. Ortiz Cofer's life and writing highlight the intense social, cultural, and political relations between Puerto Rico and the United States mainland as she explores their sustained and deeply entangled colonial history. It is clear that transnational travel figured prominently in Ortiz Cofer's early life and many aspects of her rich, hybrid experience inform her imagination. In her youth, she traveled back to Puerto Rico each summer to visit her maternal family, She recounts:

> When I was between the ages of two and fifteen, my family shuffled back and forth between Paterson, New Jersey and Puerto Rico. Our annual migration followed the patterns of my father's tours of duty with the navy. When he reported for

> overseas duty at Brooklyn Yard, we boarded the airbus for San Juan (*The Cruel Country* 30).

Thus, Ortiz Cofer often spent months at a time on the island. This circular migration pattern of movement back and forth from the mainland to the island, a common Puerto Rican experience (what Puerto Ricans call *el vaivén*), provides her work with a dynamic intersection of cultures. From her dual existence arose a challenging and productive tension as she negotiated the demands—cultural, linguistic, even culinary—of two worlds. This ease of mobility is provided by "the airbus," a reference to "*La guagua area*," or the flying bus, a phrase coined by Puerto Rican author Luis Rafael Sánchez in the title of his 1987 short story. While on the island, Ortiz Cofer experienced many aspects of Puerto Rican culture, but perhaps most importantly for her art, she had the unique opportunity to witness the extraordinary social power that comes with telling a tale effectively as she would frequently devour her grandmother's clever and instructive narratives. Thus, these transnational and matrilineal trajectories of storytelling and transmitting knowledge emerge as major facets in the construction of Ortiz Cofer's subjectivity as a "Puertorriqueña" as well as in her literary production.

Forced to engage with an evolving, bicultural identity after her move to the Paterson, navigating her cultural and national otherness, Ortiz Cofer retains a connectedness with Puerto Rico through her frequent visits and, in significant measure, through food, both consuming it and writing about it. In "Woman in Front of the Sun," an excerpt from a short eponymous volume, Ortiz Cofer describes a return trip to Puerto Rico. As the plane touches down in San Juan, she recounts a visceral reaction upon deplaning: "Immediately I can feel the strangely physical way I am changed when I arrive on this island. It is a flutter in my chest, an excitement, a feeling of joyful anticipation. It's almost like falling in love, or maybe the start of a fever" ("Woman" 48). Ortiz Cofer insists that this response is biological as her body "is desperately trying to adjust to the heat and humidity" (48). As she waits for the next flight to Mayagüez, the primary order of business is eating. She makes a beeline for the *fritura* stand:

> The man at the counter waves to me; my order is ready: cod fritters, rice and red beans. My health-conscious daughter would lecture me sternly if she could see what I am about to consume. She would point out that the grease is the fatal flaw in Puerto Rican cuisine. . . .Though I know the sermon verbatim, I dig in. My adipose cells yell, *¡Olé!* My body celebrates the

> orgy of oil and fat and spices. The taste and aroma of the meal take me back to my primal Puerto Rican self. ("Woman" 53)

What is at work here is a similar dynamic to the generational, transnational, and epistemological conflict in "The Witch's Husband," that I will examine below, the kind of transcultural conflict in respective ways of knowing and experiencing the world. For Ortiz Cofer, the sheer satisfaction of consuming this delicious, grease-laden meal trumps any US "progressive" health concern about cholesterol that her daughter's sermon might espouse. Ortiz Cofer relishes every bite as they bring her back to her "primal Puerto Rican self": the food she savors signifies her cultural affiliation and her place on the island. Ortiz Cofer also emphasizes the biological, embodied, and visceral nature of the pleasure of eating as she gives voice to "her adipose cells" that exclaim "¡*Olé!*"

The above passage demonstrates Ortiz Cofer's delight in *la cocina*, in Puerto Rican cuisine. Moreover, the privileging of food in the very title of another of Ortiz Cofer's work, *The Latin Deli,* indicates the salience of the concept of food that permeates many of the poems and stories throughout that volume. In a fairly sustained manner, the literature reveals how food and consumption explore and mark ethnic and gender identity and shape various social connections, especially: male/female relationships. These food-based dynamics reside in the marriage between Corazón and Manuel in the short story "Corazón's Café." In addition, the development of a diasporic ethno-national community, a particular pan-*Latinidad* society, accords with the foodstuffs alluded to in "The Latin Deli: An *Ars Poetica*," especially regarding the matronly figure who resides over the deli. And most importantly for this argument, in her short story "The Witch's Husband," the establishment of a female, and feminist, Puerto Rican community, which perhaps gestures to a larger transnational, even transatlantic, feminist community, is attendant upon a witch's banquet.

For many Puerto Ricans and Latina/os, questions of identity and authenticity are perpetually vexing and hotly contested issues and Ortiz Cofer uses the tropes of traveling and foodstuffs to negotiate her bicultural, bilingual, and transnational experience, partly in an effort to develop an understanding of her bicultural identity but also to signal the way to other female travelers, especially Latinas. This connection between feminist community, food and travel manifests in a variety of ways in her narratives, but most overtly in a salient scene from the, "The Witch's Husband," in which some witches cast a spell, travel by flight, and raid a cellar for a communal feast.

Certainly, all Boricuas do not frame their experience in the United States as exile. Nonetheless, for Ortiz Cofer, the recurrent movements

and dislocations throughout her childhood may have promoted a sense of a transcultural self as she foregrounds in her literary texts many of the complexities of transnational issues such as hybridity, bilingualism, and even the aforementioned special form of traveling, the distinctly Puerto Rican migration experience of *el vaivén*. Significantly, Puerto Ricans who are officially United States citizen and enjoy great freedom of movement between the US mainland and Puerto Rico (unlike immigrants whose presence in the Unites States may or may not be legal, and who are not afforded such mobility between the US and their country of origin), are forced to engage with a dominant US culture and, at the same time, typically may wish to retain a sense of the past and their traditions from the country of origin, the vestiges of that "primal self," a self that Ortiz Cofer is clearly able to feed with each subsequent return trip to Puerto Rico. Ortiz Cofer's experiences thus move away from linear narratives of immigration and assimilation. Her poems and fiction are situated both in Paterson and on the Island as her writing easily flows back and forth like *el vaivén*. In significant measure, a sense of hybrid identity is inscribed in her writing, not solely, but frequently, through representations of travel and food that function as signs about identities in formation and in flux. However, uses of the tropes of travel and food in Ortiz Cofer's texts also articulate moments of pleasure, joy, and liberation from constraining aspects of gender and ethnic oppressions. Under close inspection, the social significations of travel and consumption present Ortiz Cofer's readers important insights into Puerto Rican culture and identity, as her work encourages a renegotiation of gendered subject positions regarding Puerto Rican women in relation to their desires and their autonomy, as well as an articulation of Puerto Rican identity positions more generally as they relate to a white, Anglo-American, hegemonic culture.

These repeated geographical dislocations fostered a sense of not belonging completely to either culture and undermined a static conception of her identity. For example, in *Silent Dancing,* Ortiz Cofer explains:

> As a Navy brat, shuttling between New Jersey and the pueblo, I was constantly made to feel like an oddball by my peers, who made fun of my two-way accent: a Spanish accent when I spoke English; and, when I spoke Spanish, I was told that I sounded like a "Gringa." Being the outsiders had already turned my brother and me into cultural chameleons, developing early the ability to blend into a crowd, to sit and read quietly in a fifth story apartment building for days and days when it was too bitterly cold to play outside . . . (17)

Then, as a young adult, Ortiz Cofer relocated to Georgia. Rather than a unidirectional, assimilationist pattern, Ortiz Cofer's experiences and her literary expressions traverse back and forth from the colony to the metropolis. Even Ortiz Cofer's own phrase "cultural chameleons" reveals the possibility for more than two modes of being, for herself, and for some of her characters.

