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Nature, Nation and Animality in the Discourse of Literary *Indigenismo*:

Case Studies in Peru, Mexico & the American Southwest, 1920-1974

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Nature, Nation and Animality in the Discourse of Literary *Indigenismo*: Case Studies in Peru, Mexico & the American Southwest, 1920-1974

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

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Professor Efrain Kristal, Chair

This dissertation examines the ways that *indigenista* writers from Mexico and Peru used animals in their representation of indigenous peoples, particularly in proposing a "new type of being" as the privileged subject for the nation. Literary *indigenismo* is a genre of narrative fiction produced by non-indigenous writers interested in the place and condition of indigenous peoples in the context of larger concerns regarding nationhood and modernity. This dissertation underscores the role nature and animals can and did play in these literary representations of the "indigenous question," which is to say of integrating indigenous peoples or indigenous world-views into non-indigenous milieus. This dissertation argues that *indigenista* writers used animals in ways that exemplify a tension between perceptions of indigenous views on the inherent connections between nature and the human, and Western discourses on animality—as the attribution of animal traits—that presuppose the hierarchical superiority of the human over nature. I coin the term "indigenista animality" to propose a reinterpretation of literary *indigenismo* that pays as much attention to the literary representation of indigenous human-animal cosmologies as it does to Western discourses on race and species.

Through an animal studies approach—an approach that questions the premise that animals are to be understood as “less than human”—this dissertation studies instructive cases in Peru, Mexico and the Southwest of the United States to explore some of the ways that *indigenista* literature engaged with animality in the contexts of national, international, and hemispheric tensions, in which discourses on indigenous peoples are central.

Chapter 1 analyzes the ways that Peruvian *indigenista* writers of the 1920s, Enrique López Albújar and José Carlos Mariátegui, used animals in their discussions of modernization and indigenous peoples within the context of Fordism, industrialism shaped by mass production and consumption of automobiles. Mariátegui's historical account of the apogee and retreat of the horse in human life contends with the emergence of a new indigenous type as the proletarian chauffeur. López Albújar's allegory "El fin de un redentor" ironizes debates over indigenous liberation through disagreements between various species of livestock animals as to the revindicatory nature of the automobile. These works contest the “progress” of state-sponsored modernization policies, e.g. mass road expansion, in their concern over the emancipation and labor of indigenous peoples by way of animal representations. Chapter 2 examines Mauricio Magaleno's novel *El resplandor* and how its approach to *nahualismo*, as an indigenous world-view, according to which the human and the animal are co-essential, are central to his critique of the postrevolutionary Mexican state. Magdaleno’s literary approach to the indigenous is premised on a peculiar and negative synthesis of indigenous and Spanish lineages, in which his central *mestizo* character employs the powers of *nahualismo* (supernatural abilities to "possess" or shape-shift into an animal) against his indigenous brethren as a tool to grab state power. His representation of Otomie peoples as cattle bring into relief salient questions over indigenous political consciousness that echoes the "Enlightenment" semantics of the novel, while also signaling the environmental historical tensions between European livestock and

indigenous populations in Central Mexico. Chapter 3 focuses on the ways that Carlos Castaneda advances the “man of knowledge” as a “new subject” in his series of books on the Yaqui teacher figure of don Juan. Evasive of his Peruvian origins, Castaneda nonetheless weaves Peruvian *indigenista* discourses and combines these with aspects of Mexican tropes such as *nahualismo*, making his exploration of Yaqui indigenous knowledge along the Arizona-Sonora borderlands a noteworthy example for the American Southwest. In his books, animals play an important role in the "inner journey" of Castaneda’s literary alter-ego, where encounters with animals aid him in becoming a "warrior." Castaneda reconfigures *nahualismo* in a way that erases the animal-human links of its Mesoamerican origins while infusing it with Eastern and Western philosophical traditions in his proposal of a new universality as a response to countercultural trends and U.S. military interventions.

This dissertation concludes with the suggestion that literary *indigenismo* is ripe for a more comprehensive reassessment based on the animal studies approach to literature, which offers us new ways of interpreting animals and animality that deepen our understanding of discourses that seek to "naturalize" the contours of the nation, revealing race and species tensions in regional and nationalist imaginaries.

This dissertation of Carolina Beltran is approved.

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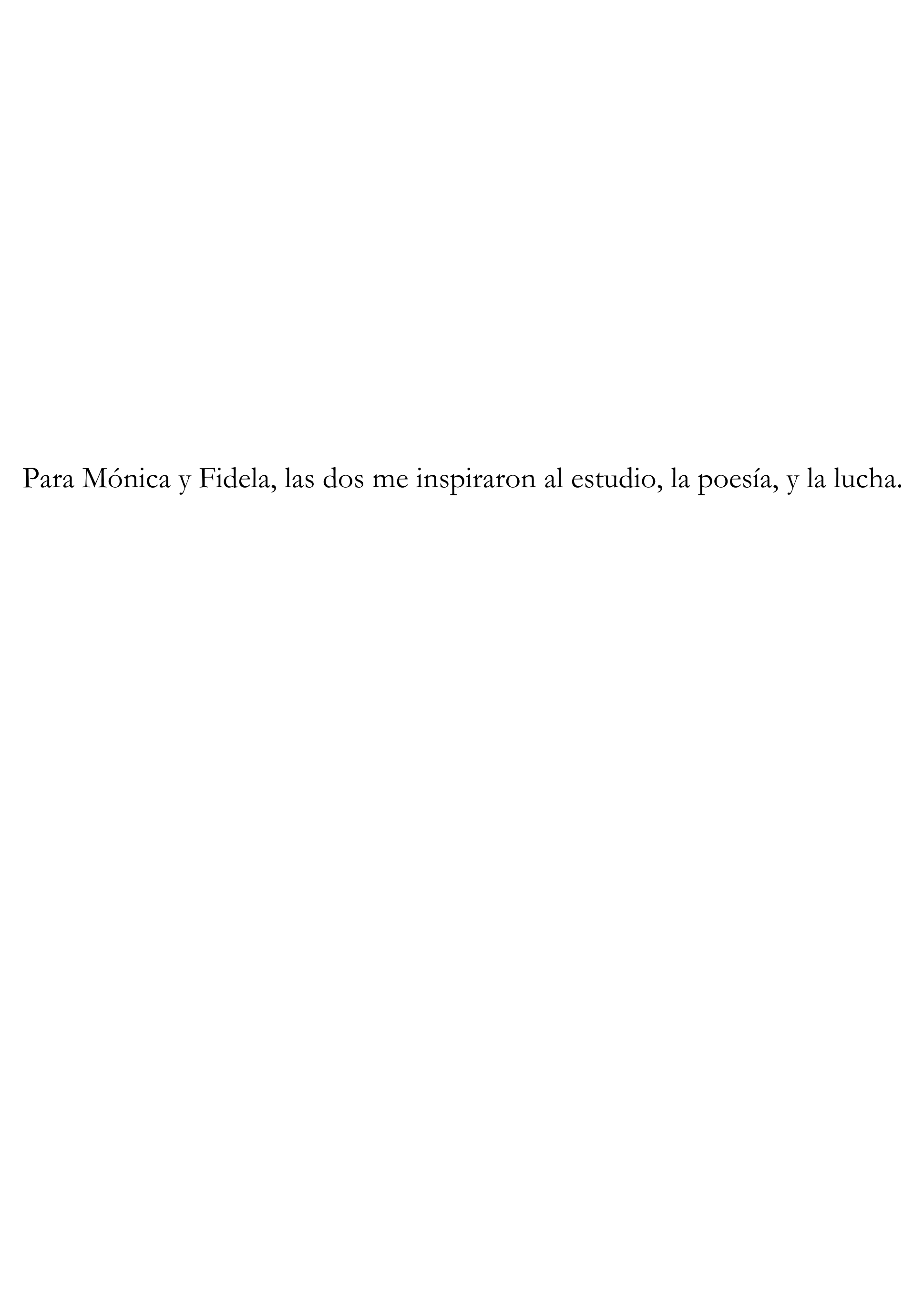

Para Mónica y Fidela, las dos me inspiraron al estudio, la poesía, y la lucha.

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INTRODUCTION

In the film *Kukuli* (1961), a young woman who lives in harmony with the llamas she herds leaves her family in the *sierra* to attend the Feast of Mamacha Carmen in the Peruvian town of Paucartambo. Along the way she meets Alaku, a young man who forces himself on Kukuli as she is resting on a riverbank. Following her 'seduction', the couple continues their way to Paucartambo. In this Quechua-language film, the first film of its kind in Peru directed by Luis Figueroa, Eulogio Nishiyama and César Villanueva, Ukuku, a mythical half bear half man creature prowling the festival streets of the town, attacks the indigenous couple, killing Alaku and kidnapping Kukuli and taking her to the mountains. In a scene resembling her rapture, Kukuli is killed when a boulder falls on her as Ukuku releases her so that he can escape a mob of townspeople. In the final scenes of the film, the two lovers are reunited in the airy landscape of the Highlands when a white llama and a black llama meet, exchange gentle nudges, and walk off into the Andean *punas*.

This transformation of these two indigenous characters into llamas resonates in part in its mythical resolution, such as that present in Western and indigenous mythologies in which the human body transcends the world of human affairs and violence into a realm of natural bliss through animal form. The film alludes to Andean animist concepts but also gives the film an aura of magical realism with its colorful and cinematic juxtapositions of the indigenous couple, the mythical Ukuku, the animals, river, flowers, and the iconic Andean landscape. *Kukuli* cinematically represents what literary Andean *indigenismo* had for decades transmitted, namely the more-than-human connection of indigenous peoples with nature.

Beginning with Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas's defense of indigenous peoples during the Spanish Conquest, a long tradition of writers have used sympathetic literary representations to criticize the ongoing treatment of Amerindians. In the 20th century specifically, non-indigenous writers and intellectuals in Mexico and Peru, urged the political inclusion of indigenous peoples into

the nation, as well as the preservation of various indigenous cultures. These writers and artists, known as *indigenistas*, foregrounded representations of nature such as landscapes and animal life as a way of celebrating indigenous peoples, but as a result also perpetuated a view of indigenous peoples as less than fully human. Canonical *indigenista* writers such as Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas transmitted a lyrical reality that expressed "lo mágico-mítico-religioso... como algo que se da en 'el mundo' con la misma *naturalidad* que los 'fenómenos naturales' " (Escajadillo 57). As Tomás Escajadillo writes "además de ríos, montañas, árboles y toros, 'normales' diríamos, está compuesta por *jircas* [mountains] que fueron guerreros, *aukis* [wolves] tutelares que intervienen en el destino humano; ríos que hablan al corazón, que traen mensajes de lejanas tierras, toros que son dioses [ ] sin dejar de ser toros; árboles que retienen, a través de los tiempos, un mensaje, que *saben* y *ven* y *sienten*" (58). Depictions of interspecies communication and emotive lyricism with inanimate nature helped shape an idyllic representation of Andean life, one which persists to an extent in contemporary tourist image economy that often pairs young Andean children in traditional dress carrying colorfully decorated lambs in arms or standing alongside a llama in the rural Highlands or in the colonial streets of Cuzco.

Animality imposed upon indigenous peoples especially by non-indigenous *indigenista* writers and artists sought to discursively employ the animalization of indigenous peoples as a way of criticizing oppression, resorting to past traditions of naturalism as a model to replicate or condemn. It is clear that the constellation of concepts that weave indigeneity, nature, and animals cannot be reduced to a matter of allegory, mythology, or "authenticity;" rather the sinews of animality discourse is a product of the historical moment and its pressing issues that set forth in the pen of these *indigenistas* a particular vision of animality that goes to the heart of a nationalist question: "the indigenous problem."

This dissertation puts *indigenismo* into dialogue with Animal Studies in order to offer new interpretations of the representation of the indigenous problem by closely examining animals in the literary *indigenismo* of writers from Mexico, Peru and the American Southwest. Specifically, I examine animality in Peruvian *indigenismo* through an analysis of Enrique López Albújar and José Carlos Mariátegui's writings during the 1920s. Within Mexican *indigenismo*, I explore the animality and environmental historical dimensions of Mauricio Magaleno's *El resplandor* (1937). And I bring Mexican and Peruvian *indigenismos* together in the American Southwest through enigmatic figure of "American" anthropologist Carlos Castaneda and investigate the significance of animals in his literary-anthropological novels from 1968-1974.

Animal representations in *indigenista* literature are typically employed to signal the indigenous subjects' proximity to nature, and thus a relationship to nature that is different from that of the non-indigenous reader. Moreover, these references to indigenous peoples as themselves animals seek to illustrate the prejudicial treatment that indigenous peoples endure within the unjust structures of the nation. In some instances, *indigenista* scholarship has turned to animal representations in these texts as a way of highlighting formal elements as well as criticizing animalizations of indigenous peoples as dehumanizing. Recent work in Animal Studies, however, has sought to deconstruct the "question of the animal" in order to interpret animal signs differently, thus critiquing the speciesism present in equating animality with dehumanization. As such, this dissertation contributes critical animal readings to *indigenista* scholarship to update past structural and allegorically-oriented readings of animals in these works, and thus bring them into dialogue with recent critical animal and posthumanist developments in literary studies.

Through an in-depth and detailed exploration of animals in the writings of these writers, I offer case studies that examine how animals are employed to articulate national identity. Specifically, I have selected these particular examples of *indigenista* animality because these are fruitful in terms of

engaging with animal studies theories as well as helping generate concepts for probing the question of race and species within a framework of nationalist articulations. Nominally, this dissertation seeks to also contribute to comparative studies on *indigenismo* within this concern over the centrality or rejection of indigenous or mestizo identity from particular national contexts, by offering examples that advance or critique the centrality of the *mestizo*. For instance, of the handful of comparative studies on *indigenismo* to date, none have posed a comparative analysis of these two countries that are concerned with *why* Mexico saw the promotion of *mestizaje* and Peru the figure of the indigenous. Although the case studies I examine cannot definitively answer this question, these, nonetheless, do offer readings that demonstrate a basis for developing a comparative argument about the interplay between race and species discourse in *indigenismo* more broadly. As such, my examination of animality and *indigenismo* finds that animalizations and discourses of animality, in the texts and writers in question, hover around the concern over a 'new type' of national subject. Whether in the 1920s debates among Peruvian *indigenistas* around the figure of the "nuevo indio", or in Mexican formulations of the cosmic race and *mestizaje*, or in the "new man" as revolutionary subject within the Cold War era, animals are employed in this exploration of the 'new subject' as a way to imagine resolutions to national contradictions.

In what follows I will outline the contours of Mexican and Peruvian *indigenismo* within a concern for a "new type" as the privileged subject for the nation and the way that the writers I examine give shape to this "nuevo tipo" through animal signs. I then discuss the nexus between natural discourse and animality within this "nature of *indigenismo*" that utilizes animals for representing emancipatory projects. I close with detailing the critical animal and animality scholarship and orientations that aided me in probing the "nature" and animality within *indigenismo*, before turning to the specific arguments of the chapters in this study.

The Indigenismos of Mexico and Peru

Although *indigenismo* can be generally described as a favorable stance towards indigenous peoples traceable to de las Casas's defense of Amerindian populations, this chapter considers *indigenismo* as an ideological movement with political and aesthetic dimensions that took root in the early twentieth century. As Efraín Kristal emphasizes the early twentieth century marked a 'zero degree', a point of rupture and departure, wherein Spanish American intellectuals asserted a "desire to break with Spain while still identifying with the European heritage of their Spanish forefathers" ("Zero Degree" 591). *Indigenismo* across the Spanish American continent, thus, manifested the belief that "the contemporary national experience of Spanish America was inextricably linked to the cultures of pre-Columbian civilization" (601). This nationalization of the pre-Conquest past is evident in both Mexico and Peru as two of the primary centers of indigenous civilizations.

In comparing Mexican and Peruvian *indigenismo* it does not suffice to limit the discussion as Manuel Marzal does to the realm of anthropology, within which he deems Mexican *indigenismo* to be more developed relative to that of Peru. For the purposes of my study, Nicola Miller's distinction of the discourses of popular national identity is useful in navigating differences and similarities of these two nationalist movements in terms of bicultural and bipolar discourses. In the case of Mexico, *indigenismo* was dominated by the institutional and anthropological approaches, wherein literary works reinforced state policies of intervention into rural indigenous regions. The bicultural approach of Mexican *indigenista* discourse articulated the distinction between *mestizaje* and indigeneity in terms of a culturalist interpretation. The function of *indigenismo* in Mexico served to reinforce the nationalist discourse of *mestizaje* and the promotion of the mestizo, as a privileged national subject for ushering modernity. According to Claudio Lomnitz, the task of Mexican *indigenista* anthropologists was that of "la mediación entre los ideales políticos de la modernidad y los sujetos políticos reales que habitan la sociedad nacional" ("Saberes periféricos" 210-11). Mexican literary

indigenistas would reproduce this mediation in large part within their intellectual networks within the state apparatus in which figures such as Francisco Rojas González, Juan Rulfo and Rosario Castellanos worked for state organizations such as Instituto Nacional Indigenista, Instituto Nacional de Arqueología e Historia de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales. In the case of the former, Rojas González "put his ethnological training to literary use in such a way as to fuse the two *indigenista* traditions into one, within a nationalist matrix preoccupied with defining *lo mexicano* that was, in this case, intimately linked to state policy-making" (Tarica "Broken Jugs" 104).

The indigenous figure both in official Mexican *indigenista* policies, as well as extra-official literary works like that of Rojas González, had to contend with the contradiction of indigenous peoples as a national ideal and as a national problem. Despite the momentum of Mexican *indigenismo* in the 1940s and 1950s, *indigenismo's* marked anthropological bent precedes the postrevolutionary concern for and anxiety towards the indigenous masses. According to Mexican critics such as Sylvia Bigas-Torres, proper *indigenismo* has its origins in the Revolution and sought, as part of its new revolutionary ideology, "la integración de razas y culturas, la imposición de una sola lengua nacional y el equilibrio entre todos los sectores de la población" which, moreover, "proponía el intercambio armonioso de los mejores valores culturales de ambos sectores, el indio y el occidental" (47). However, as forementioned, this new ideology of indigenous incorporation and national unity on the part of the postrevolutionary state was heavily influenced by the anthropological orientation of Manuel Gamio. As such, Mexico's focus on cultural elements of indigenous peoples opposed to racial and/or biological elements was a product of the notions of *mestizaje* promoted by Gamio, which contributed to José Vasconcelos's idea of the cosmic race.

As David S. Brading explains, "the achievement of Gamio was to reinstate Anáhauc as the glorious foundation of Mexican history and culture, thus reversing a century of Liberal scorn" (76). Brading further explains that in addition to Gamio's archaeological work such as the reconstruction

of Teotihuacán, which he presented in his two volume survey published in 1922, Gamio was "not content merely to study the past" but "sought to analyse and reform the present" as evident from his 1909 *Forjando patria* that established the centrality of culture as the primary concept in determining indigeneity (78). Gamio's privileging of culture over other criteria can be attributed to his adoption of Franz Boas's anthropological approach, under which he conducted his studies while at Columbia University. The Boasian concept of culture as "the natural and intellectual manifestations of any human group" allowed for an escape of the genetic determinism of the period that deemed Mexico's population unfavorably. Not only did Gamio re-direct the discourse of national identity but he also initiated a campaign to revive Mexican artisan industry, a promotion of Mexican identity grounded in indigenous culture and motifs, which Vasconcelos would later mirror with his educational and aesthetic promotion of Mexican artists.

During this period, state policies to integrate indigenous peoples into the national life were stepped up in an effort to consolidate the institutional branches and economic growth directed by the state (Doremus "Indigenismo" 375). Specifically, the creation of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) in 1940 under the directive of Cárdenas served to strengthen the state's political power. As Analisa Taylor shows, "the INI functioned as the primary broker of the state interests in indigenous communities" in addition to other state institutions geared to the study of Mexico's indigenous past and its contemporary Indian population via the establishment of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología and the Escuela Nacional de Anthropologia e Historia, which trained the would-be *indigenistas* that would then work in the field under the supervision of a regional department of INI (Taylor 11). However, before this institutional move, schisms in determining the approach to the indigenous question became evident in the First Inter-American Indigenista Congress held in Patzcuaro, Michoachán in 1940. Supporters of the culturalist approach met head-on with Marxist *indigenistas* influenced by Mariátegui and Stalin. According to Joseph Sommers, those

influenced by "fuentes marxistas extranjeras" focused on the importance of the economic situation in addressing indigenous exploitation, and critiqued the failure of the Revolution to bring about socialist transformation (25).

In contrast to its Mexican counterpart, Peruvian *indigenismo* posits a divided society that is simultaneously geographically, culturally, and politically separated along binaries of: indigenous/*criollo*, Andes/coastal, oral/lettered, pre-modern/modern. This "bipolarity," as Nicola Miller describes, contrasts with Mexico's bicultural synthesis, wherein the indigenous subject is absorbed (and vanishes) within mestizo discourse (*Shadow* 152). Furthermore, Miller explains that similar to Mexico "Peru had a leading positivist who rejected theories of racial pessimism: Manuel González Prada. But whereas in Mexico Justo Sierra had taken refuge in promoting miscegenation, González Prada identified a need for more radical solutions to the problem of national integration, and advocated that the Indians of Peru should take up arms against their oppressors" (ibid). Peruvian nationalism that fomented in the 1920s was greatly shaped by the Marxism of Mariátegui who, inspired by González Prada's radical anarchism, and his own conversion to socialism in Europe, reformulated the indigenous problem not in terms of integration and assimilation through *mestizaje* but as a product of feudal land relations, as a "problem of the land," envisioning indigenous peoples as revolutionary subjects to overthrow European feudal impositions and emerging capitalist structures that had stymied their own economic structures of collectivism.

Peruvian *indigenismo* associated with socialism became a target of nationalist anti-communism within a "banal binary of *indigenista* versus *hispanista*" (Miller *Shadow* 153). While Marxism in Mexico was subsumed into the parameters of a state-run revolutionary socio-political program, the "banal binary" "dominated Peruvian intellectual life, historiography and politics for at least the next four decades, largely because it served the interests of the state as well as the intellectuals" (ibid). The *indigenista* polemic of 1927 showcased this controversy between Mariátegui and his detractors, when

Enrique López Albújar published an extremely negative analysis of indigenous psychology in *Amauta*. The binary dimension of these debates took on a theoretical dimension within Antonio Cornejo Polar's concept of heterogeneous literature, in which socio-cultural difference imprinted in the national literatures of Peru, Argentina, Caribbean nations expressed the conflicts of dual and plural identities as the expression of a literature between two distinct universes ("Sobre el concepto" 120).

The aims of Mariátegui's vision of Indo-American Socialism and his journal *Amauta* sought to soberly assess the past and envision a renovated future that would strengthen the nation through the universal tenets of socialism. Both these political and editorial projects influenced the national debates by exposing and circulating new ideas from Europe and North America and as such were motivated by a desire to '*actualizar*' and bring Peru into modernity. Mariátegui's materialist assessment of Peruvian history and its enduring archaic forms of land ownership and labor arrangements extant in the Andean Highlands argued that contrary to the opinion of his contemporaries, the indigenous problem was not a matter of education or inherent racial deficiencies. Rather, his dictum of "el problema del indio es el problem de la tierra" subordinated any questions of cultural difference to the economic quandary associated with land and labor exploitation in the Andean Highlands. His Indo-American Socialism would address the "inorganic" economic and social practices in the region by recovering and strengthening the social indigenous structures of family-community in the Highlands and communism present in these communities. Thus, Indo-American Socialism would fulfill the double entendre of "Peruvianizing Peru" by way of an acknowledgement of indigenous "socialist" practices as well as moving towards the future via the rise of a proletariat. As such, Mariátegui's contribution to national debates dually looked to "*actualizar"* in terms of the synching Peru up with the rest of West as well as "making" Peru, amounting to a re-thinking and re-making of Peru based on an inclusion of its indigenous

population instead of the Spanish legacy of feudalism and persistent colonialism.

While the 1920s was a period of ideological contention with regard to the 'problema nacional' in Peru, in Mexico there were also competing approaches to the indigenous problem that were also influenced by Marxists anthropologists, such as Jorge A Vivo who "argued that capitalist exploitation and the oppression of highly advanced Indian cultures had been a destructive feature in Latin America since the colonial period, leading others to conclude that this was the singular problem that Indigenismo must overcome in creating a modem and more equitable society" (Dawson "Paradox" 85-6). Vicente Lombardo Toledano and Luis Chávez Orozco were two vocal Marxists *indigenistas* who prior to Lázaro Cárdenas's presidency (1934-1940) linked "Indian backwardness and capitalist exploitation" but in the absence of a figure like Mariátegui "some used Marxist analyses to argue that the Indian was actually a separate nationality within Mexico, most intellectuals simply distorted Marxist theories to argue more aggressively for the integral place of the Indian within the Mexican nation" (82). It is within this disillusionment of the Mexican Revolution and cooptation within the Cardenas years that Mauricio Magdaleno utilized both indigenous aspects of animal correspondences between human and animal and Western animality associated with eugenics to depict the devolution of the Revolution through a negative synthesis, in which the postrevolutionary figure of the *mestizo* is transformed into a *nahual mestizo*, who perpetuates colonial violence onto animalized (cattle-like) indigenous peoples.

The Mexico of the 1920s was emerging from a decade of revolutionary turmoil to a fervent rhetoric of carrying out said revolution through the civic education and public works while Peru despite Augusto Leguía's nationalist public works program "had fallen behind Mexico in the pace and degree of its modernization" (Miller "Shadow" 152). From the mid 1930s to the 1950s, *indigenismo* enters its canonization phase, where both in Peru and Mexico, literary *indigenismo* was promoted as a reflection of national identity. According to Analisa Taylor, Mexican *indigenista* novels

such as those of Gregorio López y Fuentes's *El indio*, Mauricio Magdaleno's *El resplandor*, and Francisco Rojas González's *Lola Casanova* "appear to support state-sponsored planned acculturation projects and inspired their reader to get involved in 'solving' the Indian problem" (25). These foundational *indigenista* fictions put forth the potential of "agrarian modernization, rural education and social reconciliation through *mestizaje*" (44). The latter transformed more in the direction of anthropological and sociological-oriented narrative, such as Rojas González's *El diosero* and numerous works by Ramón Rubín, which focused on regional themes within a realist vein intended to inform the reader not necessarily about the indigenous problem as much as communicate indigenous culture.

In the case of Peru, as Priscilla Archibald contends, "the spontaneity and experimentation of the 1920s [especially in poetry] was lost in *indigenismo*'s canonization" (52). For example, Cynthia Vich documents how the Orkopata group of Puno advanced an "indigenismo vanguardista" in which the *indio* was central through a modern and militant vision of *lo andino* through vanguardist poetics. The effects of the poetics and politics of the local and international avant-garde of the early twentieth century did, however, influence later literary production, especially with regards to the impact of Mariátegui and *Amauta*. Ciro Alegría's *El mundo es ancho y ajeno* (1941), regarded as the *indigenista* epic of the period, represents favorably the indigenous subject, beset by the hardships produced by the conspiring malignant forces of the state, gamonal, and church, reproducing Mariátegui's diagnosis of the indigenous problem. In addition to Alegría, José María Arguedas's works also promoted an engagement with indigenous peoples by correcting biased representations put forth decades earlier by López Albújar, while also continuing the animist lyricism present in "indigenismo vanguardista."

The period of the 1960s and 1970s is often considered to mark a shift away from the earlier *indigenista* articulations towards more critical and/or experimental approaches to the indigenous

question in both literary and anthropological works. Thus the production of *neo-indigenista* works by, among others, Jose María Arguedas, Manuel Scorza and Rosario Castellanos, which sought to internalize indigenous perspective often through the use of experimental narrative techniques such as magical realism, were accompanied by an anthropological revisionism that severely critiqued the earlier legacy of *indigenismo*. Anthropologists, in turn, sought to redirect the *indigenista* paradigm of speaking for the *indio* towards a new and more authentic form, the *testimonio*, wherein the intellectual would assist the indigenous subject to speak for him- or herself, realizing what Mariategui had envisioned in periodization of indigenous themed literature, the arrival of *literatura indígena,* in which the indigenous subject/writer would produce "organic" national literature.

Within a hemispheric dimension, *indigenismo* encountered the New Left and countercultural movements in the United States. During the 1960s and 1970s, Peruvian-born Carlos Castaneda went into Mexico to conduct experimental anthropological fieldwork as an apprentice to the Yaqui shaman Don Juan. Although his works obfuscate the influences of Mexican and Peruvian *indigenismo* in turning to the indigenous subject and his conversion into a sorcerer/*nahual*, Castaneda's novels are a continuation of these strands of imagining the indigenous other within a moment of modern crisis. Moreover, as a figure that illustrates the dynamics of a deterritorialization from South America and a reterritorialization within the American Southwest, Castaneda highlights physical and disciplinary transnational movements across national and regional boundaries, especially with regards to the significance of North American anthropological engagements with shamanic traditions of indigenous peoples. One of the most notable consequences of Castaneda's *indigenista* production was how he instigated droves of counterculturally-inclined Americans to search for universal truths by seeking out their own "personal indio" and in the course of his 15 book series he became one of the most commercially successful *indigenista* writers, published in 17 different languages and selling more than 28 million of his books worldwide.

The "Natures" of Indigenismo

As a dimension of the autochthonous, tellurism constitutes a prevalent rhetorical and thematic element in *indigenista* writings. In the broadest sense, tellurism is the influence of the earth on its inhabitants. Henri Favre defines this trend as "una corriente difusa del indigenismo que atribuye la formación de la nación a la acción de fuerzas de la naturaleza y que hace del indio, producto original de esas fuerzas a las que está sometido, el más auténtico representante de la nacionalidad" (59). As a force, tellurism, according to Favre, is "la energía que brota de la tierra, que la tierra le transmite y que él tranforma en voluntad" and the fount of national character. Such characterizations are evident in Bolivian Franz Tamayo's *Creación de una pedagogía nacional* (1910), as well as in Luis Valcárcel and José Uriel García's works, both of which according to Favre, "ven en la cordillera andina la espina dorsal de la nación" (61). In the case of Mexico, he cites Alfonso Reyes's *Visión de Anahuac* (1915), to which I would add Antonio Mediz Bolio's *La tierra del faisán y del venado* (1922).

Thus, *indigenismo* amounted to a telluric discourse of belonging and the representativeness of the nation, inextricably linked to land, according to Estelle Tarica, as "racialization of land was a necessity of nativism" (*Inner Life* 8). As the discourse of the autochthonous "insists on the spiritual indivisibility and expressive powers of the national soil," twentieth century *indigenismo* drew from the tellurism characteristic of nineteenth century romantic nationalisms, which developed a notion of indigeneity understood as a kind of 'law of the land,' in which the "experience of indigeneity becomes literally and metaphorically the ground," noting that it is not until the twentieth century that this notion becomes most dominant in Mexico and the Andes (ibid). By way of Arguedas's *Canto Kechwa*, Tarica observes that "his notion of indianness as indigeneity… speaks to an experience of regional belonging that appears to be racially inclusive: it pertains, to 'all people' in the Peruvian

Andes" (20). As such, Arguedas reinforced the telluric notion of the weight of environmental and geographical factors as a way of exhibiting and being 'indigenous' by *mestizos* through the telluric effects of their soul.

Initially, this dissertation sought to take an environmental critical perspective regarding the association of indigenous peoples and nature, inspired by the novels of José María Arguedas, especially his *Los rios profundos* (1958) and *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971). Within a framework of natural discourse, I turned to both environmental criticism and Latin American cultural criticism such as that of Carlos Alonso to interrogate *indigenismo*'s discursive use of nature as authenticity in which land and telluric identifications grounded and pegged indigenous peoples with essentializing natural tropes, one of these being the close association of animals. As such, on the one hand, I drew from Lawrence Buell's dictum that "what looks like nature, then, is in fact often naturalized" (Buell 143) and on the other hand, Alonso's following proposal on the writings of Latin American nationalist writers served to establish the basis of my inquiry into the "nature of *indigenismo*:"

> …[A]ssumed naturalness of such evidently cultural enterprise, the way in which it portrays itself as the natural breathing space for Latin American thought, has determined that it become itself a second-order postulation of the autochthonous. In this way the nature/culture dichotomy is transcended in a manner of speaking, through the undertaking of a resolutely cultural project as an unquestioned "natural activity." (15)

Such a concern or anxiety, which Alonso identifies as the crux of the *novela de la tierra,* is also present in *indigenismo* as a literature concerned with reflecting what is autochthonous. And subsequently, its literary evaluation has overwhelmingly been taken to be the degree to which it successfully represents the authentic indigenous subject. Critics preoccupied with authenticity in the *indigenista* genre have proposed an evolutionary development from exotic and romanticized representations of

the indigenous other towards more "genuine" expressions of indigenous culture, wherein often Arguedas's works are presented as the pinnacle of *indigenista* literary production.

The cultural project of *indigenismo* in various texts especially that of mid-century Peruvian and Mexican *indigenistas* seemed more complicated when attempting to deconstruct this natural discourse within the intersection of the animal.[1] As Lauren Derby notes "Animals have long provided a crucial nexus between man and the land, but as yet remain invisible in much of the literature on landscape change in Latin America" (602). The porous human-animal boundaries present within various indigenous cosmologies in the Americas, from animistic and totemic relations from First Nations of the United States and Canada to the numerous *pueblos indígenas* of Northern Mexico, Mesoamerica, and in the varied landscapes of South America, all lend towards the use of animals as a way of authenticating nationalist *indigenista* foundations as well as tracing the present day indigenous cosmologies that reject Western dichotomies of nature and culture.

Turning towards animals necessitated an engagement with the way that animal studies had developed into an array of subdisciplines and sorting through which questions most aligned with those that I had in relation to the *indigenista* canon. Generally the development of animal focused inquiries emerged from animal rights movements from which then animal studies would constitute

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[1] Although Latin American literary criticism, such as the work of Carlos Alonso, Antonio Cândido and Roberto Gonzalez Echevarría, have at times theorized discourses of nature in relation to the continent's literary traditions, environmental critical approaches to the literatures of the region remain few. Latin American ecocritics have sought to read environmental concerns in contemporary literature as well as re-visit the literary past as a way of drawing links between nature and the political tensions of imperialist threats and national 'developmental' ideologies. In part, Latin American ecocriticism's concerns are a response to "first-wave" North American ecocriticism, which celebrated non-fictional natural writings as well as representations of wilderness and the sublime. Where earlier critics such as Leo Marx and Raymond Williams had critiqued literary celebrations of nature as pastoral obfuscations of class relations and the industrial links between country and city, the ecocriticism that developed in the 1990's has instead explored how reading, critiquing, and engaging with nature writings might specifically help to cultivate environmentally-conscious sensibilities. As Latin American ecocritic Jorge Marcone contends, Latin American Ecocriticism must consider the conflicts and tensions that arise from Ecocritical Studies (especially Postcolonial Ecocriticism) and Left-development discourses such as Marxism, postmodernism, postcolonial identity politics and the politics of decolonization. Although, Marcone was directing these comments towards thinking of current debates concerning environmental degradation in the region, he nonetheless suggests that these concerns were valid when reconsidering and revisiting Spanish American literary history, especially as it relates to the role of extractive industries present in Spanish American regional novels, to which I would add *indigenista* literatures as well.

an expansively defined parameters such as that proposed by Anat Pick and Guinevere Narraway: that "explores various aesthetic, philosophical, and interdisciplinary questions pertaining to animal representation, human-animal relations, and the human/nonhuman binary" (qtd in Lundblad 4). Animal studies, however, would be differentiated from concerns that were more focused on the "intertwined interactions, relationships, and becomings that involved human and non-human beings" (Lundblad 2). This "human-animal studies"/"Humanimal studies" emphasizes a "together in one" approach such as that of literary critic Susan McHugh and social anthropologist Garry Marvin (ibid). The more ethically concerned aspects of human-animal studies came to be associated with Critical Animal studies that traces its roots to animal liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s that were more oriented towards advocacy, political engagement and direct action. Conversely, posthumanist studies sought to distance itself from the activism and animal advocacy towards an approach to animal questions that would "reject humanist formulations of the knowing human subject," especially within a philosophical scope. In *What is Posthumanism?*, Cary Wolfe explains that "there are humanist ways and there are posthumanist ways of engaging in this supposedly always already posthumanist pursuit called animal studies" (xxix).

The line of interdisciplinary inquiry that best aligns with this project of comparatively examining representations of indigenous peoples and culture and animals and nature is that of animality studies, which focuses on the "constructions of humans and animals or discourses of animality in relation to human cultural politics" (Lundblad *Animalities* 3). Michael Lundblad has advanced this orientation as a study of "historically situated discourse of animality" within a specific region and/or country. I draw from his approach to animality in his *The Birth of a Jungle* (2013) that looks at animality discourse in late 19th and early 20th century in the United States. In his study of American literary texts of the period, Lundblad discerns the "association between 'animal' and territorial aggression, or more generally, the survival-of-the-fittest jungle in which humans like

animals must fight to survive" (9). Lundblad's formulation of animality is "tied to a particular situated context: the convergence of Darwinist and Freudian thinking at the turn of the 20th century" (ibid).

As such this dissertation that originally sought to examine the nature of nature in *indigenismo* was reoriented towards the animal as a site for the "prioritization of politics" and "historicized cultural studies" versus philosophical and aesthetic inquires in and of themselves. Moreover, the question of advocacy at least within the scope of this project is absent, although the connections within my analysis and animal and environmental advocacy are latent, and maybe revisited and amplified at a later date. In general, I argue that *indigenistas* constructed animality discourses that meld indigenous perspectives on the human-animal continuum with the species hierarchies of Western animality. The vision of the animal-indigenous subject that the *indigenistas* I examine in this dissertation express is a 'naturalized' one that confronts the crisis of the moment within nationalist, internationalist, and hemispheric antagonisms through the activation of the human-animal boundary in order to advance a solution or conclusion for the indigenous problem.

In the past ten years there has been a dramatic increase of scholarship on animal questions as it relates to Latin American culture. Scott DeVries' survey of environmental and animals in Spanish American literature have contributed to the burgeoning fields of Latin American Animal Studies as well as Latin American Ecocriticism by providing initial animal and ecocritical readings for canonical works as well as introducing these dimensions in obscure texts. Synthesizing both Critical Animal Studies and Environmental Criticism, especially from a philosophical perspective, Spanish-Argentine scholar Alicia Puelo has contributed to these fields by presenting critiques of some quasi-consecrated scholars such as Donna Haraway from outside the American academy, where these fields were first established and continue to dominate critical engagements. Likewise, the *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Críticos Animales* has also helped advance animal studies scholarship

beyond the confines of Anglo-American universities, showcasing most recently the intersection of the law, history and literature within an animal-centered perspective. Gabriel Giorgi's *Formas comunes: Animalidad, cultura, y biopolítica* offers the basis for how to revisit Latin American literature and culture through a biopolitical lens that "takes seriously" animality within the particularities of Latin American and Brazilian contexts. The ethnographic and anthropological contributions of Peruvian scholars such as Maria Elena Garcia and Marisol de la Cadena have turned to environmental and animal questions in their recent publications that draw together and excavate the links between indigenous culture, environmental belonging, and non-human entities in community.[2] This dissertation as well as this flourishing field of animal focused scholarship have benefitted greatly from animal and environmental histories such as those of Luis Alves, Eleanor Melville, Lauren Derby, Zeb Tortorici, Martha Few, and León García Garagarza, among others that have contributed historical insight and context to these animal-directed inquiries.

3. Methodological Coordinates

Given the importance of thinking critically about the animalities present in the texts I examine, I have specifically utilized concepts by the following intellectuals in order to "take animals seriously" within a Latin American context. The first pertains to ways of interpreting dehumanization and animal signs within a philosophical and cultural frame. The second coordinate privileges postcolonial analyses of animality by colonial/subaltern/minority subjects and animality employed by minority writers to contest the dual application of racism and speciesism present in Western animality. And the third coordinate is informed by anthropological perspectives that

[2] For example, De la Cadena's recent book *Earth-Beings: Ecologies of Practice Across Andean Worlds* and García's recent article "Death of a Guinea Pig: grief and the limits of multispecies ethnography in Peru" illustrate this reorientation in Andean and Peruvian anthropological investigations.

interrogate the nature and culture divide and offer interpretations of indigenous cosmologies of human and nonhuman relationships.

Animality is often used in *indigenista* literature to express the animalization of humans, an imposition of animal traits onto human subjects, which is perceived as thoroughly negative in its dehumanization of the subject. This negative connotation of animality rests on its constituting discursively "a process that first established superiority over animals and then the domination of certain classes and groups—a process that sought to ascribe, both 'philosophically' and 'scientifically' the presumed inferiority and brutality of various animals to these groups and classes" (Roberts 5). Although this definition and a discussion of animality discourse from an intellectual-history perspective can be useful to the objectives of this project, Anat Pick's reevaluation of animality in *Creaturely Poetics: Animality and Vulnerability in Literature and Film* (2011) is constructive in its emphasis on the use of a contracted or shrunken humanity within literary and cinematic works as a way to explore the shared vulnerabilities among diverse human and animal bodies. As such for Pick, animality can be read as a condition of vulnerability that can loosen the anthropocentric lens and bring to the fore critical questions that probe the "creaturely" condition of all body-inhabiting entities. She writes that "the gesture is one of *contraction*: making ourselves "less human," as it were, whilst seeking to grant animals a share in our world of subjectivity" (6). "Animals," she writes, "constitute an exemplary "state of exception" of species sovereignty... drawing attention to our outstanding position in the judicial, political, and moral order," in so doing highlighting that "all life is bare in the sense of being susceptible to the intervention of power" (15).

Further expanding the biopolitical lens towards the literal bodies and symbols of animals, Nicole Shukin has aided me in engaging with "animal signs" in order to explore the material politics that these represent in order to hone in on the ways that capitalist production and semiotic understandings of modernity pass through the body of the animal. In Shukin's *Animal Capital:*

Rendering Life in Biopolitical Times (2009) she argues that "the capacity of animal life to be taken literally and figuratively, as a material and symbolic resource of the nation" reveals the extent to which animals constitute the basis of species as currency—that is, as capital--and also the material life (exploited animal life) on which capitalism depends (4). Among other things, this approach to animal life as animal capital connects the material exploitation of animals, their labor, and their bodies with the symbolic economy that their lives sustain.

The second methodological coordinate that I use in his project is that of the postcolonial perspective present inspired by Frantz Fanon's writings, in particular his notion of a "colonial bestiary" and "geography of hunger" described in his *The Wretched of the Earth*. For Fanon, the colonial bestiary imposed upon the native who knows and understands this dehumanizing matrix into which he/her is subjected to and resists: "The colonized know all that and roar with laughter every time they hear themselves called an animal by the other. For they know they are not animals. And at the very moment when they discover their humanity, they begin to sharpen their weapons to secure its victory" (8). Drawing from Fanon, Neel Ahuja's works have complemented critical engagements between the conflation of race and species from a postcolonial orientation, in which minority discourse texts appropriate Western animalizations for the purposes of indicting colonial histories that constructed racial-species hierarchies. Ahuja proposes the "animal mask" as an ironic appropriation of an animal guise, in which "the performer unveils a historical logic of animalization inherent in processes of racial subjection" (558). And Ranajit Guha's essay titled "The Prose of Counterinsurgency" has contributed to helping me understanding animality, tellurism, and revindicatory demands of *indigenista* texts within the limitations of "counterinsurgency" discourses, in which regardless of the 'siding' with the other these writers exhibit a "refusal to acknowledge the insurgent as the subject of his own history" (82).

