Romance Studies, Vol. 26 (2), April 2008

THE PILGRIMAGE *TOPOS* AND THE PROBLEM OF MODERNITY: A TRANSATLANTIC VIEW OF SELECTED HISPANIC TEXTS

Crystal Chemris

University of Iowa, USA

Góngora's Soledades *can be used as a base from which to examine failed pilgrimage as a recurring* topos *in Latin American texts which confront the Baroque legacy of frustrated modernity. Carpentier's 'El camino de Santiago', Rulfo's* Pedro Páramo *and Vallejo's '*Trilce *LXV" constitute a sort of progeny of this Gongorine* topos*, contrasting in their different relation to the messianic. While Góngora, Rulfo, and Carpentier present historical repetition as a form of paralysis, Vallejo presents the frustration of historical progress in equally graphic terms, but also offers hope in his engagement with possibility from a socialist perspective. His poem suggests the 'weak Messianic power' of which Benjamin writes, one which engages the future without a pre-established teleology, locating pilgrimage instead in the collective and open space of human potential.*

Pilgrimage is a staple of national and religious myth. It lies at the heart of epic, which chronicles the trials of a wandering and exiled hero as he progresses to triumph, typically by founding his homeland's city of origin. In its religious version it is the story of the human subject's trials on earth, his or her growth as a spiritual exile whose *telos* is reunion with the divine, a journey rehearsed in miniature in ritual pilgrimages to sacred shrines.[1] Pilgrimage in literature, whether secular or religious, often represents the unfolding of history according to plan, as the fulfilment of prophecy or mission. The crisis at the origins of Spanish modernity, expressed aesthetically in the Baroque, provoked a parallel crisis in the representational function of literature, disrupting, in certain works, such a messianic function of the pilgrimage *topos*.[2] Thus the breakdown of Spain's imperial mission apparent in such events as Lope de Aguirre's foundering in the jungles of Latin America was expressed in the novel by the failed 'post-auratic' (or disenchanted) pilgrimage of Don Quijote.

Góngora's long lyric poem, the *Soledades* (c. 1613–1626), roughly contemporaneous with Cervantes's famous novel, belongs to such an order of failed pilgrimage, a failure that marks the transition to the modern.[3] My intention in this essay will be to use Góngora's master work as a base from which to examine pilgrimage as a recurring *topos* in twentieth-century

Address correspondence to: Dr Crystal Chemris, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 111 Phillips Hall, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242, USA; e-mail: crystal-chemris@uiowa.edu

 DOI: 10.1179/174581508x287437

Latin American texts which confront the Baroque[4] legacy of frustrated modernity, the persistent economic underdevelopment and cultural subordination which began with colonisation and which was in part conditioned by Spain's own belatedness.[5] The works I will examine briefly (examples among many possibilities) — Alejo Carpentier's short story 'El camino de Santiago' (1958), Juan Rulfo's novel *Pedro Páramo* (1955) and César Vallejo's poem '*Trilce* LXV' (1922) — investigate the political implications of the notion of messianic destiny through the trope of 'suspended' pilgrimage, a concept I will define as pilgrimage which is left unresolved, teleologically frustrated or indeterminate, in a way which expresses — as in the *Soledades* — the frustration of historical and economic development. Rather than analyzing these works primarily as cases of imitation or explicit influence of Gongorism, I will instead examine contrasting ways in which the trope of suspended pilgrimage operates in the texts, with a particular focus on the role of representations of gender in constructing (or deconstructing) a sense of national or imperial mission.

Góngora's *Soledades* has been viewed as a composite of Renaissance genres and structures, used in fragmentary form, stripped of their original teleological function.[6] John Beverley has described the structure of the *Soledades* as textured between epic and pastoral modes, suggesting that Góngora's *peregrino*, his unnamed pilgrim, is similarly constructed as a combination of a fragmented version of the epic hero and an early model of the modern sentimental subject (1980: 66–67). Antonio Vilanova identifies a parallel combination of heroic and sentimental features in major variants of literary sources for Góngora's pilgrim, which include the Petrarchan *peregrino de amor*, the *peregrino andante de la novela de aventuras* and the ascetic devotee of religious pilgrimage.[7] The contradictory terms attributed to the *peregrino* by critics (heroic or lyric? sacred or secular?) continue in the debate over the significance of the apparently unfinished form of the *Soledades*, a debate in which Beverley has proposed a controversial, if increasingly more accepted interpretation of the structure of the poem.[8] I will briefly review Beverley's findings and conclusions.

The Abad de Rute, in his contemporary defence of Góngora against Juan de Jáuregui's criticism of the *Soledad primera*, suggested that Góngora had planned to finish the poem with three more cantos. According to Díaz de Rivas, these were to have formed an allegorical progression through four landscape stages; Pellicer combined this scenario with the traditional allegory of the human life cycle as the four seasons of the year, a progression which Angulo y Pulgar saw as metaphorical. Dámaso Alonso and García Lorca, participants in the 1927 revival of Góngora, rejected the four *soledad* hypothesis of the early commentators, suspecting, as Beverley notes, that it was 'contaminated by the Post-Tridentine taste for didactic allegories' such as those elaborated by writers like Calderón and Gracián, the Christian *topos* of the *peregrinatio vitae* (1980: 84–85).[9]

Rather than leaving the *Soledades* incomplete, Beverley argues, Góngora in fact intentionally telescoped the anticipated four cantos into what he calls a 'binary pastoral/piscatory, comic-tragic two canto form', combining the imagery of the myth of the ages of metal and of four landscape stages of social organisation in a progressive movement from the primitive Golden Age towards the bleak violence and devastation of the Iron Age of the contemporary Hapsburg crisis (1980: 93). The imagery with which the *Soledad primera* begins is repeated in a tragic register by the end of the *Soledad segunda*, with the pilgrim returning, inconclusively, to the shoreline of his arrival. For Beverley, the suspended ending, the appearance of the text as ruin, is an intended effect, and the tricked identity of end and beginning is the product of 'an age where both the genesis and the decadence of Spain's empire were simultaneously visible' (1980: 131 n. 9). 'The effect of Góngora's

truncation of the *Soledad segunda*', as Beverley writes, 'is to alienate the reader from the poem, to force him to complete it somewhere else in another language', to respond to his vision of Spain's crisis on the stage of history (1980: 112).