For a young Puerto Rican, adolescence in the United States frequently entails a racialization, an internalization of the negative representations and stereotypes fostered by many Anglo-Americans and their derogatory stance towards people of color, including Latina/os. Thus, initially Ortiz Cofer experienced a kind of in-betweenness, not entirely fitting in with either Puerto Rican or Anglo cultures as she straddled these two worlds of Paterson and the Island. In addition to these transnational movements, Ortiz Cofer's position was further complicated when the family moved to Georgia. Here lived even fewer Puerto Ricans than there were residing in the major urban areas of the Northeast, and one might reasonably argue that the US South has existed in a subordinated position to the North, especially during the time of Ortiz Cofer's relocation to Georgia, long before the advent of what we now term The New South, long before the massive migration of Northerners and immigration of Mexicans to the southern US. Thus, the reception of Puerto Ricans in New Jersey would have differed fairly dramatically from that of the disposition toward Puerto Ricans by US southerners. This may demonstrate the complex ways that various US citizens relate to their colonial others. Ortiz Cofer's cultural fluidity is one in which multiple layers of identities are mapped onto each other with particular colonialities and tropicalizations at work in this palimpsestic relation, a relation formed by years of ongoing movement between the mainland and the island. Acknowledging the complexity of such experiences encourages a mode of reading Ortiz Cofer's work through a transcultural lens, a lens that highlights the author's emerging consciousness about her identity as a Puerto Rican residing in a new land, the United States, and who frequently travels back to the homeland.

Perhaps as a result of this cultural complexity, Ortiz Cofer eschews labels. In an interview, Rafael Ocasio inquires whether Ortiz Cofer has been influenced much by Nuyorican writers and although she admits that she appreciates their work, she explains:

> There is not just one reality to being a Puerto Rican writer. I am putting together a different view. I am not just one isolated Puerto Rican writer in Louisville, Georgia, who writes about something that no one else has experienced. I am writ-

> ing about any woman whose life takes her to many places and that's the way I'd like to think about it. (45–46)

Basically, Ortiz Cofer's entire opus can be construed as a nuanced effort to make sense of her complicated life experience. Thus, her adulthood and, in a sense, moving to Georgia, allowed her the psychic freedom, the time and space, to begin her practice as a writer. Ortiz Cofer recognizes that only "At a safe distance from the chaotic world I grew up in—and Tennessee Williams was right when he said 'time is the longest distance'—I now have enough space between my selves for my investigation to proceed. And that is why I write. I write to know myself. It is a job that will occupy me for life" ("A Prayer" 21).

In "The Witch's Husband" representations of travel and food function as powerful symbols that reveal social attitudes, values, and relations of power, especially about the gendered self, ethno-nationalism, and community. The trope of travel provides Ortiz Cofer with metaphoric potential that adds texture and richness to her writing. *The Latin Deli* (1993) articulates *la lucha*, the struggle, of a range of Latina characters. Her writings are a witness to the Puerto Rican diasporic experience, a conflicting experience that her writing helps to make sense of. Her notion of writing as quest for self-knowledge and a way of exploring uncharted territory can be inferred in the epigraph to *The Latin Deli*. She cites San Juan de la Cruz "To come to what you do not know, / you must go by the way you do not know" (5). Hence, the transformative potential of the journey is salient from the opening of the volume. Ortiz Cofer indicates that perhaps part of the unknown or unexplored route necessitates being guided, not by tradition, but by female experience. Ortiz Cofer is acutely aware of the societal constraints placed upon women, especially in Latina/o cultures, and so her literary interventions using travel and food offer an alternative way of seeing, imagining, and living with regard to gendered and ethnic identities and relationships.

"The Witch's Husband" is also a tale in which gender, ethnic, and transnational concerns intersect and in which a remarkably pronounced matrilineal, thus gendered, trajectory incorporates various discourses and mysterious rituals. Puerto Rico is an island replete with all types of preternatural and mysteriously inexplicable events. In fact, Ortiz Cofer's hometown Hormigueros is famous for a mystical account of an apparition of Our Lady of Monserrate, in which a local famer, Giraldo González, happened upon an angry bull. Stunned, Giraldo let his machete fall to the ground, and as he stood perilously close to the edge of a steep cliff with nowhere to run, he beseeched the Virgin for mercy, who then appeared with the Christ child in her arms.

Miraculously, the bull knelt down before them and Giraldo was spared immolation (Muckley and Martínez-Santiago 22). In an interview with Ocasio, Ortiz Cofer recalls, "One of the first images I have is of being taken to La Iglesia de la Monserrate. I was baptized there. My father was baptized there. His father was baptized there. The legend permeated my whole childhood" (46). In fact, believers make pilgrimages to the shrine to this day. Other secular magical island tales recount stories of sorcerers and witches.

In "The Witch's Husband," the trope of travel offers both a formal and thematic element to the narrative. The trope occurs in the opening of the tale's realist frame, which includes the granddaughter's journey to Puerto Rico, and in the closing of the realist frame when the grandmother confesses the actual nature of an earlier trip from Puerto Rico to New York City. Travel also figures prominently in the embedded folkloric segment with the tale of the witches. Ortiz Cofer narrates a transnational, potentially conflictual encounter through a first-person narrative in which a granddaughter, an English teacher in an American university, is charged with the task of traveling home to Puerto Rico in order to persuade her stubborn *abuela* to surrender the care of her husband who has severe dementia. Since the grandmother herself suffers from heart disease, the family is concerned that the arduous responsibility of caring for the ailing grandfather will precipitate her demise too. As the granddaughter is about to embark on a rational lecture to the *abuela*, the grandmother inquires "*Mi amor*, would you like to hear a story?" (45). The narrator recollects that this question "stopped her in her tracks" (45) as a child. Abuela then narrates a folkloric tale of a husband who becomes curious regarding his wife's whereabouts each night, so he stays awake until midnight only to find his wife painting her naked body, uttering a brief spell about not believing in God or the Virgin, and then flying out the window. The foolish husband mimics his wife's ritual the next night and then, in hot pursuit, effectively flies out after her. He discovers that the townswomen, "the witches," were all gathered in the cellar of a wealthy man where they raucously indulge:

> With much merriment, they took the meats and cheeses that hung from the bodega's rafters and laid a table for a feast. They drank the fine wines right from the bottle, like men in a cantina, and danced wildly to eerie music from invisible instruments. They spoke to each other in a language he did not understand, words that sounded like a cat whose tail had been stepped on. Still, horrible as their speech was, the food they prepared smelled delicious. Cautiously placing himself in the shadows near one of the witches, he extended his hand

> for a plate. He was given a steaming dish of stewed tongue. Hungrily, he took a bite: it was tasteless. The other witches had apparently noticed the same thing, because they sent one of the younger ones to find some salt. But when the young witch came back into the room with saltshaker in her hand, the man forgot himself and exclaimed: "Thank God the salt is here."(45)

Instantaneously, all of the witches fly back up the chimney, stranding the unfortunate husband. In a rather predictable irony, the husband now cannot replicate their spell and is trapped in the cellar. The next morning, the servants of the master of the house discover the husband, who is blamed for the damage to the cellar. They beat him severely, then throw him naked onto the street where passersby view the sleeping wretch. When he awakens later that night, he vows never to follow his wife again on her mysterious, midnight excursions. Significantly, the title focuses not on the woman, or witch, but rather on her ridiculous husband, as this is indeed a cautionary tale for men. Ortiz Cofer highlights the dangers of attempting to constrain a variety of female appetites as she divulges the multiplicity of women's desires.

In the realistic framing narrative, the *abuela* reminds the granddaughter that years ago she had gone to live in New York City for one year, supposedly to be treated for a heart condition, as the family lore would have it. But the *abuela* also confesses that she had previously run away from her husband and children, and that as a result, the husband became aware of his young wife's profound unhappiness. Thus in a transnational switch, her year in New York was a gift from her husband who suffered two jobs so that she could enjoy freedom in the big city for an entire year, a metropolitan locus for the fulfillment of her desires. He solicits her sister to come to Puerto Rico and help care for the children. The grandmother explains that she was, indeed, sick at heart, burdened with a husband and four demanding children, and depleted by life. She wanted more while she was still vibrant, young and pretty, "full of energy and dreams" (47). She hints to the granddaughter that during that year abroad she "lived" (48) with no further explanation necessary. Stunned by this revelation, the granddaughter then inquires why *abuela* returned to Puerto Rico at all, and the grandmother simply replies that she loved her husband and missed her children. He never asked questions about her year abroad, about her transgressive travel to New York, and she vowed never to leave again unless the grandfather asked her to, and he never did. Thus, the grandmother's word is her bond and she will not renege on the pledge she proffered so many years ago.