The third coordinate provides engagement with indigenous concepts that confound Western notions of a discrete divide between human culture and nature. Anthropologists Eduardo Vivieros de Castro and Phillipe Descola both studied for an extended period Amazonian indigenous groups whose cosmologies instigated a "reshuffling of our conceptual schemes" resulting in "a redistribution of the predicates subsumed within the two paradigmatic sets that traditionally oppose one another under the headings of 'Nature' and 'Culture': universal and particular, objective and subjective, physical and social, fact and value, the given and the instituted, necessity and spontaneity, immanence and transcendence, body and mind, animality and humanity..." (Vivieros 470, 469). Perspectivism, according to Viveiros, is an "indigenous theory according to which the way humans perceive animals and other subjectivities that inhabit the world - gods, spirits, the dead, inhabitants of other cosmic levels, meteorological phenomena, plants, occasionally even objects and artifacts - differs profoundly from the way in which these beings see humans and see themselves... In sum, animals are people, or see themselves as persons" (470). Descola's schema of relations has sought to submit Western naturalism to the structuralism along with animism, totemism, as well as proposing the notion of "analogical" relations that contributes to a new way of exploring the literary uses of Mesoamerican ontologies. Descola describes his four schemas of relation as follows:

> Naturalism and animism are all-inclusive hierarchical schemas that are the polar opposites of each other. In the one, the universality of physicality extends its system to cover the contingencies of interiority; in the other, the generalization of interiority becomes a means of attenuating the effect of differences of physicality. Totemism, in contrast, appears as a symmetrical schema characterized by a double continuity of both interiorities and physicalities, the logical complement to which can only be another symmetrical schema, but one in which a double series of differences are regarded as equivalent. I have called this "analogism." By this I mean a mode of identification that divides up the whole collection of

existing beings into a multiplicity of essences, forms, and substances separated by small distinctions and sometimes arranged on a graduated scale so that it becomes possible to recompose the system of initial contrasts into a dense network of analogies that link together the intrinsic properties of the entities that are distinguished in it. (201)

Descola's schema of relations and especially the concept of "analogism" help to bring together various readings of colonial and contemporary examples of *nahualismo* and *tonalism* from Mesoamerican indigenous peoples into comparative framework for discussing indigenous cosmological perspectives alongside their *indigenista* readaptations. In other words, Descola provides a compass with which to navigate the "authentic" expressions of indigenous-animal co-essences and co-destines and (mis)interpretations of these expressions by anthropologists and ethnographers palpating the contours of the worldview of indigenous peoples within the rubric of Western hierarchical indexical concepts.

Chapter Summaries

In chapter 1 titled, "*Tempestad automovilista en los andes*: Animals, Automobility and the "Nuevo indio" in works by José Carlos Mariátegui and Enrique López Albújar (1924-1927)," I analyze writings by these two *indigenistas* to show that in early twentieth century Peru, discussions of modernization and the indigenous population often invoked animals as a third term that mediated between the first two. As previous scholars have shown, *indigenismo* was a response to the drive to modernize Latin American nations during this period, and thus was articulated in the context of Fordist industrialization. I argue that scholars have overlooked the importance of animals within this discourse. Those that have commented on animals in *indigenista* discourse have seen animals as either simply naturalistic details of local life, or else as quasi-mystical vehicles of telluric forces. Instead, I read these works through the lens of Animal Studies of Shukin, who shows that modernization and

indeed Fordist industrialization in the U.S. itself was materially bound up with humans' changing relations to and use of animals. As we will see, it is just these connections between automobility and the animal that Mariátegui and López Albújar explore in their texts.

Mariátegui, the most important Marxist Latin American intellectual of this period, worked for years to articulate a plan for the modernization of Peru that would overcome capitalist exploitation while regarding the indigenous peoples as the revolutionary subject. In his essay, "La civilizacion y el caballo," he examines the role of the horse in Latin America since the Conquest, and contrasts North American development with the situation of Peru. Here we see how Mariátegui, as a Marxist, interrogates both animals and the land as material realities rather than through the symbolic tropes that plague many other writers of the period. His image of the indigenous chauffeur seeks to "correct" the figure of the *nuevo indio* as an *indio jinete* proposed by fellow *indigenista*, Luis Valcárcel, while Mariátegui at the same time held the iconic pair of "indio" and llama as Peru's allegory of servitude.

In the pages of Mariategui's journal, *Amauta*, we see many writers attempting to determine the relationship among mechanical industrialization, cultural modernization, and the future of the indigenous population. The chapter concludes with one such text from *Amauta*, López Albújar's "El fin de un redentor", which offers a whimsical reversal of many of the common tropes. The story begins with characters driving through the countryside debating the meaning of futurism, until they crash into a ditch and die—the remainder of the story is taken up with the local animals surveying the wreckage and discoursing on the possible meaning of the automobile. Rather than humans attempting to master animals and machines, here it is animals themselves debating how the machine relates to them. The revindication of indigenous peoples and animals in both these texts harbors a deep concern over the labor (human and nonhuman) within the automobilization of capitalism.

In chapter two titled "*El estado nahual y la manada india*: Animality and *Nahualismo* in Mauricio Magdaleno's *El resplandor* (1937)" I explore Magdaleno's elaborate combination of western animality and *nahualismo*, as a set of indigenous views of the human animal co-essences. Beyond granting his novel the veneer of authenticity, *nahualismo* is employed as a way of mounting a critique against the postrevolutionary Mexican state. Specifically, Magdaleno departs from previous literary employments of *nahualismo* that exclude *mestizos* from human-animal parallel destinies and shape-shifting powers such as that present in Miguel Ángel Asturias's *Hombres de maíz* (1944). In his only *indigenista* novel, the later *cineasta* bestows the powers of *nahualismo* onto the central *mestizo* character who will turn use *nahualismo* against his adopted indigenous kin in the name of enacting the political project of the Mexican Revolution. Through a survey of Magdaleno's early writings, I trace the aesthetic dimensions of a spiritual and biological *mestizaje* that Magdaleno draws from Vasconcelos's *La raza cósmica* (1925) that stipulate the positive racial synthesis of indigenous and Spanish elements, a synthesis that he will later reject in terms of a negative racial synthesis in *El resplandor* that perpetuates colonial violence and the dispossession of the Otomies peoples through a nefarious *mestizo nahualismo*.

Taking Joshua Lund's proposal to "ground" race discourses of *mestizaje*, I examine the environmental history of the Mezquital Valley and its ties with tensions produced by the simultaneous explosion of livestock and the demographic collapse of Amerindian groups in New Spain. The question of humanity is assessed in terms of the colonial bestiary and the enlightenment semantics of the novel in order to interpret what has been deemed as an overwhelmingly pessimistic view of the indigenous plight in Mexico on the part of Magdaleno. I argue that Magdaleno employs animality as a contraction of humanity as a way to condemn postrevolutionary political machinations that failed to uplift indigenous peoples. However, this contraction of humanity that he activates

despite its siding with the indigenous points to the presence of counterinsurgency discourse in its vision of hopelessness and lack of faith in indigenous agency and political consciousness.

In chapter three titled "New Hu(man)ity on the Borders: New Age *Nagualismo*, Animality, and Indigenous Warriorhood in Carlos Castaneda's Shamanovels (1968-1974)," I examine the ways that Carlos Castaneda crosses ontological and geographical borders through his employment of *nahualismo* within a countercultural agenda in the United States. The figure of Castaneda is one that helps synthesize my previous discussions of Mexican and Peruvian *indigenismo* through tracing the hemispheric anthropological convergences that yielded the experimental "shaman" anthropological approach spearheaded by institutions such as UCLA. As a Peruvian immigrant to the U.S. in the 1950s, who studied anthropology at UCLA, Castaneda's trajectory illustrates the ways that imported and combined Peruvian indigenous cosmologies with Mesoamerican indigenous forms during his numerous ventures into Mexico.

Castaneda's "New Age *Nagualismo*" reconfigures *nahualismo* through Eastern and other philosophical traditions in his advancement of an alternative "new type" for the Age of Aquarius, wherein the "man of knowledge" full of love and wisdom would transcend the "self-important" materialist and ideological strangleholds suffocating the [American] "universal" subject. In addition to Castaneda's erasure of animals within the indigenous *nahualista* paradigm, the emergence of the "man of knowledge" as a warrior is mediated through animal gazes and encounters that plunge the character of Castaneda in the novels into existential crisis wherein the condition of the animal mirrors his own and instigates in him a better understanding of his own predicament within Western society. Through my in-depth examination of animals, I situate Castaneda's project within regional, gender, and cultural tensions that reveal the extent to which animals, nature and indigenous spirituality serve to advance a "new hu(man)ity" that subsumes and depoliticizes domestic and international liberation struggles in its "love of mother Earth" and "fellow man.

Chapter 1

Tempestad automovilista en los andes: Animals, Automobility and the "Nuevo indio" in works by José Carlos Mariátegui and Enrique López Albújar (1924-1927)

> La máquina desplazó, poco a poco, al caballo de muchos de sus oficios. Pero el hombre, agradecido, incorporó para siempre el caballo en la nueva civilización, llamando "caballo de fuerza" a la unidad de potencia motriz.
>
> José Carlos Mariátegui, "La civilización y el caballo," np

> [E]l automóvil nos está reemplazando a todos nosotros, a todos los que el lenguaje humano llama hipócritamente animales domésticos. Pues bien, si como ha dicho con mucha sensatez un caballo de por ahí, cada hombre tuviera su automóvil, cada animal tendría su redentor.
>
> Enrique López Albújar, "El fin de un redentor," *Amauta* issue 10, 33

This chapter examines the representation of animals, the automobile, and indigenous peoples in writings by José Carlos Mariátegui and Enrique López Albújar during the late 1920s. As my study will show, the triangulation of indigenous peoples, the car, and animals serve to activate contradictions in the modernizing aspirations and material realities that were taking place in 1920s Peru. The spread of the automobile within the nation, as well as the emergence of Fordism as an international economic force, together instigated criticisms of whether the car, roads, and mass production industrialism would bring to fruition "progress" in terms of modernity, liberation, and national unity, especially in relation to Peru's rural and indigenous regions. While at first glance human-animal relations might appear to be wholly unconnected to the process of industrialization and the automobile, recent scholarship has shown in fact that assembly line production and automobility were linked both materially and symbolically to the human use of animals. In 1920s Peru, animals and animality had already become an *indigenista* recourse for representing the otherness of indigenous peoples, but in the work of Mariátegui and López Albújar specifically, we find

reflections on how the machine and the animal are linked to concepts for understanding the *nuevo indio*.

The two primary texts that serve as the focal poles of this chapter are Mariátegui's "La civilización y el caballo" and López Albújar's "El fin de un redentor," published a month apart in late 1927. In "La civilización y el caballo," published in November 1927 in the newspaper *El Mundial*, the editor of *Amauta* discusses the role of the horse in Western civilization, starting from the feats of the horse during the Conquest and ending with its displacement by the automobile. Alongside the horse itself, the essay is also concerned with indigenous peoples' historic lack of access to this animal within the oppressive landscape of the Andes, as a persistent colonial yoke chaining indigenous subjects to the land. The potential of the automobile to liberate the Highlands is vaguely implied as Mariátegui contemplates the emancipation of the horse by the machine and the animal's retreat from human affairs. I hold what distinguishes Mariátegui's writing from other *indigenistas* is that he does not employ animality in his articulation of the indigenous problem or in his description of the *nuevo indio* as a revolutionary subject. Instead, he seeks to trace the new social types that emerge from the transformation (and/or displacement) of nature and attempts to resist the essentialist and ahistorical formulations, such as that of Vasconcelos, in his "nuevo indio" as revolutionary subject. However, Mariátegui does reach for animality when discussing the dehumanizing disciplinary aspirations of Fordism to turn workers into "intelligent apes."

What López Albújar's short story shares with Mariátegui's essay is a departure from the tropes of tragic animalization in most *indigenista* discourse, through an engagement with the automobile. In contrast to Mariátegui's dialectically-progressing political vision, however, López Albújar's "El fin de un redentor," published December 1927 in *Amauta*, serves as a parody of both contemporary extremes of the exuberant futurist vanguard and solemn moralistic *indigenista* debates. In the story, a group of young vanguards driving on a country road fatally crash into a tree, the

aldeanos who come to their rescue contemplate the carnage of the youths as they denounce the machine as a beast terrorizing the countryside. Following the retreat of the *aldeanos* from the scene of the accident, farm animals come to survey the defunct body of the automobile. Curious as to what sort of "animal" it is that they are examining, an ox clarifies that the beast is an automobile worthy of eulogizing as a "good friend" to animals. Despite the verdict of the ox, the animals debate between their various species whether the automobile constitutes a redeemer ("redentor") of *their* species through a series of devolving accusations regarding good breeding and character**.** Contrary to his degrading animalizations of indigenous characters in his *Cuentos andinos* (1920) and even his racist essay on the psychology of indigenous peoples published in *Amauta*, in "El fin de un redentor" López Albújar employs animal masks, imposing animality of a domesticated nature onto the *indigenista* vanguards class as a jab at the *indigenista* polemic of 1927. Moreover, although he does animalize the *aldeanos* as condor *buitres* attending to human carnage, the animalizations of indigenous subjects is not as prominent as the voice of 'natural reason' that these possess before the effrontery of the automobile as an unnatural beast.

Through the concept of automobility, I argue that in these works Maríategui and López Albújar are contending with the automobile not just as an object or a machine, but also as a modernizing system that dislocates and injures in its extrusive penetration of the country and whose emancipatory potential is to be regarded circumspectly, especially in relation to indigenous peoples. Whether in the Andean landscape or the urban metropolis, the automobile as emblematic of modernity, was imagined as ushering the vital flows of human society towards national "progress." As the early twentieth century's prime object of modernity, the automobile constituted more than a technological device, rather, within the broader systemic construct of automobility, it transformed everyday habitus and understandings of time-space. Automobility entails roads, cars, and a complex system of political and economic infrastructures, but also ideologically reifies concepts such as

freedom, as the habitus of local populations are reoriented toward the cosmopolitan and the consumerist. Displacing animals as free-moving nature beings, the car nonetheless drew life from the animal in terms of animal signs that would be ascribed to it in their absence, e.g. horsepower and organic lines. Within the Andean context, vitalist resonances can be seen in the Quechua word for automobile, *antawa* derived from *antawiwa,* (*anta* as metal, *wiwa* as animal). This neologism is an artifact of the modern era that resignifies this "inanimate" object as a metal animal capable of forward propulsion.

More broadly, vitalist language in the early twentieth century such as that used by the avant-garde (e.g. Italian Futurists and some Peruvian vanguardists such as Alberto Hidalgo) glorified the machine, in projecting a revitalized and modern nation. By animalizing the machine, these artists sought to communicate the "second nature" of modernity emerging from both material and imagined transformations that the machine would usher in. While the possibility of the adoption of the automobile and modernization by indigenous peoples is discarded in López Albújar's story, the "second nature" of modernity is scrutinized by Mariátegui, whose materialist-oriented vision precluded the abuse of naturalist language to discuss the rifts in physical nature by modernizing "civilizational" forces. As such, in "El fin de un redentor" the question of the indigenous peoples' repudiation of the violence of the machine is rendered as rational and human departing from López Albújar's usual animalizing tropes that serve to give the agency, albeit excessively violent, within an essentialized paradigm of naturalism. The case of Mariátegui illustrates that the notion of "second nature" of the automobile does not necessitate the animalizing of human subjects, as the question is reformulated through Marx's terminology of the organic and inorganic, which takes the organic not as inherently "natural" but rather as a product of a labor process that is unalienated. As such, he

points to the site of cardinal oppression within the Fordist paradigm being that of converting the worker into an 'intelligent gorilla.'[1]

Various scholars have written about the discourse of modernity within 1920s Peruvian *indigenismo* and vanguardist literature and art. Chief among these are Jorge Coronado, who describes *indigenismo* in both the literary/artistic dimension and official state *indigenismo* as integrally modernization projects to rectify the country's backwardness, and Mirko Lauer, who in his *Musa mécanica* (1982), argues that vanguard poetics of the period (1916-1930) were a product of "un desencuentro entre la cultura peruana y el conjunto de tecnologías que habían empezado a definir la modernidad en el hemisferio norte desde fines del siglo XVIII" (12). And recently, Emilio Irigoyen has explored the nexus between Fordism and vanguardist production, relating that vanguard artists responded to Fordism not only through the use of the "motive" of the automobile but to the "model" of Fordism in their artistic production in a devising "anti-fordista" writing processes. Irigoyen takes as one of his cases Mariátegui's own "anti-fordist" approach in his journal *Amauta* as a space of production (cultural, social, aesthetic, and political) that allowed "la diversidad, la multiplicidad, la reunión de agendas, posturas, voces y direcciones diferentes sobre un mismo *plano* de acción" instead of the scientific managerial model (256).[2] Moreover, studies in the Peruvian avant-garde's employment of vitalism, such as that of Tara Daly, who examines works by César Vallejo, José María Arguedas, and Magda Portal in terms of how these "[took] the material rationality of life as their starting point" displaying a perspective from the avant-garde that " 'life' is excessive to the human's ability to ever fully represent it, causing a perpetual need for new

[1] Emilio Irigoyen sees in Mariátegui's work a conflictive dialogue between "las prácticas disruptivas y antiorganicistas de las vanguardias y las pautas de integración orgánica del fordismo, y cómo ello podía repercutir en un proyecto escritural que se propuso combinar aspectos tanto de aquellas como de este" (42). The organic integration of Fordism, that Irigoyen describes, is for Mariátegui actually inorganic, which I will explain further on. It is suffice to say here that Mariátegui's essays on Fordism contend that the expansive model of Fordism was a manifestation of decadence, despite reformists' views that neutralized or saw as benign the taylorist and neoimperialist management that accompanied the universalization of Ford automobile models.
[2] For Irigoyen, Mariátegui is "[el] autor de la que es seguramente la más importante reflexión sobre Ford y el fordismo realizada en Hispanoamérica antes de 1930" (42).

orientations toward 'life forms to come' " (2), makes inroads towards a non-binary discussion of organisms of the non-human worlds of animal and inanimate entities (the sun, air, etc.) yet communicate these in terms of a latent discourse of animality, present in the iconic images and imaginaries that artists reproduced and/or transformed, especially in tandem with an *indigenista* agenda. As such, despite the proliferation of scholarly work on *indigenismo*, Peruvian vanguardism, and modernizing tropes, examinations into the particular animalizing discourses are limited to naturalist *costumbrista* and/or are subsumed into telluric representations of *novomundismo* without scratching the surface of these *cuadros*, especially the presence of animals in these visions.

In this chapter, I endeavor to situate the association between 'animal' and indigenous subjects within a historical context of Peruvian identity and nation-building, wherein indigenous peoples alongside animals (autochthonous or European domesticated) hold resonances within the cardinal preoccupation of the indigenous problem. Specifically, in the examples from Mariátegui and López Albújar, animality and indigeneity confront the emergence of automobility in order to question the emancipatory effects of the car within the coercive global system of Fordism.

Before my examination of the texts in question, I draw on automobility theorists such as Nicole Shukin, David Gartman, and Tim Edensor in exploring the class tensions that interface with race and nation in the periodization of automobility.[3] Of these, Shukin's contribution is paramount as I trace the animal signs upon which the automobile and the indigenous question come into contact. As a way of interpreting the animalities that Mariátegui and López Albújar *mobilize* in addressing automobility within the Peruvian context, I examine the discourse of modernization that undergrid this machine in vanguardist poetics and the material realities of the automobile and roads in 1920s Peru. The particular use of animals in the texts by both Mariátegui and López Albújar

[3] For more on automobility studies, please refer to the combined 4-5 issue of *Theory, Culture & Society* in Vol. 21 published in 2004, dedicated to automobility. And also *Against Automobility* (2006) edited by Steffen Böhm.

draws attention to the overlap in thinking about animal and indigenous labor within the logic of automobililty. According to Shukin, we can usefully track animal signs within capitalism and historicize the symbolic and material relationships between animal life and technology, and I draw on this in my examination of the triangulation of machine, animal and indigenous subject within the context of Peruvian vanguardism. For Shukin "automobility" represents "a network of ideological and material exchanges entangling three Fordist moving lines, the animal dissassembly line, the auto assembly line, the cinematic reel" (45). This network serves to link the history of "automobility" as: "the consumption of animal disassembly as affective spectacle through tours of vertical abattoir, the material rendering of animal gelatin for film stock, and the mimicry of seamless animal motion integral to cinema's and automobiles' symbolic economies are interimplicated…" (ibid). However, before exploring the animal life upon which automobility is premised, an overview of the concept more broadly as well as aspect of the emergence of the automobile in Peru is merited.

Automobility, Fordism, and Animals

The ubiquity of the car as the dominant form of mobility in the 20th century has recently been explored in terms of social landscapes and cultural imaginaries as a key object of mass production in what is regarded as automobility (Featherstone 1). As a combination of autonomy and mobility, according to Featherstone, "in its broadest sense we can think of many automobilities —modes of autonomous, self-directed movement" (ibid). While there are various definitions of automobility that differ according to the interrogatory angle into this presumed composite of autonomy and movement, these definitions set out to examine the "system" wrought by the mass production and consumption of cars, from the ideological constructions of "freedom" associated with the automobile and the "open road", the transformation of time-space constructs in the emergent

motorscapes, to the reconstitution of human subjects as extensions of the machine.[4] As Böhm emphasizes, although the concept of automobility is irreducible to the car, it nonetheless signals the now almost endless "socio-technical institutions through which modernity is organized" (3).[5]

The concepts of freedom associated with the open road and conversely the violence of free movement constitute the ideological resonances that are a product of the "cultural logic" of the automobile. According to David Gartman, "the automobile as an item of individual consumption in a broader culture of consumerism that charges objects with meanings and identities beyond their immediate utility [such that] the automobile embodies a cultural logic that is relatively autonomous from and often contradictory to other dimensions of automobility" (Gartman 169). In rough strokes, Gartman delinates three "cultural logics" or "ages" of the automobile that correlate with the pre-Fordist, Fordist, and post-Fordist eras but that cannot be reduced to the concept of Fordism itself, especially in bringing contradictions in these cultural logics to the surface.

The first of these cultural logics corresponds with the late 19th century to the 1920s and centers on class distinction, in which "freedom and leisure" was confronted with resentment from the lower classes. The subsequent "age of mass individuality" from the late 1920s to 1960s, saw a response to the antagonisms of the previous cultural logic of class hostilities in terms of the democratization of the automobile, following the innovations of the mass production assembly line introduced in 1908 with the appearance of Ford's Model-T as the "universal car". At the center of this universalism was an effort to "bring the look of luxury cars to mass-produced vehicles," so that

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[4] For more on this recent inquiry into the road in Latin American film, please refer to *The Latin American Road Movie* (2016) edited by Verónica Garibotto and Jorge Pérez.

[5] Böhm's full definition is as follows: "Automobility is one of the principal socio-technical institutions through which modernity is organized. It is a set of political institutions and practices that seek to organize, accelerate and shape the spatial movements and impacts of automobiles, whilst simultaneously regulating there many consequences. It is also an ideological or discursive formation, embodying ideals of freedom, privacy, movement, progress and autonomy, motifs through which automobility is represented in popular and academic discourses, alike, and through which its principal technical artifacts - roads, cars, etc. are legitimized. Finally, it entails a phenomenology, as set of ways of experiencing the world which serve both to legitimize its dominance and radically unsettle taken-for-granted boundaries separating human from machine, nature from artifice and so on. Together these apparently diverse strands comprise an understanding of automobility that is irreducible to *the* automobile" (3).

through the democratization of the automobile the dehumanizing aspects of mass production would be offset by the masses' consumption of distinction (175). This contradiction of the degrading and "animalizing" conditions of mass production were simultaneously held and negated by the automobile object's aura as a vehicle for escaping "urban congestion into the countryside for recreation and relief" (177). The final stage from 1960 to our contemporary moment, pertaining to the "subcultural logic of the automobile" in terms of a Post-Fordist production process that targets a highly-segmented consumer population such as the "compact car, muscle car, sport and personal luxury cars" (185).

Clearly, of these periods, it is the first two ages that are most relevant to our discussion of automobility in 1920s Peru. The year around the works in question by López Albújar and Mariátegui are from 1927 a year in which the Ford Company initiated a worldwide campaign for its Model A that would succeed the Model T, while also celebrating that year the construction of its 15,000,000th Model T. As Emilio Irigoyen has noted this was the same year that saw the dissemination of Ford's rival, General Motors advertisements in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, alongside the premiere of Friz Lang's *Metrópolis*, and Alfredo M. Ferreiro's *El hombre que se comió un autobús*, a book of poetry organized as an automobile. And even within the pages of *Amauta*, we find a full-page advertisement by the Ford Motor Company showcasing its luxury "Lincoln" line and its more affordable and durable model (see fig. 1). Although more will be discussed in terms of Peru's material and aesthetic adoption of the automobile and the theme of automobility, the periodization of the cultural logic of the automobile, especially in Mariátegui's essays, confirms the class tensions inherent in the "age of mass individuality".

Despite, the Post-Fordist era extending beyond the focus of this chapter, it is noteworthy that as Shukin claims it is during the declension of the Fordist model when we begin to notice the proliferation of animal representations alongside automobiles. For example, in car advertisements an

identification of the animal and machine are activated that simultaneously "produce[s] a differential which renders animal biologies inferior and obsolete" (162). This demotion of the animal alongside the car illustrates that "despite the valorization of the animal as an organic metaphor of automobility, or rather because of it, animals are consigned to being 'originals' predating, and never matching up to, their technological doubles" (ibid).

Specifically, what Shukin explores in automobility is how capitalism through the automobility regime is dependent on animal life both materially and symbolically in advancing a notion of consumerism as "second nature". Moreover, as she explains, "animal signs are model mimetic technologies deployed to manage intensifying constructions between the material and aesthetic conditions of Fordist and post-Fordist cultures of capital" (page). The specter of animal life in automobility is rooted in the inspiration that Henry Ford drew from the disassembly lines of the slaughterhouses of Chicago and Cincinnati. According to historian Steven Watts, having grown up on a farm frustrated with the pace of farm labor produced in Henry Ford an abhorrence of the traditional forms of manual labor, in which "[he] hated the inefficiency of farm labor. He thought a lot of work – the process of work was done in a very kind of haphazard way, not efficient and he hated horses. Sort of a personal pathology. He hated horses with a passion" (Wattenberg np).[6]

Taking primarily postmodern examples of "animal capital", these animal signs upon which capitalism is contingent and with which it shrouds its material traces, from car advertisements that, for instance pairs drawings of polar bears and a "cross-over" vehicle within a smoothed iconic Tundra, Shukin examines the "talismanic tropes of animal life and [how it] drives the material displacement and death of historical animals" (155). For Shukin, the animal in the 'time-motion' dimension of automobility has been largely ignored, as it requires what she refers to as double rendering- as a double logic akin to the era of the automobile that Gartman outlines but which

[6] With the success of the Model-T, Watts notes that Ford wrote in one of his notebooks "THE HORSE IS DONE!" (Wattenberg np).

Skukin will put into relief through an excavation of the material animal contingencies of not only the automobile industry but also that of animation, the motion picture industry as a product of time-motion innovations that came from slaughterhouses, and the use of rendered animal bodies in the production of film stock.[7]

In addition to historical animals upon which capital prospered during the early twentieth century, the sign of the animal upon the human served as the bases of the scientific management advanced by Fredrick W. Taylor in the 1910s. Antonio Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks* (written between 1929-1935) covered an array of topics similar to those that Mariátegui commented on in his journal and other magazines and newspapers. Both it seems held grave reservations as to the benefits of Taylorism on workers. In his " 'Animalidad' e industrialismo", Gramsci writes:

> la historia del industrialismo ha sido siempre (y hoy lo es en una forma más acentuada y rigurosa) una continua lucha contra el elemento "animalidad" del hombre, de sometimiento a los instintos (naturales, o sea animales y primitivos) a siempre nuevas, más complejas y rígidas normas y hábitos de orden, de exactitud, de precisión que hagan posibles las formas más complejas de la vida colectiva que son la consecuencia necesaria del desarrollo del industrialismo. (78)

The contradiction that Gramsci locates in 'taylorized' industrialism is that the discipline of the animal instincts of the working class does not penetrate the inner nature of the individual as these are "puramente mecánicos, en gran parte, no se ha convertido en una 'segunda naturaleza' " (ibid). Taylor's aspiration to turn the worker into an intelligent gorilla; a worker skilled at 'aping' mechanical actions, constituted for Gramsci a "cinismo brutal" that developed in the worker "el máximo grado de actitudes maquinales y automáticos" that destroyed "el viejo nexo psicofísico del trabajo profesional calificado que exigía una cierta participación activa de la inteligencia, de la fantasía, de la

[7] In *Animal Capital*, Shukin also excavates the animal materialities that were fundamental in the emergence of telecommunications (telemobilities) and bio-medical innovations (biomobilities).

iniciativa del trabajador y reducir las operaciones productivas al único aspecto físico maquinal" (82). A way of interpreting this critique is through the distinction between habit and habitus in order to distinguish the various visions of the "second nature" processes resulting from industrialism that both Gramsci and Maríategui are contending with in their writings. For example, following Pierre Bourdieu's thinking, habit would amount to a "mechanical assembly or preformed programme" (qtd in Crossley 138), "deton[ing] mechanical behavior, a stimulus-response reflex" (139). Habitus, on the other hand, would imply "a flexible disposition which, though pre-reflective, remains commiserate with purposive action and in no way precludes intelligence, understanding, strategy or knowledge on the part of the actor" (ibid). But as we see with Crossley's own comparison of habits and habit as "the skilled activity of the *expert player* rather than the conditioned response of the *lab rat*" the opposition between humanity and animality persists (ibid emphasis added).

This is a useful contrast not only in relating Gramsci's objection of 'animality' in industrialism to that of Mariátegui, but also in terms of situating the discourse of modernity within Peru and specifically the Andes as a matter of a 'dexterity' with which to engage with the modern and the indigenous as an actor. Automobility as represented through the triangulation of animal, automobile and indigenous subject in the works I examine by Mariátegui and López Albújar competing visions of the presence of modernizing processes in peasant indigenous spaces. As we will see, for Mariátegui the question of labor within the Fordist/Taylorist paradigm is not about the "disciplining" of base animal instincts. Rather, what the editor of *Amauta* decries in the Fordist approach is the "animal" domestication of labor and the deadening of the human spirit that would thwart class consciousness and offset the emergence of a revolutionary movement. In the case of López Albújar, indigenous habitus in the countryside rejects the social hygienic violence of automobility.

Radiografía of *indigenismo*: Roads to Modernization during the *Oncencio*

Indigenismo in Peru coincided with the eleven-year presidency of Augusto B. Leguía, known as the *oncenio* (1919-1930), wherein both intellectuals associated with *indigenismo* and the Leguía regime conceived of their efforts as revitalizing modernization projects aimed at rectifying the "backwardness" of the country by synching the nation with the contemporary moment while rhetorically placing indigenous peoples at the center of its efforts. Calling himself a *viracocha*, Leguía adopted the discourse of the revindication of Peru's indigenous population by creating a "Section for Indigenous Affairs" with the task of protecting and integrating indigenous peoples into the nation (Archibald 26). While other Latin American countries had sought to address the indigenous problem, in part, through European immigration, Leguía's *indigenista* nationalism professed that "la inmigración sólo podía producirse después de la revitalización de la raza indígena" (Kristal, *Una Visión* 182). This revitalization would take place through educational reforms and public infrastructure projects intended to mend the social, cultural, and economic weaknesses that came to light following Peru's defeat in the War of the Pacific. Most significantly, Leguía's "Patria Nueva" spurred the creation and expansion of railroads and highways (and the press) as part of a vision to economically develop and socially integrate the country.

The advent of the automobile in the early twentieth century was seen as constitutive of progress, modernity, and full independence and nationhood. The links between roads and *indigenismo* in Peru were a product of centralizing efforts and policies to the "Sección de Asuntos Indígenas, tasked with Leguía's early goal of integrating the development of Indian communities directly into state policy was [ ] placed under the control of the Ministerio de Fomento [which directed road construction and the conscription law]" (Rice 5).[8] As such highway construction in Peru between

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[8] Rice further elaborates on this connection when he writes that "by 1925, the ministry operated out of a new, stately building in central Lima overseeing a bureaucracy that not only included public works, but also the newly-created Division of Indigenous Affairs" (5-6).

1920-1930 was an integral part of a vast public works campaign intended to strengthen Leguía's control and influence over competing social movements. As a modernization project weaving a national highway network to economically develop and connect Peru's heterogeneous zones and populations, its construction rested on labor conscription that was glorified in magazine propaganda as a feat of civic pride and eager support by rural indigenous communities. The roads and the automobile were advanced by Leguía-sympathizing magazines as emblems of a modernity that had arrived in Peru, along with urbanization and aviation. For example, *La Prensa* exhibiting *indigenista* undertones ascribed edifying effects to road construction conscription when it describes: "the presence of an automobile for the first time, the most advanced symbol of progress in those highlands and isolated punas, produced as, as one supposes, happiness, comforting and lifting the spirit of the aboriginals who inhabit that zone" (15).

Despite the national prowess associated with the automobile and the modernizing dreams of magazines such as *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* that advanced a "Peru [] crossed by good roads as the human body is with nerves and veins", automobiles and road construction continued to be financed by foreign investment, similar to its nineteenth century rail counterpart, in further solidifying the neoimperalist relations with the United States and Europe (13). For instance as Rice states "the United States government had a keen interest in expanding automobile sales in Peru, especially of models manufactured in Detroit and other US cities" (6). Despite Leguía's populist overtures and cooptation of popular sectors (workers, students, and peasants), the "progress" anticipated from the process of modernization in Peru served to dislocate these sectors and exacerbate the contradictions of Peru's "heterogeneous culture". According to Moore, while economic growth was uneven and restricted to agro-industrial enclaves on the coast or near it, "los ferrocarriles y las carreteras dirigieron el flujo de la población y producción desde las provincias hacia una capital atestada, despojando las zonas rurales de recursos a la vez que reubicaban éstos últimos y los ingresos

adicionales en un centro urbano incapaz y sin voluntad de absorberlos y distribuirlos igualitariamente" ("Descontentos" 240).

Despite the claim of being the "universal car", Henry Ford's Model-T would be more of an aspiration than an everyday reality in the Peruvian hinterlands, as by 1924 only 250 miles of Peru's 4,000 kilometers of road networks were good enough for motor traffic, and nation-wide there were only 3,000 automobiles and 1,000 trucks (Rice, 8). Nonetheless, elite and upper middle classes joined auto clubs such as the Touring y Automóvil Club del Perú, founded in 1924, who sought to promote car travel as a "patriotic project" (7). The organization's motto of "Conocer y hacer conocer el Perú, es contribuir a su grandeza" were supported by pro-Leguía publications that chronicled road construction in various regions, praised the security and international recognition of modernity via the presence of the automobile, and showcased advertisements of various makes and models "emphasiz[ing] the characteristics of automobiles that made them uniquely useful for Peru's topography and economy" with Andean landscapes in the backdrop. For example, photographs of happy and enthusiastic-conscripted workers were featured in *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos* in 1925 as a Peruvian national identity around automobility intensified, while omitting the resistance and conflicts from indigenous and rural communities. Instead, as Rice discusses when it came to confronting race and class in the Highlands the tone was paternalistic. For instance, on the cover of *Ciudad y Campo y Caminos*, Rice describes "a prominent image of an Indian 'cargador' looming behind a modern truck carrying goods on a highway [ ] rather, than connect the historical precedent of Indian labor with modernization, the subheading to the image [read] 'Primitive and current methods of transport in Peru' " (25).

The "nuevos intelectuales" that emerged from this extended network of communications (e.g. the press and highways) to head opposition against the strong dictatorial and neo-imperialist undercurrent of the "Nueva Patria" (Moore, "Descontentos" 242). For instance,"[l]os líderes de los

grupos de oposición más célebres del Perú durante los años veinte, Haya de la Torre y [ ]Mariátegui, apoyaron a Leguía al principio pero posteriormente lo atacaron, alegando que su retórica sobre las clases populares y el indio era pura demagogia" (Kristal, *Una Visión* 179). The anti-imperialist front of APRA, Mariátegui's Socialist Party, and other elements of Peru's working class were openly hostile to Leguía's selling off the country to foreign investors, while other coopted "low-level intellectuals" defended his policies as in the case of José Ángel Escalante's endorsement of Leguía in the 1927 *indigenista* polemic. As Miller explains "[d]ebates about Peru's future were all refracted through the prism of a perceived contradiction between Communism and nationalism. The raw political conflicts that underlay the competing visions of national identity put forward by Marxists and their opponents helped to solidify the banal dualism of *indigenista* versus *hispanista*" (*Shadow* 153).

As Lauer contends, an on-going debate among vanguardists over questions of poetic technique, novelty, and affectation (sincerity) had been active before the *indigenista* polemic of 1927. This "polémica del vanguardismo" mused over the transformation of modern poetics within the material and symbolic modernizations that inspired vanguardist poetry. As such, whether a desire to forget the underdevelopment of their surroundings, the "fictional modernities" of these vanguardists, according to Raul Bueno, sought to integrate modernity into the aesthetic national fold by way of manipulating the conspicuous signs of material (and international) modernity into their language, rhetoric, and systems of enunciation. This symbolic modernization, intended to off-set the lack of material modernization in Latin America, used the figure and symbolic semantics of the machine as a way to bridge poetic discourse with the deficit reality it sought to surmise (Bueno 27). The cult of the machine promoted by the Italian Futurist was, despite Peruvian poet Alberto Hidalgo's eager conversion, received with ambivalence if not dismissive reception by Latin American vanguards. Marinetti's glorification of the machine and war came out of what Bueno considers to be a view of overdone or excessive modernity within its European context, wherein its sardonic attack

on the bourgeoisie and the agency of capital took the machine as its source of aesthetics and ethics of speed, youth, and violence.

As a celebration of technology and Man over and above nature, Latin American vanguards were keen on such desires but, according to Nelson Osorio, they did not identify with “los desbordes irracionalistas ni con la intemperancia anárquica y destructiva del poeta italiano” (cited in Bueno 28). As Lauer explains for Peruvian vanguardists the search for creative freedom promised by the liberation of the past and convention by the technological speed and force of the machine was “un sueño en última instancia derrotado por el contexto social” (“Musa mécanica” 11). Machines not only symbolized a desire for modernity but also an anxiety and anticipation for progress. Critics of the celebration of the mere newness of the machine such as Mariátegui and César Vallejo challenged the notion that the “domestication” of the machine by the vanguardist through their symbolic and literary manipulations amounted to a modern sensibility instead of a mere empty and unthinking imitation of machinistic tropes. For Mariátegui, specifically, Futurism's failure to define a “new art” derived from a its decadent sensibility apparent in its the destruction of old art *for art’s sake* and its politics, which the editor of *Amauta* qualifies as “pasadista” regardless of its modernizing rhetoric (“Marinetti”).[9] As such it is recognized that the machine in works of the period as “an indication and elaboration upon the possibility of modernity that can engage, rather than erase, a local culture” (Coronado 77). Instead of viewing the technological in what Cynthia Vich dubs “indigenismo vanguardista” as simply a foreign interruption set within the quintessentially non-modern space of the Andes, Coronado argues that “the representation of technology is understood as an attempt to negotiate the inevitable introduction of modernization into the area”-that is it amounts to a “coming to grips with a “proper” modernity, versus the mere symbolic and lacking

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[9] Mariátegui dismisses Futurist politics and its fascistic elements when he writes: "[ ] falso, literario y artificial era el programa político del futurismo. Y ni siquiera podía llamarse, legítimamente, futurista, porque estaba saturado de sentimiento conservador, malgrado su retórica revolucionaria. Además, era un programa local. Un programa esencialmente italiano” (“Aspectos viejos y nuevos del futurismo").

modernity stipulated by Bueno and Lauer (ibid).

Alongside this "coming to grips with a proper modernity," the debate over national identity took place among the magazine and newspaper forums of the coast as well as those of the interior such as Cuzco and Puno. In contrast to Mexico, where the agent of Mexican *porvenir* was the *mestizo*, in Peru as Moore explains, "the concept and study of *mestizaje* [was] embryonic until the 1940s" ("Project"). As such, discussions of national identity in the 1920s tended to be centered on the *indio* and not the *mestizo*.

Although these debates involved a whole network of intellectuals, writers, and artists, the spectrum of the "nuevo indio" debate, coalesced around the poles of Luis Valcárcel and José Uriel García.[10] Luis Valcárcel's version of the *nuevo indio*, published in *Tempestad en los andes* in 1927 had been circulating in excerpts published in magazines (e.g. *Amauta*), sought the revindication of indigenous peoples through a retributive revolutionary *indio* that was racially pure in his Highland isolation. In contrast, Uriel García's *El nuevo indio*, officially published in 1930 but already in circulation during the late 1920s, envisioned the *mestizo* as the "new Indian," indigenized by the land and advancing the greatness of the continent through emancipatory feats like those of the heroes of Spanish American Independence. For critics like Henri Favre, these visions of the *nuevo indio* were shaped by telluric notions that imposed a geographical divide in the country:

> [l]os Andes representan supuestamente el lado masculino, viril y perenne del Perú, el litoral, su aspecto femenino, frívolo y exótico. Mientras que Lima se abre a todas las penetraciones extranjeras, las sierras indias permanecen cerradas en la tradición nacional de la que es, su

[10] According to Meritxell Hernando Marsal, "El proyecto indoamericano de Churata es definido por el autor claramente en el artículo "Indoamericanismo", que encabeza el número de mayo de 1928. En él procura describir una ciudadanía plural y plurilingüe, más allá de la subordinación de las culturas nativas, pero también de la univocidad que enmascara el mestizaje. De hecho, su definición del indoamericanismo es el reverso exacto de la categoría de mestizaje que, desde *La raza cósmica* (1925) de Vasconcelos, se imponía en América Latina como definición nacional. Si el mestizaje exalta la mezcla de lo diverso para reafirmar la mismidad occidental, el indoamericanismo de Churata propone un modelo autóctono: sobre el estrato étnico indígena "se puebla el continente de in- dividuos que representan fundidas en matriz aborigen todas las razas humanas" (124).

celosa guardiana. En esta exaltación de lo andino, hay sin duda tanto de nostalgia por la provincia que se ha abandonado, como desconcierto frente a la modernización de la región costeña que parece efectuarse a expensas del interior del país. (61)

In both *Tempestad* and *El nuevo indio*, the Andean landscape is significant in the ways that it shapes the national subject and, in the case of *Tempestad,* detonates consciousness. As the title suggests, the *nuevo indio* in *Tempestad* is cast within an immediacy of revolutionary violence narrated by a prophetic voice. Despite Valcárcel's socialist identification, *Tempestad* does not offer a plan of action for the *nuevo indio*, but rather his messianic vision that included short narrative and lyrical prose sought to convey the new national subject that would soon usher revolution from the Highlands. Uriel Garcia's *nuevo indio* was a product of the sublime quality of New World nature, in a similar vein to that of von Humboldt. For him the *nuevo indio* was not something that would emerge as a "red dawn" on the horizon but since the moment the Spanish set foot in *tierras americanas*, the spirit of the *indio*, formed by the landscape, would also be transmitted to *el español.* In contrast to Valcárcel, what mattered in Uriel García's vision was the spiritual and telluric elements that would 'move' the mestizo towards ever-greater Pan-American and nation-building feats.

For his part, Maríategui implicitly disagreed with both poles in this debate between Valcárcel and Uriel García. In place of the sublime and the messianic, his *Siete Ensayos* hope to draw attention, as if for the first time, to the sober reality of the Peruvian situation. And yet perhaps the more important point, especially for literary history, is that he did publish these texts by Valcárcel and others in *Amauta*. Maríategui firmly believed that the 1920's were still a period in which the future course of the nation remained unclear, and that a journal such as *Amauta* should be a venue to raise and discuss every idea and possibility. This was the necessary ground-clearing before settling on a collective program. But as we will see his "La civilización y el caballo" essay, Mariátegui weighs in on this debate, honing in on the specificity of the iconic isolation of indigenous peoples in the Andean

highlands, the "weight" of the landscape, as he delineates the retreat of the horse within industrial society, offering an alternative vision of a modern indigenous subject.