As I have shown elsewhere, the structure Beverley proposes for the *Soledades* shows significant formal parallels with that of Virgil's *Eclogues*, which in turn point to similar political concerns.[10] Like Virgil, who framed his *Eclogues* as a protest against Augustus's agrarian policy, Góngora brings contemporary historical crisis to bear upon the illusion of pastoral contentment.[11] Góngora wrote in a similar context of succession anxiety and, as critics have noted, sympathised with the anti-imperialist agrarian aristocracy and the social reformers of his time, the *arbitristas*.[12] His critique, like Virgil's, involves a text open to history, structured as a meditation on the tragedy of contemporary crisis, his protest crafted through telling juxtapositions and frustrated anagnorisis,[13] all arranged to permit a response in his readership on the terrain of political action.

The disruption of pastoral myth by the disasters of history that Virgil achieves in the *Eclogues* is amplified in the *Soledades* as a more generalised disruption of prophecy. Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, which predicts the return of Astraea and the inauguration of a new Golden Age, was seen as foretelling the birth of Christ and a new era of Christian history, culminating in the founding of the New Jerusalem. In Hapsburg ideology, the dynastic emperor took on this prophetic mission as the ostensible 'last descendant of Aeneas'.[14] His project was to restore the Roman Empire as Christian and with his victory usher in Apocalypse, the Last Judgement, and the new millennium: the end of history. When Góngora used the *Fourth Eclogue* as source for his *Soledad* sonnet, recognised as a template for his master work, he reframed Virgil's original political prophecy as contemporary protest (Beverley 1980: 78–79). Góngora expands this protest throughout the fabric of the *Soledades*, where he enacts a subtle critique of Hapsburg ideology through the deconstruction of imagery associated with the monarchy.[15]

One such case is Góngora's treatment of the constellation of the Southern Cross. As art historian Marie Tanner has written:

> From the moment of Eden, the four stars that formed the cross had been visible to Adam and Eve, but after the Fall they vanished from the sight of man. When the equator was crossed by Iberian navigators, the Southern Cross miraculously appeared again on the horizon … [T]he heavenly reappearance of the cross was said to signal the *Parousia*. (1993: 206)

Góngora includes an image of the Southern Cross in the speech against seafaring of the *Soledad primera*, but buries it decoratively within the ouroboros emblem of medieval mapmaking iconography.[16] The consignment of this constellation to such an apparently ornamental status is significant, because it empties the sign of its prophetic function within Hapsburg apologetics. This sort of critique appears in other fragmented emblems of monarchy,[17] and culminates in the falconry scene, with its references to various countries, weaponry and exploding celestial bodies, which has been read as an allegory for European war (Beverley 1980: 93). Here, Góngora debunks Hapsburg millennial pretensions by infusing the violent realities of history into the pseudo-historical myth of the Christian emperor: the mythic apocalyptic imagery of the Christian *Parousia* is realised as the horror of world war.

It should be noted, however, that Góngora's disruption of theocratic prophecy is contained within an alternative form of feudal hegemony, an oppositional poetics of empire

on the margins of Counterreformation print culture, what Beverley has characterised as a private sphere variation on public sphere aesthetics. As he writes, 'such a procedure works to affirm the hegemony not by its *coincidence* with the official representations of power and authority but precisely by its defamiliarisation of these'.[18] Góngora's protest against imperialist ventures was limited, focused on their domestic effect rather than on the consequences for their victims; similarly Virgil's complaints about land expropriation have been traced to both self interest over the possible loss of his own property as well as some resentment about giving land to newly freed slaves returning from conscription.[19] While both poets disrupt conventions of representation to evoke a critique of empire in their readership, this disruption is contained as part of the evolution of literature, its re-establishing itself as hegemonic in periods of crisis and transition. As we will see, this dynamic of rupture and containment will continue as a pattern in the recurring pilgrimage *topos*.

As historians have pointed out, the crisis of Spanish absolutism went unresolved; Spain precociously anticipated the institutions of modernity and quickly smothered them in Counterreformation zealotry. While Spain experienced sporadic bursts of economic development over the next few centuries,[20] agrarian reform and other basic tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution continued as problems even at the inception of the Republican government in 1931. Spain's belatedness reverberated on colonial soil and was repeated in the frustration of a democratic agrarian program in Latin American political struggles. This legacy of frustrated modernity perhaps explains the recurrence of Baroque structures in Latin American literature, as the aesthetic expression of historical impasse. As Beverley writes, '¿No sería el barroco más bien una forma de neurosis cultural de América Latina en su etapa — no completada — post colonial?'[21] If, in the words of Vicens Vives, the Castillian 'bourgeois meteor'[22] burnt out before the essential features of the modern could fully take hold, that legacy of 'the dead star of distant tomorrows' — to use Mallarmé's image[23] — made a profound mark on the eclipsed possibilities of the Hispanic cultures of the future.

Góngora's pilgrim ends up going nowhere, his pilgrimage both a ruin and a frustrated circuit, a kind of Möbius strip endlessly telling a broken tale of loss, violation and isolation; the poem begins and ends with classical emblems of divine — read imperial — rape.[24] The rape of Europa by Jupiter with which the poem opens, emblematic of the rape of Europe by the Hapsburgs, loses its idyllic quality by the end of the *Soledades* with its dismal allusion to the rape of Persephone (Chemris, 2003 and 1989: 155). The critique of gender relations sustains the critique of Spain's imperial mission not only in such a defamiliarisation of 'heroic rape'[25] imagery, but as Paul Julian Smith has shown, in the deconstruction of the *peregrino* as a masculine exemplar of epic heroism.[26] A feminised version of the epic hero emptied of his canonical significance, as Smith describes him, he wanders aimlessly — not unlike some of the conquistadors — rather than founding a city (1986: 86). The psychological and social facets of the modern subject are anticipated in the transition from epic to novel implied in the fragmentation of the journey of the *peregrino*, who foreshadows, on the social side, the collective subject of the uprooted *pícaro* as well as, in its psychological aspect, the individual subject of the *Bildungsroman*, Byronic pilgrimage and even Baudelaire's flâneur.[27] Yet all of these aspects of the subject remain suspended in what Smith calls 'generic indeterminacy' (1986: 89); the pilgrim and his journey, bereft of an essential *telos*, become literary expressions of the suspension of historical and economic progress before the promise of the democratic revolution at the origins of modernity.