The narrator is awash with conflicting emotions after hearing this unexpected confession from the grandmother, a person who she be-

lieved suffered from the female Puerto Rican martyr complex, the idea that a woman's worth is measured by how much suffering, giving, and feeding she can perform in a lifetime. Yet, the grandmother is also a woman who apparently claimed a right to her own happiness, sexuality, and survival so many years ago. Then, the granddaughter turns to look at her failing grandfather who is helplessly scratching at the front door for admittance. The granddaughter has a new understanding of the possibilities for greater compassion and freedom for women in marital relations as Ortiz Cofer offers a characterization of the grandfather that counteracts conventional, stringent, oppressive notions of Puerto Rican, masculine, possessive behaviors and attitudes. The narrator admits: "My eyes fill with tears as I look at the lined face of this beautiful and gentle old man. I am in awe at the generosity of spirit that allowed him to give a year of freedom to the woman he loved, not knowing if she would ever return to him" (49).

The two narratives converge as the *abuela* comforts her granddaughter and whispers, "and in time, the husband either began forgetting that he had seen her turn into a witch or believed that he had just dreamed it" (49). She gently takes her granddaughter's face into her hands and emphatically states, "I am going to take care of your grandfather until one of us dies" (49). The narrator laments that she will have to explain to her own mother that she was unsuccessful in her assignment and then the *abuela* blesses her and closes the tale with the traditional closing "colorín, colorado."

The embedded folkloric narrative uses food as a trope for the sexual desires of women, and quite significantly, they travel to eat. This transgressive eating, the consumption of the meats, the highly ethnic, Puerto Rican dish of "stewed tongue," the cheeses, and fine wines that the witches so hardily ingest, is a vehicle to explore the notion of female freedom and female appetites, themes which correlate well with the realistic, transnational, New York adventure and the sexual appetites of the grandmother in her youth. Furthermore, the folkloric tale about the witches articulates a feminist discourse and demonstrates a particular kind of ethnic community, a female Puerto Rican community. The witches' banquet, a celebratory form of a politics of resistance, provides a counter measure to some of the highly constraining aspects of Puerto Rican womanhood, for example, the self-sacrificial martyr complex that Ortiz Cofer describes. Indeed, the grandmother *she* knows welcomed countless needy children and was always ready to nurture and care for the townspeople. Ironically, in the folk tale, it is the "master's cellar" which becomes a subversive space for female Puerto Rican community as the women gather, to speak in a language that the husband does not comprehend, to dance with abandon, and

to set a stolen feast for themselves as they satisfy their own particular appetites and desires. Indeed, the witches' feast, a lush banquet they spread for their own consumption and enjoyment, is a symbolic victory for Puerto Rican women. Thus, even if many of the women on the island, and elsewhere, cannot effect an actual escape to New York, as the grandmother was able to, or perform a transformative spell that enables them to fly, Ortiz Cofer proposes the idea that through travel and food-based rituals resulting in female community, women may better serve their own gustatory and sexual desires, and preserve their own autonomy in the face of patriarchal limitations.

Philippa Kafka in *Saddling La Gringa: Gatekeeping in Literature by Contemporary Latina Writers* argues that the grandmother character in a number of Latina tales circumscribes younger women through the prescriptive, prohibitive, and "saddling" narratives, as the title suggests, they pass on. While acknowledging that Ortiz Cofer transforms these tales in her own writing, thus making them less damaging for women, she claims that the kind of stories told by these ethnic, cultural "gatekeepers," like the grandmother, actually serve to constrain women and perpetuate the disabling aspects of patriarchy. An example of such gatekeeping, cautionary fables for young women by elder female figures, is the tale of Maria La Loca, the woman who was stranded at the altar and, consequently, loses her mind as depicted in Ortiz Cofer's *Silent Dancing*. Kafka convicts the grandmother as guilty of injurious forms of enculturation and rails against lessons, such as that marriage is the "reward" for some women, "the glorious spoils of war for a 'smart' woman who does not give away her body 'for free'" (11). Kafka explains that, "Cofer uses her delineation of gatekeepers as a double-edged sword for feminist purposes: to destabilize Puerto Rican cultural models about women by exposing these models as unfair and cruel through exposure of the discourse and conduct of the gatekeepers" (10). Though no one can deny that many women are complicit in the perpetuation of patriarchy, and Kafka is surely correct to highlight how this dynamic frequently operates and how Ortiz Cofer transforms these negative cultural models, I do not believe that Kafka takes full enough account of the role of the grandmother in Ortiz Cofer's life or in the story of "The Witch's Husband." Kafka does not even take Ortiz Cofer at her own word. Ortiz Cofer offers this observation: "My grandmother was a homemaker and a feminist in a time when those terms did not co-exist. She was the mother of eight children and my model for strength and determination" (Ocasio 44). Furthermore, in an interview with fellow Hormiguereña scholar Edna Acosta-Belén, Ortiz Cofer explains,

> I learned from these women's very strong sense of imagination. For them, storytelling played a purpose. When my *abuela* sat us down to tell a story, we learned something from it, even though we always laughed. That was her way of teaching. So early on, I instinctively knew that storytelling was a form of empowerment that the women in my family were passing on power from one generation to another through fables and stories. They were teaching each other how to cope with life in a world where women led restricted lives. (86)

Ortiz Cofer understands that her grandmother was offering a feminist discourse and skills for survival in challenging a Puerto Rican, male-dominated world. Through the process of this matrilineal storytelling, the *abuela* also constructs a resistant, feminist community in the context of her own family as the narrator of "The Witch's Husband" recounts how even her "porcelain, pink, baby" daughter (43) has been rocked upon the lap of her great grandmother, thereby intimating the perpetuation of this knowledge and of this female Puerto Rican community.

The perpetuation of this island knowledge might correctly be construed as a "tropicalization." In *Tropicalizations*, a text which challenges the colonizing discourses that have permeated Anglo-American culture and society, "tropicalization," as the editors Aparicio and Chávez-Silverman define its usage, "means to trope, to imbue a particular space, geography, group, or nation with a set of traits, images, and values" (8) that are disseminated through a variety of texts and cultural productions. The editors, however, continue by making an important distinction in their particular use of "tropicalization," namely that with their definition, the cultural agency of the Latina/o subject is acknowledged, even privileged, thereby insisting that cultural influence moves not just in a unidirectional manner, not merely top-down, but rather in a series of transculturations with a dynamic of give and take. To tropicalize from a dominant, Anglo-American position is clearly a hegemonic gesture, however, according to Aparicio and Chávez-Silverman, "[w]e conceptualize *tropicalizations* precisely as a tool that foregrounds the transformative cultural agency of the subaltern subject" (2). Their work also examines how Latina/o writers and artists have internalized, adopted, and transformed hegemonic definitions, almost exploding them from the inside out. Cultural survival embodies a resistance to oppressive tropes. Also, the recognition of tropicalization as an ongoing process is important; the process of tropicalization will continue as the granddaughter and her "porcelain, pink, baby" daughter (43) will return to the United States ensuring the survival of Puerto Rican knowledge.

Furthermore, in "The Witch's Husband," Ortiz Cofer recounts a story that has been transmitted through a matrilineal trajectory in which gender and cultural knowledge are strongly connected to female autonomy and self-identity; the grandmother knows who she is and where her power lies, a power that resides in both her control over language and food, as she provides a model of power for her granddaughter. The *abuela* casts a spell on her granddaughter with her enchanted tale and thus demonstrates the power of storytelling as it is Abuela's narrative that thwarts the granddaughter's mission to persuade the grandmother to relinquish the responsibilities and care of the ailing grandfather. Furthermore, the abuela, like an "earth mother," "had a *recipe* for every pain a child could dream up, and she brought it to your bed in her own hands smelling of earth" (44, emphasis added). Associated with nature and mysteries, like a witch, Abuela has knowledge of occult practices such as the use of fragrant herbs and healing plants from her richly cultivated backyard plot of island soil. The narrator recounts that "[f]rom this patch of weedy-looking plants came all the remedies of my childhood" (43), and the narrator's word choice of "recipes" thus provides useful links among food, magic, and power, just as in the folkloric, magical realist version in which the witches also have access to food, magic, and power in their rituals and feasting.