Civilization and its Natural (Dis)contents: The Horse, the Indigenous, and the Machine

José Carlos Maríategui was born in 1894 in the province of Arequipa into a "cross-caste marriage;" his father was a *criollo* with ties to the "political and economic aristocracy of Peru" and his mother was a *mestiza* (La Botz). When he was eight years old, Mariátegui suffered a schoolyard injury, which required him to convalesce in bed for four years. Due to the injury, which inhibited the mobility in his leg for the rest of his life,[11] Mariátegui's family moved to Lima, where at age 15 he commenced his life-long career in journalism. After working as an apprentice at a newspaper print shop, he advanced quickly from typesetter in 1909 to publishing articles using the pseudonym Juan Croniqueur. His published works at this time spanned an array of topics such as literature, science, fashion, politics, as well as reporting on Peruvian and international events. At the apex of his early pre-socialist "dandy" *edad de pierda* years from 1911-1919, Mariátegui took part in the "Cemetery Scandal," in which he and his friends were arrested for dancing with a foreign ballerina in the city cemetery to the tune of Chopin's "Funeral March." That same year saw the Bolsheviks take power, and Mariátegui's reorientation from irreverent attacks on traditionalism towards revolutionary politics was certain. What is less well known is that long before launching the influential magazine *Amauta*, in Mariátegui's early career he directed a horse racing magazine, *El Turf*. His lifelong enthusiasm for the races perhaps helps us understand his interest in the relationship between the

[11] According to Miguel Mazzeo, "esta quedará semiatrofiada y a partir de ese momento perderá movilidad. El diagnóstico no era alentador para el niño: una anquilosis de la articulación de la rodilla izquierda que, como se supo más tarde, respondía a un cuadro de osteorartritis u osteomielitis crónica. Además de las dificultades para movilizarse, Mariátegui debió soportar la presencia de varias fístulas que no dejaron de segregar líquidos hasta el fin de sus días" (110).

horse and automobility in the context of modernity, which he would later explore in depth in "La civilización y el caballo".

In 1916 for example, while he was running *El Turf,* Mariátegui contributed a poem to *Lulú*, a woman's magazine he was also co-directing, titled "Emociones del Hipodromo." As Miller comments, "above all Mariátegui adored going to the races...he depicted the race-course as a potential democratic modern space, where people of all classes could mingle..." ("Reinventing" 172). What is more, this poem is in fact a rare instance within Mariátegui's writings where he thoroughly animalizes a human subject. The animalization is a jab at the limeño bourgeoisie in which the "civilized" young woman *yegua* is presented as the corralled prized object of the Peruvian aristocracy.[12] The sonnet is playfully and delicately scornful of the mercurial nature of the young woman/mare, as she shifts from "juguetona e infantil" in her energetic elegance to a Baudelairean affectation of "enferma de disfuerzo, de jaqueca y de esplín." The parody of fine breeding of the yegua/joven "amor le han prohibido por ser cosa dañina" "registra su estado civil el Jockey Club" implicitly chides the caged and "unnatural" life of the young woman/mare being bred for aristocratic society. At the same time, in lines such as "esta yegua se encuentra casi civilizada" the sonnet nonetheless prods the reader to consider the dividing lines between nature (as animal, as the horse) and culture. In this way "Emociones del Hipodromo" anticipates the "civilization" themed articles that Mariátegui will publish in his subsequent political period, where he further explores the material dimensions of these themes of gender and the horse within modernity.

Reflecting his later interest in historical materialism, then, the civilization essays differ from "Emociones del Hipodromo" by examining the transformation of the natural itself within the

[12] These are the verses of "Emociones del Hipodromo:" Una yegua alazana cabriola y se encabrita / con una travesura juguetona e infantil / de niña adolescente, elegante y bonita, / enferma de disfuerzo, de jaqueca y de esplín. / Tiembla bajo su rubia dermis una infinita / nerviosidad absurda, fugaz y señorial. / Y un estremecimiento de coqueta le agita / desordenadamente los rizos de la crin. / Esta yegua se encuentra casi civilizada. / Vive plácidamente, cómoda y regalada; /tiene ayuda de cámara, médico y manicure; / amor le han prohibido por ser cosa dañina; / la intoxica el arsénico en vez de la morfina; / y registra su estado civil el Jockey Club.

historical process. The first of the two, "La civilización y el cabello" (1924), presents the development of hairstyles in accordance with a general argument that "[e]l tipo de vida que la civilización produce es, necesariamente, un tipo de vida refinado, depurado, artificioso" (np marxists.org). Playing with the development of coiffure, (including moustaches, beards, and wigs), from its primitive 'exuberancia capilar' to modern 'rasuración casi aboluta," the author takes the opportunity to argue against George Simmel's "tesis de la arbitrariedad más o menos absoluta de la moda" that dismissed the possibility of identifying material causes that could give rise to fashion trends. Instead, Mariátegui locates "una línea duradera, una trama persistente," a material justification inextricably linked to the reproductive forces of society, stating that "[e]l traje del hombre moderno es una creación utilitaria y práctica. Se sujeta a razones de utilidad y de comodidad, la moda ha adaptado el traje al nuevo género de vida." The essay culminates with the subject of the "new woman," much discussed and debated throughout the world during this period. Here Mariátegui identifies the wig as a new artifice and substitution of hair (the natural), announcing that "[l]a peluca femenina es el último capítulo de este proceso de decadencia del cabello."

Written months following the amputation of his "healthy" leg, which confined him to a wheelchair for the rest of his life, the essay's focus on the wig as a prosthetic object can be seen in a different light. Although scholars tend not to dwell on Mariátegui's disability, I will argue that his engagement with this chapter's key concept of automobility cannot be fully understood without remembering that he wrote from a wheelchair. Indeed his son, Javier Mariátegui, once described the extent of mobility writing following a major operation:

> Limitado por la amputación, José Carlos tuvo que adaptarse a sus "mudadas condiciones físicas" y hacerse de "gustos sedentarios". Hizo en Chosica una cura de helioterapia... con especial cuidado del muñón de amputación para favorecer, lo antes posible, la aplicación de una prótesis que le permitiera recuperar su movilidad. Ese fue uno de los principales motivos

que lo hicieron pensar en viajar a la Argentina, a atenderse con calificados ortopedistas.[13] (np)

Mariátegui's injury and disability underline the turn in his writings to the material necessities underpinning cultural practices: the once frequent visitor of the racetrack was limited to "gustos sedentarios" and bounded to his wheelchair. The twin civilization essays, "La civilización y el cabello" and "La civilización y el caballo" both examine technological progress as involving a new sensibility or consciousness. In the first, the prosthetic object, whether wig or limb, brought to the fore the question of the divide between the artificial and natural in terms of the ways human societies had through the historical process transformed nature, and overcome its artifice within the everyday human practices of the "nuevo género de vida" spawned by productive forces.[14] In the second the question of mobility is taken up directly, as from his own limited mobility in his house on Washington corner in Lima, the editor of *Amauta* exhibits a concern for the impact of overcoming limits on movement and the isolation on Peru's indigenous population. For as we will see, "La civilización y el caballo" suggests no less than the production of a new indigenous identity of the "indio chauffeur" emerging as a result of the automobile.

More broadly, the essay examines the historical process of "technology," wherein the horse was a pivotal technological development in the Conquest of the Americas, but also emphasizes the question of the obsolescence of the "natural" under encroaching foreign capitalistic relations. In his analysis of the historical passing of the horse, Mariátegui identifies the de-materialization of automobility that Shukin locates in the emergence of Fordism, as the horse gradually recedes from everyday use and relevance to the realm of the symbolic. From pivotal military technology to competitive spectacle at the races, the horse has already begun this transformation in the age of Ford

[13] For more on this particular aspect of Mariátegui, refer to article via: https://www.mariategui.org/2020/06/15/centenario-de-anna-chiappe-de-mariategui-1898-1998/
[14] According to Mariátegui's son, Mariátegui had a prolific period in which he founded *Amauta* and *Labor*, as well as his *Siete ensayos de la realidad peruana.*

and Mariátegui is already identifying this before the further aestheticization in commercials and children's culture that Shukin identifies in the post-Fordist period. Mariátegui's discussion of indigenous peoples, meanwhile, finds them isolated in servitude alongside the iconic llama, which is interpreted within the telluric construction of *tristeza andina* as a stock symbol of the *problema del indio*. What is new is that Mariátegui writes to oppose Valcarcel's earlier concept of *nuevo indio* as *indio jinete*, which substitutes the llama, symbol of traditional servitude, with the horse, symbol of military power and political emancipation. Whereas Valcarcel's *indio jinete* accords with Comintern arguments over the priotiziation of self-determination for national minorities, Mariátegui's *indio chauffeur* instead follows his own proposal to locate the indigenous question within class relations.[15] The automobile in the Andes would transform these relations in terms of the mobilization of the *indio peatón* to a wage laborer, inserted into class relations and conflicts, adapted for the revolutionary struggle on account of a culture of communistic relations within Andean indigenous communities.

It is with reference to Valcárcel's *indio jinete* that Mariátegui opens "La civilización y el cababllo" with a brief history of the horse in the New World. He writes: "el indio a caballo constituye, para Valcárcel, un símbolo de carne. 'El indio a caballo—escribe Valcárcel un nuevo indio, altivo, libre, propietario, orgulloso de su raza, que desdeña al blanco y al mestizo' " (np). Mariátegui then proceeds to explain the overlooked value of the zoological elements in the Conquest "esta victoria, tiene su explicación integral en un conjunto de superioridades…cabe reconocer la prioridad a las zoológicas," qualifying "el domesticamiento del animal, su aplicación a los fines y al trabajo human" as "la más antigua de las técnicas." Mariátegui had already written in praise of Valcárcel's revolutionary and messianic vision of the *nuevo indio* in his prologue to *Tempestad*

[15] Marc Becker explains: "Mariátegui concluded that the Comintern's policy of establishing Native Republics would not lead to the material improvement of the subaltern masses; rather, removing them from existing nation-state structures would only ensure their increased poverty and marginalization. Mariátegui argued that the best way to achieve liberation for the Indian (and African) masses would be for them to join workers and others in a struggle for a socialist revolution" (452).

celebrating the revolutionary force of Valcárcel's vision and the power of the indigenous subject to resist and even exact retribution against his/her oppressor.

Tracing the historical development of the horse, Mariátegui holds that the apogee of the horse and of the medieval knight came with the Conquest. The conquest of America was the last crusade, as "la más iluminada, la más trascendente proeza de la caballería." Within the Conquest narrative, the "mérito de la epopeya" of the Conquest is attributed more to the horse itself than to the *caballero* because of the colonial "ordenanazas que prohíben al indio esta cabalgadura". Indigenous peoples were kept from this zoological secret, stating that "el caballo, bajo el español, era tabú para el indio." In the poetry of Chocano, Mariátegui locates the deserved recognition of the horse in his "Los caballos de los conquistadores," noting that in contrast to the medieval *epopeya* that spotlighted the knight, Chocano's verses emotively link the epic feat of conquest to the horse and not the knight: "Cantar de éste modo la Conquista es sentirla, ante todo, como epopeya del caballo, sin el cual España no habría impuesto su ley al Nuevo Mundo". Following his praise of Chocano's poetry, Mariátegui turns to examples of how metaphoric language within "la imaginación criolla" conserved the resonances of medieval notions of horse riding. He writes that "todas las metáforas de su lenguaje político acusan resabios y prejuicios de jinetes," referring to "las riendas del poder" as an expression of caudillaje, political instability as "gobierno que se tambaleaba estaba 'en mal caballo'," and insurrection as "montar a caballo".[16]

Mariátegui acknowledges that the *criollo*'s insurrectionary freedom contrasts sharply with the situation of the indigenous peoples in the Andes oppressed by the equine prohibition. "El indio peatón," he writes, "y más todavía, la pareja melancólica del indio y la llama, es la alegoría de una servidumbre". In this sense, "Valcárcel tiene razón," and Mariátegui goes on to give further

[16] Mariátegui also writes: "Y 'montar a caballo' se llamó siempre a la acción de insurgir para empuñarlas" ("Caballo").

international examples of heroic equestrian figures.[17] Of the Argentine gaucho, Mariátegui asserts that this national subject "debe la mitad de su ser a la pampa y al caballo. Sin el caballo ¡cómo habrían pesado sobre el criollo argentino el espacio y la distancia! Como pesan hasta ahora, sobre las espladas del indio chasqui." Perhaps even more apropos is the Russian *mujik,* serfs under Tsarist rule, one of Mariátegui's favorite foreign counterparts to the *indio* in his essays. Here he relates how the Russian socialist writer, Maxim Gorky, presents the *mujik*:

> nos presenta al mujik, abrumado por la estepa sin límite: el fatalismo, la resignación del mujik, viene de esta soledad y esta impotencia ante la naturaleza. El drama del indio no es distinto: drama de servidumbre al hombre y servidumbre a la naturaleza. Para resistirlo mejor, el mujik contaba con su tradición de nomadismo y con los curtidos y rurales caballitos tártaros, que tanto deben parecerse a los de Chumbivilcas.

In these international examples, then, the horse was instrumental to local struggle and identity. And yet, after acknowledging these comparisons, it is at this moment that he says horseback is not the correct image of the *nuevo indio*: "Pero Valcárcel nos debe otra estampa, otro símbolo: el indio chauffeur, como lo vio en Puno, este año, escritas ya las cuartillas de *Tempestad en los Andes*". The reference itself is somewhat enigmatic, but suggests that Valcárcel himself has witnessed the *indio chauffeur*, an existing material counterexample to his idealist fantasy of horse-mounted *nuevo indio*, evoking the Native American Indian horsemen in Western films of John Ford, which Valcárcel refers in *Tempestad.*

But beyond the mere existence of indigenous drivers, what is at stake for Mariátegui in this transformation from *indio peatón* to *indio chauffeur* as opposed to the *indio jinete*? Its meaning becomes clearer as the essay proceeds in bringing the history of the horse up to date, and we see it is tied to

[17] In his Prologue to *Tempestad*, Mariátegui describes Valcárcel's indigenous drama as a "película serrana" showing the reader a film of the highland. However, I would speculate this reference might be his rearticulation of the John Ford films that Valcárcel refers in *Tempestad*. As such, the "película serrana" would be modeled after the *indio jinete* of Hollywood.

the historical role of the horse itself. The author declares that, "La época industrial burguesa de la civilización permaneció, por muchas razones, ligada a los caballos. No solo porque persistió en su espíritu el acatamiento a los módulos y el estilo de la nobleza ecuestre, sino porque el caballo continuó siendo, por mucho tiempo, un auxiliar indispensable del hombre." Valcárcel's focus on the horse is both misguided and out of date, for the horse, it turns out, is the central animal not of political power in the abstract, but of Western, capitalist modernity specifically. How could it have been both the figure of medieval power and also of capitalist industrialization? Because for Mariátegui the horse is not a static symbol but instead a living, breathing species that has been made use of by different humans differently in different eras, according to their material conditions including changing social and property relations. Of particular interest is how industrial capitalism has preserved the horse even while displacing it: "la máquina desplazó, poco a poco, al caballo de muchos de sus oficios. Pero el hombre, agradecido, incorporó para siempre el caballo en la nueva civilización, llamando "caballo de fuerza" a unidad de potencia motriz." This is in fact one of Shukin's central theses in *Animal Capital*, that animals have taken on an increasingly symbolic role as they retreat from our daily life due to industrialization, and "horsepower" is one of her key examples. It is striking that Mariátegui was able to elaborate this insight already in 1927, during the early decades of Fordist production, and below I will return to his essay on Fordism, which he wrote alongside this one on the horse.

"La civilización y el caballo" concludes with further details of how the place of the horse has been transformed after industrialization. In this crepuscular moment, the question of breed is further rarefied in aristocratic England with its cherishing of "pur sang" horse-racing. The horse is "emancipado de la tradición servil del animal de tiro y del animal de carga" by the machine. He posits that "el caballo puro que, aunque parezca irreverente, representaría teóricamente, en su plano, algo así como, en el suyo, la poesía pura." The bourgeoisie relates to horses as they relate to

literature; horses become objects of appreciation, pure form divorced from labor, as "art for art's sake" rejects didactic messages and social engagement in favor of language as a purely formal element. The United States, being the most industrially advanced, has even left the stage of horse racing behind, as "la hípica ha quedado reducida a la equitación." Closing the epoch of the horse with "la última experiencia bélica" as marking "la decadencia definitiva de la caballería" and given the reference to decadence, Mariátegui writes: "Y aquí concluyo. El tema de una decadencia, conviene, más que a mí, a cualquiera de los discípulos de don José Ortega y Gasset".

Before concluding, though, the author finally gives further insight into his proposed figure of the *indio chauffeur*. Referencing the German philosopher and essayist Hermann Keyserling he writes: "La máquina anula cada día más al caballo. Esto, sin duda, ha movido a Keyserling a suponer, que el chauffeur sucede come símbolo al caballero. Pero el tipo, el espécimen hacia el cual nos acercamos, es más bien el del obrero." Keyserling saw the chauffer as a modern *caballero*, a self-directed driver, but Mariátegui emphasizes that the chauffer is an employee, working for a wage. This distinction illuminates what is at stake in the term *indio chauffer* as opposed to Valcárcel's *indio jinete*. It is not only the technology of the automobile itself, but the social relations around which the technology is used and what it makes possible. It is not just the automobile but automobility as a way of being (as habitus) in modernity. The *indio chauffeur* does not own a car, but survives by driving others, so his relation to the car is as the proletariat to any other machine. As a proletarian, then, the *indio chauffeur* is the proper subject of the communist revolution in a way that the *indio jinete* could never be. This again underlies his disagreement with the Comintern, as he argued that the indigenous people of Peru were already subsumed into Peruvian society, rather than constituting an independent nation, which would accord better with the figure of the *indio jinete* riding across the plains, independent of occidental Peru.

In fact the overall format of "La civilización y el caballo" and the earlier "La civilización y el

cabello" follow the material historical schema present in the "Bourgeois and Proletarians" section of the *Communist Manifesto* and its focus on the emergence of the proletarian subject.[18] In "La civilization y el caballo" similar to the *Manifesto* the discovery and conquest of the Americas is key in understanding the development of human societies.[19] The proletarian subject that Mariátegui gestures towards as the *nuevo indio* is the *indio chauffeur*, as an alternative or compliment to Valcárcel's version of the new Indian. And although Mariátegui starts the essay with the colonial encounter, he does go back to antiquity by describing the first technology as animal domestication, writing that "primero, la criatura; después lo creado, lo artificial, lo técnico" (np). This is significant because the historical process that he is outlining in this essay is concerned with the transformations is not linear and progressive but dialectical in examining said transformation from a materialist lens more attuned to "organic" relations instead of development and evolutionary progressions.

1. Mariategui's Views of Nature and Culture

This view of nature and culture is likewise present in the first pages of his *Siete ensayos*, where he writes about the conquest and the denaturalizing effects it had on what had been an "organic" society. Locating the foundational rupture and the subsequent dualism of Peru, in precisely the overthrow of the organic indigenous socialist economy in Peru by Spanish feudalism, Mariátegui asserts that "[l]os conquistadores españoles destruyeron, sin poder *naturalmente* reemplazarla, esta formidable máquina de producción" (7, emphasis added). The author does not mean that the

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[18] In "La civilización y el cabello" Mariátegui starts the timeline with antiquity, surveys Carolingian medieval locks, Romanticism's free mans and bushy breads, and the shortening or shaving of hair as a matter of utilitarian functionalism within modernity, and presents the figure of the New Woman as the emergent new proletarian elegant who unlike her drab and utilitarian male counterpart is able to infuse her dress and appearance with beauty and elegance. In this essay, he his reference of the America comes with his description of the hair and beard styles of South American *libertadores* such as Bolívar and San Martín.

[19] Marx and Engels write: "The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development" (15).

economy of the Incas was "natural" or organic because it was agricultural, or rooted in the land. He uses these terms in a different sense:

> [E]l pueblo inkaico –laborioso, disciplinado, panteísta y sencillo– vivía con bienestar material. Las subsistencias abundaban; la población crecía. El Imperio ignoró radicalmente el problema de Malthus. La organización colectivista, regida por los Inkas, había enervado en los indios el impulso individual; pero había desarrollado extraordinariamente en ellos, en provecho de este régimen económico, el hábito de una humilde y religiosa obediencia a su deber social. Los Inkas sacaban toda la utilidad social posible de esta virtud de su pueblo, valorizaban el vasto territorio del Imperio construyendo caminos, canales, etc., lo extendían sometiendo a su autoridad tribus vecinas. (7)

What Mariátegui is emphasizing is the pre-capitalist labor process under the Incas, in which Incan society made use of natural resources and human labor, what Marx calls social metabolism, in an unalienated way resulting in abundance, social well-being, and impressive social development projects like the Inca road still in existence. Indeed Mariátegui is following Marx's own conception of the Incas, which he describes in Volume 2 of *Capital* as an example of "a completely isolated natural economy," natural in the sense that it did not use money or credit to transfer resources among people but rather there existed communal property and communal work wherein goods where not produced for the purposes of exchange but for direct consumption (107). Marx explains the nexus between nature and civilization as "[the] necessary 'metabolic interaction' between humans and the earth, […] labor serves as 'a process between man and nature, a process by which man through his own actions, mediates, regulates and controls the metabolism between himself and nature" ("Volume 1" 283, 637-8). As such, Mariátegui's queries into the nature and culture relationship in these "Civilization" essays gravitates to the question of labor at the point of the

synthesis of these, to where the proletarian subject as the "new woman" or the "nuevo indio" within the economic bases of the society is the agent of history.

According to Jorge Coronado, the *nuevo indio* constituted conceptually "a new Andean social subject that would take advantage of modernization and thus leave the "*indio viejo* behind" (Coronado 49). Mariátegui signals this "indio viejo" in his "alegoría de servidumbre" which activates a common trope within what Teresa Delfin regards as an image economy during that period in which alongside its textual representation, the "photographic Peru" "in which nature was central, and [indigenous] people were presented as the timeless keepers of ancient secrets" (206). The *indio viejo* set within a "silent and suggestible landscape" was imprisoned in a *tristeza andina* as Mariátegui alludes to and which the *cusqueño* photographer, Martín Chambi, would capture in his lens (Fig. 2) (205). Coronado describes this photograph at length:

> In that almost certainly staged photograph, the viewer sees a barefoot Indian wistfully playing a *quena*, or Andean flute, while a llama stands at his side. A majestic mountain landscape is visible in the background. The photograph does much to associate the Indian with the land, in an iteration of tellurism, even as it locates him very far from anything visibly modern. The image falls into the genre of the pastoral, and as such it is driven by idealization and romanticization. (137)

This notion of "tristeza andina" takes on a symbolist dimension as we see in Mariátegui's allegory of servitude in "Civilización y el caballo", that reproduces in writing this particular variant of indigenous alienation/belonging as an inextricable bond of indigeneity with nature both in its inanimate landscape ambience as well as its companion sentient beings.

Coronado counters this image of "Tristeza andina" and what he considers to be a coastal hegemonic discourse of *indigenismo* with its regional counter discourse in photographs by Chambi that reproduce a *cusqueño indigenismo*. "In Cuzco, the new modern subject was thought to be best

articulated as a construction of a regional subjectivity" in which "European technologies […] were viewed as interruptions on an independent Andean progress towards the modern expressed as a purely local phenomenon" (155). The photographs "Primera motocicleta de Mario Pérez Yáñez" (Fig. 3) and "Autorretrato en motocicleta" (Fig. 4) from 1930 disrupt the visual economy represented by "Tristeza andina" in which both the photographer and his friend posed with the same motorcycle in one of Cuzco's poorer neighborhood where "there are no electric lights, overhead cables, paved roads, or any other sign of the many advances the city had undergone by 1930" (148). Coronado reads these two photographs as a "forceful rebuke to the modern Andean subjects formed only by high culture," as they display "the technologified cholo" as a "possible, virile, and assertive social subject" (ibid).[20] For Coronado, both Mariátegui and Chambi's works "function analogously" in terms of their peripheral relations to hegemonic lettered and visual culture in Peru (154). Mariátegui's *indio chauffeur*, similar to Chambi's motorcycle and his "Automovilistas en el cerro de San Cristobál" photographs (1928) (Fig. 5), challenge the *Tempestad*'s "closed system" of indigeneity that insisted on the biological material/essence with the technology afoot in the region.

The juxtaposition of animals and the motor machines within the Andean modernity in Chambi and Mariátegui highlights what John Berger describes as the disappearance of animals and their replacement by "signs," (which Shukin later reformulate as "animal signs) as a testament of the alienation between humans and animals in modernity. Berger writes: "th[e] reduction of the animal,

[20] It has been speculated that the editor of *Amauta*'s conception of a *nuevo indio* subject as revolutionary, such as that discussed by Coronado, might have been inspired in part by the puñeno figure of Ezequiel Urviola. At times Urviola is describes as indigenous, but as Ricardo Melgar Bao notes Urviola was "un destacado intelectual mestizo que llevado por su pasión indigenista, se reetnizó, es decir, se andinizó y erigió en el más destacado propagandista del socialismo indoamericano" (67). Alberto Flores Galindo also writes of Urviola as a "verdadero nuevo indio, rebelde, defensor de su cultura pero capaz de asimilar los mejores elementos de Occidente, a través del cual recibe una narración fidedigna de las rebeliones en Huancané y Azángaro" (47). In addition to Urviola, Melgar Bao notes that "más de un dirigente indígena, vinculado al proyecto socialista de Mariátegui, ejerció las funciones de brujo frente a su comunidad de origen, sin menoscabo 'de su rol de dirigente sindical o político. Por el contrario, pareciera que los roles y funciones del intelectual tradicional andino, se tuvieron que fusionar con los roles y funciones del intelectual político que le asignó el Partido Socialista, en aras de mayor espacio de legitimidad comunal y regional" (67-8).

which has a theoretical as well as economic history, is part of the same process as that by which men have been reduced to isolated productive and consuming units" (11). A delinking of the status of the animal and that of humans within industrial capitalism as that Mariátegui perceived as a harbinger of intertwined yet alienated fates under industrial capitalism.

"By locking the status of animals into the broader problems humans face within industrial capitalism," writes Jonathan Burt "it reminds us that human and animal fates are linked. Furthermore, rather than simply seeing animals as a figure of our plight, the mirror of the animal reflects nothing back: no answer, no solutions" (217). In "La civilización y el caballo" there is a tinge of nostalgia for the obsolescence of the horse, its demotion into the realm of the symbolic and poetic, as there he outlines the ascension of the automobile at a moment when the vehicle's celebration is widespread as a desire for modernity. This tone is in contrast to the author's matter-of-factness when he writes in *Siete Ensayos* about industrialism's force and ubiquity, stating: "[e]l industrialismo aparece todopoderoso. Y, aunque un poco fatigada de mecánica y de artificio, la humanidad se declara a ratos más o menos dispuesta a la vuelta a la naturaleza, nada augura todavía la decadencia de la máquina y de la manufactura... Ni la burguesía ni el proletariado pueden concebir una civilización que no repose en la industria" (*Siete* 186). As the horse is emancipated from his burden (decoratively relegated to the hippodromo or the metaphor), the indigenous population, through the "redes de caminos" of those modernization projects realized by the Leguía regime, become connected or "yoked" to the national, the urbe, and the global market.

2. "La teoría de Ford"

In an article published in March 1926, Mariátegui railed against the conscription law as anti-indigenous, characterizing it as "un despilfarro de energía y de trabajo humanos" that served the gamonal-class at the expense of "el más extenso estrato social del Perú" ("La conscripción vial").

The "problema de vialidad" was integrated into his reformulation of the "problema del indio" in *Siete ensayos* by denouncing the law as a restoration of the mita for the economic benefit of the landowning class. This critique of wasted human energies is at the heart of his argument regarding the inorganic nature of Peru's economy and society in *Siete ensayos,* where he compared Incan and Spanish organization of society and the economy, praising the ability of the former to accomplish marvelous feats of engineering with collective and non-alienated human labor. Despite this rift within Peruvian society, Mariátegui entertained comparative analyses with North America and other countries in Latin America, (e.g. Argentina and Brazil), in his account of the contemporaneous examples of the mobilization of human labor that served to develop these nations towards industrialism. Peru in his eyes was still at an earlier stage given the persistence of an inefficient feudal economy that failed to incorporate and make full use of the productive forces of its indigenous population.

Mariátegui's concern over the modernization of labor was also present in various articles that he wrote about the effects of the mass production of the automobile within geopolitical considerations. In articles such as "Destino de Norteamerica", "El caso y teoría de Ford", and "La economía liberal y la economía socialista," the editor of *Amauta* was contending with not only economic and political paradigms, but with realities of domination and potentialities of liberation housed in the concept of automobility. Specifically, Mariátegui perceived in Peru a bifurcated economy, one in the coast that was oriented towards North American and British capitalism, and another in the Andean Highlands that was more comparable to socialist Russia. While in these essays, Mariátegui is concerned with the detrimental effects of mass production based on Taylorism, in the essay "La Civilización y el caballo" he contemplates the displacement of the horse by mass produced automobiles as contributing to the emancipation of the horse (and by extension draft animals) and indigenous peoples from the feudal yoke of gamonalism, advancing the trope of

freedom that the automobile and roads were symbolic of and that these were the ideological bases of automobility.

In "El destino de Norteamérica" he writes: "Los dos polos de la historia contemporánea son Rusia y Norteamérica: capitalismo y comunismo, ambos universalistas aunque muy diversa y opuestamente. Rusia y Estados Unidos: los dos pueblos que más se oponen doctrinal y políticamente y, al mismo tiempo, los dos pueblos más próximos, como suprema y máxima expresión del activismo y del dinamismo occidentales." The critique of Mariátegui towards the inability of the *mestizo* under the sway of industrialism on the coast that "el complejo fondo de creencias, mitos y sentimientos, que se agita bajo las creaciones materiales e intelectuales de la civilización europea o blanca" escaped him was based on bourgeois rationalism that rings hollow. In this way, it is that lack of spirit despite capitalism's vitalism of its forces that eludes the *mestizo*, and not what Coronado attributes to "his lack of education, his prejudices" (*Siete* 290). It is not that the indigenous person shielded by the Andes is incompatible with modernity as Coronado claims, but within this two-spirit world of Mariátegui, the *indio* is adapted more for Russian modernity since both share the "mystical" element that took collectivism as its nucleus.

Coronado's reading here raises the question of racial essentialism in Mariátegui's work, a major topic of scholarly discussion. While his view of *mestizaje* was overwhelmingly negative, I contend that this judgement was not on the biological racial basis of miscegenation but rather on the "tipo social," a social type produced within a historically-specific mode of production, that emerged within a particular context of *cultura occidental*.[21] The criticisms of *mestizaje* in particular stem from the

[21] Juan De Castro writes that "Mariátegui's arguments - that positive changes in the material economic reality experienced by indigenous people will result in positive changes in the way they experience their lives and in how they contribute to the material well-being of society- are completely independent from [a] residual essentialism," a residual essentialism that De Castro locates in Mariátegui's celebration of indigenous peoples connection to the land (79). Justin Read makes a similar claim; in which indigenous ties to the land that Mariátegui saw as going hand in hand with communistic practices are interpreted as 'ahistorical' and 'essentialist'. My view is that Mariátegui's characterization of the *ayllus* and nature align with Marx's writings and ideas on nature, a dialectic that Jeremy Bellamy Foster and Paul Burkett have denoted as Marx's inorganic/organic discourse. Within an eco-Marxist perspective, I do not regard the association

final pages of *Siete ensayos* in his "Proceso de la literatura," which had been in circulation as separate articles as early as 1926. Here Mariátegui discounts the supposed inferiority of "las razas de color" on a biological or cultural basis, writing "la inferioridad de las razas de color no es ya uno de los dogmas de que se alimenta el maltrecho orgullo blanco. Pero todo el relativismo de la hora no es bastante para abolir la inferioridad de cultura" (289). Instead, he professes to take a sociological approach in which for instance *mestizo*s versus the indigenous population possess "aptitud para evolucionar" (ibid). Along these sociological lines, he states:

> El mestizaje -dentro de las condiciones económico-sociales subsistentes entre nosotros-no sólo produce un nuevo tipo humano y étnico sino un nuevo tipo social; y si la imprecisión de aquél, por una abigarrada combinación de razas, no importa en sí misma una inferioridad, y hasta puede anunciar, en ciertos ejemplares felices, los rasgos de la raza "cósmica", la imprecisión o hibridismo del tipo social, se traduce, por un oscuro predominio de sedimentos negativos, en una estagnación sórdida y morbosa... . (290)

The human/ethnic type in terms of "raza" is not what is at stake for Mariátegui as the "imprecisión" of racial mixture would run the gamut and as such "no importa en sí misma una inferioridad" just as there might yield those positive traits of that Vasconcelos attributed to a Cosmic Race (not to be confused with the *mestizo*). What is crucial is the hybridity of the social type such that "en el mestizo no se prolonga la tradición del blanco ni del indio: ambas se esterilizan y contrastan" (ibid). Coronado duly notes that Mariátegui's "denial of the mestizo's particular *tipo social* illustrates the critic's concern for the location of social types" (35). A *mestizo* in a dynamic, industrial urban setting could assimilate into "Western-style modernization" to the detriment of indigenous peoples. "From

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of indigenous people's connection with the land to be dismissed as essentialist, especially given Mariátegui theoretical materialist framework as well as contemporary decolonial writings, especially those that underscore the primacy of land for indigenous peoples and their liberation.

the *mestizo*'s location at the core of industrialization, both as laborer and consumer, Mariátegui concluded he would invariably fall in with a central modernization's eradication of the local" (36).

This is how we should also understand his comments on immigrants to Peru. For many scholars of Peruvian *indigenismo,* it is lamentable that Mariátegui articulated an essentialist (if not racist) approach in describing the negative contributions of outside populations such as Chinese and African (coerced) labor. Giovanna Montenegro writes "it is unfortunate that despite his best intentions for the indigenous peoples of Peru, Mariátegui remained racist in his attitudes towards Afro-Peruvians, whom he saw as "primitive", "barbarous" and remnant of Peru's colonial past. He likewise displayed xenophobia towards the Chinese immigrants who had settled around Lima and chastised them for being culturally backwards" (40). Again, Mariátegui rejects the supposed inferiority of "las razas de color," but does view *tipos sociales* as coming into being within particular modes of production. In this case, he views immigrant communities as still entwined with the backward, historically-obsolete colonial system and not prepared for a transition to socialism in the same way as indigenous peoples. Whether this sociological assessment of the political leanings of the immigrant communities is accurate or not would have to be evaluated empirically, as it does not depend on racial essentialism as such.

The indigenous subject, meanwhile, as Coronado rightly assesses, is entirely ahistoric as the editor of *Amauta* declares that indigenous peoples have not broken with the past "su proceso histórico está detenido, paralizado, mas no ha perdido, por esto, su individualidad. El indio tiene una existencia social que conserva sus costumbres, su sentimiento de la vida, su actitud ante el universo.... la vida del indio tiene estilo...el ayllu es un tipo social bien arraigado en el medio y la raza" (291). The indigenous population adhering to the *ayllu* as its "living organ" conserves the spirit of communism while in his isolating *medio* of the Highlands. And in the case of the *mestizo* in the ruralscape, there exist two possibilities. For example, in the Andes "la influencia telúrica indigeniza al mestizo, casi

hasta su absorción por el espíritu indígena en la costa el predominio colonial mantiene el espíritu heredado de España" (279). Yet, the *poblacho mestizo* that he negatively describes as "parasitario, anquilosado, canceroso, alcohólico y carcomido, donde han degenerado en un mestizaje negativo las cualidades del español y del indio" (reproducing Valcárcel's characterization in *Tempestad*) is such on account of the feudal conditions:

> en el latifundio feudal, en el burgo retardado, el mestizaje carece de elementos de ascensión. En su sopor extenuante, se anulan las virtudes y los valores de las razas entremezcladas; y, en cambio, se imponen prepotentes las más enervantes supersticiones. Para el hombre del poblacho mestizo...la civilización occidental constituye un confuso espectáculo, no un sentimiento. Todo lo que en esta civilización es íntimo, esencial, intransferible, energético, permanece ajeno a su ambiente vital.[22]

The backwardness of the village rests of the "idiocy of rural life," the isolation of rural populations that Marx describes in the Communist Manifesto that was shattered by the "rule of the towns" as the bourgeoisie severed the pre-existing relations of production. As such, although Mariátegui does lapse into essentializing overgeneralizations in his freezing in time of indigenous populations, with regards to his criticism of the *mestizo*, I find that there is a materialist logic to his criticism, and that one must recall that for Mariátegui *cultura occidental* had no single essence, but on the contrary was bifurcated between capitalism in New York and communism in Moscow.

To return to the question of industrialization, then, whereas in *Siete ensayos*, Mariátegui speaks of industrialism in rather straightforward terms, in several articles published in December 1927

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[22] Specifically, Valcárcel writes: "Desparramados [sic] por la cordillera arriba y abajo de las montañas, en las estribaciones de los Andes, en el regazo de los pequeños valles, cerca a las cumbres venerables, cabe a los ríos, a la orilla de los lagos, sobre el césped siempre verde, debajo de los kiswares vernáculos, en las quiebras de las peñas, oteando el paisaje, allí están los ayllus…Los ayllus respiran alegría. Los ayllus alientan belleza pura. Son trozo de naturaleza viva. …Poblachos mestizos como atacadas de lepra…se deshacen lentamente…Gusanos perdidos en las galerías subcutáneas de este cuerpo de descomposición que es el poblacho mestizo…el sol los ahuyenta" (33).

(within a month from the publication of “La civilización y el caballo”) and later included in his posthumous *Defensa del marxismo,* he not only differentiates between North America and Russia, but speaks of the hegemonic model of Henry Ford’s rationalism of industrial production. In “El caso y la teoría de Ford,” Mariátegui targets Ramiro de Maeztu’s confidence in the future of North American capitalism by shattering the notion of “rational” production underlying “el experimento de Mr. Ford.” Instead of a proof of the success of free competition, the triumph of Ford’s experiment consisted in “la democratización del automóvil” and not in his social experiments into the private lives of its workers through his application of Taylorism. In “La economía liberal y la economía socialista,” the editor of *Amauta* rails against Henri de Man’s conviction that Taylorism would not impose its law upon industry since according to de Man “la aplicación completa del sistema no haya fracaso a causa de la imposibilidad psicológica de reducir a los seres humanos al estado del gorila.” Ford’s autobiography as “una defensa absoluta del maquinismo contra las teorías de psicólogos y filántropos” reveals the rationalism of said system, which Gramsci years later coined as Fordism. Gramsci saw Fordism as a general “animalization” in industrialism, in which the disciplining of the worker would attenuate his cruel and unrefined ‘animal’ drives. Whereas, Mariátegui decries this animalization as a dehumanization of the worker since for Ford believes that “para ciertas inteligencias, [ ] lo temible es pensar. Para éstas, la ocupación ideal es aquella en que el espíritu de iniciativa no tiene necesidad de manifestarse” (“Teoria” np).

As Shukin notes in her analysis of Gramsci's essay “Fordism and Americanism” (from *Prison Notebooks*), “despite Gramsci’s interrogation of the success of industrialism over man’s animality, the key animal sign in Taylorism, the representation of the worker as an “intelligent gorilla” -[ ] remains unchallenged” (88). The “new human type” of Fordism—which it should go without saying is not a racial type—was coded in animal mimesis, something that it seems Mariátegui was already distinguishing, particularly as he characterized the antagonisms between American and foreign

workers within the biopolitical streamlining of Ford-like industrialization: "el obrero americano es poco dócil al taylorismo…la industria yanqui dispone de obreros extranjeros, que se adaptan fácilmente a las exigencias de la taylorización." Beyond a network of material structures, the outlines of the automobility that would traverse the Fordist and post-Fordist eras, were visible to Mariátegui, in great part due to his ability to scrutinize the dialectical relationship between human society and the nature, to which, it must relate differently according to each historical change in social organization.

Animality, Animal Masks, and (Car)nage in López Albújar's "El fin de un redentor"

Born in 1872 to a middle-class provincial family in Chiclayo, Enrique López Albújar's literary works have a significant place in twentieth century Peruvian literature. Growing up in the northern department of Piura, many of his literary and journalistic writings drew from interactions with the indigenous population of the region in his capacity as a judge and later magistrate. Between his graduation from law school in 1904 and his appointment as circuit judge of Huánuco in 1917, López Albújar earned a living through legal work and freelance journalism, having established a weekly newspaper called *El amigo del pueblo* in Piura "from whose pages he attacked the Church, provincial *gamonalismo* and voiced support for the Liberal Party" (Dawe & Taylor 248). Influenced by González Prada's irreverent anarchist attacks on a sclerotic conservatism, López Albújar in 1918 was suspended from his post for "acquitting a man and a woman charged with adultery after the accused couple convinced the sympathetic judge of the moral superiority of 'free love' "(ibid). As such, the question of morality and justice outside the western juridical confines, alongside indigenous psychology, are the mainstays of López Albújar's *indigenista* short stories.

The "juez-escritor" is best known for his *Cuentos andinos* (1920) and his *Nuevos cuentos andinos* (1930) both of which are now regarded as marking the start of *indigenismo* in Peruvian literature.

Despite this chronological affiliation with "la generacion del Novecientos," López Albújar's writing on the indigenous subject is distinct from Ventura García Calderón's vision of the weak and cowardly indigenous population. López Albújar's narratives adopt a "naturalistic" approach to writing the indigenous world inhabited by indigenous characters, in which contrary to the determinism of naturalism, were full of agency and bodily presence highlighted by violence but set within the terms of said indigenous perspective. For Tomás Escajadillo the merit of López Albújar's collection of short narratives lies in its realism, regardless of the inherent violent agency he ascribed to indigenous peoples (481).

Whether López Albújar's literary portrayals of indigenous peoples are situated within *indigenismo* proper or immediately precursory to it, depends on the factors that literary critics use to measure his works. For example, according to Antonio Cornejo Polar, what excludes López Albújar from the *indigenista* category is his lack of a revindicatory (socialist) ideology, which the critic regards as the key factor in evaluating *indigenista* fiction.[23] Cornejo Polar writes that: "de hecho López Albújar tuvo, como escritor indigenista, otras intenciones: le interesó sobre todo, esclarecer el modo de ser y los comportamientos del hombre indio," citing Ciro Alegría's description of López Albújar's characters as the first indigenous characters made "de carne y hueso" (*Novela Indigenista* 49). Despite Cornejo Polar's designation of the *Cuentos andinos* author as part of a not-quite-*indigenista* literary production, many other scholars include him in their studies on *indigenismo*.

The story "Ushanan Jampi" from *Cuentos andinos* has been studied and read widely as an example of López Albújar's "indio de carne y hueso," as a Highland rebel against the law, whether pertaining to the laws and customs of the *ayllu* community or *la ley del blanco*. Devoid of the sort of

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[23] Cornejo Polar notes that despite Mariátegui's central influence in indigenista production, especially the founding of Amauta as one of the "condiciones internas" of the political-social panorama under which literary indigenismo emerged, "la firmeza del planteamiento mariateguiano no se reproduce ni en la reflexión indigensita ni en la praxis literaria de este movimento (salvo tal vez en *El tungsteno* de Cesar Vallejo)" (15, 21). Nonetheless, it is still within this predominance of the revindicatory literary gesture that Cornejo Polar will evaluate indigenista fiction.

denunciations against abusive *gamonales*, which for Cornejo Polar constitutes a key feature of indigenismo, "Ushanan Jampi" narrates the gruesome communal justice exacted on one of their own that had been banished from the *ayllu* for the crime of robbery. The "tribunal de los Yayas" applies the customary capital punishment of the *ushanan jampi*, execution by way of quartering with the offender's intestines hanging from the door of his home with the rest of the body left to rot in public. As Coronado notes, what makes this depiction of institutional indigenous justice striking is that it is a communal act, in which "it is exactly the indio's communal nature that makes the act more violent, as any one of them could not carry out the punishment individually" (107). In contrast to the exoticized timid and craven *indianista* representations of indigenous peoples by García Calderón, such as that found in *La venganza del condor* (1924), which I will discuss further on, López Albújar's indigenous characters are renegades that possess the agency to transgress, although that transgression resulting from an excess of agency must be brutally disciplined through the meting out of justice.