These features — the indeterminacy of the pilgrim's identity and the suspension of his journey — are repeated in modern Latin American texts which engage these figures to explore the historical, economic and aesthetic aspects of their heritage in the Spanish early modern. Gongorism is key in this endeavour, not only because the Latin American avant-garde participated in the twentieth-century revival of Góngora by poets who related his work to Stéphane Mallarmé's Symbolist aesthetic (in Spain, the generation of 1927), but because Gongorism in Latin America never experienced the degree of critical neglect which it suffered on the peninsula. Even after Góngora's influence peaked in the colonies in the work of writers such as Sor Juana or the theorist Juan de Espinosa Medrano, it continued to flourish periodically in the poetry of figures like Andrés Bello and José María Heredia.[28] In twentieth-century Latin American literature, Góngora's influence is in part expressed by what is known as the Neobaroque, the self-conscious appropriation of Baroque literature associated with Cuban writers in the 1960s and 1970s, most notably José Lezama Lima, Severo Sarduy and Alejo Carpentier, whose approach extended in Latin America to include writers such as Néstor Perlongher, Carlos Fuentes and Gabriel García Márquez.[29] Thus Beverley construes Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos* and García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* as 'more or less conscious elaboration[s] of the historico-mythic form Góngora develops in the *Soledades*' and notes that as such they are 'valid readings of the poem' (1980: 128 n. 8). Carpentier's reading of the *Soledades* as elaborated in the structure of his novel inverts the historical progression through different forms of social organisation that Beverley observes in Góngora's work:

> Carpentier (who borrows his title from the proposition of the *Soledades*) presents his pilgrim as carried backwards in time from the capitalist metropolis (allusively New York or Paris), past the historical strata of the colonial or peripheral metropolis (Caracas-Havana), the town of the interior, the latifundium, the backlands, primitive tribal society, to a genesis landscape of Adam and Eve at the end. (1980: 128 n.8)

In his earlier short story, 'El camino de Santiago', Carpentier, without the specific references to Góngora of *Los pasos perdidos*, offers a different elaboration of this 'historico-mythic form' he inherits from the *Soledades*, exploring the significance of the colonial Baroque in a variant of the trope of suspended pilgrimage.

'El camino de Santiago', part of a trilogy titled *Guerra del tiempo*, describes the journey of a sixteenth-century pilgrim, one Juan de Amberes, a drummer who accompanies the Spanish army in its religious wars. The plague arrives with the rats leaving the ships from the New World and Juan succumbs, enduring Apocalyptic visions. In his delirium he sees the Milky Way, called 'El Camino de Santiago' because it marks in the heavens the road to the shrine of St James, Santiago de Compostela. He takes this as a prophetic sign, and upon recovering from his illness he becomes a pilgrim on the road to Compostela. Now Juan el Romero, he stops on the way and begins to reconsider his conversion. He becomes a *pícaro* in pilgrim's clothes and finds himself drawn to the fair of Burgos, where an 'indiano embustero' tells him tales of the marvels of the New World, signalling another 'Camino de Santiago', as critics such as Magnarelli and Volek have observed, for his pilgrimage now takes him to Santiago de Cuba.[30] There his dream of utopia is quickly shattered by the hardships of life on the island, and with his fellow exiles grows nostalgic for return, a desire reinforced by another vision of Compostela and the Camino de Santiago.

In response to this sign of prophecy, they return to the Old World, where his companions, a Calvinist and a *converso*, are quickly re-victimised by the Inquisition. Back at

Burgos, Juan, now Juan el Indiano, takes the place of the former 'indiano embustero' and the original scene at the fair is repeated — in an odd moment of temporal doubling — apparently verbatim. He convinces a previous version of himself, Juan el Romero, of the possibilities of life in the New World and the two set off to cross the Atlantic. The story closes with a final vision of the Milky Way.

Although I see no reason to suggest the explicit influence of Góngora, 'El camino de Santiago' repeats many of the elements of frustrated pilgrimage we have observed in the *Soledades*: the apocalyptic context represented by early modern religious war and plagues, the disruption of prophecy, the generic indeterminacy of the protagonist (pilgrim or *pícaro*?), the binary and symmetrical structure with the end opening up to repetition and to history.[31] For Ariel Dorfman the story exhibits a key pattern in Carpentier's work in which history operates in the repeated demise of myth, as a series of failed utopias.[32] Thus Juan shuttles back and forth between the Camino de Santiago de Compostela and the Camino de Santiago de Cuba, completing neither, his path marked by the repeated yet static appearance of the heavenly Camino de Santiago. This constellation can be read as the figure of historical conjuncture, finally marking a point where the realities of contemporary history explode the pseudo-history of theological imperative.

In the end St James himself intervenes to transform the epic quest for the City of God from a sacred pilgrimage into a quite secular mission of conquest carried out by self-interested and confused *pícaros*. As Juan and his double prepare to leave for the New World, the saint remarks to the Virgin: 'Dejadlos, Señora — dice Santiago, hijo de Zebedeo y Salomé, pensando en las cien ciudades nuevas que debe a semejantes truhanes — Dejadlos, que con ir allá me cumplen.'[33] For Jorge Hidalgo, the frustration of utopia in the story underscores the continuation of human misery at the moment of the origins of the modern state; in his words, the story is 'la representación del engaño y corrupción de un sistema económico-social surgido a fines de la Edad Media y que se perpetúa hasta nuestros días'.[34]

Yet Carpentier's notion of historical recurrence is Spenglerian,[35] contained within the concept of historical rhythms of ascension and decline, and his disruption of the representational conventions of the pilgrimage *topos* stops with his depiction of the African women with whom the rogues consort in Cuba; in their portrayal there is no 'device baring', but rather an untold story idealised and obscured. They are magically available, an exoticised other, a kind of sexual primitive accumulation, symbolic of the land and peoples on whose backs the utopian dream would be constructed. The idealisation of these women against which the *pícaro*'s frustrated pilgrimage is dramatised introduces aspects of a national myth of origins into the tale, offering a model of how the Cuban *criollo* elite might dream of its ancestors. In Rulfo and Vallejo's works, as we shall see, the use of the trope, particularly in its association with representations of gender, becomes more critical of the notion of national destiny.