"The Witch's Husband" is transcultural in that Ortiz Cofer allows her meaning to emerge from the fruitful tension between the two oppositional viewpoints, and two cultural and generational perspectives. Though the stories differ regarding subject matter and locale, they are thematically related in terms of enacting female desire. Furthermore, the transnational dynamic with the Puerto Rican, insular grandmother and the Anglicized narrator, also highlights the difference in terms of epistemological paradigms. Ortiz Cofer explores the implications of the underlying influences and attitudes of both US Anglo-American culture and island epistemology, as she pits US rationalism and its logical limitations of knowledge, against the magical realist story of the grandmother. "The Witch's Husband" articulates some very conventional island notions of femininity—the martyr complex—at the same time that it presents a strong Puerto Rican stubbornness and female will, one that even includes the freedom to determine for herself how the grandmother will spend her remaining time on Earth. Furthermore, the abuela's insular wisdom as expressed through both her masterful storytelling and her control and knowledge of the island flora is yet another example of tropicalization as the narrator will surely carry that island knowledge back to the United States with her in yet another transnational move.

The usual directionality of cultural influence in colonial relationships assumes the hegemonic power, in this case the US, will assert its power upon the cultural contours of its colonial subjects. And, indeed, Ortiz Cofer presents the potential injection of US values into Puerto Rico with the perspective of the granddaughter whose ideas are supposedly more "enlightened" and more "progressive," ideas that support the US penchant for warehousing the elderly with the placement of the grandfather in a nursing home (44). What occurs in the short story, however, is an adamant rejection of hegemonic US values. Rather, the grandmother's intestinal fortitude and insistence upon caring for her husband at home provide the granddaughter with a different model of care, one that will ostensibly travel back to the mainland, a kind of reverse "cultural remittance," to use Juan Flores's term. Flores explains in *The Diaspora Strikes Back* that most investigations of the topic of remittances, what gains get sent back to the country of origin, has focused almost exclusively on financial and cash transfers, and that "the humanistic sense of culture having to do with creative expression [and values] has no role in the analysis" (9). This transmission of culture Flores describes as an "ensemble of ideas, values, and expressive forms introduced into societies of origin by remigrants and their families as they return 'home,' sometimes for the first time, for temporary visits or permanent resettlement" (4). Interestingly, many of the expressive forms of culture, such as hip-hop, have indeed, left their mark on island culture. Yet, in Ortiz Cofer's short story, the values that the "Americanized" granddaughter espouses regarding the care of the ailing grandfather, the cultural remittance so to speak, are rejected as US values become thoroughly undermined. The grandmother demonstrates her insular wisdom and unwaveringly asserts her autonomy, once again, through the tale she recounts so determinedly as she leaves the granddaughter with no doubt that she is in control of her own future, she will care for her husband and she will "die in her own bed" (42).

"The Witch's Husband" is a subversive female story with Abuela in control of both her destiny, and her husband's. Ortiz Cofer employs the narrative strategy of framing, as one realistic tale enfolds an embedded folkloric narrative, a technique that allows the reader to consider the story from multiple perspectives, namely the narrator's, the grandmother's and the reader's. Ortiz Cofer adapts the style of island traditions and the qualities of oral narrative that we see in the aforementioned tales of the Virgin and of the witches, but transforms them in a process of juxtaposition with the realist narrative, which results in a kind of tension that articulates new possibilities for Puerto Rican women, even old women, and also produces an authoritative feminist discourse of self-determination. This feminist discourse, however, may

be transnational in other ways than simply in the narrative's relationship between the US and Puerto Rico. The folk narrative of the witches powerfully dramatizes the theme of freedom largely through the use of food tropes, but also quite significantly through the travel metaphor of flight, a metaphor which may reveal a notable indebtedness to the writing of French feminist Hélène Cixous in her famous essay "The Laugh of the Medusa." Ortiz Cofer thereby establishes a more extensive, transatlantic, feminist community, particularly through the themes of flight and the related theme of stealing. To be sure, the witches perform the action of flying at will and with great facility, a potent image of the resultant freedom that occurs when the women let loose. This feat of magical flight the husband is able to accomplish only once, and then in a position of stasis, he remains unable to duplicate it. In the realist framing narrative, the implications of mobility are evident in the grandmother's ability to effectuate her own transgressive "flight" to New York. This capacity for travel correlates with Cixous's insight that "[f]lying is woman's gesture" (344). She continues, "We have all learned the art of flying and its numerous techniques; for centuries we've been able to possess anything only by flying" (344). In Ortiz Cofer's story with the transgressive witch's banquet, the seizure of the edible, and drinkable, contents of the master's cellar, this theft for the witches' very own pleasure, also confirms this intertexuality as Cixous inquires "what woman hasn't flown/stolen?"; "we've lived in flight, stealing away, finding, when desired, narrow passageways, hidden crossovers. It's no accident that *voler* has a double meaning" (343–44). In may be no coincidence that women and witches converge "in narrow passageways" and in "cellars" in dark, secret spaces to form their "crossover" communities.

Cixous also insists on the association between flying and the transgressive act of female writing as "flying in language and making it fly" (343), as both activities require a daring release, a risky letting go, a flouting of the expectations of customary female activities. She implores women, "Write! and your self-seeking text will know itself better than flesh and blood, rising, insurrectionary dough kneading itself with sonorous, perfumed ingredients, a lively combination of flying colors, leaves, and rivers plunging into the sea we feed" (345). Cixous links these potentially synaesthetic, bodily experiences as she connects the food metaphor of "dough kneading" and of writing the body. In addition, the "insurrectionary dough kneading" also indicates the ways in which women's writing can be revolutionary, an uprising, like the rising of dough from kneading and yeast, women's labour and alchemical reaction. She draws a transgressive parallel with the theological notion of resurrection too as she encourages women to enact their own

transubstantiation as they transmute body into bread, and mysteriously effect their own resurrection of a sort, through words, through female-centered writing. Furthermore, Cixous presents women's writing as continuity between body, "flesh and blood"; nature, the "leaves . . . rivers . . . sea"; and art, the "text," perhaps suggesting that women's resurrection may best be found in this productive continuity, a continuity that patriarchal culture obstructs at the site of the body, where the female body becomes imprisoned in nature, static and unable to fly. Cixous and Ortiz Cofer write against such a culture that produces and perpetuates obstacles to women's imaginative endeavours, a world that does not acknowledge, appreciate, or support that last movement to woman-produced text, culture, and art.

In one of the final entries of *The Latin Deli*, called "5:00 A.M.: Writing as Ritual," Ortiz Cofer underscores this association of flying/stealing with writing as she *rises* to "steal" time, to perform the rite, the act of "insurrectionary dough kneading," as she describes her ritual (and invokes yet another transatlantic, feminist foremother) as "[a]n act of will that changed my life from that of a frustrated artist, waiting to have a room of my own and an independent income before getting down to business, that of a working writer: I decided to get up two hours before my usual time, to set my alarm for 5:00 A.M. When people ask me how I started writing, I find myself describing the urgent need that I felt to work with language as a search" (166). She wraps up, "And the initial sense of urgency to create can easily be dissipated because it entails making the one choice many people, especially women, in our society with its emphasis on 'acceptable' priorities, feel selfish about making: taking the time to create, to *steal* it from yourself if it's the only way" (168, emphasis added).

Ortiz Cofer is a skillful and eloquent detractor of patriarchal, masculine ideals and calls attention to the fact that much about Latino culture has been deadening to the advancement and creativity of its women through its gendered and ethnic discourses of inferiority. Ortiz Cofer proffers a liberatory remedy through her own "self-seeking" texts, a literary contestation of the pervasive ways in which Latinas have been historically marginalized and subjugated. In significant measure through the use of travel and food tropes in "The Witch's Husband," Ortiz Cofer subverts and challenges traditional gender roles through her transgressive and transformative narative. Abuela wields the power, not her husband, and she acknowledges and acts upon her own desires. Above all, Ortiz Cofer has offered an ambitious effort to promote new notions about gender and ethnicity, the self and community, in a transnational context. Indeed, I would argue that Ortiz Cofer creates female characters who are capable of influencing their own gendered

and ethnic political positions not merely as a way of countering male or Anglo oppressions, but rather as a means of suggesting their own authorial power. Ortiz Cofer embraces the ongoing project of reshaping culture and reinventing gendered and ethnic identities by transgressive traveling and eating, by deconstructing convention and reconstructing new models for Puerto Rican, transnational womanhood.

Works Cited

Aparicio, Frances and Susana Chávez-Silverman, eds. *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad.* Hanover, NH: UP of New England, 1997. Print.