1. Animality in *Cuentos andinos*

Within *Cuentos andinos*, there are two narratives in particular that reveal López Albújar's early vision of animality in relation to the *indio*, which contrast sharply with the equivocal anthromorphizing and animalizations in the later "El fin de un redentor." The first of the two is "La soberbia del piojo" in which an old man relates to a younger *criollo* the reasons why "el piojo es el mejor amigo del hombre." The narrator of the story, having discovered a louse on a distinguished lady's blouse, discreetly brushes it off her and then crushes the diminutive parasite with his shoe. Seeking not to distress and embarrass the rotundly pompous Señora Linares, the narrator explains that it was nothing but "un pequeño insecto que, seguramente, estaba admirándole su belleza" (np). Don Melchor interrupts, offended by the way that the narrator so indecorously crushed the louse,

and upbraids the narrator for the insult to the Señora. Following the indignant exit of Señora Linares and her fellow ladies, Don Melchor states: "Yo prefiero un piojo a un perro, no sólo porque tiene dos patas más, sino porque no tiene las bajezas de éste. El perro se agacha, se humilla, implora cuando recibe un puntapié del amo, o cuando se ve con un palo encima. ¡Ya va a tolerar un piojo trato semejante! El piojo es el más soberbio y estoico de los seres creados" (ibid). Prompted by the narrator to divulge some *chisme* upon finding themselves in the company of gentlemen, Don Melchor declines, but offers the possibility that "¿Por qué pudiendo hablar de los animales hemos de hablar de las gentes? Todas las historias se parecen," after which he unleashes the following series of disparaging statements on indigenous peoples:

> *Para qué son tan bestias los indios. Si los indios se contaran, se organizaran y fueran más a la escuela y bebieran menos, ¡cuántas cosas no harían! Porque el indio no es idiota; es imbécil.* Pero de la imbecilidad se puede salir; de la idiotez no. La imbecilidad, como usted sabe, se cura tonificando el alma, sembrando ideales en ella, despertándole ambiciones, haciéndole sentir la conciencia de la propia personalidad. *Y el indio, aunque nuestros sociólogos criollos piensan lo contrario, no es persona: es una bolsa de apetitos.* (np, emphasis added)

The sort of transparent racist attitude towards indigenous peoples that don Melchor utters is the type of animalization that *indigenismo* as a literary and aesthetic genre endeavors to correct. This negative *indigenista* rhetoric, which I will examine more closely in chapter 2 within the Mexican context, posits that the lack of humanity in indigenous peoples is confirmed by the fact that they are oppressed and incapable of organizing themselves for emancipation.

As the story continues, the connections between animals and the indigenous increase. Upon hearing Don Melchor's diatribe against the *indios*, the narrator suggests that they go back to talking about animals, "[h]ablemos entonces de los animales" (ibid). The reply is ironic, as if to change the subject to something more agreeable, when Don Melchor has already classed the *indios* among the

"*bestias*." This sort of rhetoric persists in the subsequent story that Don Melchor relates in his celebration of the *piojo* against the nature of the dog and of the *indio*. He recounts how an enormous *piojo* awoke him at night and warned him that someone was approaching to rob and murder him. Don Melchor finds that indeed his indigenous servant was going through his things and had a knife with him. By dehumanizing the *indio* as a "perro ingrato" to conform to a villainous creature feigning loyalty, as a species below that of the dog and elevating the louse to a stature of honor and stoic dignity, López Albújar reinforces negative *indigenista* rhetoric that decries the animality of indigenous peoples as a product of an essential lack of humanity, a humanity that can mobilize a political consciousness and liberate itself from oppression and servitude.

While in "La soberia del piojo" López Albújar places the deceptive and disloyal indigenous figure beneath the status of an insect, in "Cachorro de tigre" he represents a young indigenous boy, son of a famed bandit, as a highly intelligent youth but also as cunningly violent animal, fierce to the degree that the boy is uncivilized or "feral." The *mestizo* narrator takes in the boy after others refuse to on account of the potential violence of rival families. He describes *Ishaco* as follows:

> Al lado de estas manifestaciones de inteligencia vivaz había otras de *una animalidad extraña, que habían confundido al sicólogo y a las que posiblemente ningún poder hubiese podido corregir o atenuar*. Se cazaba los piojos y se los comía deleitosamente, después de verlos andar sobre la uña; se hurtaba los pedazos de carne cruda y sangrienta y los engullía con la rapidez y voracidad de un martín-pescador; recogía en cualquier cazo la sangre de los animales degollados y, humeante aún, se la bebía a tragantadas, celebrando después en risotadas bestiales, el cloqueo que aquella hiciera al pasarle por la garganta; hacía provisiones de cebo y de piltrafas recogidas en la cocina, ocultándolas en cualquier escondrijo, para sacarlas más tarde en plena descomposición y devorarlas a solas y tranquilamente. *Era a ratos perdidos un insectívoro y un antropófago*. (np emphasis added)

The narrative harmonizes the themes of justice and animality through the device of a blood law that the boy must carry out as retribution for the murder of his father by a rival family. The story explores whether the efforts to civilize a feral indigenous subject could suffice to subvert the law of vengeance: "¿Habría en esta bestezuela recién domada razón suficiente para que el complicado sentimiento de la venganza hubiese echado ya raíces en su corazón?" (np). The manner in which the mestizo narrator questions the "human" nature of the feral indigenous boy anticipates the animalizing language that López Albújar employs in his racist essay in *Amauta* that results in igniting the *indigenista* polemic. The narrator's bewilderment concerning this "*animalidad extraña, que habían confundido al sicólogo"* seems to anticipate the author's psychological explanation years later in the pages of *Amauta*.

Again, the type of straightforwardly racist assertions that the characters in these two stories make will become one of the main targets of the *indigenista* project to revalue the indigenous population. How Lopez Albujar's perspective came to change we will see in the later story "El fin de un redentor.*"* To appreciate the nuances of this work, however, we must first understand the course of *indigenista* discourse after *Cuentos Andinos* to which "El fin de un redentor" responds, specifically the vicissitudes of the trope of animalization within *Amauta* itself.

2. Animalization Narrative in *Amauta*: "El Gamonal"

As Luis Veres explains, narrative occupied an important place in the pages of *Amauta*, in part because "la narrativa debía servir para que las clases medias en ascenso, que demandaban nuevas lecturas, fueran conscientes de lo que ocurría en otros lados del Perú" (11). As I will show, the narratives in *Amauta* that feature animals generally reproduce these representations of rural life set in the landscapes of the Andean Highlands under the oppressive yoke of gamonalismo as well as evoking the theme of *tristeza andina*. López Albújar's *El fin de un redentor* veers away from this

animalization paradigm, in a similar vein as that of Magdaleno's *El resplandor* that adopts animality to emphasize the dehumanization of its indigenous population. Before turning to the question of modernity's redemptive power in López Albújar's narrative, I will briefly discuss Gamaliel Churata's "El gamonal" as a representative example of the *indigenista* paradigm of dehumanization within the context of the Andes. This comparison will allow us to evaluate how López Albújar's departs from the prevailing discourse, among other ways by subverting the solemn and denunciatory tone of these dehumanizing narratives, instead ironizing the polemics that *Amauta*'s contributors participated in, if not helped to instigate.[24]

Appearing in the fifth issue of *Amauta* in Jan 1927, *El gamonal*, similar to Valcárcel's *Tempestad*, points to the indigenous armed uprising as a means for doing away with the hacienda system in the Andes.[25] The narrative centers on an indigenous couple that are tyrannized by the hacienda: the husband is accosted by the *mayordomo* under threat of jail to work at the hacienda, and this same *mayordomo* repeatedly rapes the indigenous wife. In contrast to the snippets of bucolic life of the serene yet austere pampa, the stock figure of the *gamonal* appears as "un producto neto de hacienda," whose hands off approach to hacienda affairs allows his *mayordomo* to victimize the indigenous peoples of the region while he himself conducts business in Lima (*Amauta* no. 5, 30). Much like Magdaleno's portrayal of the predatory hacienda that we will see in Mexico, Churata represents the gamonal as a "figura embrutecedora," initially as a schoolboy, showcasing his inherently perverted nature, a man concealing the inner beast. "[E]n el colegio, el gamonal, es el mejor alumno; en la vida si tuvo suerte, el hombre; pero, en verdad, una bestia!" (ibid). Declaratively, the *gamonal* "nació deforme, sólo apto para el engaño," indicting the essential nature of the criollo gamonal, a

[24] Here I am referring to both what are commonly referred to as the polemica del indigenismo, documented by Manuel Aquézolo Castro in "La polémica del Indigenismo" as well as "La polémica de la vanguardia," texts curated by Mirko Lauer that reveal a simultaneous debate over vanguardists' aesthetics and politics.

[25] The *serranías* and the musicality of the Highlands takes a metonymic dimension in Churata's use of the Phuttuto, as the "clarín trágico" that heralds the coming indigenous uprising and that strikes divergent emotions in the indio versus criollo: "la sugestión que su toque ejerce sobre el indio es de tonificación y ardorosidad. Para el criollo tiene efectos diametrales. Se piensa de inmediato que la indiada, insurreccionada, está oculta en los cerros…" (Amauta. no 5, 20).

despicable nature extended to his mestizo *mayordomo* (31). Hacienda life is represented at a distance from the peace of the pampa; Churata idyllically illustrates the *ayllu* where the indigenous couple resides along the lines of Mariátegui's thesis in *Seite ensayos*: "el ayllu, reducido conglomerado de indios, era la paz y el amor abrazados en la rinconada" (31). By contrast, in "El gamonal," the cabin of the *colono*, (indigenous hacienda peon), contains none of these positive attributes: "al ayllu ha seguido, la cabaña del colono, *indio esclavo obligado a vivir como bestia*, con un miserable salario, sin fraternidad ni sociedad. En la cabaña se convierte al hombre en bruto…" (ibid emphasis added). As such, woven throughout this narrative, is the use of "bestia" and "bestial" for both the *gamonal* as well for enslaved indigenous peoples "el indio es la bestia del Ande" (*Amauta* 6, 20).

The purpose of this bestialization, however, is not to excoriate the indigenous subjects themselves, but to critique the lack of modernity and spiritual progress in the sierra, conditions prompted by the endurance of feudalism. This lack, or lag, of modernity is evident in the following passage, which relates the people's degraded status to their delayed access to the car and the tractor:

> Vamos a protestar en forma rotunda. El indio es la bestia del Ande. Y ha sido el constructor de una de la civilizaciones, o mejor, de una de las culturas, más humanas y de más profunda proyección sicológica. Cayendo bajo la garra de España, el español le ha contagiado sus defectos sin dejarle sus virtudes. Le vilipendia hoy el mestizo, el blanco y el indio alzado en cacique. Esta extorsión no tiene ningún objeto progresivo. El indio, es, por ahora, y en la hacienda, retardatario y ocioso; el blanco no lo es menos. Hay descendientes de español que poseen dos siglos, vastos latifundios, y *no han llevado un tractor, un automóvil, algo que revele espíritu de progreso*. (20 emphasis added)

In my view this passage can be interpreted as advancing the *indigenista* thesis of those like Valcárcel and Mariátegui, who decried the negative influence of Spain and "las fatalidades de la historia"[26] that determined Peru's lack of modernity relative to that of North America and Europe, a decadence initiated by Spanish colonization's exploitation and slavery of indigenous and African peoples. The degraded human status of the Peruvian indigenous population and culture here hark back to the heights of the Incan empire, in which the indigenous culture crafted the "most human" and most psychologically profound civilizations. Likewise, the inutility of indigenous and white races that Churata denounces stems from what Mariátegui characterized as "la incapacidad del coloniaje para organizar la economía peruana sobre sus bases naturales agrícolas," and the gamonal's inherent ineptitude to "desposit[ar] los gérmenes de un espíritu y una economía que se plasmaba entonces en Europa y a los cuales pertenecía el porvenir" as was the case in North America (*Siete ensayos*, 44, 46). The absence of the tractor and the automobile as assemblages of modernity and progress in the Highlands points towards a desire for a rural modernity that would loosen the dehumanizing effects of primitive labor conditions. In his failure to modernize the hacienda, the *gamonal* also demonstrates his inability to see the true value of life, as Mariátegui would deem "no [tiene] casi idea alguna del valor económico del hombre" (44).

Just as Churata praised indigenous culture as "[la] más profunda proyección sicológica," López Albújar's essay "Psicología del indio", a kind of "listicle" on the essential transgressive nature of indigenous peoples was published in the same issue of *Amauta*. For example, he writes that: "[el indio] parece débil y quebradizo y tiene la flexibilidad del junco, la elasticidad del puma, la resistencia y sobriedad del camello y la fuerza nerviosa del cóndor," and "estima a su yunta más que a su mujer y sus carneros más que a sus hijos" (Aquézolo 20). The animalizations in "El gamonal" can be seen

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[26] Maríategui in *Siete ensayos* laments "el Perú debería ser por mil causas económicas y socials, como han sido los Estados Unidos, tierra de labradores, de colonos, de mineros, de comerciantes, de hombres de trabajo; pero las fatalidades de la historia y la voluntad han resuelto otra cosa, convirtiendo al país en centro literario, patria de intelectuales y semillero de burócratas" (96-7).

as giving narrative context for the indigenous psychology delineated by López Albújar's controversial essay, if viewed as a long list of the degenerative effects of gamonalismo on the psyche of indigenous peoples. Mariátegui himself, as we find in "La civilización y el caballo" as well as in various parts of *Siete ensayos*, will describe the negative effects of both the indigenous subject's insolation of the *indio chasqui* and his or her contact with *mestizo/criollo* culture as "desnaturalizando" his indigenous being.[27] Given that according to Manuel Aquézolo Castro, the *indigenista* polemic was detonated by López Albújar's racist exposition on indigenous psychology, the issue of interiorization of indigenous peoples as well as the capacity of "humanity" that Churata underscores in this *indigenista* animality thesis that I locate, are questions that López Albújar returns to tangentially in "El fin de un redentor" as he ironizes perspectives that play with grades of differences from vanguardists, indigenous subjects, "el mundo heterogéneo de animales" and the machine.

3. Animal and Machine in "El fin de un redentor"

"El fin de un redentor" was published in *Amauta*'s tenth issue, in December 1927. In contrast to other animal narratives in the journal, López Albújar's short story triangulates indigenous peoples with the animal and the machine, a sort of extension of the observations published by Mariátegui a few weeks earlier in "La civilización y el caballo." In addition, "El fin de un redentor" is not set in the iconic Andean highlands but situates this particular version of the *problema del indio* on the coast. With the displacement of *indigenismo* and modernity to the coast, therefore, there is no gamonal, just the inquiry of who can redeem an open-ended "us." Nonetheless, the narrative hones in on the violence of modernity within a multiple-species panorama of the Peruvian countryside, and

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[27] In *Siete ensayos,* Mariátegui writes: "La escuela y el maestro están irremisiblemente condenados a desnaturalizarse bajo la presión del ambiente feudal, inconciliable con la más elemental concepción progresista o evolucionista de las cosas" (33). He compares the Argentine gaucho with indio chasqui as a way of underlining the effects of the expansive landscape on the human soul and psyche, writing: "El gaucho debe la mitad de su ser a la pampa y al caballo. Sin el caballo ¡cómo habrían pesado sobre el criollo argentino el espacio y la distancia! Como pesan hasta ahora, sobre las espaldas del indio chasqui" ("Caballo").

engages with the undergirding theme of "second nature" through the various ways that it represents animality.

Formally, the narrative is divided into two parts, one featuring the human perspective, the other the animal. Within the initial human frame, López Albújar contrasts the irreverent recklessness of the *jovenes vanguardistas* to the stoic *indios*; the quasi-futurist celebration of speed and disregard of danger by the youths is undercut by the solemn condemnations of the *aldeanos* that come to the rescue of the young men. The story opens on a poetically starry night, as the group of young men speed along a road outside of the bay of Bayovar in a Studebaker, drinking whiskey, while simultaneously reciting and debating vanguard poetry. López Albújar parodies the vanguardists' aspirations by playing with contrasts of "movements," both in the sense of physical movement—the contrast between the placid stillness of the countryside and the lacerating velocity of the automobile—as well as the literary and aesthetic movements these equivocally signal (e.g. symbolism, *modernismo,* and futurism):

> El ambiente convidaba una aventura dieciochesca. Prestábase para una cita de amor como para una emboscada de odio; para el parrandeo bullicioso, como para la meditación melancólica. Tal vez si por eso los siete mozos que aquella noche tornaban de una excursión a la bahía de Bayóvar, excitados por el romanticismo del paisaje y la sensación de la velocidad automovilística, unos tumbados sobre los mullidos asientos del studebaker y otros de pie, saludaban, botella en mano entre grandes risotadas, a los transeúntes que iban encontrando en el camino. (30)

The nocturne air of the countryside, cast in a *modernista* light of "nitida opalesciencia," is disrupted by not only the speed of the automobile but also by the clamoring of the youths as they celebrate the vehicle's acceleration by counting the kilometers per hours from fifty, seventy to a hundred. The omniscient narrator describes the driver "contagiado" by the same "alegría" as his friends while the

automobile is characterized as possessing an "empuje mastodóntico." This mechanical beast goes forth "bebiéndose a grandes tragantadas la cinta de luz que él mismo se iba tendiendo por delante, y dejando detrás, entre una ancha y espesa cola de polvo, las maldiciones de los jinetes asustados" (ibid). This animalization of the automobile evokes Alberto Hidalgo's poem "Oda al Automovil" (1917), in which the Peruvian futurist exalts this emblem of modernity as "un enorme paquidermo mecánico: / su sangre es la gasolina / … el Auto nunca es triste; la alegría / en inconmensurable derroche / por su carrocería / siempre se vé correr…".[28] López Albújar ironizes the avant-garde's animalizing vitalism by rendering the celebration of youth, technology and hygienic violence through animal signs wherein the sign of the horse as in horsepower is transfigurated into devouring pachyderm in a similar vein of the "famished automobile" raging through the streets of the Founding Futurist Manifesto (1909). In mobilizing the extinct mastodon, he also manages to point to the incongruity of the futurist impulse as it pairs this archaic, extinct animal and the obsolete pachydermata order of animals to the machine, as the demolisher of the old to make way for the new.

Mariátegui editorially places Marinetti's "Estetica de los avisos luminosos," a manifesto on the new sensibility created by the speed and light of marquee signboards, on the same page as this opening scene of "El fin de un redentor," activating the "meme" of futurism and the avant-garde. However, as Mojarro Romero notes, Mariátegui repeatedly turns to Italian futurism as the cardinal example of a vacuous vanguard movement that fails on account of its own internal contradiction of revolutionary artistic rhetoric and political reactionary and conservative sentiments.[29] Mariátegui's

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[28] In Hidalgo's "La Nueva Poesía: Manifesto" he writes: "yo soi un bardo nuevo de concepto I de forma /…/ yo soi un empresario vidente del Futuro/…/ el automóvil, fuente de confort I de lujo, / en cuyos flancos parpadea la Luz" (112, 95, 98).

[29] Published originally in March of 1927 in Italy's *La fiera letteraria*, and republished in Spanish in *Amauta* nine months later, "Estetica de los avisos luminosos" and "La medición futurista" are examples of later Futurist manifestos that recycled "the types and topoi of the earlier ones but seldom with the same success" (Rainey, 46). As Claudio Fogu claims, these "scholarly contributions" by Marinetti were attempts at theorizing "what was futurist in Futurism," where

arrangement of these texts by Marinetti and López Albújar's serves to highlight the "mastodonic" weight of signification that Italian Futurism had not only in Peru but throughout Latin America.[30]

In the moment before the fatal crash in "El fin de un redentor," the *jovenes vanguardistas* joke and tease one another in ways that begin to hint at the animal epistemology that will take place in the post-mortem of the accident. As they near their destination, a residence where "las chicas [ ] eran cariñosas y entradoras como diablos," one youth comments that he has "hambre de bailar" and is corrected by one of his friends who asks "¿con hambre o con sed?," recalling the synesthetic eating and driving of the mastodon-Studebaker. From here the young men go back and forth with ever more pedantic "corrections," he snidely remarks if his friend might need lessons in neither "lexicomanía, lexicografía" nor "lexicowhisky." This derisive prowess for lexical acrobatics results in the following scoff: "oye…y en materia de burrología ¿cómo andas?" This accusation of "burrología", a form of "asinine rationality" etymologically rooted in the "ass" between the youths, anticipates the heated debate among the *animales de tiro* ("familia caballara"), donkey, mule, horse, and the ox. The tension among the *jovenes* is difused with an amicable "es cuestión de puntos de vistas que diría Einstein," an overture to the theme of perspective and relationality via Einstein's theory of relativity that will play out in the animal satire portion of the narrative.

In this drunken hoopla, the driver whirls off the road and plummets into a canal ditch as he dodges a tree ("algarrobio") he failed to see in time. Some dead, others in agony, some of the youths are thrown meters away from the automobile, while others remain inside it. A group of *aldeanos* come to the rescue, their "ropas negras y su andar vacilante" giving the appearance of "una banda de buitres atraidos por el olor de la carrona fresca" (31). The tumult of the accident draws out the indigenous community adjacent to the crash site who comment on the violence of the automobile

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the futurist's tone is no longer ecstatic or compulsive, but dry and "wooden" in its focus on artist/critic synthesis as a way of "indicating a futurist way forward for humanist knowledge-production and criticism" (np).

[30] For more on the ripple effect of Marinetti in Latin America, refer to Nelson Orosio's *El futurismo y la vanguardia literaria en América Latina.*

which they denote as *jierro* "el *jierro* que está tumbado boca arriba…así son estos malditos [automobiles]. Llevan a los cristianos a la carrera, como si jueran a quitárselo y, a lo major ¡zas! dan un corcobo y los revientan" (ibid). Regarding the victims and survivors of the collision, they blame them for their fate: "pero estos blanco, condenaus, por llegar pronto son capaces de compautarse con el diablo" (ibid). The *joven* referred to as Montenegro, the principal culprit in the accident unscathed by the crash, gives two *libras* to a young indigenous man to run and get help in the nearest town. The money exchanged is described as alleviating the horror of the scene "las libras tuvieron la mágica virtud de improvisarlo todo, de aliviar en algo el horror de la tragedia y atenuar la ojeriza legendaria del indio contra el blanco" (ibid).

The enmity of the *aldeanos* as well as their resemblance to vultures brings to mind Ventura García Calderón's *La venganza del cóndor* (1924), a short story in which the barbarous Capitan Gonzalez and his horse fall to their deaths as he rides through the Andean mountains. The narrative is particularly evocative in terms of animality and the links that it insinuates between the condor and indigenous peoples and the rancor these hold towards the *mistis* and *blanco*, and as such merits a discussion. *La venganza del cóndor* is narrated by a young man who is traveling in the Andes, recounting events from the moment he meets Capitan Gonzalez as he whips his indigenous orderly berating him as "pedazo de animal" to the devouring of his body and that of his steed by the condors (17). The *indio* "bellaco" flees from the Capitan's violent mistreatment ("la sangre que goteaba en su rostro como lágrimas") but is reunited with the young man narrator later and offers his services as a guide their the precarious paths that wind through the sierra (ibid). As they make their way through the *punas*, the indigenous guide shares with the narrator "cuentos ingenuos de viajeros que ruedan al abismo porque una piedra se desgaja súbitamente de la montaña andina," unbeknownst that they would later witness such an "accident" (20). The narrator admits that he found himself captivated by the sublime quality of the landscape: "sin querer confesarlo, yo

comenzaba a estar impresionado. Los Andes son en la tarde vastos túmulos grises y la bruma que asciende de las punas violetas a los picachos nevados me estremecía como una melancolía visible" (ibid). This melancholic shudder, however, turns into intense trepidation as the "hondonada mortal" of the precipice seems to draw him and his "mula espantadiza" to "un paraje siniestro," where after an hour of their march upward "los cóndores familiares de los altos picachos pasaban tan cerca de mí, que el aire desplazado por las alas me quemaba el rostro y vi sus ojos iracundos" (20, 21). At "un estrecho desfiladero" the guide disappears and then there a loud sound that echoes through the mountain range, the narrator sees a flock of condors fly by and then the dark masses of what he will soon realize are the Capitan and his horse, after his guide abruptly reappears to tell him who the victims of the fall are, explaining that "los insolentes cóndores rozan con el ala el hombre del viajero en un precipicio. Se pierde el equilibrio y se rueda al abismo" (22). As Priscilla Archibald notes, "[b]y the end of the story the captain pays for his cruelty; he is killed, though whether by Indian or condor or some mysterious pact between, is uncertain" (28).

Narratives such as *La venganza del cóndor* as well as López Albújar's own *Cuentos andinos* and *Nuevos cuentos andinos* seem to naturalize the act of retribution, an extralegal justice executed by the landscape, animals, and in the indigenous subject. These sorts of representations helped compose the "stereotype of an essentializing discourse" that Archibald explains "characterize some but far more all or perhaps even a majority of *indigenista* work, [that] came to stand in as a general description of the movement" (52). Whereas Archibald highlights this in her analysis of the aesthetic irony of this narrative, I find that there is more to circumspect as it relates to animality and the natural bond between indigenous peoples and this iconic scavenger bird.[31] For instance, rather than

[31] Archibald writes that: "A fundamental irony underlies his work, since, through the imposition or implementation of regional or indigenous laws, which, by virtue of the repetition of this very act, assume the character of a universal legal gesture rather than culturally distinct discourse, the cultural difference which so fascinates López Albújar and drives his narrative also drives a process of westernization. As gestures, the implementation of law repeated in his stories are conflated with his own gestures as regional judge" (59). Moreover, she sees this aesthetic irony in the "lindo látigo" that

the aesthetic qualities of the “chicotillo” that the Captain lacerates his orderly with, what animates this object is sadistic desire to over torture animals and indigenous persons (“en los flancos de las bestias y de los indios aquello era sin duda irresistible”), creating a profound division between human and animal from which the mystery of the Captain’s dismal death will operate (18). Degraded and dehumanized by violence, the indigenous subject stands in opposition to *el blanco* and alongside the animal as allies and co-conspirators.

Of the various animal oppositions that appear in this short narrative, for example the pony *(jaca)* that indigenous guide rides versus the “mula de lujo” the young man uses, the one that brings into contact López Albújar’s vulture rendering of the *aldeanos* and Mariátegui’s discussion of the historic prohibition of the horse for Peruvian indigenous populations is the antagonism of the condor and the horse. Similar to the indigenous and Spanish colonial hostilities represented in the tethering of the condor and bull in the *yawar fiesta* (“blood festival”) that is celebrated following Peruvian independence day, the horse and the condor are symbolic and materially associated with the bipolar national social and geographic topography of the nation. However, in the case of “El fin de un redentor,” we are not in the tristeza andina turned dread of the Highlands, but rather the rural outskirts on the coast where non-Andean scavenger avifauna inhabit. This recalls Abraham Valdelomar’s 1917 essay “La psicología del gallinazo” where the black vulture is taken to be the national bird because of its ubiquity in the streets of Lima as it “sweeps,” the *gallinazo* represents the concept of social hygiene.[32] As such, whether the vulture-like *aldeanos* are passing judgment on “estos blanco, condenaus” or conspiring with natural forces to exact revenge for colonial dispossession, they in effect “clear” the carnage of the excesses of modernity while resisting the

the captain wields at the beginning and with which the story concludes "with a reference to the same metonymical evocation of violence--"aprendí que es imprudente algunas veces afrentar con un lindo látigo la resignación de los vencidos" (28).

[32] Valdelomar writes: "Pero nos hemos limitado a consagrar por todo recuerdo a esa ave simbólica de la Nacionalidad : una calle (calle gallinacitos) —¡Una calle! — bien poco por cierto para el animal que durante los siglos nos ha barrido la ciudad. Porque el gallinazo ha sido en el Perú, y quizás en el mundo, el primer concepto social de la higiene pública" (np).

automobile regime in their rejection of the progress embodied in "el jierro."

As we can see, in the story the condemnation from the indigenous subject is filtered and merged with the *indigenista* morality. This indigenous perspective so aligned with the *indigenista* pen, however, did not replicate the racist tone in "Sobre la psicología indígena," in which López Albújar had "deciphered" the mystery of the "indio" to *Amauta's* readership a year earlier.[33] The indigenous rationality portrayed in the following passage is in effect a ventriloquizing of *indigenista* discourse:

> …se habían ido retirando lentamente a sus chozas, asqueados, conmovidos y a pesar de su egoísimo inhibitorio para todo lo que no fuera de su raza y de su mundo, convencidos una vez más de la inutilidad y del peligro que encerraban las invenciones del blanco. ¡El *jierro*! ¿Para qué servía eso habiendo tantos animales en el mundo, buenos sufridos, sobrios, valientes y, más que todo, amigos del hombre? A burro o a caballo se iba a cualquier parte, mientras que a esa cosa brutal y vocinglera había que prepararle el terreno para que pudiese andar. Y al andar lo hacía como queriendo el camino para ella sola, atropellando a gentes y bestias, triturando a los perros, que eran como hijos del indio, espantando a las aves, asustando a los chiquillos, quitándole a los campesinos el sueño, escandalizando la paz y la quietud de las noches aldeanas…era indudablemente un castigo. No en vano desafía el hombre la voluntad de Dios, que le ha dado pies a las cosas que deben andar. No en vano se pasa delante de los pobre indios, ostentando báquica alegría, en desenfrenada carrera, mientras ellos tiritan bajo la garra implacable del paludismo, sucumben diezmados por la siega feroz de alguna epidemia, desamparados y sumidos en la más triste de las miopías. Dios no podía permitir agravios semejantes. (ibid)

Despite their "egoistic hesitation" towards "outside" foreign things, the disgusted *aldeanos* are convinced of both the peril and pointlessness posed by "las invenciones del blanco." The doubt cast

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[33] López Albújar does however describes the *aldeanos* in retreat as follows: ""pensativos, aferrados a sus creencias punitivas…con la mente de superstición y misterio".

over whether *el jierro* constitutes progress in the countryside (and by extension the Andean *sierra*) centers on the abundance of animals in the world, implying domesticated animals as "amigos del hombre." The donkey and the horse as forms of transportation are contrasted with the violent disruptions caused by the automobile. These rifts that scandalize the peace found in "nature" are part of the extrusive dimensions of automobility. As Featherstone writes, "automobility 'works,' *because its accidents are denied*" (3).[34] "El fin de un redentor" exposes not just the accident of the automobile but also the various causalities in terms of the displacement of animal and human communities. For example, in the Pan-American Highway the "accident" of conscripted labor of indigenous peoples.

The motifs of speed, individualism, autonomy implicit in automobility explode on this rural stage. On the one hand, the indigenous subjects will lament and condemn upon survey the wreckage of human bodies, and on the other, the animals will conduct their own forensic examination on the remains of the automobile itself, where their focus is not condemnation but rather a "dissection" of the relationality of the automobile to the category of animal that is undermined by the diversity of its members. The crime within the indigenous perspective that López Albújar represents is that the *jóvenes vanguardistas* have offended the natural and divine order by disregarding God's conferment of "pies a las cosas que deben andar" and callously driving pass the tragedies taking place in indigenous communities.

If the accident and death of the vanguard youths becomes an opportunity for "legal" inquiry alongside López Albújar's depiction of the "inevitability of legal accountability", the misadventures of these *jovenes* can also be interpreted as a parodic staging of the founding Futurist manifesto. Even before the crash, the "ambiente [de] aventura dieciochesca" and the rupture that takes place between

[34] Featherstone here is referring to the way that the "mobility reconstruction" responds to accidents: " The aim of the accident reconstruction industry being to produce better forms of mobility governance in the pursuit of the elusive elimination of all casualties" (3).

the air of romanticism in the milieu and the exhilaration and thrill of the youths, connotes the moment when the lethargic and ennui-ridden futurists leave behind the oriental, enclosed decadent space of the bar drawn out by the roar of the machine in the city.[35] The lyric subject in Marinetti's text takes to the automobile and drives fiercely "I spun my car around with the frenzy of a dog trying to bite its tail" and spots two cyclists, which makes him spin out of control and descend into a ditch. From under the capsized automobile, the lyric subject is reconstituted as a futurist, baptized in the muddy water and factory drainage and sludge. The interpretation of the crash in Marinetti's text is that there is a renovation of the self that takes place as a result of the death (figural) of the lyric subject and that his re-vitalization of the self occurs because technology brings the human in contact with death and thus with life.

As Timothy Campbell explains, Marinetti attempts to revive humanity through "a vital encounter with technology" (161). The car is transformed into an animal, that animated/animalized machine subjects the human to the power of death: "fish out my car, like a big beached shark. Up it came from the ditch, slowly, leaving in the bottom, like scales, its heavy framework of good sense and its soft upholstery of comfort. / They thought it was dead, my beautiful shark, but a caress from me was enough to revive it; and there it was, alive again, running on its powerful fins!" (Marinetti). As we can recall, in the manifesto, Marinetti's car turns over into a canal ditch, and it is through figural death that the poet, the futurist arises as animalized and thus more vital. As Campbell explains at length:

> The transformation of the corpse into a revived corpse, [is] linked semantically to that of the animal. Thus the animal is prominently placed in the manifesto and so it is surprising that not a lot of attention has focused on it. It is this transformation or animalization of

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[35] "We had trampled our atavistic ennui into rich oriental rugs, arguing up to the last confines of logic and blackening many reams of paper with our frenzied scribbling…Suddenly we jumped, hearing the mighty noise of the huge double-decker trams that rumbled by outside…we suddenly heard the famished roar of automobiles" (Marinetti).

Marinetti's corpse that links the revived corpse to the machine. Thus, after his own rebirth, the car too is transformed into an animal. (165)

However, the ironic outcome in López Albújar is precisely that the Futurist, particularly as it would relate to Peruvian Futurism does not undergo animalization and thus the vitality preformed in the Founding Manifesto. In *El fin de un redentor,* despite the youths being "contagiado" by European aesthetic movements, no transformation takes place other than their death and/or mutilation.

The animal dialogue of the narrative starts with the solitude of the crash site, the indigenous rescuers and the young men have left and all that remains is a bestialized automobile with its fractured skeleton "osamenta", "vaciadas sus entrañas y apagados sus ojos" (31). "[U]n mundo heterogéneo de animales" composed of horses, mules, donkeys, bulls, sheep, goats, dogs and even ducks all attracted by the noise of the injured *jóvenes* come out from the bushes to examine the wreckage. Previously these had glimpsed the automobile " [de día] tambaleándose con su trompa negra, y de noche, deslumbrándose con sus ojos fosforescentes de bestia rabiosa" (ibid). Initially, for them it seems that the automobile belongs to their animal order, mostly on the basis of its corporeality "ha dado un mal salto y se ha reventado el vientre" (32). The once rabid beast with glaring eyes laid broken with its visceral motor dislocated out of its hood, its headlights extinguished. The first to speak is the horse, who utters that "no es un caballo, ¿verdad?"; the donkey replies in irksome disgust that "es una cosa más despreciable todavía" on account of the strench of the "decomposed" vehicle. The pompous ox clarifies to the animal congress that the deceased beast is in fact "un buen amigo nuestro", adding that "ustedes no saben lo que estos animales hacen por nosotros, especialmente por la familia caballar que es la que más padece los maltratos de los hombres," after which he laps "con cierta delectación la flema del hocico" (32).

The language and rationality that López Albújar imposes on this animal congress can be interpreted as an "animal mask" in which the author, according to Ahuja Neel, appropriates the

rhetoric of animalization as a "strategy for disentangling race and species" that "reveals its ongoing racial, neocolonial, or ecological legacies" (558). Furthermore, often the use of these "animal masks" exhibit "an ironic stance provisionally embracing animality" (ibid). As Veres and others have noted these debating animals voices resemble those of the indigenista polemic and is regarded as merely a veiled snub on part of López Albújar, however, as we will see, these "animal masks" reveal much more than just the squabble amongst friends.

With these "masks," the animals start to dispute among themselves, in a similar vein to the *jóvenes vanguardistas*; but, whereas the former insult one another over aesthetic questions, the animals fight over who has it worse in terms of subjugation and violence by humans. The squabbles become "personal" attacks that draw on species discourse such as the ox calling the mule "renegón o taimado" while the mule mocks the ox's castrated status "no es poca cosa perder uno lo mejor que tiene", countered by the ox's retort of the mule's bastard status. The joke is on both these animals as both are sterile, the mule on account of his hybridity and the ox due to castration, transforming their "life function" as beasts of burden. The resemblance between these creatures and their vanguardist counterparts is further mocked as we recall how the *jóvenes* are "excitados por la velocidad" and contrast that virility with the neutered status of these two animals. After the ox humilitates the dog for "servidumbre al hombre" and betrayal of "nuestra especie", the horse summarizing the ox's wisdom: "un automovíl menos es un caballo más". In turn, the mule mocks the horse's feigned sagacity by saying "¡qué burro soy!," to which the donkey protests and corrects by saying "¡Qué mulo, dirás!".

These insults clearly play with the concepts of breed, purity, and social status these illusory divides, which through the course of the debate will polarize between species that are consumed and those that are worked. For example, when the pig taunts the mule, "dá lo mismo…burro es el hijo de burro, aunque su madre sea… ," the derision is not so much the bastardized nature of the mule

but instead its standing is inherently low since it the miscegenation involves the donkey. The pig attempts to reinforce this species/social separation by conjuring the notion of “animales bien criados” in terms of their behavior, function, and pedigree, as he deems the ass’s asinine observations as *cosas de burros* and “no para animales bien criados como nosotros” (ibid). Preempting the division between *animales de tira* and *animales de plato*, the ox belittles the pig’s “marranadas” and redirects the debate to the labor of animals, as he attempts to foment solidarity among domestic animals with regard to the automobile:

> el automóvil nos está reemplazando a todos nosotros, a todos los que el lenguaje humano llama hipócritamente animales domésticos. Pues bien, si como ha dicho con mucha sensatez un caballo de por ahí, cada hombre tuviera su automóvil, cada animal tendría su redentor. El automóvil es, pues, el benefactor de nuestra especie. ¿No han visto ustedes desde aquí pasar esas máquinas, cargadas de esas panzudas y odiosas pacas de algodón, que antes pesaban sobre el lomo de muchos de ustedes, derrengándolos? Esas máquinas cargan y soportan todo impasiblemente: maderos, piedras, barriles, fardos, leña, fierros y hombres. (33)

The ox's assertation that the automobile is replacing the animal echoes Mariátegui's discussion of the obsolescence and emancipation of horse in “La civilización y el caballo”. The ox’s emphasis is on the “burden” that the automobile will relieve them of, uplifting “nuestra especie” just as a messiah and as such these should venerate these machines. There is an underscoring of the weight on “nuestra especie” as these are not just unspecified objects they carry, but rather the odious charge is that they must bear the load of commodities (cotton, barrels, wood, iron, rocks, and men). This list of freight could also signal construction, for example, of a road or other modernizing projects that “employed” conscripted indigenous labor. As such the *servidumbre* of the animals points towards the persistence of the exploitative treatment of the indigenous population, to which Mariátegui perceived the possibility of emancipation and obsolescence of the *conscripción vial* when he amended

Valcárcel's *indio jinete* to allow for the revolutionary *nuevo indio* in the disguise of a chauffeur.

In spite of the ox's universalizing discourse, he nonetheless continues to center his experience as the referent from which to proselytize the *nueva buena* of the automobile, when he laments how he wished that the automobile could have saved him and kept him intact. Here López Albújar makes clear that despite the resemblances between the animals and the *jóvenes,* this breaks down as he implicitly differentiates these groups, for example, when the ox is set apart from the "toros mozos" he envies as he bemoans seeing "pasar al lado a tanta vaca joven, a tanta vaca madre y no poder sino recordar lo que [fui]" (33). The goat raises his objection to the ox's claims saying: "pero de todo eso, ¿qué vamos a sacar nosotros los chivos [ ]? ¿Qué, los puercos y qué la gente de pluma?" (ibid). The pig adds: "haya o no esas cosas de fierro no por eso van a dejar los hombres de hacer chicarrones y salchichas de mí, y de los cabritos, seco; y de los toros bisteques; y de los bueyes, zurrones y maletas, y hasta de caballos y burros, charqui, pues ni a burros ni caballos dejan los hombres morir en paz" (ibid).

In contrast to Antero Orrego's philosophical essay "El dios encadenado" published in *Amauta* the following month, where he juxtaposes the animal's "god-like" ability to live in the present moment free from memory and the chained psychic turmoil of the human, López Albújar's story draws our attention to the material "question of the animal." Instead of idealism and ontological speculations, the author of *Cuentos andinos* is bringing into relief "animal capital," as the contingencies of capitalism on symbolic and material animal life. Shukin describes animal signs (e.g. in contemporary advertising) as a combination of the figure of the animal with the logic of circulating *species* (animal capital) currency of the state, as a readily identifiable sign that is read metaphorically but which occludes the state's material dependency on routinely homogenized categories of nature and animal for its hegemonic nationalist discourse. Given the context of modernity, my interpretation of the animals in "El fin de un redentor" is that beyond the fable

quality of the narrative and its references to the Polemic of 1927, and various digs at other figures and groups, the story reveals an engagement with commodity fetishism that initiates with the vitalism of vanguardism (especially Futurism) cloaking the worship of 'inanimate' objects of modernity such as the automobile, then carrying over into a "anti-modern" rejection by indigenous peasants that perceive life in its terrifying roar, and finally culminates in the literalization of commodity fetishism, animals as capital referring to their status as commodities.

At the narrative's denouement, tensions between the two animal factions are smoothed over by the ox's rearticulation of their common enemy: *el hombre*. In a reflection "un tanto bolchevique" the ox eulogizes the automobile: "levantémoselo siquiera por ser un buen matador de hombres" (34). While they heed the ox's order to raise the automobile in honor of its status the dissenting pig, goat and duck faction decline to assist (34). The opposition party "los chivistas" headed by the goat and donkey split away from the rest of the animal congregation. As they head towards the forest the goat makes a "sangrienta alusión" that to the ox "todo lo que...le hace mal...al hombre...le...le encanta" lamenting that why should they care about the car with the "vidita que nos damos". The *burro's* assent and final sentences of the narrative "con la suficiencia de un juez viejo" are that instead of the automobile "hay que agradecérselo al algarrobo. A este árbol si que deberíamos levantarle todos nosotros…una pirámide como las que vieron mis antepasados en otras tierras" (ibid). As such, it is not the machine nor the animal life that are exalted at the end of the narrative, but rather it is the tree, as inanimate nature that cut short the lives of the automobile and the youths, in thwarting the vitalist flows by its rooted traditional presence.

Francisco López Alfonso qualifies López Albújar's narrative as a fable along the lines of Hesiod, Archilochus, and La Fontaine, where a social critique is lightly veiled in animal characters.[36]

[36] The theme of animal burden is a theme in Aesop's Fables for example in "The horse and The Donkey" a stubborn donkey in yoked with an horse (sometimes the horse is an ox) when carrying/drag the horse who has died of exhaustion

Clearly, the speaking animals as characters amounts to a form of literary anthropomorphism that is quite ubiquitous in the literary representations of animals (Groeneveld 11). However, it is not enough to simply catalogue "El fin de un redentor" as a modern animal fable. For instance, noting that the fable is most recognized by the "transparencia de su mensaje," Rovira declares that such clarity is not present in "El fin de un redentor": "sea por la violencia de la discusión en la que se enzarzan los animales, sea porque no está claro qué clase de hombres se ocultan bajo el disfraz de animal, el discurso parece adquirir un progresivo carácter incomprensible... el relato favorece lo tácito y obliga al lector a reflexionar y discernir explicaciones que el autor evita" (150-1). Rovira takes the vanguardists of the narrative to stand in for the vanguardistas *indigenistas* that Mariátegui had been defending in his various polemical retorts in 1927 and finds that "algunos de los insultos que los animales se lanzan cobran mayor sentido en el contexto indigenista; especialmente la cuestión del hibridismo del mulo (o su equivalente, la mutilación del buey y el cerdo) como resultado del cruce esterilizante de razas y/o culturas, tal y como sugirió hasta el mismo Mariátegui en sus *Siete ensayos*" (154-5). "El fin de un redentor" might be interpreted as López Albújar's effort to continue a polemic he initiated, in which for Rovira the ultimate irony of this would be that a "mulatto" such as López Albújar would have the last laugh in publishing in *Amauta* a sardonic narrative aimed at Mariátegui's cherished *indigenista vanguardistas*. Thus, a form of poetic justice against the editor who had written so negatively about *negros* in Peru.

Conclusion

In my examination of automobility in the writings of Mariátegui and López Albújar, I highlighted the ways that these writers represented the transformations of modernity in rural and indigenous spaces that centered on the question of animal and indigenous labor within a historical

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and in "The Ass and his Masters" the perspective of the Ass is intended to align with that of the enslaved and most burden.

process in which animals are displaced or in retreat. Moreover, the notion of "second nature" as the new sensibility produced by modernity was a concern for Mariátegui as he sought to steer Peru away from the Fordist North American paradigm and its degradation of the worker towards a more "organic" path in his comparison of the indigenous subject and the Russian *mujik*. For López Albújar, the modern sensibility associated with the automobile, was incompatible with an indigenous perspective that held to its alliances with the animal world against the violence and carnage of the machine.