Rulfo and Vallejo engage the pilgrimage *topos* in works which are not, strictly speaking, Neobaroque, but which demonstrate, albeit less explicitly, a similar problematic in the Latin American avant-garde. In Juan Rulfo's novel *Pedro Páramo*, the sense of historical stagnation of Carpentier's story is cast as the frustration of the agrarian project of the Mexican revolution. Revolutionary groups change but history continues its empty cycle in the perpetuation of the system of *caciquismo*, whose prime exemplar is *Pedro Páramo*. Juxtaposed to this cycle are the glimpses of indigenous life on the margins of history, as radically other. The static repetition of frustrated teleology is played out on all levels of the text, even to

the point of tautological sentence structures.[36] As Rulfo writes of the landscape around Comala: 'Y todavía más allá, la más remota lejanía',[37] a figure of stasis reminiscent of similar structures in the work of the poet considered Góngora's descendant by the avant-garde, Stéphane Mallarmé. Perhaps Mallarmé's announcement from 'Un coup de dés' — a poem which seems to suggest the same sort of paralyzed sense of historical constellation these works have engaged — is a fitting description of pilgrimage in Rulfo's novel: 'Rien n'aura eu lieu que le lieu', 'Nothing will have taken place but place'. The son in search of the father and of the Promised Land enacts a ritual epic descent only to discover that his pilgrimage was already doomed from its inception, as the father is already dead.[38] As Patrick Dove has written, in the work 'the ontotheological conception of history as the progressive work of a subject is flattened out'.[39] The fragmented text, like the *Soledades*, ends as a ruin, with Pedro Páramo collapsing into the wasteland he created like a pile of stones.

While Carpentier's story illustrates explicitly the relationship between literature and socio-economic reality through the lens of historical hindsight, both the *Soledades* and *Pedro Páramo* are literary manifestations of socioeconomic problems which are all but evaded as explicit themes of the texts: in the *Soledades*, the American colonisation, as noted by Beverley (1987: 13) and in *Pedro Páramo*, the failure of the Mexican revolution (Dove 2004: 108). For Dove, such obliqueness on Rulfo's part is an intentional *lapsus* in representational strategy that points to the trauma of historic injustice (2004: 108–09). Rulfo, like Góngora (and in contrast to Carpentier) uses gender relations to underscore his critique; the figure of Susana San Juan represents those who are marginalised, opposing the patriarchal forces of church and state in her rejection of her *cacique* husband Páramo and in her sensual, if insane litany in response to the whispered counsels of Padre Rentería.[40]

Susana's death announces a latter day pilgrimage which continues the reversal of Catholic orthodoxy. It is marked by the incessant tolling of church bells on the eighth of December, which, as Manuel Ferrer Chivite points out, is the feast of the Immaculate Conception.[41] Shortly afterwards Pedro Páramo remarks on her apotheosis, a parody of the Assumption of the Virgin. Susana becomes a kind of alternative to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the national saint of Mexico, whose feast day occurs a few days later[42] and to whose shrine Mexican women have journeyed on their knees. In contrast, the people converge joyously on Comala for her funeral: 'De Contla venían como en peregrinación. Y aun de más lejos. […] poco a poco la cosa se convirtió en fiesta.'[43] This communal celebration is countered with Pedro Páramo's injunction that the town must starve, and with a subsequent fragment which narrates the meaningless cycle of failed social struggle culminating in an oblique reference to the Cristero uprising, which Lorente-Murphy calls 'la más dura denuncia al desquiciamiento de la Revolución Mexicana'.[44] As Páramo's man *El Tilcuate* reports: 'Ahora somos carrancistas' […] 'Andamos con mi general Obregón' […] 'Me iré a reforzar al padrecito' (Rulfo 2003: 171–72).

The communal pilgrimage of the town Pedro Páramo abused, which is sparked by Susana San Juan's death, is an ambivalent, magical realist evocation of the prospects for social transformation. It suggests Victor Turner's anthropological notion of *communitas*, what he defines as a 'social antistructure' which functions as 'a spring of pure possibility'.[45] However, the degree to which *Pedro Páramo* represents an authentic engagement with alterity is debatable. Neil Larsen, citing the novel's iconic reception by figures like Fuentes and Paz, sees the work as an illustration of avant-garde hegemony, and indeed, Susana's plaza fiesta is suggestive of a Pazian notion of a classless carnivalesque celebration of communion. It is likewise resonant of the self which Edmond Cros has identified with

the ideological foundation of post-revolutionary Mexican nationalism.[46] Yet the quick cut to an oblique but pointed reference to the series of failed revolutionary uprisings, as many critics have argued, suggests that the novel is more critical. As Dove writes, 'Rulfo's text repeats or echoes the myth of lost plenitude, but in so doing it reveals the complicity of this national mythologeme with the self-affirmation project of the modern state' (Dove 2004: 113).

Susana's parodic association with the Virgin Mary, who is depicted in Revelations with Apocalyptic imagery ('A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet' [Revelations 12:1]) points to the possibility of radical transformation in the destruction of the old order as well as the hopes for a voice for the voiceless which the cult of Mary traditionally evokes in order to contain. These aspirations are especially suggested in the syncretic aspects of Marian iconography in the Virgin of Guadalupe and in the explicitly indigenous spirituality that is present in the imagery used to describe Susana.[47] As Ferrer Chivite asks, '¿Sugiere Rulfo que nada más morir Susana, en cuanto que representa la patria indígena postergada, se simbolizó como Virgen y protector de México, desplazada, como estaba ya, del plano humano e histórico?' (1972: 72 n. 43). While Ferrer Chivite relates Susana to a Pazian concept of an alternative Mexican nationalism encoded in ambivalent iconic female figures of indigenous conquest such as La Malinche or the Virgin of Guadalupe, the question of containment or rupture of hegemonic representation, as the difference in critical reception suggests, is not clearly resolved (Ferrer Chivite 1972: 72–75). As we shall see, the possibilities for transforming a religious notion of redemption into a program for social transformation, while signalled ambivalently in Rulfo's work, are finally realised in Vallejo's treatment of the trope of suspended pilgrimage.

Vallejo's avant-garde poem, '*Trilce* LXV', describes the lyric speaker's preparations to return home after his mother's death, his return described with the imagery of the sacred pilgrimage to Compostela. His pilgrimage gestures toward a social solution to the historical and economic frustration engaged by the previous works, not by any explicit reference to the problems of underdevelopment in his native Peru, but as in Góngora's and Rulfo's case, obliquely. The psychological aspect of the pilgrim figure announced in the *Soledades* reaches full development in Vallejo's poem, in which the poet's experience of mourning becomes the occasion for a pilgrimage into historical tragedy in a global sense, outside the paradigm of national or imperial destiny. For Vallejo, the poignant memories of childhood become a utopian space of the socialist imaginary. The greater pilgrimage to liberation from all forms of capitalist oppression that he invokes is suspended only by the uncertainty of the future, an uncertainty reinforced grammatically by a poem written primarily in the future tense and subjunctive mode.