Horno-Delgado, Asuncion, ed. *Breaking Boundaries: Latina Writing and Critical Readings*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1988. Print.

Cixous, Hélène. "The Laugh of the Medusa." *Feminisms: An Anthology of Theory and Literary Criticism.* Ed. Robyn R. Warhol and Diane Price Herndl. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1991. Print.

Eagleton, Terry. "Edible écriture." *Consuming Passions: Food in the Age of Anxiety."* Ed. Sian Griffiths and Jennifer Wallace. New York: Mandolin, 1998. 203–08. Print.

Flores, Juan. *The Diaspora Strikes Back*. New York: Routledge, 2009. Print.

Kafka, Phillipa. *"Saddling La Gringa": Gatekeeping in Literature by Contemporary Latina Writers.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000. Print.

Ortiz Cofer, Judith. "5:00 A.M.: Writing as Ritual." Ortiz Cofer, *Latin Deli* 166–68.

---. "Casa: A Partial Remembrance of a Puerto Rican Childhood." Ortiz Cofer, *Silent Dancing* 14–21.

---. *The Cruel Country.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 2015. Print.

---. "The Gift of a *Cuento*." Ortiz Cofer, *Woman* 36–47.

---. Interview with Edna Acosta-Bélen. *MELUS* 18.3 (1993): 83–97. Print.

---. *The Latin Deli*. New York: Norton, 1995. Print.

---. "A Prayer, a Candle, and a Notebook." Ortiz Cofer, *Woman* 19–35.

--- "Puerto Rican Literature in Georgia?" Interview with Rafael Ocasio. *The Kenyon Review* 14.4 (1992): 43–50. Print.

---. *Silent Dancing: A Partial Remembrance of a Puerto Rican Childhood.* Houston: Arte Publico , 1990. Print.

---. *Woman in Front of the Sun: On Becoming a Writer*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 2000. Print.

---. "The Witch's Husband." Ortiz Cofer, *Latin Deli* 42–49.

About the Author

Karen Cruz is an Assistant Professor of English at Concordia University Chicago. She earned her PhD in English Literature from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She is an Americanist with scholarly interests in multiethnic literature, Latina/o culture(s), and gender and food studies. Email: kmstaple@ncsu.edu.

Origins of the Dream: Hughes's Poetry and King's Rhetoric. By W. Jason Miller. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015. ix + 249 pp. $34.95 (paper).

In the past two decades, critical conversations surrounding Langston Hughes, a figure once dismissed by James Baldwin for taking refuge in "a fake simplicity in order to avoid the very difficult simplicity of the experience" (Rampersad 295), have moved beyond discussion of vernacular modernism. Scholars such as James Smethurst have positioned him as a significant figure within transnational leftist networks while Vera Kutzinski has considered Hughes as a translator whose works were translated across the Americas, highlighting his centrality to "fringe modernisms" that emerged in multilingual spaces such as Buenos Aires (113). Jason Miller's *Origins of the Dream* adds a compelling new dimension to our understanding of the reception of Hughes's writing in the 1950s and 1960s, making the intriguing case that Martin Luther King drew inspiration from Hughes to formulate some of the most memorable political speeches of the twentieth century. This meticulously researched monograph explores how allusions to a handful of poems by Hughes—including "Mother to Son," "Dream Deferred," "I Dream a World," "Brotherly Love," and "Youth"—were consistently woven into King's oratory from 1956 until his death, becoming "a measurable inflection in the voice of Martin Luther King" (2). Such analysis at once queries a dominant tendency to interpret Hughes's long career through the lens of the Harlem Renaissance, and reassesses King as a "revisionary poet" (5) who harnessed "the motivational aspects of poetry" (204).

The most eye-catching feature of this study is Miller's painstaking account of the emergence of the metaphor of dreaming in King's rhetoric. This monograph has garnered considerable attention because of the author's discovery of a recording of a sermon delivered in Rocky Mount on 27 November 1962, King's first presentation of "I Have a Dream" (160-75). But this is just one element of Miller's impressive reconstruction of the evolution of King's poetic sensibility. The emergence of King's signature metaphor of dreaming is read against the backdrop of thoughtful discussions of correspondence between King and Hughes, King's reading and writing practices, and Hughes's rising critical reputation in 1959. Not only did Hughes's 1951 poem "Dream Deferred" reach new audiences in the wake of the extraordinary critical and popular success of Lorraine Hansberry's play *A Raisin in the Sun*,

but the poet's profile was enhanced by the publication of his *Selected Poems* and a series of advertisements for Smirnoff vodka in *Ebony* that cast him as an American icon.

What makes Miller's book even more interesting is that there are few direct, attributed allusions to Hughes in King's oeuvre, with the notable exception of readings from "Mother to Son" in sermons drafted during the Montgomery Bus Boycott and a quotation from "Let America be America Again" in "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence" in 1967. Instead, Miller contends that King purposefully "reworded, rewrote, and disguised Hughes's poetry" (6) because open affiliation with Hughes, who was viewed by the FBI and right-wing commentators as a Communist sympathizer, would add fuel to the accusations of Communist infiltration that King and his fellow leaders in SCLC faced from 1960 to 1965. Taken together with Miller's careful examination of King's incorporation of allusions to poets as diverse as William Cowper and James Russell Lowell into "integrative rhetoric" that created "new unity" by "omit[ting] the names of all these voices" (131), analysis of the "constraints placed on King as he sought to invoke images and ideas" (54) from Hughes's poetry without summoning up his "subversive reputation" (35) lays the foundations for an interpretative approach that might otherwise appear speculative, given that King's references to Hughes are often submerged, transformed beyond recognition. In this context, Miller's early chapter on King's engagement with "Mother to Son" during the Montgomery Bus Boycott establishes a legitimizing paradigm for later chapters in which there is no traceable direct quotation to the poem under discussion. Since it is possible to document a shift from direct allusions to "Mother to Son," which are recorded both in King's draft sermons and the retrospective reflections of activists such as Clarence Jones (17), this chapter spotlights the contradictory forces that prompted King "to invoke and to mask" (24) Hughes, a practice that Miller describes as "a rhetorical and symbolic act of defiance" (24). Later chapters, which offer extensive analysis of the cadences, diction, themes, and metaphors King employed in speeches at Rocky Mount and Detroit's March for Jobs, identify recurring metaphors that reinvent lines by Hughes (Miller supplies a table listing key examples on page 173). Beyond these specific, if submerged allusions, Miller insists that, by the early 1960s, Hughes's poetry had become "a defining presence" in King's rhetoric that "can be considered more tangible than the visible traces of its reworded lines" from individual poems (204).

A central assumption of the study is that King's reinvention of Hughes's poetry, which he locates within repeated, apparently commonplace phrases such as "bright tomorrow" and "still love you," is always imbued with political urgency: "King," he writes, "subversively

spoke truth to power through the diction, themes, and cadence of a man whom power thought it had silenced" (204). Hence, the political implications of King's rhetoric are sometimes presented in generalized terms, with little attention being paid to either the political compromises that complicated Hughes's reputation as a radical or the question of how audiences actually responded to such veiled references, which have gone largely unnoticed since the 1960s. In this context, it is interesting that Miller's preoccupation with patterns of literary influence within a specifically African American cultural tradition aligns him with the vernacular-centred literary criticism pioneered by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Houston Baker in the 1980s rather than scholars of the internationalist left such as Kate A. Baldwin and James Smethurst whose work is not mentioned in the commentary on Hughes's political reputation. Nevertheless, this substantial monograph breaks new ground in its intelligent exploration of the relationship between politics and poetry, not least in its central contention that "poetry was at the center of the rhetoric that drove a key element of the civil rights movement" (204).

Works Cited

Baldwin, Kate A. *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain: Reading Encounters between Black and Red, 1922-1963*. Durham: Duke UP, 2002. Print.

Kutzinksi, Vera. *The Worlds of Langston Hughes: Modernism and Translation in the Americas*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2012. Print.

Maxwell, William J. *New Negro, Old Left: African-American Writing and Communism Between the Wars*. New York: Columbia UP, 1999. Print.

Miller, W. Jason. *Origins of the Dream: Hughes's Poetry and King's Rhetoric*. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2015. Print.

Rampersad, Arnold. *The Life of Langston Hughes. Volume II: 1941-67, I Dream a World*. New York: Oxford UP, 1988. Print.