Alongside these texts, I also contextualized vanguardist and *indigenista* debates of the period within a materialist dimension in terms of tracing the nationalist highways networks and the commodification of animal disassembled bodies that connect back to animal life through an exploration of animal signs. For example, the editor of *Amauta* employed nature and the horse along Marxist lines underscoring the historical processes of modernity in both his "Civilization" essays, offering a history of society through an industrial commodity (the wig and automobile) in ways that mirror Marx's *Communist Manifesto* in its situation of class society and his emphasis of the new subject, the *nuevo indio,* adapted to modernity without relinquishing his indigenous ties and identity. Anticipating Gramsci's critical writings on Fordism and Taylorism, Mariátegui, who had shared comrades with the editor of *Ordine Nouvo* and had personally witnessed the internal fights within the Italian left, articulated the decadent potential of industrialism if not infused with the faith and passion of revolution. The indigenous subject, his *nuevo indio* would conserve the seed of communism within customs and practices still viable in the twentieth century. His vague proposal of the *indio chauffeur* might be seem as offsetting the *indigenista* paradigm of the sad *indio*-llama pair or his profoundly alienating relationship with the horse.

López Albújar's engagement with automobility in terms of the labor and bodies of animal, indigenous rejection of the "metal animals" of the road, through his parodic "cuento marinettiano"

showcased a departure in his customary use of negative animality in his portrayal of indigenous agency and worldview. In "El fin de un redentor" the author of *Cuentos andinos* represents the objections of the *aldeanos* as rational and favorable against the carnage and lacerating disruption of the automobile, while questioning the redemptive nature of the machine (and by extension the *indigenista* project) through the animal debate. Moreover, by exploring specific animal oppositions, in which animals are coded racially or ethnically (condor as indigenous and horse as Spanish or *mestizo*), I brought López Albújar's narrative into dialogue with other texts that employ animals as a shorthand for symbolizing the nation.

Within Arguedas's *Yawar Fiesta* (1942) we find a vision of modernity in the Andes in which volunteer communal labor of the community constructed a stretch of road from the Highlands to the coast, welcoming modernity and adhering to tradition in their devotion to the Yawar Fiesta and the magical "Misitu" bull. In his "correction" of López Albújar's narratives, Arguedas makes the link to Mariátegui explicit in the *nuevos indios* that he represents as the revolutionary "chalos renegados," children of those that constructed the road that made possible their education on the coast and their subsequent return to the ayllu, in which one of these el chofer Martínez, along with the student, *el obrero*, congregate to organize the community under the framed photograph of the revered *amauta*. However, as Arguedas's novel illustrates the tensions between the modern and the traditional persists, especially in the "civilizing" of "barbarous" indigenous practices and customs, such that the ties to the animistic and other-worldly beings and practices win out, but are, nonetheless, shaped and transformed by the historical process of the material and social connective tissues of life.

Chapter 2

El estado nahual y la manada india: Animality and *Nahualismo* in Mauricio Magdaleno's *El resplandor* (1937)

> ¿Por qué no sabe el indio pensar, dirigir, hacer sus revoluciones triunfantes, formando, como forma, la mayoría de la población, siendo sus energías físicas tal vez superiores y poseyendo aptitudes intelectuales comparables a las de cualquier raza del mundo?
>
> Manuel Gamio, *Forjando Patria* 169

> La violencia vino después, cuando hubo que despojar a las indiadas de sus tierras y marcar los lomos de hombres y niños con el fierro del propietario, como se marcan las grupas de las bestias, para que los pueblos sometidos reconociesen indudablemente sus vasallajes.
>
> Mauricio Magdaleno, *El resplandor* 47

This chapter examines the representation of *nahualismo*, an indigenous notion of human-animal intersubjectivity, and western animality discourse in Mauricio Magdaleno's *El resplandor* (1937).[1] As my study of the work in question will show, *indigenista* depictions of *nahualismo* are linked to antagonisms between indigeneity and *mestizaje*.[2] I argue that Magdaleno does not simply use *nahualismo* to weave indigenous authenticity into his critique of post-revolutionary Mexico. Instead, the novel's representation of *nahualismo* reproduces indigenous metonymic correspondences in order to mobilize a critique against the common celebration of the *mestizo*. In *El resplandor*, Magdaleno employs *nahualismo* to illustrate the degradation and de-evolution of the Mexican Revolution, condemning the ascension of the *mestizo* under post-revolutionary corruption. In addition, *El*

[1] *Nahualismo* is a term often used to refer to indigenous beliefs in human-animal intersubjectivities, i.e. a shared connection with humans and non-human entities. Various forms of "nahualismo" are sometimes evoked as meaning the same thing but within anthropological studies of these can be broken down into: *totemism*, as a collective identification with a tutelary natural entity, *tonalismo* as a paired and shared destiny between human and animal, and *nahualismo*, specific to shape-shifting and/or possession of animals or natural elements.

[2] Literary *indigenismo* is a genre of narrative fiction produced by non-indigenous writers interested in the place and condition of indigenous peoples in the context of larger concerns regarding nationhood and modernity.

resplandor's rich animalizing semantics compare indigenous peoples with animals, and place the two into contentious proximity, revealing the material traces of colonial and modernizing enterprises.

El resplandor opens with the wasteland of the fictive town of San Ándres de la Cal, where the Otomí indigenous group referred to by their animal totem *tlacuaches* (opossum in nahuatl) endure hunger and inter-ethnic conflicts over water resources. Forsaken by the rain and by their town's priest, the *tlacuaches* rejoice when Saturnino Herrera, the adopted *mestizo* son of the community's elder couple, Bonifacio and Lugarda, returns decades after he was taken away by the then governor to be educated in the state's capital. Herrera's father, Olegario, was an uncharacteristically irreverent and proud *tlacuache*, who defied the hacendado overlord, don Gonzalo, and joined the Revolutionary forces. Wounded in the fighting, Olegario stumbles upon the home a *criolla* woman and her daughter, Graciana, who take him in and nurse him back to health. Olegario forces himself on Graciana and she later gives birth to Saturnino. They live for a time secluded from the fire and fury of 'La bola' until it finally reaches them and Graciana is killed, while Olegario escapes fatally wounded with Saturnino. He returns to San Ándres de la Cal and entrusts his infant son to Bonifacio and Lugarda before he expires.

From an early age, Herrera is deemed exceptional among his *tlacuache* brethren, on account of his *mestizo* blood and occult signs that indicate his link to the coyote as his *nahual*. Seen as the community's messiah, the *tlacuaches* believe that he is destined to fulfill a prophecy that will bring an end to centuries of oppression. They believe in Herrera's political promises of *tierra y libertad* and willingly offer their labor and votes in order to fulfill Herrera's gubernatorial aspirations. However, after his political victory, Herrera betrays the *tlacuaches* as he coerces their labor and turns a blind eye to the violent treatment of "his people" by his hacienda administrator. He manipulates the *tlacuaches* into working on modernizing "La Brisa," the hacienda of the Fuentes family, which he has married into. Despite the modern machinery and agricultural techniques Herrera employs, his revitalization

efforts are dependent on the forced labor of the Otomies. In addition to exploiting the *tlacuaches*, Herrera rapes Bonifacio's granddaughter, Lorenza, and persecutes her betrothed, whom he eventually kills in an enigmatic manner: either transforming himself into a coyote or else controlling his spirit animal to execute his rival.

When it comes time to harvest, the Otomies realize that the food they were promised will be exported to the state capital. Starved and desperate, the *tlacuaches* experience a *resplandor*, a "flash," "radiance," or "sunburst" of consciousness, in which they rebel and kill the hacienda administrator only to be further terrorized by retaliations for their insurgency. Aware of their enslaved condition, the *tlacuaches* withdraw from working on Herrera's hacienda and instead limit themselves to working their barren lands. After the retreat of the *tlacuaches*, Herrera and his *mestizo* cronies attempt to correct their abuses by building a school and bringing in a teacher, who is an Otomie and seeks to empower them. However, despite the teacher's efforts, the *tlacuaches*' "backwardness" cannot be corrected through education, as the *tlacuaches* poison him in an attempt to run him out and do not send their children to school, lest they be harmed by "el diablo" as they subsequently designate Herrera. Wishing to create positive change, the teacher nominates Bonifacio's grandson, Benito, to be taken to study at the capital. And in this way, the novel closes with the abduction of yet another Otomie child and the cries of Lorenza as she gives birth to Herrera's bastard son, closing and reopening the wounds of cyclical violence against the Otomies.

Although Mexican *indigenistas* generally rejected *nahualismo*, presenting it as a marker of backwardness and as "superchería" in this novel as well as in anthropological writings, nevertheless the porous set of indigenous beliefs associated with *nahualismo* continued to serve as a springboard for fiction. Most notably, Miguel Ángel Asturias *Hombres de maiz* captured the porous and unstable boundaries between fixed human realities and the indigenous 'magical' natural world. In contrast to Asturias's positive representation of *nahualismo* as a regression to the unconscious, Mexican

indigenistas consigned *nahualismo* to the realm of superstition and made use of its mysterious elements to craft menacing exoticizing representations of indigeneity. Magdaleno's use of *nahualismo* to an extent reproduces this mainstream assessment of *nahualismo* as *superchería*, and my analysis of his novel acknowledges the counterinsurgent and othering discourse of this work, while also locating in Magdaleno's dynamics of *nahualismo* the "hidden transcripts" of indigenous resistance within the rural hell that he illustrates.[3]

Various scholars have noted the pronounced fatalistic representation of the indigenous plight in *El resplandor* and have simultaneously praised the complex representation of the indigenous problem and critiqued the lack of solutions to the bleak prospects of indigenous peoples in modern Mexico. Whereas these critics point to hunger, land use, violence, exploitation, and deceit as causes of indigenous suffering in the novel, my attention to *nahualismo* links these in to the "mestizo state," as Joshua Lund refers to the *mestizaje* ideology of the Mexican state apparatus, which I argue are activated through human-animal figurations. Whereas animality within western logos designates the threshold of humanity that conscribes indigenous peoples to the limits of humanity, *nahualismo* in *El resplandor* extends to the figure of the *mestizo*, who takes advantage of his more-than-human capacities to gain political status and control over his indigenous brethren. Instead of showcasing the evolutionary and cultural supremacy of the *raza cósmica* as José Vasconcelos posits, Magdaleno offers a pessimistic view of postrevolutionary Mexico and of *mestizaje* by way of the *nahual* correspondences that he maps onto Mexico's dehumanized indigenous peoples and its predatory *mestizo* class.

In terms of my approach, I draw on Michael Lundblad work that examines texts and discourses that liken humans to animals, which he calls animality studies, as "a set of dynamics that

[3] Ericka Beckman defines "rural hell" as a "vision of rural hell [that] emerges from a specifically Mexican history of uneven rural modernization, marked by a period of intense primitive accumulation in the late nineteenth century, followed by a seemingly endless period of social neglect in the mid-twentieth century" (814). Magdaleno's representation of the Mezquital Valley, where the novel is set, has some of the main features that Beckman finds in "rural hell" (e.g. the sense that "even though described as static and timeless, [it] belongs fully to the history of modernity...") (ibid).

move beyond the human, to be defined as texts, [...] discourses, and material relationships that construct animals, on the one hand, or humans in relation to animals, on the other hand, or both" (2). As a way of interpreting the construction of human identity in relation to human cultural politics, I examine the construction of the Mexican *mestizo* as "animal" and consider how this discourse of animality, shaped by *nahualismo*, relates to both anthropological formulations and aspects of the region's environmental history. In order to interpret Magdaleno's *resplandor* thematics, and the dehumanization of the Otomies as mindless reactive herds, I also employ Ranajit Guha's concept of the prose of counterinsurgency to address the ways that indigenous insurgents are depicted as devoid of agency and rationality. I also follow Nicole Shukin's example of "rendering" animal signs, by tracing animal representations to the material contingencies that they sustain. In the case of *El resplandor*, rendering animal signs requires an environmental history of animal husbandry in the colonial period, and a survey of anthropological writings that paradoxically advanced the need for humane treatment of indigenous people by pointing to their backwardness and animal-like existence.

Radiografía of mestizaje: Revolution, Race, and Wasteland in Magdaleno's Early Writings

From his early theatrical pursuits, novels, screenplays, historical textbooks, and his later public intellectual positions within the Mexican state apparatus and cultural organizations such as the Academia Mexicana de la Lengua, Magdaleno sought to reflect back to Mexicans the essence of their nation by constantly revisiting and redefining Mexico through the prism of the Revolution. Most recognized for his collaboration with Gabriel Figueroa and Emilio "El Indio" Fernández, Magdaleno showcased rural Mexican life and endeared audiences to the plight of the downtrodden and virtuous *pueblo* through his screenplays of *Flor Silvestre* (1943), *María Candelaría* (1944), and *Rio Escondido* (1947) among others. However, in terms of comparing *María Candelaría*, as an *indigenista*

film, and Magdaleno's novel *El resplandor* (1937), the idealization of the indigenous couple at the center of the film (played by non-indigenous actors: Pedro Almendaríz and Dolores del Río) is at odds with the degraded representation of the Otomí peoples, whose agency and consciousness are in question in the novel's title and enlightenment semantics.

While Magdaleno's films reproduced the cinematic trends of idealizing the poor, simplifying poverty, and erasing overt racism, *El resplandor* instead dramatized the depths of Mexico's rural problem, from the isolation and perceived cultural backwardness of indigenous peoples to the pressing need for roads, sanitation, commerce and other rural modernization projects. Praised at times for its cogent realism and innovative narrative technique, *El resplandor* was also critiqued for its profound pessimism in illustrating the indigenous problem as perennial and insurmountable.[4] Throughout the decades following his Golden Cinema period and the publication of his only *indigenista* novel, Magdaleno continued to explore the legacy and the meaning of the Revolution, constantly reassessing its trajectory, the actors that shaped its potential and its contemporary institutional manifestations.[5]

I argue that the hopeless portrayal of post-Revolutionary rural Mexico in *El resplandor* centers on the notion of a *mestizaje* gone awry that works through the de-evolution of the Revolution, inspired, in part, by the model of biological and spiritual mestizaje proposed by José Vasconcelos in his 1925 treatise *La raza cósmica.* I will show how, in early essays by Magdaleno, we find elements of national identity as *mestizo* that replicate Vasconcelos's aesthetic/spiritual *mestizaje*, where indigenous peoples and landscapes are "refined" and passed on to *mestizos*, while indigenous subjects are rendered aesthetically and biologically as bestial. By discerning between the "mainstream" *indigenismo* of Manuel Gamio and that of Vasconcelos, as well as the leitmotifs of Magdaleno's "atmospheric"

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[4] For more on Magdaleno's film see Anne Doremus and Analisa Taylor's studies on Mexican cultural *indigenismo*.
[5] The following is a short sample of Revolution-themed works by Magdaleno: *Retórica de la Revolución* (1978), *Hombres e ideas de la Revolución* (1981), and *Instantes de la Revolución* (1981).

essays, we can better understand the presence and tensions between indigenous and animal life in *El resplandor*. And likewise, we can see how the "evolution" of the *mestizo* in the aftermath of a despoiled revolution, instead of synthesizing positive attributes, spawns a new type of *mestizo* who ascends political and social ranks through a compounding of the negative properties of his dual heritage. This new type, which becomes emblematic of the postrevolutionary state, arises from racial mixture and colonial oppression as the dominant modern *mestizo*, who is destined to perpetuate the exploitation of indigenous peoples as an agent of the state through the synthesis of predatory traits as heir of both Spanish colonial cruelty and *nahualista* human-animal duality.

Throughout his literary and political career, Magdaleno upheld the ideals of the Revolution and rejected the Porfiriato machinations of early twentieth century Mexican progress. His involvement in postrevolutionary politics and the influence of Vasconcelos was formative as he would later detail in his memoir *Palabras perdidas* (1952). Similar to his father, who worked his journalistic pen to help elect Álvaro Obregón, Magdaleno supported Vasoncelos's presidential campaign. Vasconcelos had helped Magdaleno enter the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria and it was there and later at the Escuela de Altos Estudios, where his studies coincided with those of the emerging intellectual generation that would champion *vasconcelismo,* the combative political optimism that pervaded Vasconcelos's presidential campaign in 1928.

Following Vasconcelos's presidential electoral defeat against Plutarco E. Calles and before the publication of *El resplandor*, Magdaleno was involved in a political theater project known as the "Teatro de Ahora." According to Wouter Hans Michel Degreve, "la dramaturgia que se propuso el Teatro de Ahora fue un tipo de teatro de carácter nacionalista que nació con el objetivo de llevar a la escena la realidad de la nueva sociedad posrevolucionaria en México" (np). Magdaleno and Juan Bustillo Oro, his co-founding partner, promoted their Teatro in Madrid, where they engaged with Mexican, Latin American and Spanish intellectuals. This trip was financed by Narciso Bassols, the

then Secretary of Public Education of prominent Marxist leanings, who saw the leftist potential in Magdaleno and his political theater. Despite their moderate success aboard, the Teatro de Ahora was vehemently attacked and censured at home by Mexican critics. For instance, Luz Emilia Aguilar states that Magdaleno and Bustillo Oro "fueron denostados por los 'Contemporáneos' y descalificados por la ignorancia y los prejuicios de algunos influyentes críticos de su tiempo" (np).[6]

Given the negative reception of his theatre and the lingering hostilities from the Contemporáneos circles, Magdaleno found himself at a crossroads when he was offered a position as a rural teacher in the Mezquital Valley of Hidalgo in 1933 by Bassols. It was this experience that directly contributed to the genesis of *El resplandor*, since as Magdaleno claims, "de ahí salió el escritor, porque en las noches solía platicar con los indígenas" (qtd Arranz 39). After *El resplandor*, Magdaleno published three more novels, two of which center on rural plots, most of his creative work thereafter was directed towards films, essay projects, journalistic contributions and various government functionary roles.

As Magdaleno's only *indigenista* novel, *El resplandor* has been forgotten by contemporary criticism, despite various critics praising it as the best novel of the 1930s (Brushwood) and in general Mexico's best *indigenista* novel (Sommers). Later in his career, Magdaleno explains his abandonment of *indigenista* themes for more nationalist and urban concerns: "en un principio mi preocupación fundamental fueron los indios, pero la abandoné para abordar otros temas. No soy indigenista, ni creo que descendamos de indios, somo hijos de la boda de dos grandes culturas" (qtd Arranz 41). This position can be understood in part through taking into account the formative current of *vasconcelismo* and the universalizing *mestizaje* discourse associated with the former Secretary of Public

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[6] In addition to the direct influence of Berolt Brecht and Erwin Piscator, Aguilar notes that the Teatro de Ahora's political resonances made it a target, stating that "Recibieron la censura de Jesús Silva-Herzog, quien prohibió luego de su estreno la temporada de la obra *San Miguel de las Espinas*, de Bustillo Oro, por considerarla inconveniente en tiempos electorales" (np). And Wouter Hans Michel Degreve has linked the influence of Teatro de Ahora on Rodolfo Usigli's *El gesticulador* (1936).

Education. Magdaleno's views of *lo mexicano* in his early essays and his later pessimistic portrayal of *mestizaje* in *El resplandor* were shaped by telluric constructions that wove together national identity with the landscape of Mexico's iconic bajío region. These early telluric formulations exhibit resonances with Vasconcelos's spiritual (and biological) *mestizaje* that brought together revolution and evolutionary thinking, in what amounts to an aesthetic eugenics that would guide the emergence of the cosmic race. Whereas these early atmospheric formulations positively evaluate the synthesis of Spanish and indigenous heritage in the emergence of *el mexicano,* in *El resplandor* these atmospheric formulations are altered primarily by Magdaleno's *indigenista* animality, which combines his extensive use of *nahualismo* and Western notions of dehumanization to counter "cosmic race" discourse.

For Magdaleno and the young *vasconcelistas* that followed the former Secretary of Public Education, *vasconcelismo* called for the urgent rescue of the ideals of the Revolution as "una revisión del concepto de la Revolución" (Magdaleno, "Palabras" 9). In his memoir centered on his involvement in Vasconcelos's campaign, Magdaleno explains that materially, the Revolution had been betrayed by those who had despotically deformed it:

> En 1929 ésta [the Revolution] no respondía, ni con mucho, a una aspiración que nos parecía deformada y reducida en la realidad a simples hechos materiales. Las obras materiales, en un país en el que todo estaba por hacer, son indudablemente necesarias; …pero las considerábamos sólo una parte del plan a lograr y que demandaba, como condición expresa de cualquier otra gestión, la creación de una atmósfera de dignidad moral y de rehabilitación de las conciencias abolidas por el largo ejercicio de la satrapía. (9)

According to Magdaleno and his fellow *vasconcelistas*, the institutionalization of the Revolution under Calles, the "caudillo who would succeed in [literally] taming [...] the war machine known as the Mexican Revolution" (Lund Impure 108), was incongruous with the ideals that it had come to symbolize. Vasconcelos, as the "luz civilizadora" of the postrevolutionary period who had harnessed

the state's power in disseminating the ideology of the Revolution to Mexicans through universal education and civic rituals, was for Magdaleno and his generation the only one capable of restoring the Revolution to its liberal and social justice principles. *Vasconcelismo*, thus represented, a new way of life and an ethics spawned by the Revolution, which Magdaleno held constituted "una suerte de revolución dentro de la Revolución" (11). This current acknowledged, as we will see in *El resplandor*, the necessity for material progress and modernization based on the reality of inequalities and lack of infrastructure particularly in rural areas, as well as the deformation of the Revolution, by those in the mold of Calles. This degradation of a liberal humanist-oriented vision of the Revolution in Magdaleno's *indigenista* narrative is translated into animalized forms through both the coyote predatory essence of its central *mestizo* antagonist and the animalized (cattle herd) presence of the Otomie people, where the former is devoid of moral dignity and the latter is not afforded human worth despite their virtue.

Mainstream *indigenismo* sought to bestow dignity on Mexico's indigenous peoples by incorporating these groups into the nation as well as confronting *mestizos* with their indigenous roots. It also rejected Social Darwinist theories of the nineteenth century that disparaged racial mixtures, especially if racial hybridity took place between racial "sub-species" from different rungs of the social evolutionary ladders. Seeking to reject positivist views on racial inferiority of Mexico's indigenous population, Manuel Gamio imported and advanced cultural relativism as he opened up an era in Mexico, where "Mexican anthropologists served as advocates for the economic, social, and cultural development of the Indian population, making the plight of the Mexican Indian a nationalist concern" (Doremus 3).[7] As the father of *indigenismo* and modern Mexican anthropology, Gamio

[7] Regarding the power of the anthropologist, Doremus states that "[a]n anthropologist had the power of social science, and often the state, to engage in the work of cultural and social progress. An Indigenista had his or her affinity for the Indian to authorize their right to speak on behalf of the Indian. Each identity thus strengthened the other... even when intellectuals such as artists, who had no overt tie to scientific method, spoke as Indigenistas, they often spoke in contexts

rejected the biological basis of *mestizaje*. He held to Boasian notions that what mattered was not race but rather culture and that non-Western cultures and peoples should be assessed within their respective social structures and customs. Within said perspective Mexico's indigenous peoples were not racially inferior to Europeans, overturning previous racial "science" by advancing the view that culture rather than race was the determining factor in assessing a people's adaptation or fitness, especially with regards to their viability within modernity. Despite its attempt to destigmatize its indigenous "constitution," the general blueprint of Mexican anthropology from Gamio until the disciplinary crisis instigated by a new generation of anthropologists in the 1970s framed Mexico's "problem" as indigenous and posited its solution as *mestizaje*, "the motor that propels national consolidation, social evolution, and, in theory, political inclusion" (Lund Impure 78).[8]

Although other prominent intellectuals would espouse the figure of the *mestizo* and the historical (and symbolic) process of *mestizaje*, Vasconcelos and his notion of the cosmic race stood in opposition to Gamio's and other "mainstream" *indigenista* discourses of nationalist incorporation.[9] In his *La raza cósmica* (1925), Vasconcelos envisioned *mestizaje* as a universal process of hybridity that would go beyond the confines of the nation as a global and evolutionary spirit. He explains his central thesis as that of "las razas del mundo tienden a mezclarse cada vez más, hasta formar un nuevo tipo humano, compuesto con la selección de cada uno de los pueblos existentes" (xv) and that "aun los mestizajes más contradictorios pueden resolverse benéficamente siempre que el factor

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and used literary conventions (terms, modes of description) which validated their own views through reference to Indigenista anthropology" (3).

[8] María L. Olin Muñoz writes that "[t]he ways indigenous groups experienced indigenismo of the twentieth century was a result of official Revolutionary constructions of citizenship and national identity and the struggles within official circles to define them. Disagreements over strategies of incorporation spilled over into 1970 when a generational change took place within Mexican anthropological circles. Led by Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, a young group, which included Salomón Nahmad Sittón, Arturo Warman, Margarita Nolasco, and Rodolfo Stavenhagen, advocated participatory indigenismo. Also see *De eso que llaman Antropología mexicana* edited by Arturo Warman.

[9] See Alexander Dawson's *Indian and Nation in Revolutionary Mexico* (2004) for the various political orientations present in early *indigenista* debates in Mexico.

espiritual contribuya a levantarlos" (xvii).[10] Cosmic race discourse considered hybridity as transcendence of the stock races from which they emerged, and offered "an intellectual refutation of Spencerian ideas privileging the Aryan and denigrating the mestizo races" (Miller, "Shadow" 142). However, the former Secretary of Public Education held that the *mestizo* constituted a new biological entity, and not just a cultural one as Gamio and his disciples held, insisting that what determined the designation of *mestizo* was rather an absence of identification with indigenous culture and languages. As Nicola Miller explains "[n]either *La raza cósmica* nor the subsequent *Indología* (1927) was written to address *mexicanidad*, but rather to establish Latin America's place in world culture" (ibid).[11] And as Lund points out, the importance of Vasconcelos's vision of *mestizaje* does not rest on whether his "cosmic race" was "right or wrong, productive or unproductive" but that it "entered the realm of ideology" (*Impure* 108).

Vasconcelos's central thesis regarding the emergence of a fifth race maneuvers between a biological and spiritualized mestizaje, in what he outlined as history's final outcome of a fusion of races and cultures into a universal cosmic race. This monism would be fulfilled by the Latin race, which had throughout history demonstrated a propensity towards assimilation of other races. According to Vasconcelos, Imperial Spain just like its Roman predecessor had been moved by a call towards miscegenation. Conquistadores like Cortes and others possessed an "abundance of love," which had guided them towards mixing with peoples of indigenous and African descent. This was in contrast to their English counterparts in the New World who had only procreated among

[10] Rosaura Ruiz Gutiérrez has explored the Darwinian dimension of Vasconcelos's *La raza cósmica*. She writes that "*La raza cósmica* es un ejemplo de la influencia de la teoría de la evolución de Darwin en la literatura mexicana. En ella, Vasconcelos expresa su rechazo al darwinismo como justificación de la superioridad de las razas europeas, sin oponerse a la evolución; y propone, en cambio, el mestizaje como camino hacia una quinta raza universal, que supere a todas las anteriores" (66).

[11] This positing of Latin American culture as being in ascent was also a response to Oswald Spengler's thesis in his *Decline of the West* (1918).

themselves and exterminated the native groups. In the following excerpt from *La raza cósmica*, Vasconcelos's teological logic behind this fifth race is evident:

> Los días de los blancos puros, los vencedores de hoy, están tan contados como lo estuvieron los de sus antecesores. Al cumplir su destino de mecanizar al mundo, ellos mismos han puesto, sin saberlo, las bases de un periodo nuevo, el periodo de la fusión y la mezcla de todos los pueblos. El indio no tiene otra puerta hacia el porvenir que la puerta de la cultura moderna, ni otro camino que el camino ya desbrozado de la civilización latina. También el blanco tendrá que deponer su orgullo, y buscará progreso y redención posterior en el alma de sus hermanos de las otras castas, y se confundirá y se perfeccionará en cada una de las variedades superiores de la especie, en cada una de las modalidades que tornan múltiple la revelación y más poderoso el genio. (15)

Vasconcelos gives a vision of a future where Anglo-Saxon cultures (English and North American) become extinct through their own refusal to mix with non-whites; however, not without leaving behind their mechanical and technological contributions to humanity. Similarily, the *indio* would be obsolete if he did not merge into modern culture, which Vasconcelos designates as *latina*, extolling the *hispano* elements of this composite as the only viable path of redemption for indigenous and Anglo races. He locates his contemporary moment within what he calls "el periodo intelectual" in which reason and logic seek to guide human conduct. This period was wedged between the previous "el periodo material" in which violence was the primary force behind the power of some *pueblos* to dominate over others, and the yet to come "periodo estético," which would see the primacy of the cosmic race, that would not be guided by material needs nor utilitarian logic but rather by the "ley del gusto." Vasconcelos combines aesthetics and spirituality with race in the following way:

> …el cruce de sangre será cada vez más espontáneo, a tal punto que no estará ya sujeto a la necesidad sino al gusto; en el último caso a la curiosidad. El motivo espiritual se irá

> sobreponiendo de esta suerte a las contingencias de lo físico. Por motivo espiritual ha de entenderse, más bien que la reflexión, el gusto que dirige el misterio de la elección de una persona entre la multitud. (23)

And the human species on the lower rung of this hierarchy, according to Vasconcelos would integrate themselves into mestizo/hispanic culture through their "voluntary extinction" compelled by this 'ley del gusto' with the following effect:

> Los tipos bajos de la especia serán absorbidos por el tipo superior. De esta suerte podría redimirse, por ejemplo, el negro, y poco a poco, por extinción voluntaria, las estirpes más feas irán cediendo el paso a las más hermosas. Las razas inferiores, al educarse, se harían menos prolíficas, y los mejores especímenes irán ascendiendo en una escala de mejoramiento étnico, cuyo tipo máximo no es precisamente el blanco sino esa nueva raza. (42-3)

Vasconcelos's "fantastic historical schema" conflated "Latin America with the end of history itself," where the "end of history will require the end of race" (Lund "Impure" 110). The age of aesthetic eugenics, as the final period, would redeem the *negro* by his disappearance and the slumbering *indio* would evolve. Latin America would reinvigorate Europe with "the modern germ of progress that infected the conquistadors and was transmitted to the new, mestizo race" (ibid).

Yet, as Lund notes by way of Mariano Azuela's *Los de abajo* (1916), a postrevolutionary malaise marks the *novela de la revolución*, in which this genre's central irony is rooted in the sense that, "what is taken as 'of the revolution' is in fact antirevolutionary," (113), because "the problem of racial, temporal, and national articulation is unresolvable through the standard routes of a biological, aesthetics, or cultural *mestizaje*" (114). *El resplandor* approaches this problem through an *indigenista* position, which despite is disavowal of "no soy indigenista," signals a refutation of the liberatory and universalizing effects of *mestizaje* as the "evolutionary" progress of the Revolution. The *mestizaje* that Magdaleno explores, prior to *El resplandor*, concerns the rather unoriginal antagonisms of the

civilized and the primitive. These pre-*resplandor* writings showcase the naturalization of aesthetic qualities and feature telluric racialization of bodies, in what is a positive assessment of hybridity of *el mexicano*.

For instance, Magdaleno's essays from *Vida y Poesía* (1936), dedicated to the landscapes of América, the writings of the *novelistas de la tierra*, and the local colors of rural folks, punctuated by meditations on Romantic writers such as Hugo and Goethe, professed to concern itself with "cuestiones de nuestras tierras americanas."[12] The collection, which amounts to "una serie de pequeños ensayos, sin una aparente y ostensible unidad entre sí" other than its leitmotiv of *civilización y barbarie*, reproduced the idea of a spiritualized *mestizaje,* as the prevailing *raza cósmica* ideology.[13]

In the essay "Fisonomía de México," Magdaleno divides Mexico into three regions (coast, bajío and the North) that gave rise to its identity. Tracing the features of Mexico just as he traces the steps of the Conquest, Magdaleno describes the Veracruzan coast as the geographic portal through which Spain and Civilization entered, and characterizes its northern region as stage where modern *mestizos* such as Villa and Madero would employ "la técnica moderna para conquistar" (17). Central to this physiognomy, according to Magdaleno, is the bajío region, which he describes as a laboratory of *mexicanidad*, "[donde se] produce el acento peculiar del país, la nota acendradamente mexicana, la que ya es diferente a lo europeo y a lo español mismo" (15). The bajío is, thus, the "*mestizaje* laboratory," the landscape where "se armonizan las tendencias, se pulen, se vuelven aptas para servir al orden nacional" (ibid). Akin to Vasconcelos, the violence of the sexual conquest that yielded mestizaje is sublimated: "la civilización español—la más pujante, la más perfecta de su hora—no devoró a las civilizaciones autóctonas. Rodó, con ellas, al fuego de la cruenta hazaña, y en ella

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[12] Manuel Maples Arce's 1944 essay *El paisaje en la literatura mexicana*, similarly focuses on linking Mexican literature with Romanticism.

[13] This is a *mestizaje* discourse that resonates with Luis Uriel Garcia's *nuevo indio* discourse, which I discussed in chapter one, where *mestizaje* is appreciated in its local landscape (the Andes) and in its global dimensions of an exaltation of América over a declensionist Old world, similar to the opening lines of Gamio's *Forjando patria*.

refundió un nuevo tipo, con todos los distingos de una y otra raza—tristeza y refinamientos indios y agresivo individualismo ocidental" (17). Despite echoing similar tropes of an inherent indigenous melancholy articulated by his Peruvian counterparts, Magdaleno does not elaborate on the idiosyncrasies of the "tristeza y refinamientos indios" that emerge from the bajío, implying that these are known and/or do not necessitate explanation. And in contrast to the concern with the animalized and mineralized body of the *indio* in *El resplando*, Magdaleno's meditation on *mestizaje* can only metabolize indigeneity as adjective and not as corporal living entities, as there is no reference to indigenous peoples in the region (e.g. the Otomies).

Magdaleno's refashioning of the civilization and barbarism dichotomy, locates the emergence of the civilized and national "nuevo tipo" arising from the aesthetic remnants of indigenous culture and the more active "aggressive" traits of the West. His physiognomy of Mexico centers the *mestizo* as over and above and moving beyond the indigenous bajío. In this way, he maps Mexico's internal colonialism as a spiritual current of civilization that arrives on the shores of Veracruz, descends into the bajío, where the metallurgy of miscegenation subtracts the negative properties and forges the indigenous and Spanish elements into the strong national character of the *mestizo*, destined to confront the Anglo-Saxon to the North. This metallurgic language is reminiscent of the forging of bronze in the mestizo statue in the opening pages of Gamio's *Forjando patria*. This language employed to describe the emergence of the new national subject, the *mestizo*, is opposed to the animal and vegetative images that chain indigenous bodies to the land and to their vanquished past.

In "El refinamiento del indio," Magdaleno further elaborates his vision of *mestizaje,* where he is concerned with the transference of positive indigenous qualities to the *mestizo*. Despite the title, Magdaleno is not concerned with a *refinamiento* of the *indio*, as an improvement of and for indigenous peoples. Instead, *refinamiento* is an inherent trait of the *indio*, a *triste* sensibility versus the

vociferousness of the Spaniard, that in truth does not belong exclusively to the indigenous subject. He writes:

> La característica indígena, que es como el aporte fundamental de las viejas razas al nuevo tipo que nace de la fusión con el español, es *el refinamiento*. Un auténtico refinamiento de calidades excepcionalmente espaciosas, pura hondura espiritual que es como el producto del conflicto de las almas con la tierra, donde se asientan, y el anhelo, el rapto metafísico, la entrega a la divinidad. La delicadeza, la emoción, la sutilísima sensibilidad de nuestras gentes, son señas indígenas. No hay rancho o rincón que un grupo humano, en México donde no logre emisión— en mayor o menor grado— *el pathos estético*. (34, emphasis added)

For Magdaleno, the key contribution of indigenous peoples to the *mestizo* emerges from this fusion of the autochthonous and the foreign is a generalized depuration of a romantic sensibility that emerges from the barbarism and civilization dichotomy. Moreover, he explains: "Ni siquiera son exclusivos del indígena los distingos de su refinamiento. Pertenecen al ambiente del país y a la sangre de su población, sin diferencia de matices raciales. La voz baja, por ejemplo, es común a todos los mexicanos. A veces, casi no hablamos: musitamos" (35). This profound and expansive mark of indigenous style or cultivation is described as a purification byproduct of human struggles with the land, wherein the land imprints and filters its forces on its inhabitants. Once more, the indigenous element is a disembodied vestige, that nonetheless constitutes the manners and *habitus* of the *mestizo,* the *pathos estético* of nationalism that suffuses land, *indio*, nation as *patrimonío* of the *mestizo*, naturalizes indigeneity and lodges it *inside* the mestizo, as Luis Villoro describes, within the "seno" of *el mexicano* (272).[14]

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[14] Villoro states: "El indio está en el seno del propio mestizo, unido a él indisolublemente. Captar al indígena será, por tanto, captar indirectamente una dimensión del propio ser. Así la recuperación del indio significa, al propia tiempo, recuperación del propio Yo" (272). Estelle Tarica's *Inner Life of Mestizo Nationalism* (2008) illustrates how *indigenismo* in Mexico and the Andes (Peru and Bolivia) operated similarly in terms of an identity construction of an "inner Indian" lodged within the figure of the mestizo and how it was shaped by telluric constructions.

In both “El refinamiento del indio” and “Fisonomía de México” Magdaleno puts forth the notion of the *indio* as a pervasive aesthetic vestige present in the characteristic quiet inward disposition of *el mexicano* and characterizes the bajío region as the laboratory where *mexicanidad* was wrought, as Spanish and Indian tendencies are brought into harmony. This underlines what Joshua Lund considers as the predominant symbolic reading of *mestizaje* as an aesthetics of race, which “is limited to the symbols of national identity and hovers at the level of the aesthetic without ever reaching the *ground*” (xv, emphasis added). These aesthetic formulations by Magdaleno resonate with Vasconcelos’s conviction regarding the progress that *mestizaje* would bring, if it were “guided” by aesthetic ideals (e.g. beauty and strength).[15] They also uphold the discursive power of what Lund labels the mestizo state,” which encompasses the structural in terms of the institutions of Mexican political and cultural sovereignty, the symbolic, which I have briefly mentioned, and the material, “as a historical-political process of state formation and capitalist penetration that explains itself to itself, indeed sustains itself, by drawing on a discourse of race” (ibid).

Finally, Magdaleno’s atmospheric essay “El páramo,” published in 1936, sustains this construction of the nation and this *mestizo* aesthetics as telluric, where despite its realist aspirations the politics of space in relation to natural resources is muted, obfuscated in its deterministic “pathos estético”. In the following opening sentence of “El páramo,” the economic poverty of the Mezquital Valley is rendered as a primordial wasteland that conjures the biological inferiority of the region’s Otomie people as degraded subjects.

> La sabana es pobrísima, e impone de desolación y angustia. Por el día, el sol de la meseta calcina flora y fauna, y el hombre es apenas una transición de ambas, calcinado también en

[15] It is worth noting the later development of Vasconcelos's focus on these aesthetic ideals, especially within the context of the Second World War, in which he would advance National Socialism in his magazine *El timón,* which he founded in 1940. For more on this period of Vasconcelos, refer to Héctor Orestes Aguilar's article “Ese olvidado nazi mexicano de nombre José Vasconcelos” in *Istor*.

su atroz mimetismo. Chaparros, magueyes—pocos magueyes, enclenque y podridos a la vera de los detritus del Gran Canal— y tierra en que el agua hace sentir su ausencia en un apremio de congoja. Cerros pelones y ranchos misérrimos donde vegeta la prole otomí, igual que hace cien años, igual que hace cuatrocientos años. Tipos cobrizos y enclenques como los pocos magueyes, color de tierra, curtidos por el hambre y la bestialidad. (108)

Tellurism takes the form of an "atroz mimetismo" that reduces human life in the *páramo* to both a mineral and bestial presence. The Otomies are calcinated by the degrading weight of scenic desolation in the region. In this way, Magdaleno offers an ossifying snapshot of this iconic landscape of the nation, pervasive in twentieth century visual economy (e.g. Cine de Oro, Hollywood Westerns, and Juan Rulfo's landscape photography). The only hint of contemporaneity is the reference to the region as the dumpsite of *aguas negras* issuing from *mestizo* urbes, which also surfaces in the land and water conflicts of *El resplandor*. This is the corresponding terrain of Magdaleno's "pathos estética," in which the silence and withdrawn disposition is passed by the *indio* to the *mestizo* through a *mestizaje* that emanates from the ground in a profound mimesis where there is little that distinguishes between flora, fauna and *indio*.

These essays from Magdaleno, and in particular "El páramo" as the embryonic form of *El resplandor,* exhibit what Henri Favre denotes as the tellurist current of *indigenismo*. He explains that "[se] atribuye la formación de la nación a la acción de fuerzas de la naturaleza y que hace del indio, producto original de esas fuerzas a las que está sometido, el más auténtico representante de la nacionalidad" (59). In addition to these forces of land, both "El páramo" and *El resplandor* draw heavily in pegging indigeneity to animal signs and life, at once referring to the bestial condition of extreme poverty and hunger endured by the Otomies as well as activating the indigenous problem in cultural and zoological terms. Gamio, for example, celebrates superior physical *rendimiento* of indigenous peoples and "su economía animal" (32) but also questions indigenous agency: "¿Por qué

no sabe el indio pensar...?" before qualifying the indio’s psychic depression as cultural in origins (“el bagaje intelectual de la raza indígena”) (139-40). In this way we can contextualize Magdaleno’s representation of indigenous animality, in which both dehumanization and indigenous ontological notions of human-animal co-essences (*nahualismo*) serve to dramatize the indigenous problem, where the period’s current of evolutionary thinking and nationalist telluric formulations imprison indigeneity along species divides.

Nahual Hybridity

Nahualismo was first recorded in early colonial texts such as those of Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Primeros Memoriales* (1558), *Florentine Codex* (1577) and Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón's *Tratado de las supersticiones* y *costumbres gentflicas que oy viven entre los indios naturales desta Nueva España* (1613). These colonial accounts tend to represent *nahualismo* as a form of indigenous cultural resistance, in which customs that blurred the boundary between human and animal were condemned as transgressive of the divine order and social hierarchy that imperial colonial agents sought to impose on Amerindian populations. Luis Álves draws links between European witch hunts, and the persecution of *nahualismo* in New Spain, most notably the inquisitional trials of Nahua nobility conducted by Juan de Zumárraga, who had previously been an inquisitor in Basque lands (131-2). *Nahualismo,* as recorded by these men, attempted to translate indigenous concepts of transmutative essentialism into the stark categories of religious discourse, where transmutations outside of God or the miraculous were consigned to Satan (129). Alarcón’s treatise vilified Nahuas for their pacts with the Devil implicit in their shape-shifting, as a rebellion against Christianity, despite their apparent obedience, a rebellion that included animals (ibid). Similar to scores of women accused of witchcraft, indigenous peoples were of a lower order of society relative to European men, and were seen as

conspiring with spirits and demons, on the basis of their feeble yet subversive alliance with non-humans.

Whereas colonial accounts associate the human-animal species blurring as diabolical and often conflate shape-shifting *nahualismo* and the companion spirit animal variant, modern accounts of nahualismo, in the wake of Freud and later Lévi-Strauss, would add totemism to the tripartite classfication of *nahualismo*. Discretely these human-animal intersubjectivity concepts housed under modern *nahualismo* are: totemism, as the collective identification with a tutelary "natural" entity; *tonalismo* as individual human and animal co-destinies; and shape-shifting *nahualismo* as the possession or transformation of animal form by a human.[16] Those persons that can take possession of or shape-shift into another living form are considered *nahuals* (*naoalli*), that is, sorcerers (*brujos*) whose 'supernatural' faculties are determined by the influence of the cosmic forces on their birth. Likewise, a person may be linked to a *tona* (an animal or other natural being), unbeknownst to them, by similar celestial and unknown forces, sharing traits and analogous paths (co-destinies) despite possibly never coming into physical contact. In contrast to shape-shifting *nahualismo* and *tonalismo*, another form of *nahualismo* is sometimes confused with a more collective form of human-animal intersubjectivity associated with totemism, where a human group 'descends' from and exhibits traits of its animal or natural ancestor. These indigenous notions of parallel destinies, supernatural powers and a beyond-human collectivity all associated with *nahualismo* have inspired literary and anthropological works, in part due to the ways that it confounds Western notions of an autonomous human self as an agent in a world of passive natural beings.