'*Trilce* LXV' is the second of two poems written on the death of Vallejo's mother; the first, '*Trilce* XXIII' ('Tahona estuosa de aquellos mis bizcochos') has been well analyzed by Patrick Dove. Dove describes Freud's conception of the work of mourning as a dynamic of introjection — the reabsorption of emotional energy that had been previously dedicated to the deceased — and expulsion — the need to expel and bury the remains that might present an obstacle to that recuperation.[48] He reads '*Trilce* XXIII' as a meditation on the problem of introjection, with political implications regarding the expression of subaltern voice in the context of the 'epochal rift' or mixed temporalities which arose out of the combined and uneven development of Peruvian society. '*Trilce* LXV' can be read as a complement to this earlier poem, similarly oblique in its evasion of specific references to history and in its treatment of epochal concerns through a psychological exploration,

engaging this time a problematic of expulsion and interment. As I hope to show, the poem elaborates — within a more general meditation on human history — a striking interplay between the poet's identity and that of his mother, as well as an ambivalent monumentalisation of the ruins of his mother's body as its own tomb.

The poem begins with the play of identity and difference in the form of reversal, as the son attributes his emotions to his mother. He is in grief, but it is with her tears that he anoints himself. As Irene Vegas García points out, Vallejo associates the place of his birth, Santiago de Chuco, with Santiago de Compostela and the pilgrimage along the Camino de Perfección, evoking implicitly the two elements of his family genealogy, represented by his indigenous mother and grandmother and his Galician grandfathers.[49] Like a penitent on the road to Compostela, his preparations are marked by the old wounds of spiritual emptiness.

In the next stanza, three sentences in the future anticipate a return to the architectural features and furniture of his ancestral home, which function as a repository for his family's past, and as Jean Franco suggests, for the evolutionary past of the human species.[50] This conflation of temporalities, marked by a poetic play with tense, recalls Benjamin's notion of historical conjuncture, of the constellation formed between the present moment and an earlier one, here represented in psychic terms by the moment of the poet's birth, his first separation from the mother, and her death, the separation which confronts him now. His work of mourning can thus be construed as a re-reading of the events between those two moments in constellation. As Franco points out, his visit home becomes his visit to his mother's body, his first house, 'a womb decked out' to receive him ('el corredor de abajo con sus tondos y repulgos de fiesta') (1976: 69–70).

The stanza repeats the catachreses of the first in the personification of emotions, this time the mother's.[51] Yet again, the identities of mother and son are reversed; he is the penitent, yet it is her columns that are tonsured. The interplay of bodies and emotions continues. Her anxiety and worries parallel his fears as a child of spankings on the gaping jaws of the 'sillón ayo', witness to the punishment of great-grandchildren, beaten with a strap corresponding to their size: 'de correa a correhuela.' The discipline of children, with their attendant fears, becomes emblematic of barbarism and fascist victory in Vallejo's civil war poetry (Higgins 1997: 14). The sacrifices and 'ansias que se acaban la vida' of the mother, the fears of spanking on the part of the children, are symbolic of the poverty of human history.

In the third stanza, the lyric speaker conducts an unflinching evaluation of his own soul, which becomes an imperative for political action based on the model of love his mother provided (Higgins 1987: 8). He rotates and drops the sounding lead, plumbing the depths of his being; the line, '¿no oyes tascar dianas?' has been read in terms of the triumphant announcement of reveille, but 'tascar' means 'to endure' more than 'to chomp at' (as in 'tascar el freno') and 'dianas' are also bull's-eyes. When a plumb line is dropped, concentric circles surround the sounding lead like those of a dart board; it strikes its object as if hitting a bull's-eye, which in the context of the poem, suggests that the speaker locates and endures the hard truths he faces in performing his spiritual inventory. The final lines of the stanza are also construed differently, but I find Higgins's reading most evocative: 'tácitos volantes' are tacit fliers, leaflets yet to be written, the unarticulated message of the mother's love portrayed as a cry to political action (1997: 8–9). This imagery anticipates Vallejo's later personification of Republican Spain as a mother to the socialist society (p. 10): the 'cintas' are typewriter ribbons, the 'citas' are the future. Vegas García has pointed to the umbilical

associations of the lines, suggesting that the voicing of the mother's silenced subaltern speech — expressed in the subjunctive as a gesture towards possibility — will provide the impetus for uniting humanity across its divisions (Vegas García 1982: 127, and Higgins 1997: 9).

In the next stanza the mother is portrayed as a cathedral, the double arches of her blood suggestive of the vulva, the entry into her body through sexual union with her husband figured as a communion with the sacred. The stanza begins with the lines, 'Así, muerta inmortal. Así'. This phrase will continue to be repeated and will end the poem. The phrase, as Ortega notes, is an oxymoron,[52] and it also echoes the play of identity and difference which Franco has noted in the phonemic variation between 'cintas' and 'citas', here in the juxtaposition of positive and negative values of the same morpheme: 'muerta inmortal' (1976: 71). Ortega sees the lines as emblematic of the poem's increasing self-referentiality, its self-citation (1974: 310) paralleling Franco's observation — regarding 'cintas' and 'citas' — that Vallejo is making a statement about the arbitrariness of the signifier and of all creative acts, apparently even his own (1976: 71).

This play of identity and difference in language repeats the primordial play of identity and difference between the son and the mother's bodies. In the final stanza, the projection of the speaker's emotion onto his mother suggests an alienation from his own feelings, and becomes the fragmentation of language and of his own poem. Incomplete sentences link adverbial phrases of place, summarised by the deictic 'Así', which almost approaches undifferentiated sound. He is the one crying, but it is the colonnade of her bones that is buttressed against the tremors of her own weeping. The speaker hyperbolically extols her immunity from Destiny; her side, unlike Adam's inert body before the vivifying finger of God or that of the resurrected Christ before the finger of Doubting Thomas, is closed tight against the intrusions of change. As Ortega points out, this is no transcendence of death; she is beyond the hazards of fate precisely because she is irrevocably defined by the finality of her passing. The womb-like goal of the speaker's pilgrimage beyond loss is now a temple in ruins, evincing an ambivalent messianism in a Benjaminian sense, the future always in dialectic with possibility and informed by remembrance. The repetition of 'Así, muerta inmortal' suggests a mother calming her child; the lyric speaker comforts his dead mother to comfort himself, applying the model of love with which he filled all the holes in the floor of the family house to try to fill the void at his own foundation.