Smethurst, James. *The New Red Negro: The Literary Left and African American Poetry, 1930–1946*. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. Print.

Rachel Farebrother

Rachel Farebrother teaches English and American Studies at Swansea University. She is the author of *The Collage Aesthetic in the Harlem Renaissance* (Ashgate, 2009). Her essays have appeared in *Journal of American Studies*, *Comparative American Studies*, *MELUS*, and various edited collections. Email: r.l.farebrother@swansea.ac.uk.

Thinking in the Dark: Cinema, Theory and Practice. Edited by Murray Pomerance and R. Barton Palmer. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2016. 288 pp. $28.95 (paper).

In introducing students to scholarship on film, there is a tendency to introduce a name (say, Eisenstein) and quickly move to the primary critical concept associated with the theorist (like montage). In the contemporary film and media studies classroom, students encounter theorists as disembodied presences that fleetingly inform their thinking about film but with little sense of who these people are (despite the best of pedagogical intentions) and the conditions through which their writings emerged and circulated. Even with the historical turn in film studies and the pervasive influence of cultural studies anchoring film scholarship in context, contemporary evocations of film theorists often remain loose and decontextualized. *Thinking in the Dark: Cinema, Theory and Practice* provides a corrective to this and invites a nuanced and deeper engagement with these oft-cited "names" in film studies. Offering twenty-one case studies devoted to individual theorists ranging from Walter Benjamin to Michel Chion, *Thinking in the Dark* is at once expansive in its scope while focused and specific in its application of each theorist's works.

As editors Murray Pomerance and R. Barton Palmer indicate in the book's introduction, the essays are organized chronologically by theorist and not by over-arching conceptual categories. This design provides an internal historical structure to the anthology, allowing the reader to chart themes, trends, and developments in film theory. Rather than impose themes, the presentation of essays, when read against each other, allows the reader to map critical connections across theorists. For instance, Palmer's analysis of Jean Douchet and Hitchcock could be put in conversation with Alex Clayton's essay on V. F. Perkin's "Aesthetic Suspense." This formatting also opens greater possibilities for a renewed discovery of a theorist rather than a staid pigeon-holing of their work. Tom Gunning's discussion of Vachel Lindsay's hieroglyphics is particularly illuminating when paired with Terrence Mallick's *Tree of Life*. Additionally, several contributors select lesser considered aspects of a theorists' writings to recover overlooked aspects of their work, like Matthew Solomon's application of Eisenstein on animation to the "plasmaticness" of Disney's *Dumbo*.

Although a comprehensive reading of *Thinking in the Dark* is rewarding because of these connections, my sense is that most readers will encounter this book through selected chapters. As a pedagogical companion for graduate (or advanced undergraduate) seminars in film theory, any essay could be paired with readings of a theorist's primary

text. The chapters in this anthology could then situate the theorist, offer a framework to engage with their concepts, and lastly, offer two examples of how to apply these concepts through actual film analysis. It is through each contributor's film analyses that the practicum aspects of *Thinking in the Dark* best shines through. The film examples are often engaging and instructive and provide a useful template for interpretative essays that engage theory while remaining readable.

For a collection that strives to be extensive, there are admittedly some critical omissions both from its selected theorists and in its scholarly contributors. With only a few chapters devoted explicitly to issues of identity and power (Kristen Hatch's highly teachable read of Judith Butler and Dominic Lennard on Lacan), it feels too easy to say that the field of film theory has been dominated (and canonized) by a limited cast of players, and, for that, it often is criticized for remaining insular, overly formal, and lacking in socio-political engagement. It would be false to say that this book counters this tendency. Although some chapters strive to eke out a theorist's relation to politics (e.g., Steven Woodward on Béla Balázs, Johannes Von Moltke on Siegfried Kracauer, and Gilberto Perez on Jacques Rancière), most others stick to more aesthetic and philosophical concerns (like Daniel Morgan on Stanley Cavell). In some instances, mapping broader cultural concerns onto a nuanced exploration of a theoretical concept may seem overwrought and even disingenuous. However, if the task of this book is to bridge theory and practice, not only to inquire into the "essence" of film and its form and how we make meaning from its temporal, visual, and aural codes, but also to animate and situate these theorists and their concepts through specific films, then more work needs to be done to tease out the power dynamics of both the theories and the films, many of which (*Marie Antoinette*, *Melancholia*, *Black Swan*, e.g.) easily beg questions about identity, sexuality, and representation that are inextricable from questions of form and aesthetics. Overall *Thinking in the Dark* offers a very strong collection of essays from top scholars in the field of film studies, and it should find its way to those seeking a reinvigorated reading of key film theorists.

Andrea Kelley
Assistant Professor of Media Studies in the School of Communication and Journalism at Auburn University. Her work has appeared in *Cinema Journal*, *Continuum,* and *Spectator*. She currently is working on a book about Soundies and small-screen culture during the 1940s. Email: ajk0037@auburn.edu.

Miedo negro, poder blanco en la Cuba colonial. By Jorge Camacho. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2015. 272 pp. $36.23 (paper).

Inmediatamente después de la Revolución Haitiana (1791-1804) en Cuba se pusieron en práctica medidas socio-políticas represivas, apoyadas por legislación y costumbres esclavistas. Parte de un "miedo" a los negros (esclavos como negros libertos) tanto las leyes sobre la compraventa de esclavos y su tratamiento por hacendados como las publicaciones de perfil literario proveen hoy en día una visión del complejo mundo de la esclavitud cubana durante el siglo XIX, momento cúspide de esta institución social tan arraigada en las costumbres nacionales. Jorge Camacho en *Miedo negro, poder blanco en la Cuba colonial* ofrece un enfoque del contexto socio-étnico de las publicaciones sobre temas esclavistas o negros. Partiendo de la fuerte censura oficial que los eventos post Revolución Haitiana provocaron en Cuba, Camacho se enfoca, en particular, en el análisis de cómo se configura un "miedo" nacional hacia los negros mediante su estudio detallado de cuatro aspectos distintivos: 1) la clasificación de negros mediante "tipos" y rasgos fisonómicos; 2) el lenguaje negro o "bozal" utilizado entre la población negra, mayormente los esclavos; 3) el impacto de cultos negros en prácticas religiosas populares; 4) el sincretismo racial y cultural presentes en la música, el baile y la vestimenta de la época.

En este estudio enciclopédico, Camacho maneja variadas fuentes multidisciplinarias, documentos que demuestran cambios en los procesos de la restricción del negro, pautados para excluirlos del cuerpo social como "indeseables" (19). Como bien apunta Camacho, el movimiento de la literatura costumbrista, dedicado a la documentación y el análisis de las costumbres nacionales cubanas, fue "el medio predilecto para grabar estas desviaciones" (20) que afectaban el normal desarrollo de una identidad nacional o la llamada cubanía. Abolicionistas de renombre, por ejemplo, Domingo del Monte y la escritora exiliada Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, alertaron contra el contacto con elementos de la raza negra, ya que "provocaba la declinación de la cultura blanca criolla, de sus costumbres y de su vocabulario" (22).

Dividido en siete capítulos, "'A la orilla del precipicio': Los alzamientos de esclavos" desarrolla el tema central del libro: el "miedo" a los negros, en este caso, el pánico nacional de posibles alzamientos al estilo de los cruentos eventos relacionados con la Revolución Haitiana. Destaca el análisis detallado de medidas políticas, específicamente las regulaciones de la compra venta y de los manuales del tratamiento de los esclavos para hacendados, textos que muestran cambios estructurales en el "paradigma de explotación y desarrollo europeo implantado en América desde la conquista" (29). Bajo esta óptica crítica del im-

pacto de la esclavitud en la economía cubana, Camacho comenta sobre la figura del esclavo en libros históricos, en particular por dos grandes historiadores cubanos: José Antonio Saco y el padre Félix Varela. De igual manera, algunos autores manejan elementos de un miedo nacional hacia el negro. Por ejemplo, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda *en Sab*, novela abolicionista, apoya la imagen estereotipada del "buen" esclavo. Plácido (Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés), un mulato, fue acusado y confirmado como contribuyente de la revuelta "La Escalera," mediante una única prueba: el análisis "revolucionario" de uno de sus poemas.