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[16] Edgar Martín de Campo discusses at length the various formulations of *nahualismo* as composed either shape-shifting, possessive or companion animal spirit, arguing that *nahualismo* should not be reduced to one notion of the other, stating that "[m]aintaining the "nagual" and "tonal" as separate, fixed technical terms could undermine the relations among the concepts as they are understood in indigenous societies, especially for societies where these relations have the most complexity" (4). Given that the literary sources that I explore as well as the anthropological *indigenista* writings also discuss what often distinguished as a separate totemism, in my discussion of *nahualismo* I use *nahualismo* in reference to all three forms of animal-human (indigenous) associations.

Given its ambiguity and plasticity, *indigenistas* have used *nahualismo* to various ends in their construction of indigeneity in Mexico, primarily showcasing the alterity of the intersubjectivities among indigenous peoples, non-human animals, and nature. The fear present in colonial accounts mirrors *indigenista* consternation towards indigenous peoples, who they perceive as mysterious, impenetrable, imprisoned beyond the total dominion of European civilization. *Nahualismo* in the pages of *El resplandor* utilizes the elision fostered by the tripartite notion of *nahualismo* to discredit post-Revolutionary modernization and *mestizaje* politics by associating it with *nahualismo's* "demonic magic." *Nahualismo*, thus, can be interpreted as a discourse of animality in Mexico that is constructed historically, despite the notion of an essential Mexican character, and which is used to develop a diagnosis of Mexico's perennial problem as indigenous.[17] In other words, *nahualismo* as animality showcases "el problema indigena," consistently locating the impasse of modernity, all the while its intersubjectivity and porous contours fascinate with the possibility of a magical reality.[18] *Nahualismo* as a cultural discourse, which I examine in *El resplandor*, utilizes hybridity to reveal the bestial reality beneath the postrevolutionary veneer of technocratic and political progress, contradicting the evolutionary progression towards the Cosmic Race.[19]

Nahualismo captivated the intellectual imagination as a vestige of 'primitive thinking' persistent in the modern era. The new science of anthropology sought to study *nahualismo* and various other cultural practices of Mexico's indigenous population, often with the view that such "superstitions" constituted an obstacle for the integration of rural indigenous populations. Likewise, twentieth century literary representations of *nahualismo* from José Manuel Othón's *El nahual* (1906),

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[17] The following are a few examples of animality in Mexican cultural production: José Revueltas essay "México: Reptil y ave" (1942), Surrealism, Martín Luis Guzmán, Rufino Tamayo, films such as "Amores perros," "Temporada de patos," and Roger Bartra's axolote figurations in *La jaula de la melancolia.*
[18] In chapter 3, we will see how Carlos Castaneda de-animalizes *nahualismo* in his representation of this indigenous ontological system as a universal philosophical construct that Carlos as a self-identifying "European male" can access.
[19] Dolores Rangel also points out Magdaleno's refutation of Cosmic Race discourse: "A pesar de haber sido Magdaleno un ferviente seguidor de Vasconcelos, este mestizo de El resplandor no parece reflejar las virtudes promulgadas en la teoría de la "raza cósmica" de Vasconcelos... " (59).

Gregorio López y Fuentes's *El indio* (1935), Miguel Ángel Asturias *Hombres de maíz* (1949), and Rosario Castellanos's *Balun Canan* (1957) and *Oficio de Tinieblas* (1962) among other works resort to *nahualismo* in their depictions of the indigenous problem, highlighting race conflicts between *indios, mestizos* (*ladinos* in the case of Asturias and Castellanos), and Creoles, and the conundrum of nationalist *mestizaje* discourse. For example, Othón's short story, written in a modernista confessional tone, showcases the thievery often assigned to indios, who assail *mestizo* pueblos from remote and hidden refuges, in this case the cave in the *monte.* The *monte* and cave as the habitat of *nahuales* is recurrent in Rosario Castellanos's *Oficio de Tinieblas*, where the *itol bruja* character reestablishes the cult of the old gods in a cave, from which she orchestrates the indigenous rebellion at the center of the novel's plot. Moreover, Castellanos's short story "La muerte del tigre," which narrates the cultural extinction of the Bolometic tribe, whose tutelary animal is the tiger, situates their demise as a product of the displacement of the group from their fertile ancestral home to the harsh *monte* and later collective death after their uprooting to the malaria-ridden coast.

Nahualismo in these works underscores the tensions between the indigenous *monte* and the city populated by *criollo* and *mestizo* '*gentes de razón'*. These perennial antagonisms contradict modern Mexico's subtext of dialectically produced *mestizaje*, where the country's two heritages—Spanish and indigenous—were harmonized in the figure of the *mestizo*. *Nahualismo* as both an anthropological object of study or as a literary representation of indigeneity, attests to the race conflicts over natural resources that are deemed cultural and "backward" within the *mestizaje* ideology of the state. This constitutes a move to "ground" *mestizaje*, by probing the material politics of space, as Lund urges, in order to "reread race as the concept around which the actual political battle over land resources comes to light and is rendered narrative" (*Mestizo State* xv). In this way *nahualismo* as a discourse of animality can serve to understand the cultural and material politics of the *mestizaje* paradigm of making proper to the modern nation that which is indigenous, and render projects of *mestizaje* in

effect encroachment into "fugitive landscapes" (xii). In general, I argue that *nahualismo* in the literary works by *indigenistas* constitutes a productive literary resource as these seek to represent "faithfully" the tenacity of indigenous customs they deem as "superstitions." Moreover, in their staging of the indigenous problem, these writings also expose material conflicts between indigenous populations and modernizing *mestizo* forces. The natural and animal dimensions of *nahualismo* in *El resplandor* that I will discuss reveal challenges to stable ontological categories, escaping and resisting Western "civilizing" logics akin to a "hidden transcript" as well as illustrating *mestizaje* as a material resource conflict.

One of the foremost examples of literary *nahualismo* is found in Miguel Ángel Asturias's *Hombres de Maíz* (1949). *Nahualismo* in *Hombres de Maíz* acts as a form of resistance to the alliance between *mestizos* and the state seeking to eliminate indigenous opposition to the transformation of ancestral forest lands into mono crop agriculture. The "brujos de las luciernegas," hidden indigenous guardians of the rabbit tribe, exact retribution on the *mestizos* that conspired along with state forces in the massacre of the group. *Nahualismo* also serves as a marker of indigenous cultural identity, such that Mayan characters possess a *nahaul*, as in the exemplary case of Nicho the *correro-coyote*, who possesses the swiftness of his *nahual* in his occupation as a mail courier and later transforms into a coyote before he descends into the cave of the *brujos*. Yet, the representation of the tensions of these racialized landscapes (ie. indigenous *monte* and *mestizo pueblo*) departs from other *indigenista* texts in its magical realist depictions of *nahaulismo*.

According to Isabel Arredondo, Asturias's contemporary re-creation of the Popul Vul creation myth and his surrealist primitivism employs *nahualismo* in order to establish connections between the nahual, the animal self and the surrealist unconscious. Arredondo explains that "Asturias traza un paralelismo entre la bajada a la cueva de los naguales y la bajada al inconsciente propia de los surrealistas" (8). Her reading of *nahualismo* in *Hombres de Maiz* holds that "Asturias

convierte el nagualismo en un arma para luchar contra el colonialismo económico de Estados Unidos y la cultural de España. El nagualismo vista desde este aspecto tiene una dimensión internacional porque sirve para ejemplicar una autonomía cultural" (ibid). As a marker of racial and cultural difference as well as a weapon of resistance, *nahualismo* in *Hombres de maiz* is contrary to what I will be discussing in Mexico, particularly in relation to Mauricio Magdaleno's *El resplandor*, because Asturias departs from a view of *nahaulismo* as an evolutionary regression, instead celebrating it as Arredondo states as "[una] ganancia" that can hide the true self, the animal unconscious self (66). For Asturias, animality is the route to the unconscious, and *Hombres de maiz* narrates that non-linear and collage-like episodic path towards a hybridity that is more-than-human, and thus more universal.

In contrast to Asturias's positive rendering of *nahualismo*, in early twentieth century Mexican literary and anthropological works, there is a rejection or at the least an apprehension towards *nahualismo's* persistence in the national rural landscape, an ontological challenge to modernity, as it attests to Mexico's failure to "civilize" and incorporate its indigenous population, much like the futile extripation efforts of Zumárraga and Alarcón. And while Asturias uses *nahualismo* as an anti-imperial weapon, in *El resplandor* Magaleno illustrates how this weapon is in the "possession" of the *mestizo.* Transference of *nahual* powers to the *mestizo* inverses the colonial order by handing over said weapon to the heir of the encomienda-hacienda system, perpetuating indigenous dispossession. In the following pages, I examine the tripartite forms of *nahualismo* present in *El resplandor* and discuss how *nahualismo* assists Magdaleno in his critique of *mestizaje* as an auspicious product of the Revolution, especially in the aftermath of Vasconcelos's banishment and the political consolidation of Calles during the Maximato years (1928-1934).

i. Tlacuachidad: Otomie Totemism and Degeneracy

The first instance of *nahualismo* in Mauricio Magdaleno's *El resplandor* is the totemic variant, in which the Otomie group of San Ándres is referred to as *tlacuaches*. The lands of this Otomie group, the arid wasteland they flee to after numerous dispossessions, are described as "la tierra de los tlacuaches." Silvia Bigas-Torres notes the role of totemism in *El resplandor*, stating that "el totemismo ocupa un lugar prominente en la visión indígena del mundo y los lleva a identificarse con ciertos animales que consideran sus protectores. Así los otomíes se llaman a ellos mismos tlacuaches (mamífero que se parece al zorro, aunque más pequeño…)" (309). The disembodied narrative voice adopts this term of *tlacuache* (opossum) in its designation of this group as well as do the non-indigenous characters in the novel, often exhibiting a disparaging tone in their appropriation of the group's totem.

According to Mexican anthropologist Alfredo López Austin, the *tlacuache* is a significant animal in Mesoamerican mythology, which was discovered through recent anthropological efforts. He explains that "el *tlacuache* tiene fama de ladrón, puede robar lo que le dé la gana, porque tiene cola prensil, así como un marsupio o bolsa en la que lleva a sus crías y unas manitas que no son comunes entre animales" (np). The myth of the opossum in Central Mexico attributes the gift of fire to this curious creature, as the animal descended into Mictlán, the Aztec underworld, and stole the primordial flame by playing dead. As such within indigenous myths and iconography, the *tlacuache* possesses a privileged status, this in stark contrast to the destitute and exploited conditions of the Otomies in postcolonial Mexico.

This disparaged status of the Otomies in *El resplandor* dovetails with a hierarchical view of different indigenous groups. Claudio Lomnitz attributes this hierarchical construction of indigeneity to "anthropological stories of national origins and of racial and cultural difference" that were "useful to governments and [ ] routinely project[ed] both onto the nation's internal frontiers and abroad" ("Bordering" 171). While Mexican anthropologists of the late 19th and early 20th century critiqued

hierarchies elaborated in Europe and the United States that placed Mexico and its indigenous inhabitants on a lower rung of the evolutionary ladder, they nonetheless organized such evolutionary schemas within their own anthropological jurisdiction. Citing Alfredo Chavero's *Mexico a traves de los siglos* (1888), Lomnitz unearths the discursive intellectual foundations of Otomí degeneracy, in which these were considered "a population of troglodites who spoke a monosyllabic tongue, a people contemporaneous to humanity's infancy" (180). Although I will later discuss the degraded status of the Otomies in terms of their dehumanized representation in *El resplandor*, the contrast between the mythological prestige of the Otomí *tlacuache* totem and the modern denigration of this group is not to be overlooked or taken as mere representational authenticity on the part of Magdaleno to reproduce Otomí cosmovision. Rather, this contradistinction bleeds into a broader cultural tapestry of *nahualismo*, where syncretic views have rearranged correspondences between human and non-human.

For instance, Gary Gossen shows in his examination of *nahualismo* in Mesoamerica that there is a social order to animal and their human counterparts. He asserts that there are three sets of animal groups discernible in *nahualismo*, which are associated with the origins of the world as well as with a specific social human group, and authocthonous to specific regions and/or habitats. With regards to the *tlacuache*, these animals as well as rabbits, squirrels, and skunks, are seen as being created after older animals such as the jaguar, ocelot, fox, weasle, and coyote. The opossum, as such, is associated with weaker and ordinary, less prestigious peoples while the early creation animals such as the coyote are linked to the strong and rich. Domesticated work animals such as cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were considered the most recent animals arriving in the region with the Conquest. Although I will come back to the coyote shortly, I want to underscore the way that *nahualismo*, in its most general operation as an ontological system, elaborates and reinforces correspondences of

cultural, racial and power differentials between groups of beings that are kept separate and incommunicable within Western "naturalist" thinking.[20]

The representation of the Otomí totem in *El resplandor* exists within layers of indigenous and *mestizo* constructions of hierarchical relations, such that uses of these indigenous views as well as those racialized constructions by intellectuals, seeking to fine-tune Mexico's *mestizo* identity cannot be discretely separated. Nonetheless, the exceptional marginalization of the Otomies in Mexican intellectual currents, which is also present in Gregorio López y Fuentes's *El indio,* holds that, in the words of Lomnitz, "the Otomís were the Indian's Indians" (181). The lack of civilization and the lack of humanity that Mexican positivists perceived in the Otomies, however betrays the *tlacuachidad* of the Otomies, as a noble group within Mesoamerican mythology. For the Mexican intellectuals who lamented the degeneracy of the Otomies, these had a capacity to endure, a survival that consisted in their dehumanization, as mineral, as vegetative, and above all as bestial.

ii. Parallel Destinies of Tonalismo

As previously mentioned, *tonalismo*, as a subset of a more generalized Mesoamerican cosmovision often denoted as *nahualismo*, is distinct from totemism and possessive or shape-shifting *nahualismo*. *Tonalismo* is akin to totemism, in that an intersubjective relationship exists between human and animal, where traits and destinies are shared. In contrast, *tonalismo* is oriented towards the individual human and animal/natural being, whereas the totemic arrangement is on the macro collective level, exerting a metonymic relationality. *Tonalismo*, as various anthropologists of *nahualismo* assert, is the most generalized form of *nahualismo* present in colonial and postcolonial eras of Mesoamerica. According to Navarrete Linares, it is an association between a human individual and a

[20] Descola contrast *nahualismo*'s analogical ontology with naturalism, as the ontological schema most associated with modernity, grounded in the "straightforward belief in the self-evidence of nature," a view of nature rooted in classical thought (172).

non-human being, "un animal compañero que comparte su destino" (np). Noting the confused distinction between primarily *tonalismo* and shape-shifting *nahualismo*, Navarrete Linares states that such confusion "no es por azar" since these concepts arise from the existence of privileged relationships between humans and non-human beings such as those I discussed under totemism. Moreover, *tonalismo* is part of "una matiz simbólica" of analogies and correspondences between different living beings, particularly human and animal, especially with regard to animal diacritic categories that put them into tension, e.g. wild and domesticated animals, past and present/future animals, and hidden versus seen creatures, like the opossum that is seldom seen (ibid).

Designating Mesoamerican ontology as analogical in his proposal of universal relational typologies, Phillipe Descola clarifies that "although their destinies run parallel, no explicit relationship exists between a human and his *tona* (companion animal)" such that "in most cases the identity of the *tona* is not known and there is always the risk that the human may harm it and thereby do himself damage" (215). However, in literary representations of *tonalismo*, this latter point tends to be absent, and instead *indigenista* texts tend to reveal, dispute or mock, as in the case of Francisco Rojas González's "La tona," the revelation of the secret pairing between *indio* and his *tona*.

The prying and discovery of this secret interrelationship between nature and indigenous peoples motivates the *indigenista* literary and anthropological pen and conversely, contemporary indigenous discourse guards itself from this epistemic violence by resorting to the impenetrability of its mystery from Western eyes, similar to the vigilant words of Rigoberta Menchú regarding the concealment of her own *tona* in her testimonio. Although some representations of *tonalismo* do underscore the potential for shared injury between human and animal, what is lost in its representation is the perspectivist ethics of indigenous cosmovision, where these co-destinies and intersubjectivities between different living entities must proceed with caution in their relations with

the world.[21] *Tonalismo,* thus constructs an alterity that is at once different (in terms of different bodies such as human and animal bodily forms) and similar to (in terms of the interiorities of said beings). It is a privileged perspective, wherein despite non-communication and physical confrontation, there is a sense of knowing "the interior" of a potential adversary, and hence proceeding "ethically" in this regard.

Magdaleno's representation of *tonalismo*, like Rojas González's treatment of these indigenous customs, makes explicit the *tona* pairings in the names of its indigenous characters. In *El resplandor,* the indigenous characters, childhood friends of Saturnino Herrera, are called by their tutelary animals. For example, "Apolonio era el Tlacuache y Gregorio Méndez se apodaba el Toro, y Pío Luna... fue *la Iguana*, otros lucían sobre el apelativo—a veces sustituyéndolo práctica y pretenciosamente—el nombre de la bestia" (52). And Saturnino, himself, is known among the *tlacuaches* as "El Coyote." Although anthropological studies on *tonalismo* and *nahualismo* hold that a person's *tona* is determined by the birthday and its specific arrangement of natural and celestial elements, in *El resplandor*, a person's *tona* is not only public knowledge but is not portrayed in relation to calendric forces, with the exception of Saturnino, whose name signals the nefarious influence of Saturn.[22] Rather, the *tona* is deciphered and its links fostered by two complementary figures of supernatural authority: the *curandera* Lugarda, Saturnino's indigenous adoptive mother and wife of Bonifacio, the novel's indigenous archetype, and Nieves *el Colorado*, the maleficent *brujo* who aids Saturnino.

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[21] Viveiros de Castro's perspectivist ethics comes from his work with Amazonian groups, and reflects a human de-centered perspective, where this ethics is shaped by the recognition of a world populated by non-humans sharing the same "culture," a form of "multi-naturalism." For further discussion on the differences between Descola and Viveiros de Castro's approach to indigenous cosmologies, see Bruno Latour's article, "Perspectivism: 'Type' or 'Bomb'?"
[22] According to RAE, Saturnino as "triste y taciturno" and/or "dicho de una enfermedad: Producida por intoxicación con una sal de plom." The latter definition echoes the formulation of *el mexicano* by founders of studies of Mexican character such as Samuel Ramos, the formulation that would be popularized by Octavio Paz in his 1950 *Laberinto de la soledad.*

Gossen's work on the hierarchy of *nahualismo* links the coyote *tona* with a human counterpart of noble and powerful status. However, by honing in on the various cultural significations of coyote, we find that this pairing functions in the everyday practices of colonial and contemporary Mexico. For example, Guillermo Alonso Meneses explains that "el termino *coyote*, un nahualismo (cóyotl), originalmente es el nombre de un animal…pero también el nombre de un actor social de la historia de México que ha ido cambiando y resignificándose" (25). The contemporary use of the term *coyote*, distant from its animal origins, describes an intermediary figure, as "[una] persona no siempre honesta que se ofrece para facilitar o acelerar trámites burocráticos" from which the terms "coyotear, coyotaje, and coyoteo" derive (26). The root of the pejorative connotation of the coyote as a social actor comes from its colonial associations with Spaniards and *mestizos*. And in Joaquín García Icazbalceta's *Vocabulario de Mexicanismos* (1899), we find the following note on the terms: "…allá por los años de 1828, en la época de mayor efervescencia del odio contra los españoles, se les daba por injuria el apodo de coyotes" (125). While in recent Nahuatl dictionaries coyote is a derogatory reference to mestizos or *gente de razón,* while "al animal lo llegan a denominar "cuacoyotl" o "chichicoyotl" (lobo), porque el coyote (cóyotl o coyome en plural) es una persona/actor social del que, en su vertiente negativa, hay que desconfiar, o, en casos extremos al que hay que despreciar" (Menses 26-7). One of the implications of the coyote in its contemporary usage (related to undocumented border crossings) and what we'll see in *El resplandor's* representation of the coyote *tona/nahual*, is the way the coyote figure functions as a mediator, in its ability to traverse ontological boundaries.[23]

Saturnino Herrera is a mediating figure, embodied by his *nahaul/tona* and his designation as a mestizo, is not only given a powerful and noble status but is also declared the savior of the *tlacuaches*. When the *tlacuaches* hear of Saturnino's return to San Ándres as a gubernatorial candidate, the good

[23] This ontological border crossing of *coyotaje* is also present in Castaneda's quartet, which is the subject of chapter 3.

news propagates as follows: "Saturnino…*el Coyotito*…, que vuelve…, ya viene…, padrecito de los pobres…., [ ] que viene a remediar a los indios…, [ ] San Ándres se apiadó de nosotros…., va a ser gobernado…, el redentor de los tlacuaches…, San Andrés nos lo manda…, ya viene Saturnino…" (59). News of Saturnino's homecoming brings an end to the *tlacuaches* stone-like faces of miserable endurance, that now "cobraba una nueva dimensión: la esperanza" (ibid). The new hope represented by Herrera is spurred by a belief circulated by Lugarda, that Herrera was a miracle child sent to them by the town's patron saint and that he would bring an end to the *tlacuaches* subjugation and with him prosperity and justice in the forms of rain and crops would return to the *tierra de los tlacuaches.*

Herrera's exceptional status as the "Mesías" of the Otomies is rooted in his *mestizo* identity and his coyote *tona*, exhibiting a defiance that set him apart from his fellow *tlacuaches*. For Lugarda, Herrera is miraculous from his days as an infant when he survived starvation and illness and escaped along with his father, Olegario, the violence of the Revolution that raped and killed his *criolla* mother. Even curate Chavez perceived something exceptional in Herrera, noting that "se le ve que va a ser vivo…mire usted que luz en los ojos. No es un indito común y corriente; éste ya tiene sangre de blanco" (104). In the eyes of curate Chavez, Herrera's Spanish blood set him apart from the rest, yet the light and strength of character that he perceives is not because of his white blood but rather comes from his father's *indio alborotado* blood. What is clear is the aura of Herrera, associated with his mestizo blood and the idea of ascendency, as the merchant Meliquiades Esparza notes, "¡Ya decía yo que ese muchacho apuntaba muy alto!" (57). Herrera's destiny is interpreted according to the projections of the *mestizos* (e.g. the curate and Don Meliquiades) who support the status quo, who find in him a way of linking San Ándres de la Cal and the rest of the Mezquital region to the political or religious metropole. As such, the *tlacuaches* see Herrera as predestined to overturn the legacy of colonial violence, placing their faith in his capacity to intercede on their behalf and free them from their enslaved earthly chains.

In contrast to Lugarda and Curate Chavez's divine aspirations for Herrera, there is a thread of diabolic undertones to his destiny, which starts to make the shift away from *tonalismo* to possessive/shape-shifting *nahualismo*. For example, despite Lugarda's claim that Herrera constitutes a divine gift, she recounts a night when the incessant cries of the sickly Saturnino babe prompted the hacendado Gonzalo to dismount his horse and complain to Lugarda that, "ese chamaco tiene al diablo. ¡No oyen cómo llora, cómo si se ahogara" (63). Moreover, the light of Saturnino's eyes that curate Chavez compliments resonates with the eyes of the coyote ("los ojos de lumbre") as the evil *nahual* that will preside over the death of Saturnino's *tlacuache* rival, Carmen Botis, either as Saturnino or on his behalf, in the decisive shift from *tonalismo* to possessive (possibly shape-shifting) *nahaulismo*.

However, before this proof of maleficent *nahaulismo* and the realization of the *tlacuaches* of Saturnino's betrayal, a crucial scene illustrates the break with co-destiny and the ethics of tonalism's perspectivism. As a youth, Saturnino confronted a coyote and attempted to capture and drag it into town. The coyote freed himself from Saturnino not before scratching him and urinating on him. Bent on capturing the beast, Saturnino enlists his friend to make a cage big enough to capture the wild animal. Despite explanations as to why coyotes should not be hunted "son animales dañeros…ésos no se agarran," Saturnino does not seem to understand not only the wild nature of these animals nor the respect granted to *tonas* (107). Instead his move to subordinate his *tona* or an animal representing his *tona*, underscores his distinction from those that raised him, the tenacity for survival and predominance that the *tlacuaches* misperceived as messianic.

The coyote's links to border crossings and mediation in general, serve to represent the *mestizo*'s capacity to go beyond the European and indigenous divide through a species discourse that makes legible race discourse in Mexico through animal-human figurations by adopting indigenous ontology. Saturnino's hybridity, thus, operates through this animality discourse, stressing his ability to traverse categories, spaces, and intercede in affairs (political and economic) that those of non-

mestizo backgrounds (e.g. the *tlacuaches*), of lower racialized stations are excluded from. Magdaleno translates this *mestizo* hybridity into the cipher of *nahualismo*, where what seems like a beneficial *tona*-animal pairing is not recognized as malicious. In other words, *tonalismo's* co-destiny relationship and its ethics of "in my enemy's eyes" (e.g. Saturnino 's familian ties to the fate of the *tlacuaches*) is broken as Saturnino 's "true nature" is revealed as diabolical and as an inversion of natural and divine order.

iii. Malefic Nahualismo: The Saturnic Mestizo

In Francisco Rojas González's 1944 essay on *nahualismo*, he discusses the variants of this indigenous set of views within an anthropological perspective where these are interpreted as evolving into higher and more implicitly civilized forms. According to him, this evolutionary course of Mexican beliefs of animism and human-animal intersubjectivity from Pre-Columbian to its contemporary manifestations placed these variants in the following order: totemism, "evil" or injurious *nahualismo*, and *tonalismo*. According to Rojas González, this wicked form of *nahualismo*, or "nahualismo terrorífico", primarily enacted resistance against Spanish invaders (89).[24] He implies that the individual human-animal pairings of *tonalismo* are an improvement, a development from an antiquated collective form of totemism. And although he attempts to set aside the conquest/colonial era form *nahualismo* as a transcended moment, *indigenista* fiction repeatedly employs this sort of *nahualismo terrorífico* in order to represent continued colonial hostilities, a set of beliefs, which Daniel G. Brinton held as motivated by hatred and a desire for the "annihilation of the government and religion which [the Spanish] had introduced" (np).[25]

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[24] According to Rojas González, "el nahualismo primitivo, es decir, el terrorífico, se transforma en los primeros días de la conquista en secta secreta y xenófoba para más tarde metamorfosearse en un complejo semi-religioso, que busca espíritus protectores para el individuo, en oposición al totem que procura el bienestar de todo un grupo o clan" (89).
[25] Brinton writes, "[t]he conclusion to which this study of Nagualism leads is, that it was not merely the belief in a personal guardian spirit, as some have asserted; not merely a survival of fragments of the ancient heathenism, more or less diluted by Christian teachings, as others have maintained; but that above and beyond these, it was a powerful secret organization, extending over a wide area, including members of different languages and varying culture, bound together by mystic rites, by necromantic powers and occult doctrines; but, more than all, by one intense emotion—hatred of the

Nahualismo in all its forms generally functions as what James C. Scott calls a "hidden transcript," where a subordinate discourse (critical and/or hostile) to power resists in ways that are not entirely known or understood by those in power.[26] *El resplandor*, however, upsets the "hidden transcript" properties of *nahualismo* by placing *nahualismo*'s transmutative powers in the "hands" of the *mestizo*; for although the *tlacuache supercheria* constitutes a form of "hidden transcript" part of the malicious power of this is now in the possession of Saturnino, and by extension the state.

In the novel, Saturnino's shape-shifting or possessive powers are unknown to the *tlacuaches*. For example, the *tlacuache* do not know that he either transformed himself into a coyote or influenced his coyote *tona* to hound Carmen Botis as he was pursuing Saturnino in his bewitched, rabid state. Magdaleno leaves it to the reader to attempt to understand the connection between Saturnino and the coyote and that of Carmen Botis and his "transformation" into a donkey, and this suggestion is significantly more subtle than those of other *indigenista* writings. Nieves el colorado, the *brujo* who sides with Saturnino and declared the coyote as his *tona* when Saturnino was an infant, poisons Carmen Botis in an effort to clear the way for Saturnino, the effect of which morphs Carmen's hatred towards Saturnino into animalized rage: "Carmen Botis eyaculaba un hilo espumoso de baba que le corría por la jeta hasta el pescuezo y rebuznada como un burro" (ibid) and "éste rebuzna y rebuzna y da patadas como los burros" (145). In his rabid *burro* fury, Carmen Botis runs barefoot after Saturnino across a perilous enclosure of boulders and cacti, during which Saturnino's voice is *naturalized* as the wind, as his presence is pervasive yet elusive. The voice mocks Carmen's cursed and animalized condition with echoing "Arrrr…burro," which further infuriates

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whites—and by one unalterable purpose—that of their destruction, and with them the annihilation of the government and religion which they had introduced" (np).

[26] James C. Scott proposed the notion of a "hidden transcript" along with a "public transcript" holds that power should be understood as both a "public transcript" of "open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate" and as a "hidden transcript," a "discourse that takes place "offstage," beyond direct observation by powerholders" (4). A "hidden transcript" would reveal how subordinates, who may publicly perform their obedience and uphold the "hegemony of the dominant discourse," can resist in meaningful and collective ways that are hidden from "powerholders" but visible to their subordinate audience.

and ultimately disorients him as he fatally falls onto the rocks. Afterwards, a coyote that shares key marks with Saturnino presides over Botis's body: "Los ojos de lumbre…lamía su [Carmen Botis] sangre –el coyote, el coyote dañero, el coyotito. *ahuuu…ahuuu…*" (147). The "ojos de lumber" conjure the same eyes that Curate Chavez praised in Saturnino as exceptional and the refrain of "el coyote dañero, el coyotito" reminds us of Lugarda's lullaby, where their hope in these signs indicated Saturnino's divine vocation, in effect confirm these as "mañas del animal," those predatory traits that Bonifacio had warned against when he protested calling Satunino by his *tona*.

Magdaleno plays with the notion of essence or *naturaleza* of the *mestizo* through transference of these "mañas del animal" and other transmutative potentials, especially with regard to Saturnino's involvement in the death of Carmen Botis. Saturnino's dark magical power, his *nahualismo*, rests fundamentally in his ability to "pass" as a movement or ascendancy of station (someone that is not an "indito común"), in short his ability to enter and maneuver in elite political spheres. But this social ability to "pass" and mediate between groups, classes, realms, is contingent on his spiritual "passing" as a messiah figure while hiding his animal/*nahual* "mañas." For instance, Magdaleno highlights this in a scene where Lugarda sings her *coyotito* lullaby to a baby Saturnino wrapped in goat's skin, displaying the sinister trickery of "passing." This scene contradicts the transference of negative animal "mañas" by fixing Saturnino's essence as a coyote, which goes against a cardinal element of Pre-Columbian *nahualismo* characterized by "the inextricability of 'matter' (e.g. pelts, skins, feathers) and 'spirit' (e.g. essences of preciousness, beauty, power, courage, etc.); and the instantiation of the divine through animal accoutrements" (Norton 64).

As Marcy Norton explains, *nahualismo* in the *Florentine Codex* "presupposed absolute identification between subject and object" with "an understanding of subjectivity based not on the bounded, essential subject but rather entities comprised of the sum of their appurtenances," most exemplified by Aztec jaguar warriors who "became" the jaguar when they donned the pelts of these

creatures. In these Pre-Conquest formulations of *nahualismo*, the "outer display was identical to essence itself" and "it was the skin, that most external and enveloping 'appearance,' which constituted a creature's essence, and so stored the most formidable symbolic power" (ibid). The dynamic of "skin" as essence, which could be altered, changed, adopted from another, within the context of colonial resistance and even Magdaleno's postcolonial re-intrepretation of *nahualismo* in *El resplandor*, wrestles with racialized skin and its essence through animal signs that navigate between indigenous and European animalities and their competing ontologies.

Nahualismo, as a practice of "adopting" the skin of a powerful creature, functioned to draw in that which was alien, other, and a potential enemy, was also accompanied by the practice of adoption within the context of warfare, in which captives (human and non-human), were brought *in* to the group (Norton 66). Captivity and adoption were forms of incorporation that assimilated the other (human or non-human) into the host society as an exogamous practice seeking to bring reconciliation from past enmities, through assimilation.[27] In addition to contradicting the transference of the power of "skins" as we see with the "wolf in sheep's clothing" depiction of Saturnino, Magdaleno also illustrates the failure of adoption to foment the kinship links necessary to safeguard the host group, since the adoption of Saturnino and his wet-nursing by the *tlacuaches* fails to truly assimilate Saturnino and protect them from his "mañas," "mañas" which are a product of his *mestizo* essence.

Thinking about the essence of *nahualismo* in *El resplandor* ultimately brings us to its central dilemma of locating the *naturaleza* of the *mestizo* arising from the despoliation of the Revolution as Magdaleno characterized the Maximato period. The novel poses, in effect, the following quandary:

[27] Norton on adoption: "One kind of incorporation was that which happened when one assumed the attributes of another by wearing its skin, enshrouding oneself in its feathers or ingesting its flesh or organs. Another kind of incorporation took place when an outside animal or human became adopted into a kin network or other grouping. 'Adoption' as a mode was organized around the capture and adoption of birds and other animals (including humans in war)" (66).

Is Saturnino essentially evil, a monstrous hybrid, destined to employ *nahualismo* against those who raised him, or was Saturnino's alliance broken by the intervention of the state, when he was sequestered in order to receive a "mestizo gentlemen's" education? In other words, is the indigenous problem and in general Mexico's fragmentation and rural underdevelopment a mere product of its historical legacies (i.g. the forging of negative indigenous and Spanish elements) or is it an unbroken chain of exploitation due to state "assimilating" interventions which thwart what might have been a potentially harmonious synthesis of the "good" in these two heritages within an indigenous paradigm?

Magdaleno formulates Herrera's figure as a *mestizo nahual*, who uses his powers not against Spanish oppressors but against his indigenous brethren, in the service of the state. His predation of the *tlacuaches* translates to their enslavement under what first appears to be communal work on his lands and an egalitarian division of harvest but is in effect peonage that will result in the return of encomienda-like servitude and violence. Through the use of *nahualismo*, Magdaleno plays with essentialism and upsets the nationalist celebration of *mestizaje*. On the various levels of the *nahualismos* that I have discussed Herrera's figure reproduces and yet evades. The *mestizo* is not inferior but superior in its wickedness towards the indigenous, in this sense Magdaleno departs from nationalist discourses of *mestizaje* and even his own views published elsewhere, in which he echoes nationalist *mestizaje* discourse in his praise of the *mestizo*, as the figure from which there is no going back either to the Spanish or indigenous pasts.

Mestizaje in *El resplandor* succeeds in subordinating the indigenous moved by hopes of its eradication. Herrera's own political ambitions and his marriage into the Fuentes family that branded and enslaved the *tlacuaches* in encomienda times are motivated by a vasconcelista "ley del gusto," in which despite the pride Saturnino feels for his "sangre otomí [a que] debía su victoria en la vida" he nonetheless is moved by "un subterráneo anhelo de ser padre de criaturas de otro color [que] había

gritado en lo hondo de su instinto" (157). However, this aesthetic desire does not thwart Saturnino's carnal lusts, since his rape of Bonifacio's granddaughter, which results in a bastard child, perpetuates the continual ruin of the *tlacuaches*. This Otomí misfortune of Herrera being born as a *nahual* is worsened by state intervention, in his sequester from the *tlacuaches* and his *mestizo* gentlemen education in the state capital, illustrating how the state compounds the misery of its indigenous peoples. This *mestizo* gentlemen education depicted in *El resplandor* resembles an assimilationist project dubbed "La Casa del Estudiante Indígena" during the 1920s, where indigenous young men were taken from their communities and "civilized" in schools in cities. As Alexander Dawson describes, this project "would endeavor to show that the Indian could be incorporated into mestizo and white civilization, and it would seek to uncover the most efficiaious means of that incorporation" (334). Moreover, the "mixed" results of this project alienated the indigenous students from their communities, resonating with the broken ties between Saturnino and the *tlacuaches*:

> while the rhetoric of the school was replete with calls for racial solidarity and with the suggestion that the role of these students in their home communities would be that of social leaders, the actual practice of the school encouraged individual assimilation. In their public and private actions these students showed that their experience in the school had *distanced themselves from the norms of their communities, and that upon returning home, their positions would be that of apostle, not representative.* (359 emphasis added)

In the case of Saturnino, the gentleman's education he receives away from his community sharpens the individualistic and apex predatory aspects of his essence, but instead of becoming the voice of his people upon his return, he becomes their "lord," first as their savior and eventually as their feudal lord. In a sense, Vasconcelos's "ley del gusto" cannot yield a harmonious hybrid since Mexico seemed to be stalled in its historical aesthetic trajectory, since it had not yet extinguished the primitive accumulation of its rural spaces, frozen indefinitely in the "periodo material."

Mestizaje in *indigenista* works such as that of Gamio and Moises Saenz took indigeneity as cultural rather than racial, yet, the fundamental bias against indigeneity, nonetheless, made evident that *mestizaje* as the whitening, Europeanized, thus more "Mexicanized," would be the blueprint for the future. *El resplandor* through the *nahual* "gustos" of Saturnino refutes not only these cultural relativist discourses of *mestizaje* but also even the *vasconcelista* current that Magdaleno had championed.

Infrahumanidad, Dehumanization and the Colonial Bestiary

As an "environ" of *indigenista* fiction, *El resplandor* dually uses the landscape to frame the determinism of nature; at once, activating its telluric qualities and setting the stage for it dehumanizing plot. Assessing Magdaleno's use of animality, Bigas Torres argues that in addition to its role in the "authentic" representation of totemism, "Magdaleno emplea el recurso de la animalización en las descripciones de personajes y paisajes," and in this way, "dramatiza la vida infrahumana que viven los indios, el odio y prejuicio del blanco y en ocasiones la agresividad del paisaje" (309). As this chapter argues, Magdaleno's use of animality and nature is more complex than a way of depicting dehumanizing "infrahumana" conditions of indigenous peoples. While animalization is a dehumanizing process of "consigning humans to the status of 'beasts'—a consignment that often subjects them to mastery, domination, exploitation, and in the worst cases, slaughter," Magdaleno mobilizes the "mark of the beast" with relation to *nahualismo* and simultaneously the various philosophical and scientific discourses that have historically shaped animality (Roberts ix). In order to best discern Magdaleno's *indigenista* animality, I will discuss dehumanization discourse in the novel, putting into relief how theology and political theory qualify the humanness of indigenous peoples.

The animalization of the Otomies by the priests in *El resplandor* illustrates how the abjection of indigenous peoples through the human/animal opposition was, in part, justified on the basis of

the exclusion of animals in political theory. The alterity of animals in classical political theory and theology shaped the parameters of the ethical and moral consideration of animals and human groups, signaled as radically different. The theological debates over the alterity of indigenous peoples in the writings of Francisco Vitoria and in the Valladolid polemic between Bartolome de Las Casas and Gines de Sepúlveda, attempted to reconcile the existence of Amerindians with the pre-existing Scholastic political theories that would make legitimate imperial dominion of the New World. In the case of the Valladolid debate, both Las Casas and Sepúlveda employed Aristotle's ideas to either designate indigenous peoples as free men or slaves by nature, a classification shaped by possession or lack of reason. In Aristotle's view, animals existed outside of justice and political consideration due to their irrationality, and it was this notion of lack of reason that merited the enslavement and dominion over other humans (e.g. Amerindians) on the grounds of their more-animal like irrationality, at least in the eyes of theologians that favored a Spanish imperial project of supreme hegemony over pre-existing social groups and structures.

The most disparaging attitudes towards the Otomies comes from clergymen, whose traditional mission had been that of 'caring' for their flocks ("rebaño") through their "civilizing" religious work. In contrast to Magdaleno's celebration of Sahagún's approach to native peoples, the clerics in *El resplandor* voice the strongest rejection of indigenous humanity. For instance, an extended snapshot of the 'decrepit' state of San Ándres that locates the abjection and depravity of the *indio* in the lack of separation between human and animals comes from the perspective of Curate Ramírez. As the curate abandons his *tlacuache* parishers, he surveys the village in the following way:

> Por el día reptaban por los muros de las viviendas las lagartijas, los topos, y las culebras, y por las noches, el gavilán improvisaba allí su nido. En los tugurios infectos hacinábanse hombres, mujeres, chicos y bestias. Los puercos y los burros ayuntaban al lado del cristiano bufando en la porfía de la calentura y luego en los espasmos clamorosos, y revolvíanse

hermano contra hermana en la promiscuidad del sueño en que el gañán vomita sus energías viriles en el hediondo petate. (54)

The juxtaposition of animals and indigenous peoples here serves to reinforce a sense of menace and depravity that becomes rhetorically inherent through animality and this naturalistic rendering. The reference to reptiles and birds of prey evince a view that the *indios* seek to prey on *blancos* and the domestic animals frame an essentialist immorality assigned to indigenous peoples, whom the cleric deems as engaging in one of humankind's cardinal taboos: incest. This representation dovetails with naturalist literary discourses, in its realism of Mexico's rural poor, in their likeness to animals in terms of their propensity towards violence, predation and licentious sexuality. As such, Magdaleno combines literary naturalism and evangelization discourses in the representations of the Church in Mexico's indigenous problem, where the humanity of indigenous peoples is disqualified on the grounds of a barbarous nature despite the juridical granting of their status as subjects under the Crown and later citizens of the Republic.

While Curate Ramírez's repulsed perspective communicates the sense of defeat in his religious mission his predecessor's view towards the Otomies explicitly rejects any potential for redemption by decrying the animality of the *indio*. Specifically, in contrast to the previous *cuadro naturalista*, where the lack of concrete separation between human and animal advances the view that the *indio* and animals share the same characteristics, Curate Chávez dispels any notion of indigenous humanity on the basis that indigenous peoples lack 'needs' that go beyond that of subsistence. In a flashback to the Porfiriato period, Curate Chávez speaks with don Gonzalo on the topic of just treatment for the Otomies:

> *Un pueblo sin necesidades…no es pueblo. Será una manada de infelices y todo lo que usted guste y mande, pero no un pueblo*. La desgracia de México lo son sus tres o cuarto millones de indios. ¿Qué hace usted con ellos, vamos a ver? ¿Los trata como a gentes? Pues con su pan se lo coma,

> porque hecho lo peor que pudiera hacer: echarse al seno un saco de alacranes. ¿Los abandona a su suerte y los deja seguir su camino? Muy bien y ¿quienes le trabajan sus tierras? ¡No, señor don Gonzalo; este problema no tiene fondo, como dice el ilustre Francisco Bulnes! Agregue usted las constantes habladas de los perturbados del orden público, esos llamados intelectuales que la han tomado con el indio y que exageran malvadamente su condición y sobre todo—¡fíjese usted bien!— la atribuyen a la esclavitud que pesa sobre ellos por parte del amo. ¡Es un crimen bordar sobre tamaña mentira! Pero existen esas plumas venenosas y aún tienen sus prosélitos. ¡Esclavos los indios! ¡Sí, señor; pero lo que no se dice es que lo son *de su propia brutalidad, de su infinita miseria mental, de su bajeza y su animalidad*! (87-88 emphasis added)

Deeming their needs as primitive, the curate attacks the pueblo status of the Otomies. The implication is that being a *pueblo* would necessitate that the *tlacuaches* possess a civilization and moreover, that that culture and society would then have a relationship to Mexico, as the *pueblo-nación* that subsumes the *pequeña patria* of the *tlacuaches*, going against the postrevolutionary discourse that would trace the nation's origin to its indigenous population. For Curate Chávez, the indigenous problem is constituted by the fact that indigenous peoples exist, extolling the view of Bulnes, the secretary of Foreign Affairs under Díaz that "este problem no tiene fondo." This extreme essentialist view echoes the predatory threat perceived by Curate Ramírez, but it is more adamant about indigenous animality, to the point of rejecting the notion that indios can even be considered slaves. His declaration that they are slaves "de su propia brutalidad, de su infinita miseria, de su bajeza y su animalidad" and not actual slaves recalls classical and early modern debates on the status of native others.