Most compelling about Vallejo's poem on his own process of grief is his ability to render such poignantly articulated psychological events, which must be archetypal, and to associate them with a meditation on history and on poetic language which in turn signals a profound engagement with the ethical, the political, and the ideological. Precisely because he engages language and psyche at the level of the interstitial, before the entry into the symbolic, he is able to challenge the aesthetic representation of history and ideology at a higher structural level. He accomplishes this in part through a transcendence of gender, evincing a different sort of generic indeterminacy which approximates the collective subject. The mourning poet adopts all the tenuousness and uncertainty of a mother who — in a gesture towards a future of peace — courageously creates a foundation of security for her child, even when she finds it most lacking in her own conditions. Vallejo's pilgrimage to Santiago thus becomes more than a journey into the psychodynamics of his grief; his engagement with the messianic suggests instead a pilgrimage through mourning into historical possibility.

The pilgrimage into the tragedy of history announced by Góngora's *Soledades* thus branches into different but profoundly engaging variants in the Latin American texts we

have examined: the Neobaroque tale of Carpentier, the lyric novel of Rulfo, and the moving psychological exploration of Vallejo's poem all testify to the persistent effects of the crisis of the modern. They contrast in their embrace of a different relation to the messianic: against the imperial political prophecy of the *Messianic Eclogue* or the apocalyptic messianism of the Counterreformation, they offer a view of history that is more problematic. Often adopting an oblique view which might be seen as characteristic of the avant-garde, these writers, to varying degrees, use literature as ideological critique. This critique is enhanced where there is a parallel critique of gender relations, given their function as the primal and most naturalised model of relations of dominance and subordination in society. In most cases, however, this critique is contained within certain constraints defined by the limits of historical possibility and by an ideological commitment to an alternative view of national or imperial destiny. Vallejo, writing at the origins of international socialist consciousness,[53] stands out most clearly as an exception to this pattern. Góngora, Rulfo, and Carpentier present historical repetition as a form of paralysis; Vallejo presents the frustration of historical progress in equally graphic terms, but also, most explicitly, offers hope in his engagement with possibility from a socialist perspective. Vallejo presents a view of history that is both partisan and indeterminate, not foretold by the star of prophecy, but displayed instead as the conjunctural logic of constellation, in which the untold suffering of the oppressed of all eras approaches the possibility of being voiced and addressed. His poem suggests the 'weak Messianic power' of which Benjamin writes,[54] which engages the future without a pre-established teleology, thus locating pilgrimage in the collective and open space of human potential.

[1] See Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 5–23, and Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978) on Christian pilgrimage traditions.

[2] Excellent references regarding this history of Spanish imperial crisis include J. H. Elliot, *Imperial Spain: 1469–1716* (New York: New American Library, 1963), Pierre Vilar, *Crecimiento y desarrollo: Economía e historia: reflexiones sobre el caso español*, 1964, trans. by various authors (Barcelona: Crítica, 2001), and Jaime Vicens Vives, *Manual de historia económica de España* (Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 1985).

[3] I define 'modernity' as the ideological narrative of economic and cultural development usually associated with the bourgeois democratic revolutions of Western Europe, including the rise of nationalism, industrialisation, urbanisation, widespread literacy, and other features. I rely in part on Bryan Turner's useful introduction to Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *Baroque Reason: The Aesthetics of Modernity*, trans. by Patrick Camiller (London: Sage, 1994), pp. 1–36 (especially pp. 13–14). Regarding the estimated dates of composition of the poem, see introduction to Luis de Góngora y Argote, *Soledades*, ed. and intro. by Robert Jammes (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), pp. 1–157 (pp. 14–20). Unless otherwise indicated, further references to Góngora's text will refer to this edition.

[4] Here I use the word 'Baroque' loosely, as synonymous for the early modern, but generally I use the word 'Baroque' in the same broad cultural sense as José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del barroco*, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Ariel, 1981). For a full discussion of the history of the term 'Baroque', see Gregg Lambert, *The Return of the Baroque in Modern Culture* (New York: Continuum, 2004).

[5] Carlos J. Alonso describes modernity in Latin America as the 'master trope of Western hegemonic authority', an ideological narrative which sought to naturalise the relegation of the region to the periphery in the wake of the neo-colonial penetration of Latin America by European imperialist powers after their emancipation from Spain. *The Burdens of Modernity: The Rhetoric of Cultural Discourse in Spanish America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 19–20.

[6] John R. Beverley, *Aspects of Góngora's Soledades*, Purdue University Monographs in Romance Languages, 1 (Amsterdam: Johns Benjamins, 1980), 69 and 105; Andrée Collard, *Nueva poesía: conceptismo, culteranismo en la crítica española* (Madrid: Castalia, 1967), p. 102.

[7] Antonio Vilanova, 'El peregrino de amor en las *Soledades* de Góngora', in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, III (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicos, 1952), 421–60, and 'Nuevas notas sobre el tema del peregrino de amor', in *Studia Hispanica in Honorem Rafael Lapesa*, ed. by Eugenio de Bustos and others, 2 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), I, 563–70.

[8] Beverley's thesis has been accepted by Maurice Molho and others. It has also been supported by Callejo's study on the artistic value of the *Soledad segunda*, '*La Soledad segunda* de Luis de Góngora' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1986); see Robert Jammes, 'Presentación de las *Soledades*', in *Góngora Hoy I–II–III. Actas de los foros de debate Góngora Hoy en la Diputación de Córdoba*, ed. by Joaquín Roses (Córdoba, Spain: Diputación de Córdoba, 2002), pp. 25–26 and Jammes 1994: 44–45, as well as Pedro Ruiz Pérez, *El espacio de la escritura: en torno a una poética del espacio del texto barroco* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 236–37, 241.

[9] On the *peregrinatio vitae*, see Juergen Hahn, *The Origins of the Baroque Concept of Peregrinatio* (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 131 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

[10] I make this point in *Góngora's Soledades and the Problem of Modernity* (Suffolk, UK and Rochester, New York, 2008). Both works involve a progression from ascent to descent, both works evince symmetries between the two halves, both end with a gesture towards beginning again. Both are framed by the contradictions of history, and both end inconclusively, inviting the reader to respond to the problems raised by the text on the terrain of political action (pp. xii–xiv and 35–38). See also Claudio Guillén, *Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 181.

[11] Michael C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art: Studies in the Eclogues* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 68, citing L. A. MacKay, 'On Two Eclogues of Virgil', *Phoenix*, 15.3 (1961), 156–58.