"Los monstruos de la periferia: Los personajes de José Victoriano Betancourt," "Las nodrizas africanas" y "La sangre y la virtud de la mulata" examinan estos tres tipos (el curro o el negro liberto), las llamadas madres de leche negras (esclavas y libertas) y la mulata (mujer sensual) como personajes icónicos en la literatura costumbrista (presentes en numerosos cuadros o ensayos de costumbres) que se asocian a diferentes aspectos del "miedo" hacia el negro o su influencia nociva. El curro, habitante de áreas extramuros de la ciudad de La Habana, un área con un fuerte crecimiento urbano, era temido por sus actividades "delictivas." La nodriza negra comunicaba por esta labor íntima una herencia nociva a los niños blancos, sus niños, simbólicamente hablando. La mulata, asociada a una temida "mulatez," es decir, corporalmente destacaba por su origen híbrido, como producto de prácticas sexuales ilícitas que continuaba en su conducta sexual libertina. En común, estos personajes-tipos reflejan aspectos en el desarrollo social de la nación cubana. Camacho hace una discusión pionera de dos novelas: *La campana de la tarde ó vivir muriendo, Novela cubana* (1873), de Julio Rosas, y ¿Es Ángel? (1873), de Eduardo Ezponda, las únicas dos novelas de tenue corte abolicionista publicadas en Cuba, que utilizan tipos negros como ejemplos de atraso social.

"'Signo de propiedad': José Martí y los negros de Charleston" y "Negro y criminal: Los ñáñigos de Francisco Calcagno" sintetizan la discusión sobre la caracterización del negro como obsesionado creyente de prácticas religiosas primitivas, reflejo concreto de su limitada capacidad intelectual. Camacho hace un minucioso estudio sobre un artículo periodístico de José Martí, a raíz de un devastador terremoto en Charleston, Carolina del Sur, en el cual, el comportamiento errático de los negros durante el fenómeno sísmico provoca "lamentosos himnos y en terribles danzas" (139). El miedo a las prácticas religiosas negras se refleja específicamente en los ñáñigos o abakuá, una sociedad secreta que había sido criminalizada fuertemente por sus creencias "bárbaras" (28).

Finalmente, "Espacios de (con)ten(c)sión: Los negros, la música y el baile" y "'Con gran peligro': La herencia racial y la igualdad espiritual

en Martí" delimitan el impacto de las prácticas culturales negras en el desarrollo de la cubanía. Camacho destaca el "miedo a la mezcla cultural a través de la música, la danza y los gestos" (27), un tema recurrente en los escritores costumbristas. En el caso de Martí específicamente, Camacho traza, por primera vez en el campo de la investigación martiana, su titubeo logístico entre las características negras que apoya y las que niega o rechaza como parte del "miedo" nacional a lo negro.

Camacho ha producido un estudio pionero en la investigación de un período histórico-literario caracterizado por la publicación de cientos de documentos relacionados con las prácticas esclavistas y medidas legales para controlar el comportamiento de los negros libertos. Es recomendado por su manejo de diversas fuentes históricas; su aportación crítica a estudios sobre la literatura costumbrista y abolicionista cubanas durante el siglo XIX y su relación con medidas legales esclavistas es particularmente laudable.

Rafael Ocasio
Rafael Ocasio es Charles A. Dana Profesor de Español en Agnes Scott College. Sus estudios crítico-biográficos sobre la obra de Reinaldo Arenas incluyen: *Cuba's Political and Sexual Outlaw* (University Press of Florida, 2003) y *The Making of a Gay Activist* (University Press of Florida, 2007). Su libro*, Afro-Cuban Costumbrismo: From Plantations to the Slums* (University Press of Florida, 2012), examina la documentación de tradiciones negras por autores costumbristas durante el siglo diecinueve como parte integral de una cultura nacional cubana. Actualmente se encuentra trabajando en un estudio crítico sobre la investigación de campo en folklore oral realizada por el Dr. Franz Boas en Puerto Rico en 1915. Email: rocasio@agnesscott.edu.

Salvage Work: U.S. and Caribbean Literature Amid the Debris of Legal Personhood. By Angela Naimou. New York: Fordham University Press, 2015. xi + 291 pp. $55 (hardcover).

Angela Naimou's *Salvage Work* models a deeply contextualized approach to legal personhood as the contemporary debris of slavery in the Americas, giving equal weight to how the ghost of the legal racial slave haunts contemporary public discourse and cultural production. The book inserts itself into the debate over ethical approaches to the historiography of slavery, which either valorize a recovery of the enslaved persons' perspective or prioritize giving voice to the archival silences that prevent such a recovery. *Salvage Work* demands that its readership look to *contemporary* discourses on citizenship, labor, and migration to find evidence of how the trauma of slavery, the way it de-

limited humanity, continues to inform the way we imagine and access the rights of personhood today.

The explicit focus of the book is on how contemporary multicultural American and Caribbean fiction understands the "archive of circum-Atlantic slavery as a productive site of ruin" for its "aesthetic imagination" (7). These fictions test the assumption that the legal slave is a thing of the past; rather, they point to the persistence of this figure as a counterpoint or precedent for the articulation of neoliberal personhood. Key to Naimou's argument is that "the legal personality of the slave finds its extraordinarily varied afterlives in contemporary legal identities *no longer explicitly defined by race* and in literary texts that may not qualify as neo-slave narratives or as historical fictions concerned with depicting a slave past" (8, *emphasis added*). Naimou instead analyzes fiction that depicts the contemporary conditions of what we think of as paid labor (in the maritime, sugar, and sex industries, for example) or human rights advocacy (within refugee and Sanctuary movements). Reading Francisco Goldman's *The Ordinary Seaman* (1997), Edwidge Danticat's *Krik? Krak!* (1996), Rosario Ferré's *Sweet Diamond Dust* (1996), Gayl Jones's *Song for Anninho* (1981) and *Mosquito* (1999), and John Edgar Wideman's *Fanon* (2008), Naimou convincingly argues that the "salvage aesthetics" of this fiction exposes how contemporary law radically curtails personhood via legal precedents that ambivalently (de)constructed the racial slave and fugitive's humanity in relation to profit. *Salvage Work* also analyzes a remarkable range of art alongside such literary texts: for example, Kara Walker's provocative sculpture *A Subtlety* (2014), Sebastião Salgado's photography series *Workers* (1993), Melinda Hunt and Margot Lovejoy's design of a public artwork *Just Outside the City* (1993), and Romare Bearden's artistic collages.

Salvage Work is much more than a work of literary criticism, since it also "reevaluates the significance of the legal racial slave figure for contemporary studies of human rights; citizenship; labor, migration, and refugee policies; postcoloniality; and decolonial thought" (7). Naimou's own book embodies the archeological approach that she ascribes to "salvage aesthetics," decoding the linguistic, historical, legal, and symbolic genealogy of slavery. For example, she reviews legal cases such as *Gregson v. Gilbert* (1783), involving the transport and murder of slaves on the *Zong* (1781), to understand how "enduring bonds between finance capital and the legal person" inform the present-day function of ship registries and the development of corporate personhood (4). Naimou intriguingly calls attention to how corporations gained personhood via the interpretation of 14th Amendment in *Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific* (1886). In addition to excavating the continued rele-

vance of such legal cases and the etymology of words like "sovereignty," "rehearsal," and "sanctuary," *Salvage Work* reframes material locations as relevant to both the interpretation of the fiction and the evolution of legal personhood. For instance, Naimou maps out the sites of the African Burial Ground Project in Lower Manhattan, Hart Island as a potters field, and Ellis Island as an immigrant detention center, to attest to the continuities between the treatment of enslaved bodies prior to abolition and that of stateless migrant bodies in present-day New York City.

Naimou's nuanced historiography of legal personhood identifies a critical gap in the academic analysis of social movements, from anti-colonialism to human rights discourse—namely, how even progressive approaches to legal personhood are bound by the legacy of slavery in often disturbing ways. While discussing Puerto Rican *independentistas*, Zapatistas, and 1980s Sanctuary workers, as well as the death-bound theories of international human rights and Frantz Fanon's anticolonial writings, Naimou effectively critiques recurring conceptual blindspots that cut across liberation movements in the Americas. For example, the salvage aesthetics of Gayle Jones's novels reveal that by relying on a "closed" definition of sanctuary as "an exceptional space of protection," the Sanctuary movement "came to impersonate" rather than "challenge the state" (161). A central contribution of *Salvage Work* is its critique of human rights discourse as the neoliberal debris of slavery: "The language of liberal democratic rights and international human rights creates the gap between person and human in order to disavow it: legal 'person' and 'human being' are invoked as if one and the same, when they are . . . the tenor and vehicle of a metaphor masquerading as a performative speech act" (19). The epilogue's comparison of how anti-abortion and animal rights movements deploy the metaphor of slavery provides particularly stunning examples of how the figure of the racial slave is referenced in order to expand and delimit legal definitions of personhood.