El resplandor's heavy emphasis on the harsh arid landscape of San Ándres de la Cal and its imprint on the Otomies reproduces naturalism with depictions that tend to underscore the

determinism of nature (environment and instincts). The lime-saturated environment of the Otomies along with the hunger and disease provoked by the town's drought and general misery set the stage for an exploration of indigenous agency. While Curate Chávez rejects the enslavement of *indios* on the contradictory basis that their enslavement does not constitute enslavement if they are slaves to their own brutality, mental misery, and base animality, Francisco Bulnes's view of the indigenous problem recalls the scientifically justified racial politics of the Porfiriato, which was heavily influenced by positivism and eugenics projects. For example, Bulnes advanced a tripartite classification of human races based on the dietary stable grain of corn, wheat, and rice. According to him, Mexico's backwardness could be traced to the weakness of its indigenous population—physically and mentally due to the lack of nutritional content he attributed to corn. Moreover, it was the indigenous cult of maize that he viewed as sponsoring both indigenous debility and resistance to assimilating into "civilization." Bulnes's hierarchy of wheat, corn and rice evinced the hallmark teleological approach of positivist inquiry, which served to reinforce Social Darwinism and racial pessimism. These positivist conclusions on indigenous peoples' deficiency and less-than-human figurations were blind to the broader historical and material context of the indigenous problem. Magdaleno characterizes the Church's callous stance towards indigenous peoples as an omission of the actual material and ecological conditions giving rise to what curate Chávez regards as indigenuos peoples' 'brutalidad…bajeza y [ ] animalidad.' And in voicing support to Bulnes, Magdaleno draws links between the Church and the notion of 'modernity' proposed by the Porfirian technocratic state, which was also blind to the racial discrimination and material disadvantage of its indigenous population, and would insist on collapsing of poverty, hunger, dispossession and violent domination and exclusion under essentialist less-than-fully human categories.

It is against these pejorative racial theories that *indigenistas* would react in their elaboration of bicultural ideologies, such as that of Gamio, intent on reconstituting the notion of 'pueblo' as more

inclusive than the previous versions of nationalism. Yet, as I will discuss later, the animalization of the Otomies in *El resplandor* was premised on the notion of rational deficiency in their lack of 'needs' beyond that of (animal-like) subsistence is a cardinal theme in the *resplandor* semantics of the novel, which draws links between the landscape and the inner psyche of the Otomies. The connection between animalized *indios* and reason or a *conciencia* capable of agency and self-determining revolt recalls philosophical debates on the political subjectivity of those entities, whose hunger and abjection (as "muertos de hambre" and "infelices") might precipitate revolution. For example, Hannah Arendt's Enlightenment-derived argument in *On Revolution*, concerns the existence of poverty, where such destitution "is more than deprivation, it is a state of constant want and acute misery whose ignominy consists in its dehumanizing force; poverty, is abject because it puts men under absolute dictate of their bodies, that is under necessity as all men know from their most intimate experiences and outside all speculation" (60). However, Magdaleno's *indigenista* animality illustrates the complications that arise from a revindication project that postulates an Enlightened humanity as its utopic political ideal against the dehumanized abject other, which Arendt argues is unable to truly execute political revolution. *El resplandor* does this by not only contrasting Western humanity with indigenous notions of personhood that transcend species divide but also placing these opposing worldviews within Mexico's postcolonial context.

In such a context of postcolonial and postrevolutionary subjugation, Curate Chávez's reference of *manada de infelices* is singularly rich in putting into relief how the novel's repeated allusion to the Otomies as *indiada*, harnesses the ontological and metonymic mechanics of bestialization that are activated by *nahualismo* in order to ground this violence within coloniality. The proliferation of *manada* and *indiada* composing the notion of a collective indigenous herd stands in contrasts to the only other collectivized animal reference for the otomies of *rebaño*, where the semantics is embedded in religious discourse of colonial stewardship of indigenous lives and souls by imperial agents (e.g.

encomenderos and priests). I link these animal designations for the native to Frantz Fanon's notion of the colonial bestiary, as a product of Manichaeism whose "logical conclusion [ ] dehumanizes the native, or to speak plainly, it turns him into an animal" (41).[28] The application of zoological terms for the natives on the part of the colonizer that Fanon describes clearly links to the previously discussed passages of the curates in *El resplandor*. For the colonizer, as Fanon writes:

> [S]peaks of the yellow man's reptilian motions of the stink of the native quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn, of gesticulations. When the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the bestiary. The European rarely hits on a picturesque style; but the native, who knows what is in the mind of the settler, guesses at once what he is thinking of. Those hordes of vital statistics, those hysterical masses, those faces bereft of all humanity, those distended bodies which are like nothing on earth, that mob without beginning or end, those children who seem to belong to nobody, that laziness stretched out in the sun, that vegetative rhythm of life--all this forms part of the colonial vocabulary. (41-2)

What Fanon is underscoring throughout *The Wretched of the Earth* is the fallacy of a universalized humanism that colonialism undermines with its "geography of hunger" and its imposition of a species divide. Although the animalizations of the Otomies in *El resplandor* do not result in radical humanism and decolonial violence, it does however play with some of the tenets of Fanon's ideas on the psychic oppression of the native and capture of natural resources in colonializing projects. I interpret Magdaleno's use of animality, which both reproduces Western and indigenous animality, along the lines of what Ahuja Neel considers a "common strategy for disentangling race and species" that provisionally embraces animality in order to "reveal its ongoing racial, neocolonial, or ecological

[28] Jennifer Wenzel's presentation of her working paper, "Turning over a new leaf: Fanonian Humanism and Environmental Justice," later published in *The Routledge Companion to the Environmental Humanities* was key in redirecting my exploration of animality from a postcolonial perspective.

legacies" (558). My excavation of Magdaleno's *indigenista* animality, specifically the metonymic correspondences he constructs through *nahualismo*, locates a partly "positive" reclamation from the "negative workings of dehumanization," where the aesthetics and symbolic discourse of race can be traced back to the contentious material ground of postrevolutionary Mexico, through the novel's exploration of rendering "less human" (Anat 6).

Creaturely Marks: Magdaleno's Indigenista Animality

1. "Chained to the Land:" The Cattle-ization of the Otomies

El resplandor works through the notion of indigenous peoples being chained to the land, historically and culturally as Gamio and other *indigenistas* claimed, with even Curate Chávez's extreme views resounding the essential connection between indigenous deficiency and nature. Magdaleno's notion of a "pathos estético," for example, tellurically rendered indigeneity ahistorically, precisely by naturalizing its dehumanized presence. While *El resplandor* attempts to get to the *nature* of the *naturaleza* of the indigenous problem through animality and tellurism, the novel, nonetheless, gives us the "material ground" that Lund holds is necessary in order to critically "read race" in *mestizaje*-oriented works. Magdaleno does this by representing the telluric theme of "chained to the land" with the bestial tethering of the Otomies during colonial violence, which he mythologized as the curse of the Piedra del Diablo, a curse that the *tlacuaches* hoped Saturnino would undo.

The dehumanizing treatment of the Otomies figures as their cattle-ization, where the *tlacuaches* are equated with cattle as well as depicted as their rivals. The foundational origin of their enslavement and "transformation" into cattle occurs under the *encomendero* founder, don Gonzalo I. This is the *encomendero* who founds La Brisa; the progenitor of the Fuentes family, the hacendado family which Saturnino will marry into and with whom he will symbolically merge his *nahual* powers.

Don Gonzalo, el fundador, el encomendero… había conquistado la región casi sin violencia.

> Los otomies eran unos hombrecitos chaparros y dulces que acogieron al español casi en son de beneplácito, mirando en él la salvación de la durísima férula del Azteca vecino. La violencia vino después, cuando hubo que despojar a las indiadas de sus tierras y *marcar los lomos de hombres y niños con el fierro del propietario, como se marcan las grupas de las bestias*, para que los pueblos sometidos reconociesen indudablemente sus vasallajes. (47 emphasis added)

The ethos of conquest and this dehumanization, attributed to the *encomendero* but generalized to the colonial enterprise, imprints itself on the land. There is the sense of weakness and docility of the Otomies, accustomed to oppression (formerly that of the Aztecs), but here reduced to the status of beasts of labor, in which slavery and vassalage are equivalent through the mark of branding. The description of the Otomies as "hombrecitos chaparros y dulces" recalls chronicles of first encounters and with it the noble savage paradigm. This representation of the Otomies as inherently "sweet" and diminutive contradicts the construction of "docile bodies" which Foucault argued was the basis of modernity, where the construction and control over these easily managed bodies exhibits "the ability to willfully manage and manipulate other humans as one would direct a herd of animals" (Roberts 51). But don Gonzalo's dispossession of the land and humanity of the Otomies also points to deformation of both the colonizer as a result of his dehumanization of the colonized evoking Bartolomé de Las Casas's chronicles of Conquest violence.[29] Magdaleno writes the moment of this deformation and conquest curse's detonation, as the mad rage of the encomendero, which his daughter, unwilling to submit to his incestuous desires, falls and dies on the same boulder that Carmen Botis will perish on centuries later, after fleeing from her deranged father, giving the stone its infamous named. The mark of the beast, as the physical mark on indigenous bodies as well as the corruption on the psyche of the Spaniard, degrades the land, transforming its fertile landscape into a lime wasteland, a *páramo*, where like Rulfo's version, spirits and disembodied voices haunt the

[29] Las Casas writes: "Let every Man detain those Servants he Elected, let them be clapt in Irons, and stigmatiz'd with the Brand of Slavery, which was accordingly done, for they were all burnt, who did no escape with the King's Mark."

oppressive landscape.[30] In this way, Magdaleno departs from other *indigenista* novels where drought and hunger are represented as entirely "natural" phenomenon. In other words, desolate telluric formations in *El resplandor,* which tie together lime, hunger, and violence, are grounded in an ecological devastation, a devastation instigated by conquest.

Although the novel does not convey an image of the pre-Conquest landscape, recent environmental historical studies on the impact of animal husbandry in the wake of the Conquest in Mexico make the case for a deeper interpretation of the colonial curse of don Gonzalo. Eleanor Melville's study of the environmental consequences of the Conquest of Mexico in the Mezquital Valley argues that the introduction of animal husbandry into the region dramatically transformed the landscape. According to her, "the archetype of a barren Valle de Mezquital has mystified the nature of this region and the history of its inhabitants, the Otomi. It has masqueraded as the indigenous landscape when in reality it was as alien to the indigenes as it was to the Spaniards. It was, in fact, a conquest landscape" (20). And although the involvement of animals such as the horse and dog was acknowledged in conquest accounts, it was, in fact, the less heroic species such as pigs, chickens, sheep, goats, and cattle that comprised the brunt of the ecological colonialization of the Americas. Pastoralism transplanted in Mexico's *bajío* region precipitated irruption of ungulates (herbivores with hard horny hooves) such as goats, sheep and cattle. And the explosion of European domesticated animals radically changed what Melville describes as the biological regime of the region during a period that also saw what Lomnitz refers to as the "Great Dying" of indigenous peoples.[31] These environmental changes resulting from the reorganization of terrain and the introduction of "alien animals" instigated a "shift from a human-centered terrain to an 'animal-centered landscape' and with it the marginalization of indigenous communities and the formation of the colonial regime"

[30] Beckman elaborates on the links between T.S. Eliot's *Wasteland* and Rulfo's representation of rural hell in *Pedro Páramo.* And Juan Carlos Orrego Arismendi proposes Magdaleno's *El resplandor* as a precursor to Rulfo's novel.
[31] Lomnitz discusses this "Great Dying," the decimation of indigenous population following the conquest and its links the idea of Death in Mexico.

(14-15).[32] The indigenous and European livestock tensions in his novel attest to a context wherein the colonial enterprise of primitive accumulation of indigenous lands, labor, and extraction of natural resources constructed a "vassalage" in which indigenous peoples were rendered animalized things to be managed with brute force while animate and ruminating capital thrived.

These links and antagonisms between indigenous peoples and livestock, which sustain Magdaleno's cattle representation of the Otomies, have additional historical antecedents in the exchange values that preceded the bovine boom that took place in Central Mexico following the Conquest. Narciso Barrera Bassols states that, "para 1620 [se] calcula que en el centro de la Nueva España pastaban alrededor de 1,300,000 reses y 8,100,00 borregos y cabras y que todos ellos ocupaban una superficie de 3,000 millas cuadradas, mientras que la población india se encontraba en su nadir, sumando un total estimado de 1.8 millones de habitantes" (15). Furthermore, Silvio Zavala explains, "un indio esclavo valía menos que una bestia" (411), confirming the significance of this type of exchange for the establishment of slavery in the Caribbean and New Spain.

Dubbed the first Mexican *ranchero*, Nuño de Guzmán, as the governor of Pánuco (1525-1533) enslaved, branded and exported indigenous peoples, even those that were to be protected as "free" (i.e. they did not fall into the two requirements for "just" enslavement: captives of war or previously enslaved peoples).[33] The heinous extent of Guzmán's slave trade involved an exchange rate of 15 *indios* to 1 *bestia* along with all the unimaginable violence of the branding and management for export, which earned him Black Legend infamy in Spanish Chronicles such as that of Bernal Díaz del Castillo (Barrera Bassols 20). Such infamous historical figures likely inspired Magdaleno's own depiction of the curse of don Gonzalo, as a brutal enslaver of "noble savages." This is an evil handed down to Saturnino, who is secretly accused of being a "negrero." Saturnino as the heir to

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32 Fray Toribio de Benavente o Motolinía "...a la sazón [1520s] de tierra por todas partes hervía de gente."

33 Bassols attributes this to reference of Nuño de Guzmán as "el primer ranchero mexicano" to Mexican anthropologist Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán.

this conquest violence exhibits the "ambition without limit, hypocrisy, immorality, and ingratitude" also associated with Guzmán (Chipman 142). Despite his critiques towards the Calles regime through the insidious Saturnino, Magdaleno's reproof extends the state by way of the metonymic-correspondences that *nahualismo* constructs, in which Herrera the coyote/*negrero* preys on and enslaves the branded corralled & "cattlelized" Otomies.[34] This animalization of the Otomies, however, yields more than just decrying the State's predation and dehumanization of indigenous people, since it opens up a biopolitical view into rural modernity in Mexico.

Whereas as the coyote is the symbolic animal-guise of the Mestizo state, cattle become the key collective animal figure for the biopolitical operations in *El resplandor,* cutting through species divide in its representation of indigenous bare life. In addition to the various historical links that I have discussed, the cattle-ization of the Otomies highlights a perceived "deficiency" of value, in which the etymology of cattle has embedded it in value as capital (*ganado, ganadería* as property). In this way the dehumanization via cattle of the Otomies, reveal the "make live and let die" dictum of biopower of the *mestizo* state. Throughout the novel, the *tlacuaches* and cattle livestock are put into spatial proximity intended to illustrate this discrepancy (e.g. scenes where the cattle in La Brisa are blessed with rain and are well cared for, while on the other side of this textual panorama, the *tlacuaches* suffer extreme desolation and hunger). Such scenes in *El resplandor* show us that indigenous bodies are "los cuerpos y las vidas que se abandonan, que se reservan para la explotación, para la cosificación, o directamente para el abandono o la eliminación..." (Giorgi 15). This disqualification

[34] These linkages between indigenous peoples and livestock (most prominently cattle) were also perceived and resisted by indigenous populations as Leon García-Gargarza's research on the trial of Juan Teton, an Otomie hechicero/*nahual*, who was tried for heresy and apostasy in 1558. Teton had persuaded baptized Indians to reverse their baptisms with indigenous customs intended to cancel the hold that Spaniards had on native souls, on the grounds that through baptism Spaniards had converting them into cattle. According to Garcia Garagarza, given the decimation of Indian populations in the decades following the Conquest, the landscape of Xalatlaucho, one of the first to embrace Christianity, had been rendered a "desolated wasteland" (40). "Where there had been many people, now there were only brutish cows and sheep" (41) who roamed widely and freely invading and wrecking indigenous harvests, metaphorically supporting Teton's perceptions, given "the expansion of cattle and sheep [as] a mirror image of the contraction of the human indigenous population" (43).

of the sacredness of human life is conducted in terms of a search for the elements of a *resplandor* (or *conciencia*) in indigenous peoples, which would merit their earnest inclusion into political life. Omniscient instances, such as the following quote, highlights a recurrent register of vulnerability, where animality invites us to think about bare life, as a shared "creaturely" experience: "ni la pierda, ni el nudosos órgano, ni el mezquite se quejan. ¿Por qué habían de quejarse? El otomí solo sabe que su muerte será menos sentida que la de la mula o el buey que dan el sustento a la familia" (24). The abandonment of the Otomies, through the superimposed animal and vegetative comparisons, helps us understand that it is not just a matter of reducing indigenous people to less-than -human but rather that there is a shared suffering and silence between those relegated to *nature* as non-commodified (such as the *pierda, mezquite,* catcus, *mula, buey,* and *indio*) and cattle, as exemplary "animal capital."

As Anat Pick explains, this sort of "*contraction*" representation that involves "making ourselves 'less human'" (6) accentuates the "vulnerability" of humans and nonhumans as creatures. This "vulnerability" contends with the notion of bare life (*zoe*) as an animal-life "foundation upon which life's other functions are built and to which life returns when these are taken away [since] *all* life is bare in the sense of being susceptible to the interventions of power" (15). *Indigenista* fiction depicts indigenous "vulnerability," as Scott DeVries points out, as a way of signaling the "vulnerability of native groups such as the Aymara in Bolivia to the whims of hacienda-owners who have usurped their land" ("Creature" 245). DeVries connects the representation of animal suffering in Alcide Arguedas's *Raza de bronce* with the critique of liberal humanism that Pick locates in her focus on vulnerability (245). Whereas DeVries uses Pick's "creaturely poetics," a poetics based on vulnerability as a register for exteriority of "creaturely" existence (i.e. flesh and blood), in the service of an "animal-centric" examination of Spanish American literature (246), my examination of *indigenista* animality, seeks to delineate the contours of animality in order to make legible the

indigenous problem through animal signs, signs which are symbolic and material, where the material is nature as ground and body.

El resplandor illustrates the fallacy of a modern rural Mexico propelled by a "modernized" hacienda system based on debt peonage and coerced indigenous labor and the patronage politics, in which the continuities between twentieth century hacienda and the pre-capitalist or non-capitalist hacienda of the Porfiriato and even the colonial encomienda pervade.[35] Clearly mirroring the cattle-like treatment of indigenous peoples under encomienda overlords, the *tlacuaches* are, nonetheless, vulnerable to similar operations of power, as Saturnino will corral and ship them to Pachuca in order for them to cast their votes for their messiah in the same manner and in the same trucks intended for livestock. As such even in the realm of *bios*, the logistics of political "mobilizations" and that of livestock management are collapsed:

> ...decidieron los detalles de la manifestación del domingo y los de la próxima instalación formal de la finca... Había que comprar cuanto antes la vacada y los burros manaderos... Ya Rendón andaba en tratos con un finquero de la Huasteca para traer más cabezas y algo de ganado de pelo y estaba muy animado con la idea de ser el administrador de "La Brisa. (170)

The importation of livestock from the Huasteca recalls colonial movements of livestock akin to that of Nuño de Guzmán. Just as livestock will be brought into the region, so too are indigenous bodies imported from the country into the city by vying parties in order to "obligar a las indiadas a prestar su contingente," a seemingly common coercive electoral practice (171). The *indiadas* are rounded up "a fuerza viva" and packed into twenty-four trucks, one of which resembled "una jaula verde de

[35] Alan Knight discusses the Mexican hacienda system, stating that "A neat conclusion... might be to denote the hacienda as 'capitalist' with regard to its *external* relations of exchange and 'non- or 'precapitalist' with regard to its internal relations of production. More specifically—and more boldly—one might attempt a more positive typology (1. 'feudal'; 2) 'slave'; 3) "capitalist"), depending on whether, for example, the internal relations of production were based upon 1. labor service tenancy, 'traditional' peonage, and perhaps, share cropping; 2. slavery or 'coercive' peonage; or 3. free wage labor" (Knight 75). Indeed, according to Marx such intermediate stages have been the rule in the transition to capitalism even in Europe. In his terminology this is the "formal subsumption" of labor, where capital takes control of an economic sector including the older labor relations still in-tact, until the later "real subsumption" once production is reorganized for wage labor ("The Production Process" np).

flamante carrocería en que se leía, a letras negras...Almacén de Semillas y Víveres" (173).

Magdaleno further emphasizes the vulnerability of the *tlacuaches* caught up in postrevolutionary electoral power struggles, with the violence that these are subjected to in the *fiesta de balas* that occurs between rival political "contingents" that are depicted as simian, spider-like, and as beasts ("chorreando un hilo de baba," "se lamían, sacando tamaña lengua," "echaron a andar por una calle asfaltada...apretados como bestias, se secaban las gargantas de tanto gritar") (176). Dozens of *indios* perish in the election squabble and the hunger and bewildered survivors, are urged by Saturnino's callous campaign team to leave their dead on the street. After their votes are cast, these *indiadas* are transformed from docile herds into starved canine-like rabble, when food is distributed to them these "devoraron famélicamente su ración" and "un hombre casi negro de tan prieto, inválido y ciego y con la cara comida...roía unos despojos de carne de chivo" (185). After which, the Otomies are described in terms of menacing dog packs: "una perrada no menos menesterosa que los otomíes peleaba ferozmente por una piltrafa, sacudiéndose los canes a dentelladas y aullando, en derrota, los postergados" (185). This scene of the Otomí herd sacrificed at the electoral slaughter and the various animalized forms that Magdaleno superimposes on them points to the limits of liberal humanism where rights and philosophical-political traditions have not succeeded in securing the existence of indigenous peoples, despite their *de jure* "possession" of rights.

2. The Question of Indigenous Consciousness

Although Magdaleno's configuration of rural hell in the Mezquital Valley is denunciatory in its intention, the constant search for indigenous *conciencia* and agency through the animalization of the Otomie harbors the refutation of indigenous consciousness and exposes *El resplandor* as counterinsurgency prose. Critiquing the foundations of historical writings related to Colonial India, Ranajit Guha explains that such prose, however contemporaneous, distant from the events and,

even in favor of the native rebels, can never account for revolt and agency other than as an event that native others have stumbled and/or drifted into absent-mindedly. The telluric degradation of the Otomies and even the *mestizo*'s de-evolution into animal-human co-constitution exhibit the counterinsurgency marks that Guha locates in writings that employ naturalizing metaphors to deny the consciousness of native rebels. Guha describes this substitution of consciousness with metaphors of nature as follows:

> The omission [of consciousness] is indeed dyed into most narratives by metaphors assimilating peasant revolts to natural phenomena: they break out like thunder storms, heave like earthquakes, spread like wildfires, infect like epidemics. In other words, *when the proverbial clod of earth turns, this is a matter to be explained in terms of natural history*. Even when this historiography is pushed to the point of producing an explanation in rather more human terms it will do so by assuming an identity of nature and culture, a hall-mark, presumably, of a very low state of civilization... (46, emphasis added)

The aridness of the Mezquital Valley and the vegetative/mineral constitution of the Otomies of the novel sustain the notion of an absence of indigenous consciousness, reproducing the 'atroz mimetismo' of the region that Magdaleno paradoxically holds as the aesthetic laboratory for the transmutation of Mexico's essential elements (Spanish and indigenous). The revolt and *resplandor* of the *tlacuaches* is set against the backdrop of a cursed landscape, where although it is linked explicitly to colonialism, indigenous *conciencia* is, nonetheless, imprisoned behind a *manada* of *caras cobrizas*.

"Resplandor" appears in the novel as the oppressive heat and light of the Mezquital Valley, as the revolt against exploitation, and as a search for indigenous consciousness. As previously mentioned, the novel opens with a dense descriptions of the telluric *resplandor* of San Ándres de la Cal, where the subjectivity of the Otomies is calcified, rendering these as indistinguishable from the terrain, impassible as stone and devoid of thought, as vegetative. This telluric *resplandor* also appears

in proximity to the animalized (*indiada*, *manada*) representations of the *tlacuaches*, in a preoccupation for searching out light within the cattleized eyes of the Otomies. Despite their dismal existence, light and hope emerge in the Otomies with the return of Herrera to San Ándres de la Cal. The aspiration that Herrera as their messiah will fulfill the prophecy and end the curse of the Piedra del Diablo and restore rain to the region is diminished gradually by Herrera's repeated postponing of his electoral promises. The complete stamping out of this hope comes with its substitution of light for violent and precipitous *resplandor* of revolt, which is detonated by the novel's archetype of indigeneity, Bonifacio.

Bonifacio is the novel's prime indigenous specimen, through whom it conducts an exploration of consciousness in the psyche of the *indio*. The presence of *conciencia*, it is implied, is a necessary element in order for the *indio* to liberate themselves of their centuries-old oppression—that is, to conduct their own revolution as was the recommendation of the Comintern that Mariátegui anguished over. The following question posed by Gamio underlines this dilemma: "¿Por qué no sabe el indio pensar, dirigir, hacer sus revoluciones triunfantes, formando, como forma, la mayoría de la población, siendo sus energías físicas tal vez superiores y poseyendo aptitudes intelectuales comparables a las de cualquier raza del mundo?" (169). Bonifacio, like his ancestors, is depicted as sweet and docile, where ironically his superior physical qualities is that he is extremely old, almost timeless, so old and simpleminded that he does not know his own age. Magdaleno embodies his notion of *atroz mimetismo* by having Bonifacio exhibit an indigenous presence that reproduces *indigenista* imaginary of the *indio* as fundamentally a non-presence, in which the *indio* is suffused with nature and his subjectivity (and agency) is collapsed with the landscape:

> Bonifacio, con los ojos clavados en la lejanía donde desapareció, entre vahadas de tierra... Solía quedarse así, con la mirada desprendida, hasta por una o dos horas. Ni pensaba, ni agitaba en el corazón impulsos o inconformidades, ni recordaba, ni añoraba. Simplemente,

era una erosión más de la tierra calcárea, en el violento incendio de la solana. *La cara curtida no filtraba un hilo de luz*. Allá, muy hondo, en las turbias anfractuosidades del ser--*en el punto en que se encuentran la inocente ignorancia de la bestia y la caliente ebullición de la conciencia*--le pesaban como un agobio que se carga en la faena sus noventa y dos años acabados de cumplir. (25)

As his indigenous muse, Magdaleno depicts Bonifacio as an erosion, as the gradual effacement of the indigenous subject amid its violent natural habitat. Despite Bonifacio's vacant and weathered countenance, the *indigenista* can excavate and discover within the *indio*'s confused irregular veneer of being, an ontological site that is part beast and human. Consciousness, as a spectrum of self-awareness to logic, is cast as volcanic in its potential for violent outburst. Although Magdaleno employs *bestia* in conveying indigenous innocence and ignorance, it would be appropriate to think of the *bestia* in terms of *criatura*, in terms of an "infantilization" that the word connotes, which applies to young animals and humans. In this way, the 92-year old Bonifacio is rendered both a primordial geyser of *conciencia* waiting to erupt and a child/creature in need of guidance and instruction.[36]

Embodying at once the "noble savage" of yore and the revolutionary force of modernity, Bonifacio is blindly faithful to *El coyotito*, as he mobilizes the *tlacuaches* to secure Saturnino's gubernatorial victory while he fails to recognize and confront his adoptive son for the rape of his granddaughter. This piety that Bonifacio exhibits is the sort of indigenous cooperation that the *mestizo* state would require to conduct its tripartite reforms of land, education, and civic religion. Magdaleno, however, illustrates the conundrum of enacting the Revolution's *tierra y libertad* decree with such docile and seemingly vacuous subjects. For example, in the midst of an inebriated debate between Saturnino and his resident poet, Vate Pedroza, Bonifacio is employed as a straw man by the

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[36] Rolena Adorno describes the analogous positions women and indigenous peoples in colonial discourse, where "... en la jerarquía humana aristotélica, la mujer y el niño eran criaturas defectuosas" y "el amerindio [según el padre Vitoria] era psicológicamente un niño... se veía al natural americano no como un ser definitivamente inferior sino, al contrario, como poseedor de todas las facultades racionales que existían en potencia sin estar plenamente desarrolladas... necesitaba la dirección de otros" (61).

latter to argue against Herrera's rhetoric of land redistribution over the more enlightened course of education. Pedroza asks Bonifacio: "¿Tú sabes cómo quiere el idealista," only to then cut him off by saying: "¡Tú no sabes nada! ¡Pero ahora verás, cuando pongamos la escuela para los inditos! ¡Por cada cueva de curas dos escuelas! ¡Ése es nuestro programa... ¡Escuelas para el indio, guerra a muerte al cura, al latifundista y al alcohol, los tres azotes de México, como dijo mi general Calles en su histórico discurso del Primero de Mayo!" (125). Pedroza talks of civilizing indigenous peoples as part of a three-pronged attack on the backwards elements that hold Mexico back, religion, latifundismo, and alcohol, the latter of which is ironic given that he himself is inebriated as he gives this discourse. The reference to Calles's May Day speech implies a progressive stance part of a pseudo-revolutionary vanguard, whereas the true revolutionary *luz civilizador* had been that of Vasconcelos, according to Magdaleno's vision of what could have been.

Bonifacio, as the spokesperson and elder of the *tlacuaches*, is the catalyst for *resplandor* as conciencia that will spread to other *tlacuaches* as these revolt against Saturnino. The pious and reverent Bonifacio, believing that Saturnino is unaware of their plight, leads the group to La Brisa to beg him to rectify the abuses of Felipe Rendón, his overseer. When Herrera callously responds that he will fulfill his promises in a matter of months, the *tlacuaches* strive to comprehend the truth behind Herrera's postponement: "Allá, en los pechos, hondo—honduras de vapor, ventisqueros de agonía!—algo se había roto y sangraba. Se hizo un resplandor en las consciencias inocentes y su fuego las quemaba como una hoguera. El mismo pensamiento y la misma convicción negábanse a dar forma a la horrenda realidad" (241-2). This awareness that Saturnino is, in effect, reneging on his promises, fades to disenchantment and despondency as the end of the harvest season brings with it disease and death.

Despite his name of "good fate," Bonifacio dies wretchedly after he instigates a revolt following this brief period of compliant discontent. He sounds the insurgency call and alerts them

that the trucks full of maize are heading to Pachuca, leaving them to their certain famished demise. Despite the *resplandor* that Magdaleno had previously depicted, the Otomies are not depicted as conscious agents in their rebellion against Rendón. Instead of a "rational" and thus "human" revolt, the *tlacuaches* are portrayed as rabid beings reacting instinctively, "[b]rotaron, en tropel, caras ávidas, con los ojos saltando de la órbita y un gesto turbio y renegrido marcando de rabia todos lo pómulos" (ibid). Even Bonifacio's lamentation of the violence that ensues is described as "un chillido animal, viscoso como el de una serpiente" (ibid). As Guha explains, even when those on the side of the rebels write history, they still seek out natural rather than intellectual causes: " 'factors of economic and political deprivation which don't relate at all to the peasant's consciousness' or these as 'triggering off rebellion as a sort of reflex action,... as an instinctive and almost mindless response to physical suffering of a kind or another'—where the Cause is 'made to stand in as a phantom surrogate for Reason, the logic of that consciousness' " (47). The revolt is naturalized through the already established telluric imagery and its resplandor/mineral/earth semantics: "cundió la locura, como si la enorme y estéril tierra los hubiere contagiado de su fiebre. Se revolvieron, en grupos, adelantándose por el erial, a ambos lados de la carretera, [...] emergieron, tristes, cenizos, lacerantes, unos aullidos de bestia herida [...] la horda no se abrió, ni reculó. Se miraron las indiadas y el administrador y en la mirada brilló un fulgor terrible, como de inminencia de una tormenta" (259).

Although *El resplandor* and other indigenista writings, seek to adopt the view of the insurgents, regarding as the native rebels as " 'fine' and support[ing] their struggle to seek redress by arms," there persists a refusal to fully relinquish the colonial binary that cannot take indigenous actions as fully-reasoned (Guha 72).[37] The main issue with counterinsurgency prose, in particular this tertiary discourse that attempts to align itself with native rebels, is that it rejects aspects of religiosity that shaped the rebellion preferring to secularize it as being motivated by an "ideal consciousness."

[37] I credit Francesca Denegri for relating *indigenismo* to Guha's prose of counterinsurgency in our discussions of Mario Vargas Llosa's "Historia de una matanza."

Guha explains this further: "Since the ideal is suppose to be one hundred per cent secular in character, the devotee tends to look away when confronted with the evidence of religiosity as if the latter did not exist or explain it away as a clever but well-intentioned fraud perpetrated by enlightened leaders on their moronic followers—all done, of course, 'in the interests of the people!'" (83).

Magdaleno's use of *nahualismo*, which elaborates correspondences that I interpret as mapping onto the state through the predatory *nahualismo* of Saturnino as the central *mestizo*, rejects the backwardness of this indigenous belief system that will sustain Saturnino's power. The wicked *mestizaje* that Saturnino represents, and which I extend to the state, arises as evidence of Mexico's failure to civilize its indigenous people, to rid them of their *supercheria*. We can see this in the final panoramic scene of the novel where Saturnino's cattle await the rain while on the other side of the plain, the *tlacuaches* clutch their fetishes and continue in their superstitions. Magdaleno's representation of educational, political, and technocratic-oriented *indigenismo* all pertain to improve the lot of the Otomies by exacerbating precisely the material conditions of their dispossession, since even the earnest efforts of the teacher is met with sorcery and ill-will on the part of those he seeks to uplift and protect. The educational, political and technocratic representations of *indigenismo* take the infantilizing approach towards indigenous peoples of knowing, advocating and implementing what it discerns as being in the best interests of the *pueblo*. This discounts indigenous appeals and voices for solutions on the grounds of their inability to possess the *conciencia* and rigor to enact change, to effect revolution.

Conclusion

In general, my interpretation of Magdaleno's *indigenista* animality locates causes for the dehumanization of the Otomies, partly, in the historical development of animal husbandry and its

impact on indigenous communities. It also delineates critical questions on hybridity that stem from competing ontologies in parsing out the various manifestations of *nahualismo* in the novel. Surveying Magdaleno's telluric constructions in early writings alongside *indigenista* and *mestizaje* discourses, such as that of Vasconcelos and Gamio, we can better understand the animality in *El resplandor* and the radical pessimism that accompanies it.

As this chapter and the following chapter dedicated to Carlos Castaneda demonstrates, *nahualismo*, within the modern Mexican and Latin American imaginary, constitutes a particular discourse of animality, one that is historically situated within coloniality and enables the association between "animal" and national character. More generally, this discourse conserves, as Estelle Tarica states, "the Indianness within the nation and within national selves" (xxi). The pessimistic animality present in this novel by Magdaleno employed *nahualismo* to illustrate a particular form of survival-of-the-fittest discourse set within a wasteland locked within the infernal cyclical dynamics of Mesoamerican fatalism. This *nahualista* animality that Magdaleno articulates counters nationalist discourse that exalted the de-Indianized Mexican *mestizo* subject as its auspicious *porvenir*. It is this pessimism that Castaneda confronts and seeks to escape within his New Age *nahualismo* that posits individual power and knowledge as the springboard for liberation.

Chapter 3

New Hu(man)ity on the Borders: New Age *Nagualismo*, Animality, and Indigenous Warriorhood in Carlos Castaneda's Shamanovels (1968-1974)

> A series of confusing thoughts and feelings overtook me, as if the feelings had been out there waiting for me. *I felt with agonizing clarity the rabbit's tragedy, to have fallen into my trap.* In a matter of second my mind swept across the most crucial moments of my own life, *the many times I had been the rabbit myself.*
>
> Carlos Castaneda, *Journey to Ixtlan*, 87, emphasis added

This chapter explores the role of animals and the representation of indigenous-animal relational beliefs in the works of the Peruvian-born, UCLA-trained anthropologist Carlos Castaneda. In *The Teachings of don Juan* (1968), *A Separate Reality* (1971), *Journey to Ixtlan* (1972), and *Tales of Power* (1974), Castaneda makes the claim that he was "converted" into a "nagual" or sorcerer through a ten-year apprenticeship with don Juan, a Yaqui "man of knowledge" who instructs his pupil in the ways of the warrior so that he too can be powerful through the acquisition of ancient indigenous knowledge. Originally promoted and received as ethnographic fieldwork, their ambiguous claims to authenticity have been the subject of extended debate, and many readers have read them as a special kind of fictional world, one that claims to have some elements of anthropological authenticity.[1] This chapter will analyze them as imaginative literature within the long tradition of literary representations of indigenous peoples of South and Central America in works that straddle genres, like the Latin American magical realist novel, shaman-novels, and other kinds of Latin American novels by writers such as José María Arguedas or Miguel Ángel Asturias whose fictional worlds are underwritten, at least in part, by the state of anthropological discourse.

[1] For more the Castaneda controversy over the authenticity of his works, see Richard de Mille's "The Don Juan Papers. Further Castaneda Controversies."

As my study will show, the use of animals and indigenous human-animal *cosmovisiones* serves as a space outside of humanity that provides insights into Castaneda's protagonist in the novels, a protagonist that shares the author's name. In this "outside" space, Castaneda encounters animals—whether physical, hallucinogenic, or mnemonic—whether in the wild "camposcape" of Mexico, in the domesticated American realm, or the urban Mexican metropolis.[2] Of various animal forms, Castaneda privileges canine and feline figures in shaping moments of epiphanies and revelations that inform some of his recurrent themes, namely freedom, power, weakness, and captivity.

Castaneda's *indigenista* animality offers a vision of the animal that seeks connection, commonality, even camaraderie, wherein he must effectively turn to animals as part of "the teachings." Carlos's moments of "enlightenment" take place on the ontological border between humanity and animality, which Giorgio Agamben calls "the Open."[3] In contrast to the Western philosophical tradition that deems animals as inferior to the human, Castaneda's encounters with animals, especially the confrontation with the animal gaze, advances a view of animals and humans within the same universe that reaches towards the ethical considerations present within Amazonian perspectivism, a view in which culture is shared by humans and animals. In animistic ways, Castaneda communicates with his *tona/nahual*, a "Chicano coyote," activating human-animal co-essence beliefs as well as the act of *coyotaje*, as crossing and smuggling across geopolitical borders. In particular, his animistic encounter with his "Chicano coyote" reveals the ways that Castaneda "reinterprets" *nahualismo* and *tonalismo,* distorting Mesoamerican ontology into abstruse concepts of "nagualism" and "tonalism" that involves a radical erasure of the human and animal bonds at the center of indigenous cosmologies, signaling the dubious liberties he takes in translating and adapting indigeneity for an American and global readership.

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[2] Ageeth Sluis describes camposcape as "an anachronistic and idealized countryside imagined as the site of so-called authentic Mexico" (2).
[3] In referencing to the character of Castaneda in these novels I will be using Carlos to distinguish him from the author, Carlos Castaneda.

Set within the backdrop of the countercultural movements of the 1960s, Castaneda's "warrior education" at the hand of a "Native American" Yaqui man can be seen as an anti-war response to the Vietnam War.[4] Also Castaneda's exploration of psychedelics within the confines of "the teachings" as well as his contacts with Timothy Leary further the countercultual impulses that are present throughout the quartet. According to Ageeth Sluis, don Juan's teachings "spoke to subjects engaged in other intersecting revolutionary movements of the sixties and seventies: civil rights, guerrilla struggles, the sexual revolution, and the search for gender equality" (2). However, although Castaneda's novels are aligned with the countercultural ethos, they seemingly disengage from the explicitly political discourse of the Latin American left, preferring to engage through an abstraction of how to relate to 'fellow man' that occurs through animal figures as well as his New Age reconfiguration of *nahualismo.* I argue that both in his animal encounter epiphanies and his universalizing New Age *nahualismo,* the collective and social bonds are severed in his individualist "hero's journey," presenting a de-political perspective within a moment of reckoning with the agency, presence, and self-determination of indigenous peoples throughout the hemisphere.[5]

His domestic and international success was, in part, a product of his enigmatic and boundary-crossing identity and its association with the interstitial space of the border. For instance, it is within the U.S.-Mexico borderlands that Castaneda executes his anthropological discipline and receives a 'warrior education.' He lives in Los Angeles and studies anthropology at UCLA, and conducts his field study of the Yaqui way of the warrior in the binational space of Arizona-Sonora, where he meets first don Juan and where he returns repeatedly during his ten-year apprenticeship. Often designated as an American writer, Castaneda embodies the hemispheric dimension of

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[4] In his second book, *A Separate Reality*, Castaneda describes don Juan as a Native American and seems to present "the teachings" within the context of the Southwest and not strictly related to Mexico.

[5] In 1968 the American Indian Movement was founded in Minnesota and throughout the Americas there were serious reexaminations of prior decades of *indigenista* state policies that critiqued the paternalistic and prejudicial treatment of indigenous peoples.

indigenismo, particularly in its *neoindigenista* dimension. Critic César N. Caviedes has argued that Castaneda is best understood in the vein of the Latin American boom novel due to the magical realist elements of his narrative, the geopolitical tensions of the setting, as well as their vast circulation and celebration. Castaneda's books along with those of other "neo-shamans" produced literary works that traversed the realms of academic and popular literature, due to the popularity of the combination of novelistic and ethnographic elements.[6]

In general, Castaneda's shamanovels follow the plot of a hero's journey out of disenchantment with modern and tumultuous social and political life in the United States, through an exotic and dangerous landscape to the south, into bizarre encounters with magical beings, surreal travels into other worlds, and lessons from ancient indigenous sources as to the unifying reality beyond the material 'progress' of Western modernity. All this being said, and despite Castaneda's explicit disavowal of his Peruvian identity, in his treatment of animals and indigenous human-animal relations there is in fact an importation of Amazonian animism, which he suffuses with Yaqui indigeneity and then employs in his "re-shaping" of Mesoamerican *nahualismo* and *tonalismo*. Indeed, Castaneda's daring conceit is to imbue the American Southwest with anthropological information that was originally gathered from Peruvian anthropological sources.[7]

In what follows I will give an overview of the theoretical texts that guide my readings of animals in Castaneda's novels. I then summarize the quartet, weaving in aspects of his "personal history" that the anthropologist actively suppressed. I will then discuss the hemispheric dimensions of anthropology, shamanism and the question of magic that Octavio Paz emphasizes in his prologue

[6] The term shamanovel was coined by Daniel C. Noel in his "The Soul of Shamanism; Western Fantasies, Imaginal realities" (1997) to refer to Romanian anthropologist, Mircea Eliade's novel "The Forbidden Forest". Bruce Wallis in his study on shamans and neo-shamans, also uses the term in describing the literary anthropological works of "white shamans" like Castaneda, as "ethnographically inauthentic" works that retain anthropological value. Wallis states "the work is meaningful anthropology then, but only as the shamanovel Noel suggests, a remarkable historical phase in the history of anthropology looking towards experiential anthropology" (44).

[7] Even though these Peruvian sources are never mentioned or acknowledged in the book, they certainly inform many of his anthropological conceits.

to the Spanish translation of *The Teachings of don Juan*. Afterwards, I will explain the ways that Castaneda alters Mesoamerican ontology to conform to a New Age horizon, by drawing on insights from recent anthropological developments. In discussing the various animal epiphanies Castaneda experiences, I will draw on Agamben and Derrida's views of the animal within the philosophical traditional in interpreting the ways that Castaneda's "man-making" project necessitates animals in order to overcome the weakness and captivity of Western modernity and emerge free and powerful within an alternative paradigm. Specifically, this involves careful examination of canine and feline figures in the quartet, which infuse gender into Castaneda's inner journey to the self. I conclude the chapter with linking the canine figure into a cultural tapestry of Mexican animality, in which the *brujo*-anthropologist draws on the specificity of Mexican nationalist and indigenous animality to underscore a *pathos* of dispossession and solitude.

Human-Animal Borders and Cultures

In examining Castaneda's reconfiguration of *nahualismo* and the moments of rapture and agony in confrontation with the animal, I rely on theoretical contributions from philosophers and anthropologists that consider the nexus of nature/animals and human subjects. As it relates to the insights that result from animal encounters in the quartet, Giorgio Agamben and Jacques Derrida, as animal studies philosophers concerned with the biopolitical continuum between human and animal, contribute a way of engaging with the "outside," "other" and "other-worldly" aspects of animality and the status of animals within Western philosophy. At the opposing end, the French anthropologist, Phillipe Descola, and Brazilian anthropologist, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, offer incisive paradigms for understanding aspects of indigenous views on interspecies communication, co-essences, and kinship that destabilize the hegemonic Western naturalist view that human culture and nature are inherently separate.