[12] See especially L. J. Woodward, 'Two Images in the *Soledades* of Góngora', *MLN*, 76 (1961), 773–85 and Beverley 1980: 4–8.

[13] See Crystal Chemris, 'Violence, Eros and Lyric Emotion in Góngora's *Soledades*', *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, 37 (2003), 463–85 (pp. 473–75). See also Betty Sasaki, 'Góngora's Sea of Signs: The Manipulation of History in the *Soledades*', *Calíope*, 1.1–2 (1995), 150–68; Callejo 1986: 61; Marie Claire Zimmermann 'La voix du locuteur dans la *Soledad primera* : *Debate*', in *Autour des* Solitudes: *En torno de las* Soledades *de Luis de Góngora*', ed. by Francis Cerdan and Marc Vitsé (Toulouse-Le Mirail: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1995), 51–66 (p. 57); and, regarding the effect of juxtaposition in the poem, Grace Mary Burton, 'Discourse and Description in Góngora's *Las Soledades*: The Death of the Pastoral Mode' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Duke University, 1984), pp. iii and 25–28.

[14] See Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); and Geoffrey Parker, 'Messianic Visions in the Spanish Monarchy: 1516–1598', *Calíope*, 8.2 (2002), 5–24.

[15] See Chemris 2008: 33–34 and Sasaki 1995.

[16] The passage reads: 'el istmo que al Océano divide, / y, sierpe de cristal, juntar le impide/ la cabeza, del Norte coronada,/ con la que ilustra el Sur cola escamada/de antárticas estrellas' (I: 425–29). Beverley, in his edition of the poem, notes that this section refers to the constellation of the Southern Cross. See Luis de Góngora y Argote, *Soledades*, ed. by John Beverley, 4th edn (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984), p. 93. Joaquín Roses associates this image with mapmaking conventions of the period which originated in medieval illustrations. *Góngora Hoy IV–V. Actas de los foros de debate Góngora Hoy celebradas en la Diputación de Córdoba* (Córdoba, Spain: Diputación de Córdoba, 2004), p. 137.

[17] Important examples of this pattern are particularly evident in the first *Soledad*'s speech against seafaring where the symbols of different moments in the history of the Hapsburg dynasty are reprised, but abstracted from their usual politico-religious association. Charles V's personal emblem, the columns of Hercules — marked with the motto 'Plus Ultra' to emphasise the extension of empire — is evoked, but only as 'cuyo famoso estrecho/ una y otra de Alcides llave cierra' (I. 401–02). The compass is hailed (I: 379–94), but is not associated with the cross with which it was identified in Hapsburg apologetics and through which Philip II's reign was to extend to the non-Christian world (Tanner 1993: 204–06). See also Chemris 2008: 96–99.

[18] John R. Beverley, *Against Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p. 59.

[19] In suggesting sympathy for agrarian reform projects in the poem, Góngora also evinces certain limitations. Beverley argues that the *arbitrista* program to revive agriculture by dividing the large estates among the peasantry — a program articulated by Góngora's mentor Pedro de Valencia — was ultimately an

impossible proposal for a kind of 'feudal socialism'. In the context of such historical frustration, the *Soledades* becomes, he argues, a narcissistic aristocratic exercise: 'Góngora's cultivation of difficulty is rather a substitute for a direct political practice which is no longer possible.' Beverley, 'The Production of Solitude: Góngora and the State', *Ideologies and Literature*, 13 (1980), 57–58. Regarding the limits of Virgil's critique, see McKay 1961: 157.

[20] For evidence of the triumph of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Spain in the 1830s as well as on the rise of the revolutionary workers' movement across Europe, including Spain in 1848, see Tom Lewis, 'Religious Subject-Forms: Nationalism, Literature and the Consolidation of Moderantismo in Spain during the 1840s', *Culture and the State in Spain: 1550–1850*, ed. by Tom Lewis and Francisco J. Sánchez, *Hispanic Issues*, 20 (New York: Garland, 1999), 252–78 (pp. 259 and 267).

[21] John R. Beverley, *Una modernidad obsoleta: Estudios sobre el barroco* (Los Teques, Venezuela: Doxa y Episteme, 1997), p. 25; see also Beverley 1980: 113.

[22] Vicens Vives 1985: 308–09.

[23] The phrase 'l'astre mûri des lendemains' is from his 'Tombeau' (de Paul Verlaine), in Stéphane Mallarmé, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Bertrand Marchal, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), I, 39.

[24] See Chemris 2003 and her 'Time, Space and Apocalypse in Góngora's *Soledades*', *Symposium*, 43.3 (1989), 147–57 (p. 155).

[25] The term 'heroic rape' is Susan Brownmiller's. *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975). The sense in which I use the term to describe Hapsburg iconography (see Chemris 2003) is derived from Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The Heroic Tradition and its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[26] Paul Julian Smith, 'Barthes, Góngora and Non-Sense', *PMLA*, 101.1 (1986), 86.

[27] See Beverley 1980: 65; see also Bradley J. Nelson, 'Góngora's *Soledades*: Portrait of the Subject', *Romance Languages Annual*, 8 (1996), 608–14.

[28] See Beverley, 'Barroco de estado: Góngora y el gongorismo' in *Del Lazarillo al Sandinismo: Estudios sobre la función ideológica de la literatura española e hispanoamericana* (Minneapolis: Prisma, 1987), pp. 77–98. In regard to the shifting of the centre of Gongorist production to the colony by the second half of the seventeenth century see Elias L. Rivers, 'Góngora y el Nuevo Mundo', *Hispania*, 75.4 (1992), 856–61 (p. 858).

[29] See Mabel Moraña, 'Baroque/ Neobaroque/ Ultrabaroque: Disruptive Readings of Modernity', in *Hispanic Baroques: Reading Cultures in Context*, ed. by Nicholas Spadaccini and Luis Martín Estudillo, *Hispanic Issues*, 31 (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), 241–82, for a genealogy of the Latin American Neo-Baroque. I acknowledge looser definitions of the term to refer to any modern appropriation of the Baroque. César Augusto Salgado, *From Modernism to Neobaroque: Joyce and Lezama Lima* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2001), for example, refers to the twentieth-century revival of Góngora, conditioned by the Generation of 1927's attraction to Mallarmé, as a case of the 'Symbolist neobaroque vogue' (p. 81).