Angela Naimou's *Salvage Work* exposes the conceptual and material dangers of the American and international legal system's reliance on precedent. The reader is thus forced to confront the insidious shadow that the legacy of slavery casts on contemporary definitions of legal personhood. *Salvage Work* is an excellent secondary source that scholars should turn to for their research on multiethnic American and Caribbean literatures and also incorporate into their teaching of undergraduate and graduate courses. I highly recommend the introduction chapter on "Contemporary Literature and the Legal Person" as required reading for classes on law and literature, on human rights, on immigrant and refugee literatures, and on neo-slave narratives.

By unearthing the remains of the past in the present, ***Salvage Work*** sets a new standard for the serious work that the humanities can perform: illuminating and countering the decontextualizing impulses of neoliberalism.

Elena Machado Sáez
Professor of English at Bucknell University. She is author of *Market Aesthetics: The Purchase of the Past in Caribbean Diasporic Fiction* (University of Virginia Press, 2015) and coauthor of *The Latino/a Canon and the Emergence of Post-Sixties Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Email: e.machado@bucknell.edu.

The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: Volumes I-IV. Edited by Ronald Schuchard. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014-2015. $90.00-260.00/year (digital subscription).

Ronald Schuchard (Emory University) opens *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot,* counterintuitively, with quotations from Eliot that call into question the project's very existence. "I have had to write at one time or another a lot of junk in periodicals the greater portion of which ought never to be reprinted," Eliot told one of his executors, adding, "what I have not published in books by the time of my death I don't consider worth publishing"(I: xiii). Eliot's trash is Schuchard's treasure. As chronicled by Tom Bartlett in *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* with great persistence Schuchard convinced Valerie Eliot to lift her late husband's restrictions, and with great care he and his volume editors have assembled a trove of hundreds of pieces of unpublished and uncollected prose. These works, which have received minimal critical examination, complement and contextualize critical editions of familiar Eliot essays which operate as lynchpins within *The Complete Prose*.

For Schuchard and his generation, much of this writing, if it was accessible at all, was confined in far-flung special collections, often requiring special permissions. Even in the twenty-first century, any broad assessment of Eliot's prose requires access to a multitude of databases and the assistance of many librarians, as well as the time, energy, and money incumbent to evaluating uncurated and unannotated sources of uncertain relevance (every experienced Eliot scholar has wasted at least a week or two on a red herring). When finished, the *Complete Prose*, along with *The Letters of T. S. Eliot* (the fifth volume of which was published in 2015), will not only make the pursuance of established lines of critical inquiry more efficient and exhaustive but will also inspire a wide range of new insights and approaches.

Anticipation of this "golden era of Eliot scholarship," as JHUP's publicity materials eagerly characterize it, has prompted Clemson University Press to inaugurate a new journal dedicated to its dissemination, *The T. S. Eliot Studies Annual*. Rare indeed is the resource that makes a trail as well-traveled as Eliot's promise a bounty of fresh scholarship. And such a resource is probably due the special considerations *The Complete Prose* has received. Until all eight of the planned volumes are complete, the collection exists only as a digital edition, published on JHUP's Project MUSE platform, but requiring an a la carte subscription. The digital edition will remain the centerpiece of the project, even once the print editions are available, and Schuchard promises "a living edition"(I: xxvi) with ongoing updates to both interface and content, with at least eight additional appendices already planned. The resemblance to other Project MUSE publications is comfort to those learning to use *The Complete Prose*. It is fully searchable and individual works can be downloaded as PDF files. While JHUP should be commended for designing something simple and familiar, scholars might benefit from more informative tables of content. Asterisking previously unpublished works and making dates of publication (where applicable) more prominent would be two user-friendly updates.

As is appropriate to the project's ambitions, Schuchard has enlisted a diverse, transatlantic team of co-editors whose contributions to the project will extend beyond the release of the specific volumes in which they are named. The most recent, *English Lion, 1930-1933,* edited by Jason Harding (Durham University), brings the series chronology to the year Eliot turned 45, separated from his first wife, and delivered the Charles Eliot Norton lectures at his alma mater, during a long overdue visit to the United States. The volume crescendos towards these lectures, which became *The Use of Poetry and Use of Criticism,* but sheds much new light on the seven-month, twenty-four-city tour which took Eliot from Boston to Berkeley and back again. For example, Dr. Harding painstakingly assembles a fragmentary version of Eliot's "The Study of Shakespeare Criticism" from snippets transcribed in local newspapers. This lecture was delivered at the university founded by Eliot's grandfather in St. Louis, a city which, as Eliot testifies in a letter to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* also collected in *English Lion*, "affected me more deeply than any other environment has done"(IV: 194).

The Complete Prose makes movement between related (and unrelated) texts in the Eliot oeuvre both possible and practical. The second volume, *The Perfect Critic, 1919-1926*, edited by Anthony Cuda (UNC-Greensboro), contains a substantial portion of that "junk in periodicals" that the older Eliot wished to be lost to posterity, but, as Cuda notes, Eliot arrives at the ideal of criticism espoused in the much-read

essays from *The Sacred Wood* through his extensive practice as a book reviewer. In his review of Ramon Fernandez's *Messages*, not collected since 1929, Eliot describes "a generation which is beginning to turn its attention to an athleticism, a *training*, of the soul as severe and ascetic as the training of the body of a runner"(II: 835-36). It is a slight, but important divergence from the presiding analogy of the volume's title essay, in which Eliot celebrates "the data of criticism"(268) and "the scientific mind"(269). This concern with appropriating the rigor conventionally associated with science and athletics is also apparent in "Modern Tendencies of Poetry," a lecture Eliot abandoned after 1920. In it, he says, "We shall find that the poet's training and equipment is parallel to the training and equipment of the scientist; we find that his purpose is parallel; and that his attitude toward his work is parallel." This "equipment," Eliot argues, is "knowledge of what has been done in the past . . . for it is only in relation to the past that anything is new"(213). Such a text, however minor in Eliot's opinion, certainly seems highly relevant to contemporary readers of, say, "Tradition and The Individual Talent.'

The centerpiece of *Apprentice Years, 1905-1918*, edited by Jewel Spears Brooker (Eckerd College) is Eliot's dissertation, "Knowledge and Experience in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley," but the volume is laden with many other youthful curiosities: adolescent homages to Rudyard Kipling, clippings from the *Harvard Advocate,* graduate essays on Aristotle and Kant, and a lot more previously uncollected journalism. What passes for a climax in the third volume, *Literature, Politics, Belief, 1927-1929,* edited by Frances Dickey (University of Missouri) and Jennifer Formichelli (Boston University), is the publication of *For Lancelot Andrews.* But, as the title suggests, the volume captures the unmooring of Eliot spiritually, politically, and aesthetically, despite his tremendous productivity during the period. Though *Literature, Politics, Belief* has neither a canonical central text, nor an abundance of previously unpublished works, it is still rich with historicist opportunities, perhaps most evidently through the numerous unsigned reviews and letters to editors contained therein, and, of course, by considering the prose of this period as a backdrop to Eliot's conversion (and the associated poetry).

The scope of the content in these volumes and the range of scholars they appeal to thwart all reasonable attempts at summarization. Marshall McLuhan's famous refrain, "the medium is the message," is frequently used as a shorthand jeremiad for the digital age, but *The Complete Prose* provides a counterpoint to such technological eschatology. As both a challenging and rewarding critical instrument, it is, appropriately, *modern*, in the way Eliot used the term.

Matt Seybold
Assistant Professor, specializing in American Literature, at Elmira College, home of the Center for Mark Twain Studies. He has written extensively about T. S. Eliot's career at Lloyds Bank and received the Fathman Young Scholar Award from the Eliot Society in 2013. Recent and forthcoming publications, usually on the intersection of print culture and economic rhetoric, appear in *Mark Twain Annual, Mark Twain Journal, Reception,* and *Western Humanities Review*. Email: mseybold@elmira.edu.