[30] Sharon Magnarelli, '"El camino de Santiago" de Alejo Carpentier y la picaresca', *Revista Iberoamericana*, 40 (1974), 65–86 (p.75); and Emil Volek, 'Dos cuentos de Carpentier: dos caras del mismo método artístico', *Nueva narrativa hispanoamericana*, 1.2 (1971), 7–19 (p. 16). Regarding the historical basis for the events in the story, see also Roberto González Echevarría, 'Notas para una cronología de la obra narrativa de Alejo Carpentier, 1944–1954', in *Estudios de literatura hispanoamericana en honor a José J. Arrom*, ed. by Andrew P. Debicki and Enrique Pupo-Walker (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages, 1974), pp. 201–14; and Eduardo Barraza Jara, '"El camino de Santiago"; De la disyunción a la conjunción', *Alpha*, 6 (1990), 57–69. To place this story within the corpus of Carpentier's work, see Roberto González Echevarría, *Alejo Carpentier: The Pilgrim at Home* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977); and Steve Wakefield, *Carpentier's Baroque Fiction: Returning Medusas's Gaze* (New York: Tamesis, 2004).

[31] See Magnarelli 1974 on picaresque elements of the story, especially pp. 67–70 on the shifting identity of Juan. On the resemblance of the structure of the story to a Baroque canon see Antonio Benítez Rojo, '"El camino de Santiago", de Alejo Carpentier, y el canon perpetuus de Juan Sebastián Bach: paralelismo estructural', *Revista Iberoamericana*, 49.123–24 (1983), 293–322.

[32] Ariel Dorfman, *Imaginación y violencia en América*, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1971), pp. 32–140.

[33] Alejo Carpentier, 'El camino de Santiago', in *Obras completas*, 2nd edn, 16 vols (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno, 1984), III, 79.

[34] Jorge Hidalgo, 'Utopía y frustración en "El camino de Santiago" de Alejo Carpentier', in *Actas del Sexto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas celebrado en Toronto del 22 al 26 de agosto de 1977*, ed. by Alan M. Gordon and Evelyn Rugg (Toronto: University of Toronto/AIH, 1980), pp. 386–90 (p. 390).
[35] Roberto González Echevarría 1977: 130.
[36] Julio Ortega suggests that such tautological structures are a function of the merging of time into space in the novel. 'La novela de Juan Rulfo; *Summa* de arquetipos', in *La narrativa de Juan Rulfo: interpretaciones críticas*, ed. by Joseph Sommers (México: Secretaria de Educación Pública, 1974), pp. 76–87 (p. 79). Note also the odd juxtapositions in dialogues, a defamiliarising technique we have seen in Virgil and Góngora, which relates to the frustration of the anagnorisis typically experienced by the epic hero (Chemris 2003: 473–75). This sort of juxtaposition is paralleled in Carpentier by the odd literal repetitions of text that function as device-baring features of typically Baroque self-reference.
[37] Juan Rulfo, *Pedro Páramo*, ed. by José Carlos González Boixo (Madrid: Cátedra, 2003), p. 67.
[38] Ortega 1974. As Donald Freeman argues, 'La renovación en el sentido mesiánico nunca ocurrirá', 'La escatología de *Pedro Páramo*', in *Homenaje a Juan Rulfo*, ed. by Helmy F. Giacoman (New York/Madrid: Las Américas/ANAYA, 1974), pp. 255–82 (p. 281).
[39] Patrick Dove, *The Catastrophe of Modernity: Tragedy and the Nation in Latin American Literature* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004), p. 149. Dove's elegant work has shaped my thinking on the issues of modernity and representation in literature.
[40] María Elena Valdés, 'Sexuality and Insanity in Rulfo's Susana San Juan', *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 18.3 (1994), 491–501 (especially p. 493); and Silvia Lorente-Murphy, '¿Cuál era el mundo de Susana San Juan ?', *Confluencia*, 7.2 (1992), 147–55 (pp. 149, 151). The oppositional stance of Susana has been well-remarked by critics.
[41] Manuel Ferrer Chivite *El laberinto mexicano en/de Juan Rulfo* (México: Novaro, 1972), p. 72.
[42] Ferrer Chivite 1972: 72 points out that the Virgin, according to legend, appeared to Juan Diego shortly after the feast of the Immaculate Conception.
[43] Rulfo 2003: 171.
[44] Silvia Lorente-Murphy, *Juan Rulfo: Realidad y mito de la revolución mexicana* (Madrid: Pliegos, 1988), p. 86.
[45] Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 250–51. On the subordination of indigenous communal values to the power of the *cacique*, see María Elena Valdés 1994: 495.
[46] Edmond Cros, *Theory and Practice of Sociocriticism*, trans. by Jerome Schwartz, *Theory and History of Literature*, 53 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), p. 188. Ferrer Chivite explicitly relates the pilgrimage scene to a Pazian notion of Mexican authenticity (1972: 30–31).
[47] See Victor Turner (1978: 82) on the influence of Revelations in the depiction of the Virgin of Guadalupe and María Luisa Bastos and Silvia Molloy, 'La estrella junto a la luna: Variantes de la figura materna en Pedro Páramo', *MLN*, 92.2 (1977), 246–68. See also Mario Valdés's important study on the influence of indigenous culture on the novel, 'Juan Rulfo en el amoxcalli: una lectura hermenéutica de *Pedro Páramo*', *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 22.2 (1998), 225–36.
[48] Dove 2004: 174–75. Dove bases his arguments on Freud's essays 'Mourning and Melancholia' (14: 237–58) and 'Instincts and their Vicissitudes' (14: 109–40) in Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. by James Strachey, 24 vols (London: Hogarth, 1955).
[49] Irene Vegas García, *Trilce, estructura de un nuevo lenguaje* (Lima: Póntifica Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1982), pp. 121–24.
[50] Jean Franco, *César Vallejo: The Dialectics of Poetry and Silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 70–71.
[51] James Higgins, 'On the Socialism of Vallejo', in Adam Sharman, *The Poetry and Poetics of César Vallejo: The Fourth Angle of the Circle* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1997), pp. 1–16 (p. 8).
[52] César Vallejo, *Trilce*, ed. by Julio Ortega (Madrid: Cátedra, 2003), p. 310.
[53] See Franco 1976: 1–26 and George Lambie, 'Intellectuals, Ideology and Revolution: The Political Ideas of César Vallejo', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 1.2 (2000), 139–69 on the history of Vallejo's early intellectual formation and association with socialist politics.
[54] Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in *Iluminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, trans. by Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), p. 254.