Agamben's *The Open* (2004) is an apt text for analyzing Castaneda's novels, particularly in terms of his leitmotif of the "power of a man of knowledge," which harbors resonances with the biopolitical ingredients of life, ontology, and power. Through exploratory vignettes that probe the human-animal divide using theological, philosophical and scientific discourses, Agamben discusses how "man" is the site through which the arbitrary and unstable border between human and animal is constructed: "The division of life into vegetal and relational, organic and animal, animal and human ... passes first of all as a mobile border within living man, and without this intimate caesura the very decision of what is human and what is not would probably not be possible" (15). From the foundations of biopolitics in Aristotle, Agamben discusses the "anthropological machine" which Guillermina Seri describes as "the ontological political grammar of production of the human against a background of life defined as worthless and eliminable" (np). The ontological hierarchies produced by the anthropological machine are in conflict with the scientific determination that there is no clear biological difference between human and animal. Said tension, especially within modernity, heightens the ambiguity of these borders, an obscurity that is "intolerable" and from which results violence in the form of states of exception.

Following, the anatomy of this man-making machine, Agamben attempts to "undo[ ] the Aristotelian formula" by interrogating the divide from below as animal and from above in terms of the sacred and "the saved" within a post-historical messianic imaginary taken from rare religious texts. One of the major thinkers that Agamben engages with in *The Open* is Martin Heidegger and his triple thesis regarding "poverty in world" (*Weltarmut*). Despite the influence of the zoologist baron Jakob von Uexküll, who favorably posited animal multiverses, Agamben states that "Heidegger moves away from Uexküll to elaborate a strategy in which the understanding of "poverty in world" and the understanding of the human world proceed at an equal pace," thus, submitting animals to a

subordinate status to humans (52).[8] For Heidegger, the animal is captivated, stunned, taken away, blocked by objects, “beings are *not revealed* to the behavior of the animal in its captivation, they are not disclosed and for that very reason are not closed off from it either,” as such the world does not open up to them and are non-beings, objects unaware, lacking in “mood” and not to be considered *dasein* (54). Being a human does not automatically entail that the human is *dasein,* for as Agamben explains within Heideggerian ontology it is the mood of boredom that makes the human into *dasein*.

Whereas Agamben examines the anthropological machine of Western culture and seeks to find ways to ‘stall’ the gear of said machinery, Derrida’s question into the animal point of view initiates from the real gaze of his cat upon Derrida’s nakedness and the theorist’s shame. The malaise experienced by Derrida as “the single, incomparable and original experience of the impropriety that would come from appearing in truth naked, in front of the insistent gaze of the animal, a benevolent or pitiless gaze, surprised or cognizant... ashamed or what and before whom?” (372, 373). Derrida writes “as with every bottomless gaze, as with the eyes of the other, the gaze called animal offers to my sight the abyssal limit of the human: the inhuman or the ahuman, the ends of man, that is to say the border crossing from which vantage man dares to announce himself to himself, thereby calling himself by the name that he believes he gives himself” (381).

This “passion of the animal” as brings Derrida face-to-face with what his philosophical predecessors disavowed and consequently excluded from consideration, that the animal has a point of view.[9] This “other” point of view on *me* and onto the world also encompasses the feminine, anecdotally, the cat that sees the philosopher’s nakedness is female, and with the narrative of

[8] With regard to Uexküll's zoological contribution, Agamben states that "Where classical science saw a single world that comprised within it all living species hierarchically ordered from the most elementary forms up to the higher organisms, Uexküll instead supposes an infinite variety of perceptual worlds that, though they are uncommunicating and reciprocally exclusive, are all equally perfect and linked together as if in a gigantic musical score, at the center of which lie familiar and, at the same time, remote little beings called *Echinus esculentus*, *Amoeba terricola*, *Rhizostoma pulmo*, *Sipunculus*, *Anemonia sulcata*, *Ixodes ricinus*, and so on" (40).

[9] Derrida describes this "passion" as: “seeing oneself seen naked under a gaze that is vacant to the extent of being bottomless, at the same time innocent and cruel perhaps, perhaps sensitive and impassive, good and bad, uninterpretable, unreadable, undecidable, abyssal and secret” (381).

creation and in the Western philosophical canon placed women at a position of subordination and otherness. Against this otherness of female and animal, Castaneda reinforces the notion of humanity and power of the masculine, in an encounter with a cat that resembles that of the French philosopher.

By subjecting Western naturalism to a structural analysis of "relations", Descola compares the nature and culture divides of various human societies historically and around the world. As stated by Seri in her critique of Agamben, said critique "seems to be just addressed to Europeans" and leaves no room for "metaphysical recognition" of the Americas, given that "the reign of metaphysics is European only". Descola's years of field study with the Achuar and Makuna peoples of Amazonia prompted him to examine differences between cosmologies in terms of "degrees of sociability" with flexible ontological classifications. According to Descola,

> Anthropology must shed its essential dualism and become fully monistic, not in the quasi-religious sense of the term promulgated by Haeckel and subsequently taken over by certain environmental philosophies, not, of course, with a view to reducing the plurality of existing entities to a unity of substance, finality, and truth, as certain nineteenth century philosophers attempted to do. Rather, our object must be to make it clear that the project of understanding the relations that human beings establish between one another and with nonhumans cannot be based upon a cosmology and an ontology that are as closely bound as ours are to one particular context. To this end, we need first to show that the opposition between nature and culture is not as universal as it is claimed to be. (xvii-xviii)

Through his years with Amazonian indigenous groups, Descola saw how inoperable the naturalist anthropological approach was in cataloging these societies. The cosmologies of these various peoples "without exception, draw no clear ontological distinctions between, on the one hand human and, on the other, numerous animals and plant species" (9). What prevailed in these communities

was a “model of symbiotic relations between other species”, a model that corresponded to a world perceived as “interconnected in a vast continuum inspired by unitary principles and covered by an identical regime of sociability” (ibid).

In Amazonian animist relations, direct communication and relations take place between species that have different bodies but are ontologically the same. This is in contradistinction to the naturalist schema that recognizes the equality of bodily matters but disavows any continuity and knowledge of interiorities between species. Although Descola also considers the relations with others within the totemic schema, his innovation is that of analogism, in which humans and non-human beings do not directly share bodily nature or interior culture across the species/ontological borders, but rather within a constellation of difference, correspondences are deciphered by a shaman “specialist” figure to determine the order, pairings, and the fates of radically different beings. Within the densest of web of difference, Descola locates Mesoamerican ontological concepts like *nahualismo* and *tonalismo* within analogism.

The Amazonian contribution to renovating anthropological paradigms is also present in Viveiros's concept of perspectivism, in which animals and humans share a universal culture but inhabit different perspectives on account of their bodies. According to Viveiros, within Amazonian perspectivism “animals are people, or see themselves as persons” (470). In terms of different natures or biologies and shared interiorities of beings, Viveiros explains that:

> Such a notion [perspectivism] is virtually always associated with the idea that the manifest form of each species is a mere envelope (a 'clothing') which conceals an internal human form, usually only visible to the eyes of the particular species or to certain trans-specific beings such as shamans. This internal form is the 'soul' or 'spirit' of the animal: an intentionality or subjectivity formally identical to human consciousness, materializable, let us say, in a human bodily schema concealed behind an animal mask. (470-1)

The figure of the shaman, powerful and skilled enough to "see" and dialogue with the internal form of non-human beings is something that is present in Castaneda's quartet, as a recurrent didactic theme of "the task of seeing" as penetrating through the layers of realities to arrive at the transcendent truth, a universality.

Integrating these two anthropological paradigms, we could say that perspectivism "resides" within the animist schema that Descola proposes, and both these are beneficial in navigating Castaneda's version of *nahualismo*, which rejects traditional, indigenous Mesoamerican ontology and resembles Viveiros's perspectivism. Castaneda's amazonization of *nahualismo* suppresses radical differences of analogism in order to construct a new universality for his version of the "new man" that could confront the crises, schisms, and disillusionment wrought by Cold War politics and consumer-oriented modernity.

Writing don Juan, from Anthro Major to Spiritual Entrepreneur

Within his novels, Castaneda does not divulge specifics with regard to his biography, as the anthropologist-turn-*brujo* character, who some have suggested as a Sancho Panza figure alongside Don Quixote in the various stoic and chimeric forms of don Juan, "erases his personal history" as part of his warrior education by referring in the novels to himself as being from South America and being a European man, as well as his interviews in which he asserts that he's Brazilian.[10] Despite his attempts to throw readers, critics, and his followers off his biographical trail, Castaneda was born in Cajamarca, Peru, in 1925, and emigrated to the U.S. by ship in 1952. He became a naturalized citizen in the late 1950s and according to Znamenski, Castaneda removed the ñ from his last name as he adopted his new American identity.

[10] In his prologue to the Spanish translation of *The Teachings*, Paz writes "La iniciación de Castaneda puede verse como un regreso, guiado por don Juan y don Genaro -ese Quijote y ese Sancho Panza de la brujería andante, dos figuras que poseen la plasticidad de los héroes de los cuentos y leyendas- el antropólogo desanda el camino" (np).

In terms of his educational trajectory in Los Angeles, Castaneda took courses at Los Angeles City College, including creative writing, and in the 1960's became an anthropology student at UCLA. According to Znmaneski, his encounter with don Juan was spurred as an undergraduate course project assigned to him by a professor to go find a native American (an "Indian" as his professors called native Americans then) and interview him. Exactly where he went and who he did or did not meet is the subject of considerable debate and speculation, though these questions lie outside the scope of this study focused on the literary elements of the work. In any case, upon reading Castaneda's first account, the enthusiastic professor urged him to return and interview the subject more, and that for this work he would grant his pupil an "A" in the course. The manuscript grew and grew, until it was accepted for publication by the University of California Press in 1968 as *The Teachings of Don Juan*, on the basis of which Castaneda was conferred a Masters degree in Anthropology. With the publication of the third book of the series, *Journey to Ixtlan* in 1972, he was awarded a doctorate, the book submitted as his dissertation with simply a change of title.

The Teachings were an "instant best-seller for the University of California Press" and given their countercultural themes of mind altering and higher states of consciousness "to gain supernatural power and knowledge" it proved "wonderfully timed for consumption in the psychedelic 1960s" (Wallis 40). Rarely has a book published by an academic press been so widely read nor had such an impact on mainstream culture. Castaneda presented *The Teachings* within an initial anthropological project of "collect[ing] information on the medicinal plants used by the Indians of the [Southwest] area." In addition to an introduction that describes the nature of his apprenticeship with Don Juan, the organization of his "data," the nature of the "records" he was allowed by his indigenous informant, the book is divided between his field notes as date entries and his structural analysis of the teachings (*The Teachings*, xxvii).

The "mythic" encounter with Don Juan in 1961 that Castaneda recounts in *The Teachings*, as well as in the few interviews he gave following its publication, takes place in a bus station in an Arizona border town where he is immediately captivated by Don Juan's eyes, his gaze, and laconic and enigmatic disposition. As Sluis writes,

> Castaneda's first [three] books…read much like an older genre of anthropology, the travelogue. Instead of straightforward ethnography, in which anthropologists immerse themselves in indigenous communities, these books lead the reader to follow Castaneda on multiple travels from the U.S. to Mexico, fantastic forays into spaces of cultural and spiritual otherness. (2)

Part of these forays into otherness, for example, include Castaneda's description of his hallucinatory encounter with a dog under the effects of peyote, an encounter that becomes a model for these encounters with otherness. Sluis's reading of gender and space in Castaneda constitutes one of the most cogent interpretations of the cultural dimensions of these books that springboard into additional questions particularly those pertaining to Castaneda's relationship to the Chicano movement. My contribution to scholarship on this "shamanthropologist" constitutes an extension of the space of difference that Sluis examines by accounting for the otherness of animals. As such, this chapter will address the function of animal/non-human encounters in these novels, in which the magical journeys into a "México profundo" camposcape hinge on the question of the otherness in terms of species borders that reoccur throughout the quartet.

Following *The Teachings,* Castaneda's shamanovels are constantly rewriting the previous novels and supplementing earlier incidents/entries with the retrospective insights that dually involve the disciplinary academic and warrior-like aspects that Castaneda continues to tie together, in complementary and oppositional ways. For example, in the second book, *A Separate Reality: Further Conversations with don Juan* (1971), Castaneda returns to visit don Juan and present him with an early

copy of *The Teachings*. Unimpressed, don Juan offers his former pupil the opportunity to learn how to truly "see", thus initiating a second cycle of apprenticeship that is at the center of *A Separate Reality*. Hence, *A Separate Reality* continues the teachings up until 1970 by supplementing a crucial aspect that was completely absent in the first book which he refers to as "the task of seeing" contrasted against "looking" as "the ordinary way in which we are accustomed to perceiv[ing] the world, while "seeing" entailed a very complex process by virtue of which a man of knowledge allegedly perceives the "essence" of the things of the world" (8).

In *Journey to Ixtlan*, Castaneda goes back to the beginning of his apprenticeship and almost entirely rewrites the previous two books by correcting the erroneous assumption that the non-ordinary reality experiences were entirely products of psychotropic plants. In this way, *Journey* is a revision of previous misunderstandings by Carlos (not his teacher don Juan) based on his "difficulty in grasping his concepts and methods stemm[ing] from the fact that the units of his description were alien and incompatible with those of my own" (ix). As in the previous book, Castaneda adds that at the center of lessons of *Journey*, namely "the tasking of seeing" were "alien and incompatible" because he (Castaneda) had failed to address the first step of said task, what don Juan called "stopping the world" (ibid).[11]

In the third installment of Castaneda's series of what he will later declare as "Toltec knowledge", the revision of his decade long apprenticeship turns away from the psychedelic and mind-altering experiences related to peyote, jimson weed, and mushrooms to the austere ways of the warrior. Despite the significance of the mythology concerning the Yaqui as warrior, this warriorhood is not represented as linked to a specifically Yaqui tradition and Castaneda's shamanovels for the most part eschew engaging with the historical aspects of Yaqui rebellion and dispossession. Instead

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[11] "Castaneda's narrative as the reader knows, is not strictly chronological but reflectively circular in structure. Taken as a unit, I am suggesting that volumes one and two of the quartet represent a descriptive eidetics of experience, and that volumes three and four are dialectical and teleological in character" (Olson 49).

of the specific Yaqui myth of a warrior essence (well documented by Ariel Z. Tumbaga's work, for example), Castaneda seems to resort to the "monomyth" of the hero's adventure that came from Joseph Campbell's 1949 book *A Hero with a Thousand Faces*, in which "A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man" (Campbell 23).[12] As an antihero, lacking in physical strength, nerve, and conviction, Carlos battles frightening forces represented in either monstrous or animalized forms of "guardians", animals, and menacing shape-shifting sorcerers.

In contrast to military conscription to fight in Vietnam, don Juan offers Carlos the opportunity to become a warrior through ascetic practices that will "discipline" and allow him to "stop the world" and thus step into separate 'nonordinary' reality. In order to do this, hunting becomes a central theme as don Juan through various bewildering and confusing lessons eventually succeeds in teaching Carlos the essential difference between being the hunter and the hunted, a binary framed by being "fixed by heavy routines and predictable quirks" (the hunted) versus being "free, fluid, unpredictable" (75). Learning to identify and avoid the "habits of animals" Carlos enters into Agamben's "the Open" and experiences defamiliarizing encounters with animals that condition him into the warrior way (ibid). *Journey to Ixtlan* ends with an encounter with a Chicano coyote, similar to the canine Mescalito peyote-induced encounter, as a 'successful' example of Carlos "stopping the world".

Whereas Sluis focuses on the first three novels, finding that the books get repetitive and "you get the point" after the third novel especially as to the narrative structures, themes, and non-resolutions that make the Castaneda books highly accessible to a mainstream readership, I include

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12 As Znamenski writes "to reduce inspirational texts of neo-shamanism to Eliade, Castaneda, and anthropology books (shamanthropology) is certainly a simplification. It seems we should talk about the whole body of neo-shamanism print culture, which includes not only Castaneda and Eliade, but also Joseph Campbell, Carl Jung, Native American spiritual biographies and autobiographies, Siberian ethnographies, and early European medieval folklore" (215).

Castaneda's fourth book *Tales of Power* (1974) in my examination of the use of nature and animals because it is in that novel that Castaneda completes his implicit project of refurbishing indigeneity for a New Age audience, through his universalizing and abstruse reconfiguration of *nahualismo* and *tonalismo*. This reconfiguration eliminates the social, species, and spiritual tissues between humans and non-human animal beings in a culminating Gaia-love centered discourse that depicts Don Juan and the ancient network of *brujos* from which he hails as quintessential ecological Indians and depoliticized guardians of Mother Earth.

Departing from the heavy warrior thematics of the previous novel, *Tales of Power* is concerned with the "sorcerer's explanation" as the central truth (again at least up until this particular novel) of don Juan's extraordinary knowledge. The explanation amounts to a radical reconfiguration of *nahualismo* and *tonalismo*, which don Juan circumscribes in an almost yin/yang relationship of discrete forces and entities of *nagual* and *tonal*. Carlos is aware of the "traditional" *nahualismo/tonalismo* belief system and is entirely confounded as to what a nagual and tonal are exactly. *Tales of Power,* in contrast to the previous novels, locates some of these lessons of the "sorcerer's explanation" in Mexico City, through an almost Lewis Carol-like inversion of the prior camposcape, in which don Juan shapeshifts out of his Yaqui-ness into the form of a stockholder, when he dons a business suit and cosmopolitan sensibilities as a trickster.[13] Claiming that such disorientations allow for the disintegration of the self and thus the power of the *nagual*, as a *brujo* to magically double the self and inhabit multiple spaces, the extremely esoteric *nagual/tonal* explanation culminates in the cliché of native indigenous love for the earth.

Despite his controversial status within academia, Castaneda enjoyed widespread fame and recognition for his scholastic and shamanic powers. According to Simon and Schuster, Castaneda would eventually write a total of 15 books, selling more than 28 million copies worldwide and

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[13] Znamenski writes about the way that Castaneda would show up in a suit and a project a respectable appearance to the confusion of his audience, subverting their expectations of what a shaman looks like.

published into 17 different languages.[14] Less than a mile from the UCLA campus, Castaneda established his "Westwood Compound" on Pandora Avenue spanning 1973 to 1998, where he escaped public life and lived with a chosen group of witch "chacmool" followers according to the ways of the ancient Toltecs. Alongside his publications was the founding of the corporation, Cleargreen, that promoted Castaneda's teachings and his spiritual practice of "Tensegrity" through workshops in Southern California, Europe and Latin America (Marshall). As part of his New Age synthesis of indigenous Mexico with Eastern practices and traditions, Castaneda's "Tensegrity" were a series of meditative stretches, stances and movements that he claimed had been handed down to him and were a product of 25 generations of Toltec shamans. Magnifying his wealth, Tensegrity seminars cost $1,200 per attendee and were led by his chacmools surrogates, his close female entourage that guarded his teachings and personal mystery by appearing in his place (Marshall). Tragically the self-help slogan of "Self Importance Kills—Do Tensegrity" came to ironic fruition following Castaneda's death when several of his chacmool witches vanished or committed suicide. One particular follower, inspired by Castaneda's references to transforming into a crow and taking flight, killed herself by jumping into the Rio Grande gorge. One of her friends commented to local newspapers: "I think she was really thinking she could fly off" (ibid).

Castaneda's trajectory can loosely be characterized as commencing within the shifting of the disciplinary contours of anthropology and emerging at the end as a "neo-shaman" and a new age entrepreneur. Despite the scholarship scrutinizing the integrity of his anthropological endeavors, especially within the context of American academia and New Age entrepreneurial projects, the hemispheric dimensions of Castaneda's ventures into Mexico and the universalizing of indigeneity for New Age global consumption has not been put into dialogue, in part, with Latin American

[14] To this day, Simon and Schuster still catalog Castaneda's books as non-fiction.

cultural studies. For the most part the gaze from North towards the South persists, despite the biographical and literary journeys cross the national, disciplinary, and ontological borders.

Often the porosity and adept mobility of Castaneda has been characterized as trickery, with the trickster label used for both the writer/*brujo* and his Yaqui teacher as well as a way of alluding to the mythology of coyote as a trickster figure present in indigenous mythologies bridging North and Latin American anthological and literary canons. While some critics such as Richard de Mille and Jay Courtney Fikes disparaged the authenticity of Castaneda's experiences, others such as Latin American cultural critics Leonardo Tarifeño and Irlanda Villegas viewed positively Castaneda's trickery in his masquerade of anthropological scholarship.[15] And as I will demonstrate the *coyotaje* extends into the realm of Amerindian cosmovision through his bricolage of Mesoamerican ontology. However, before turning to this unexamined use of animals and *nahualismo* in Castaneda's quartet, it is necessary to set the imagined geography of difference from which the hermeneutical animal encounters will consequentially yield a New Hu(man)ity that transcends the collective burdens of political revolutionary consciousness towards the new hope within the individual's neoliberal heroic journey.

Radiografía Hemisférica: Magic, Anthropology, and Shamanism

The mass appeal of Castaneda's shamanovels incorporated ideas of prior ethnographic works that centered the power of the shaman in not only the historical and cultural significance for the tribes and communities that they healed but for "the redemptive power of primal peoples, who were expected to offer curative remedies for modern civilization" (Znamenski 169). Within the

[15] According to Wallis, "The authenticity of Don Juan was accepted for six years, until Richard de Mille and Daniel Noel both published their critical exposés of the Don Juan books in 1976 (De Mille produced a further edited volume in 1980). Most anthropologists had been convinced of Castaneda's authenticity until now – indeed, they had had little reason to question it – but De Mille's meticulous analysis, in particular, debunked Castaneda's work" (40).

context of the countercultural and human potential movements as well as the proliferation of shamanic-focused anthropological studies, especially from UCLA, Castaneda's books seemed to weave these popular cultural and academic tendencies into "lively novels formatted as parables [that] took the topic of shamanism to mass audiences" (165).

Generally, Castaneda's representation of ecological connections between don Juan and separate reality forces "seen" as animals or animal-like, replicate the ideas of Romanian-American anthropologist, Mircea Eliade, who universalized the "primitive traditions" of shamanism by way of Christian analogies. For Eliade, "as soon as humans broke their intimate connection with "heaven" by separating themselves from the natural world, they lost their easy access to the sacred" (175). The shaman through his/her special magical meditation and the reconstitution of "primordial man" could remedy the nostalgia for "paradise" in ancient and modern tribal societies (ibid). Specifically, in relation to animals, Znamenski describes Eliade's contribution at length:

> shamans were those few individuals who maintained the original ability of people to talk with sacred animals, to turn into them, and to come back to the ordinary world. All ritual activities of shamans appeared to Eliade as exercises in the mystical reconstruction of the primordial natural state lost by humans. As an example, the scholar used the widespread shamanic practice of imitating the voices of animals. While for many earlier observers, this practice was evidence of shamans' bizarre behavior, to Eliade, such mimicking meant the establishment of "friendship with animals," which lead to the acquisition of "animal spontaneity" and eventually advanced the spiritual practitioners "far beyond the general situation of 'fallen' humanity." (ibid)

The animal encounters whether with a 'real' animal while either under the effect of psychotropic plants or the almost mystical ecstasy of "stopping the world" in Castaneda follow the broad themes outlined in Eliade's interpretation of the re-sacralization of modern life. As examples of experiential

anthropology that "moved away from grand cultural and ecological theories and the detached observation of others to experiencing these cultures and exploring how individual natives worked their own societies," both Eliade's anthropological works and Castaneda's shamanovels downplay if not erase the social and economic aspects of tribal communities in their focus on the transcendental dimension (167, 183).

In contrast to North American anthropology and its burgeoning shaman-anthropologists, Latin American *indigenista* anthropology since its inauguration with Manuel Gamio had articulated itself as a "cultural revolution." As Degregori and Sandoval explain in addition to proposing the modernization of the nation's indigenous people ("modernizar la mentalidad, los hábitos y el modo de vida"), at its core "esta 'revolución cultural' buscó formar un 'hombre nuevo', racialmente mestizo, culturalmente nacionalista y políticamente ciudadano" (np). Given anthropology's hegemonic position, especially in Mexico and Peru, the "indigenous problem" as a challenge to the modernization of the nation was shaped, for example, by dependency theory, Marxism, structuralism, in that these honed in on a reexamination of historical relations of power between the state and indigenous communities (Degregori).

These reexaminations culminated in a reckoning of anthropology by the 1960s and 1970s. In the case of Mexico following "the shock of the carnage of Tlatelolco [that] made it clear to academics and others that there was a huge gap between intellectual activity and everyday reality in Mexico, the discipline became more activist and focused on participatory engagement with indigenous rural communities" (Hunt 2). National reforms by President Luis Echevarría reshaped and revived anthropological institutional efforts into a form of "participatory *indigenismo*" that "targeted indigenous areas to set up local cooperatives, promote the manufacturing of indigenous arts and crafts for national and international markets, fund projects to study indigenous use of medicinal plants, and provide governmental aid in the organization of indigenous congresses" (Sluis

18). One major result of this was the shift away from the *campesino* towards indigenous communities, given that "governmental funding attracted the attention of non-indigenous peasants, causing them to either align themselves with indigenous organizations or adopt an indigenous identity" (11-12). This "populist indigenismo" yielded a critical turn in Mexican anthropology such as that of Arturo Warman, Bonfil Batalla, and Roger Bartra.

In Octavio Paz's "La mirada anterior" (1973), prologue to the Spanish translation of *The Teachings of Don Juan,* the Mexican poet praises Castaneda's approach to anthropology as a "mirada anterior" that looks into the eyes of the indigenous other and goes back to a sacred truth that rests in the past and in the non-Western. Uninterested in "el secreto de su origen- ¿es peruano, brasileño o chicano?" as well as the nature of his publications "¿antropología o ficción literaria?", Paz is most captivated by "la derrota de la antropología y la victoria de la magia…la venganza del "objeto" antropológico (un brujo) sobre el antropólogo hasta convertirlo en un hechicero. Antiantropología" (np). In contrast to Borges's "El etnógrafo," Fred Murdock, the American ethnographer who like Castaneda partakes in "experiential" anthropological field work with the indigenous other but does not reveal the secret ("dijo que sabía el secreto y que había resulto no revelarlo"), the nagual Castaneda publishes for the world "the teachings" and in the process becomes a celebrity anthropologist, globalizing shamanism and in the process inspiring countless countercultural and spiritual North American tourists in search of their own don Juan.

Paz attributes Castaneda's victory of magic and his success in penetrating the secret *nagual-brujo* networks of Mexico as evidence of his superior approach to anthropology. On the one hand, "como destrucción critica de la antropología, la obra de Castaneda roza las opuestas fronteras de la filosofía y la religión" (np). He writes that "el brujo [Castaneda] puede ver la otra realidad porque la ve con otros ojos-con los ojos del otro". In contrast Mexican anthropology, according to the future Nobel Laureate, failed to grasp the 'truth of the other,' that universalizing truth that results from

communing with the other. As he writes: "como los misioneros del siglo XVI, los antropólogos mexicanos se acercan a las comunidades indígenas no tanto para conocerlas como para cambiarlas…nuestros antropólogos quieren integrarlos [indios] en la sociedad mexicana." He especially takes aim at Marxist social sciences "[por] reducir la magia a una mera superestructura ideológica" and critiques a universalism grounded in a Eurocentric historical model.

Following his critique of "la extraña mezcla de *behaviorismo* norteamericano y de marxismo vulgar que impera en los estudios sociales mexicanos", Paz turns to the alternative Eastern ascetic practices of don Juan. According to Paz, "el indio [don Juan] aplica la crítica del budismo a la realidad del mundo y del yo—son vacuos, irreales—al budismo mismo: también la doctrina es vacua, irreal. A su vez, la crítica que muestra la vacuidad e irrealidad de la doctrina es vacua, irreal. Si todo está vacío también "todo-está-vacío-incluso-la-doctrina-todo-está-vacío" está vació". Along these orientalist lines, Paz rejects the "countercultural" drug use in praise of the ascetic use of traditional hallucinogens "son medios predominantemente físicos y fisiológicos para provocar la iluminación espiritual". And despite the almost total absence of sexuality in Castaneda's quartet, Paz references sexuality and animality when he writes "dos transgresiones opuestas, pero coincidentes, de la sexualidad normal: la castidad del clérigo y los ritos eróticos del adepto tantrista. Ambas son negaciones religiosas de la generación animal." Its evident that "la visión unitaria del mundo" and "la contemplación de la otredad en el mundo de todos los días" that Paz celebrates in Castaneda operate within the confines of the "man-making" anthropological machine, which Agamben references as constantly reinforcing humanity through the exterior and interior frontiers of animality/humanity.

Likewise, as Marisol de la Cadena writes, "en la antropología peruana de los años sesenta florecieron campos discursivos como los "campesinos" y "el campo", que proliferaron en discusiones intelectuales conectadas con las movilizaciones sociales rurales relativamente exitosas" (np). Moreover, those anthropologists that worked with the state welcomed applied anthropology,

while those that centered dependency theory took their lead from Erik Wolf and Maurice Godelier. As de la Cadena explains "Clifford Geertz y Claude Lévi-Strauss sólo tuvieron un impacto marginal" as such "lo 'cultural' se convirtió en la preocupación de unos cuantos antropólogos marginales" (ibid). Nonetheless along with Romanian anthropologist John Murra, whose travels through the Caribbean and Mexico put him in contact with Fernándo Ortiz and Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, these figures helped shaped in a hemispheric anthropological-intellectual network that preceded "area studies." One of the most important anthropologists within this network was José María Arguedas, who popularized "lo andino" in the 1960s as a cultural referent for the place and subject of the Andean Highlands, set against and or in transition to the *cholo* as the indigenous migrant subject from the highlands to coastal cities. Arguedas provides a counterpoint to Castaneda, both having been trained as anthropologists and writers who combined narrative with anthropological accounts.

Arguedas and in particular his final two novels *Todas las sangre* (1964) and *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971) advanced the view of the intercultural dimensions of indigenous peoples from the Andean highlands to confront modernity. As examples of *neoindigenista* literature, these novels by Arguedas universalize the indigenous world by overcoming the othering of indigenous reality through both the lyricism related to oral indigenous culture, its accompanying harmony of musicality and voices from human and non-human beings (rocks, water, pigs, etc) and elements of magical realism, that serve to 'naturalize' magic in contrast to classical *indigenismo* that deemed magic as superstition or as expressing a threat of rebellion against the national/colonial order.

The magic and alternative and more authentic reality that Paz admires in Castaneda's books can be seen as an American version of *neoindigenista* literature. It is undeniable that part of the appeal of Castaneda's works could be an association with the Latin American boom, by way of its simplified telluric and magical realist elements. For example, César Caviedes writes, "it was not until the works of Carlos Castaneda, Mario Vargas Llosa, Carlos Fuentes, García Márquez, or Isabel

Allende unlocked the gate to magic places populated by enchanted creatures, that the mythic mentality of original America has found it most genuine expression" (100). However, in contrast to what Paz assessed as the deadening tendencies of anthropology, especially that infused with Marxism, for Arguedas, "la teoría socialista no sólo dio un cauce a todo el provenir sino a lo que había en mí de energía, le dio un destino y lo cargó aún más de fuerza por el mismo hecho de encauzarlos. ¿Hasta dónde entendí el socialismo? No lo sé bien. Pero no mató en mí lo mágico" ("No soy aculturado" np). For instance, Arguedas describes the animate world of the monolingual Quechua speaker in which "no hay mucha diferencia, en cuanto se es ser vivo, entre una montaña, un insecto, una piedra inmensa y el ser humano. No hay, por tanto muchos límites entre lo maravilloso y lo real...tampoco hay mucha diferencia entre lo religioso, lo mágico y lo objetivo. Una montaña es dios, un río es dios, el ciempies tiene virtudes sobrenaturales" ("Conversación" 45). Such an infusion of magical and/or animism may seem comparable as Caviedes declares, yet, besides the potential *neoindigenista* ingredients in Castaneda, the magic universalism between these two anthropologists compatriots is fundamentally different in terms of "antropología y revolución".[16]

In Arguedas there is "un multi-ontologismo y un nacionalismo capaz de ser universal y singular, articulado por la razón y la magia en igualdad de condiciones, y además socialista" (Cadena). Whereas, in Castaneda reason contends to grasp the magic/the non-ordinary reality of don Juan, fails, and must be fooled into folding in on itself through mystical moments of ecstasy. Despite natural and supernatural forces "breaking through to the other side" the lines of universalism break down and or are attenuated into the horizon of the next shamanovel. The animals and natural/supernatural beings mirror the imprisonment and captivity of the *mestizo*-turned American-turned *nagual* brujo in terms of the alienated individual, afflicted by the weight of rationalism and the Romantic search for meaning at a moment of tremendous political exigencies

[16] According to de la Cadena, in Murra's "itinerarios antropológico-conceptuales entre el Norte y Sur de América" prior to the Cuban Revolution coalesced around this formulation of anthropology and liberation (np).

throughout the world, but in particular the three sites of his "personal history": the American Southwest, Mexico and Peru.

New Age *Nahualismo*

Upon the hemispheric dimensions of his "personal history", Castaneda repackages Mesoamerican ontology in a manner that renders the human-animal social relationships undergirding said ontology inoperative while substituting it with cryptic metaphysics. Castaneda smuggles "contraband" of Amerindian cosmovision through his bricolage of nagualism/tonalism as would a *coyote*. As part of his disciplinary border crossings, the antropólogo-hechicero globalizes shamanism by trafficking transcendental indigenous knowledge out of Mexico and remapping it onto the non-indigenous Anglo-European eclectic constellation of New Age spirituality, weaving the ends of anthropology and neo-shamanism.

This transcendental knowledge that Castaneda disseminates in his shamanovels is itself a re-coding of Mesoamerican cosmovision that erases the analogical social relationships between humans and nature and replaces it with animal encounters in which identification, communication, and union are the prime concern as a balm for the affliction of Western "self-importance." Specifically, perhaps inspired by anthropological works or captivity narratives set in the Amazon, Castaneda's human-animal interactions seek encounters that are more characteristic of tribes from the Amazonian rainforest than that of the Yaqui or Mesoamerican peoples. Similar inauthentic traces of Castaneda's works have been cited, such as his attribution of peyote to the Yaqui, while it is actually not used in Yaqui communities.

In the first chapter of *Tales of Power,* Castaneda writes that six months prior to the events in *Tales of Power* he had talked to a coyote and that said conversation confirmed his ability to apprehend the non-ordinary reality of sorcerers like don Juan and don Genaro "through my senses and in sober

consciousness" (20). However, this interaction with the talking coyote as part of the "sorcerers' description of the world…in which communicating with animals through speech was a matter of course", according to don Juan does not merit discussion, as it is just a reference for what he calls the "sorcerer's explanation" (ibid). For don Juan, Carlos has fallen into the error of believing that he talked to the coyote, just as he himself "talked" to a deer when he was a young man, but with personal power a "man of knowledge" can learn the sorcerer's explanation of that non-ordinary reality. As such, *Tales of Power* departs from previous tropes of encounters with animal others and the mystical revelation of these, towards a confounding dialectic of the *tonal* and the *nagual* that severs the animal-human relation at the crux of indigenous cosmologies in favor of a philosophical approach to the sorcerers' world in which, for instance, don Juan and don Genaro can double themselves and inhabit multiple worlds.

Despite Don Juan's downplaying of the significance of 'talking' with the coyote, this conversation that takes place in the final pages of the third book of the series *Journey to Ixtlan*, notable for various reasons, primary among them that the episode does evoke *tonalismo* along Mesoamerican ontological lines, and that Castaneda considers the animal to be a "Chicano coyote". In discussing the incident with his apprentice, Don Juan explains that the coyote's conversation was compelled because "coyotes are not reliable. They are tricksters. It is your fate not to have a dependable animal companion" (page). This trickster identity of the coyote in indigenous myths and literature extending throughout the Americas is a mainstay, which according to Caleb Bailey within indigenous colonial and postcolonial contexts gains political significance as the "figure and operation of the coyote...challenges [ ] nation-states, dominant cultures, and academic canons and disciplines" (17).

The encounter that Carlos has with the Chicano coyote stands in stark contrast to numerous other animal encounters in which a penetrating gaze with the animals yields mystical revelations,

instead before they hold one another in a gaze, the two "talk". The conversation itself is very cordial and the only other thing that baffles Carlos more than holding a verbal exchange with the coyote is that it "was a bilingual coyote" (243). "The nouns and verbs of its sentences were in English, but the conjunctions and exclamations were in Spanish. The thought crossed my mind that I was in the presence of a Chicano coyote...I laughed so hard I became almost hysterical" (ibid). Identifying his companion animal as Chicano would in turn project this identification onto Carlos as the human counterpart of this *tona* pairing. The trickery seems to lie in part on the encounter's function of further obscuring Castaneda's biography, with adding an additional hybrid identity of Mexican-American/Chicano upon the generic South America *mestizo*.[17] But more significantly, I would argue that the duplicity of the coyote and Castaneda in this episode demonstrates how he attempts to "pass off" South American animism as authentic Mexican indigenous tradition.

Guided by Descola's analysis, Mesoamerican ontologies characterized by analogical human-animal social relations, human and animal pairs despite having common destinies do not converse, as they are of different interiorities and different exteriorities but analogically can deduce the other within a web of being. In contrast, animist traditions such as that of Amazonia, human and non-human beings possess different bodies but share kinship, culture, and everyday communication. The Chicano coyote and Carlos 'animinate' conversation is counter to *tonalismo*'s incommunication. As such the coyote as a figure of deterritorialization and indigenous subversion of borders, is employed by Castaneda as part of a prelude of how the sorcerer anthropologist will alter and deform Mesoamerican ontologies in the service of a New Age universalism in the fourth book of the series, *Tales of Power*.

[17] All of these considerations merit a new line of inquiry, that as Sluis suggested is indeed fruitful in terms of examining Castaneda's de-political warrior plan with that of the Chicano movement, especially within the context of CC in LA and in the borderlands. Ariel Tumbaga has delineated the ways that Castaneda's has influenced various Chicano authors in their own reimagining of the Yaqui warrior myth. I would add to Castaneda's representation of sorcerers and their ally spirit animals might have shaped Chicano narratives such as that of Rudolfo Anaya's *Bless Me, Ultima*. But again, such an analysis of the Chicano dimensions for the time being is out of the scoop of this chapter.

According to Olson the enigmatic "eight pointed diagram" that don Juan elaborates for his pupil, with two foci of reason and will connected by the sphere of language is a representation of the "totality of oneself" (60). "[I]t is an encompassing or a totality that indicates simultaneously what I am and what I am not, a symbol which intends, it would seem, to overcome the subject-object problem that has so long plagued modern thought" (61). This diagram is a prelude to the "sorcerer's explanation" that is the central in *Tales of Power* in terms of "deepening of one's understanding of 'the bubble of perception' and how to open that bubble in order to perceive the 'totality of oneself' " (60). This "sorcerer's explanation" is Don Juan's analysis of "the dialectic of the tonal and the nagual" in contradistinction to the anthropological analysis familiar to Castaneda. Castaneda writes,

> this was the first time in our association that he [Don Juan] had used those two terms. I was familiar with them through the anthropological literature on the cultures of Central Mexico. I knew that the "tonal' […] was thought to be a kind of guardian spirit, usually an animal, that a child obtained at birth and with which he had intimate ties for the rest of his life. "Nagual" […] was the name given to the animal into which sorcerers could allegedly transform themselves, or to the sorcerer that elicited such transformation. ("Tales" 119)

In general, this description of *tona* and *nagual* track with twentieth century ethnographic and anthropological studies, yet, in don Juan's explanation these concepts are radical departures from the ontological relations that Descola, for example, emphasizes in these two manifestations of this indigenous phenomenon. Specifically, on the one hand, Castaneda is demonstrating that he is familiar in the anthropological sense with Mexican/Mesoamerican ontology that involves inter-species connections that fall outside the bounds of Western naturalism. And on the other, his reformulation of Mesoamerican ontology into *tonal* and *nagual* is depurated of animals and nature in a configuration of complementary and dualist notions of phenomenology that seem to draw from Eastern philosophy.

The translation of Mesoamerican ontology into complementary forms resembling the principle of yin and yang involves Castaneda's renaming of what is referred to as *tona* and *nahual* in anthropological studies conducted in Spanish, into an anglicized form that don Juan will refer to as the *tonal* and *nagual*. According to don Juan the *tonal* is as follows:

> Every human being had two sides, two separate entities, two counterparts which became operative at the moment of birth; one was called the 'tonal' and the other the 'nagual'…The tonal is not an animal that guards a person. I would rather say that it is a guardian that could be represented as an animal. But that is not the important point…The *tonal* is the social person…a protector, a guardian-a guardian that most of the time turns into a guard…The *tonal* is the organizer of the world […] perhaps the best way of describing its monumental work is to say that on its shoulders rests the task of setting the chaos of the world in order…everything we know and o as men is the world of the *tonal*. (120)

The guardian quality of the *tonal* slips into one of "guard" as "an inherent quality of the *tonal* is to be cagey and jealous of its doing…doings [that] are by far the most important part of our lives" (121). Further elaborating on this guardian-guard distinction of the *tonal*, don Juan explains "a guardian is broad-minded and understanding", "a guard, [ ] is a vigilante, narrow-minded and most of the time despotic. I say, then that the *tonal* in all of us has been made into a petty and despotic guard when it should be a broad-minded guardian" (121). And finally, the Yaqui teacher reiterates that "the *tonal* is everything we know, and that includes not only us, as persons, but everything in our world, it can be said that the *tonal* is everything that meets the eye" (122). And in his explanation of the *nagual*, don Juan employs the metaphor of an island by way of the restaurant table upon which he and his apprentice are having their lunch. The table/island being the *tonal*, the "everything in our world" and the "there" that surrounds the island is the *nagual* "where power hovers" (126).

This dialectic of the *tonal* and *nagual*, as Olson cogently describes, involves "the island of *tonal*

[that] is likened to the daylight-waking state of world orientation, [ ] surrounded by the boundless *nagual* of Transcendence" (61). Olson elucidates that the *tonal* denotes "the realm of phenomena and its polarities of positive and negative, good and evil" "it is a realm of causality and the dialectic of the known-known and the known-unknown" (ibid). While, the "nagual, connotes the numinous *domina* of the Absolute…the "full emptiness of Nirvana and that extraordinary dialectic between the known-unknown and the unknown-unknown" (62). I agree with Olson's assessment as to the "evanescent dialectic of the *tonal* and *nagual*" as "either an abstruse form of dualism or an undifferentiated monism" (ibid). And although Olson seeks to delineate the mystic journey of the anthropologist-shaman throughout Castaneda's quartet, as it relates to the inquiry of the use of animals in the quartet to signal, the most salient aspect of Castaneda's radical reconfiguration of Mesoamerican cosmology involves the distilling of New Age spirituality to the point that the "sorcerer's explanation" is a transcendental moment and revelation of what undergirds the power, will of don Juan and don Genaro, their love of Mother Earth. The hints of his love of Mother Earth I would argue are interspersed throughout the novels in instances of the glimpses of non-ordinary reality that are represented through Castaneda's gaze and encounter with the animal other.

According to Descola, Mexican ontology based on analogical relations is not unique but rather is "so common in every latitude of the world" that it's best to take the example of Mexican ontology as a case for examining analogical systems of social relations, "though Andean America would have served equally well" (208, 207).[18] Specifically, Descola describes "analogism" within his system of structural relations as follows:

as a mode of identification that divides up the whole collection of existing beings into a

[18] Descola uses Mesoamerica versus Eastern analogical examples: "To select the Han civilization as the principal illustration of an analogical ontology, or indeed India, which, I suspect, would exhibit similar properties, would be to risk reducing this mode of identification to an 'oriental' paradigm coextensive with a vast and hypothetical domain of Asiatic 'high cultures' " (207).

multiplicity of essences, forms, and substances separated by small distinctions and sometimes arranged on a graduated scale so that it becomes possible to recompose the system of initial contrasts into a dense network of analogies that link together the intrinsic properties of the entities that are distinguished in it. This way of distributing the differences and correspondences detectable on the world's surface is very common. (201)

Analogism through the analogical "operation of thought" suspends for a moment the difference that separates beings "but only to create a new one, this time in the relation of objects to themselves for they become alien to their earlier identity as soon as they intermingle in the mirror of correspondence and imitation" (ibid). Despite the great chain of being of analogism the political dimension of tracking the signs and symbols of difference asserts the "well-being or [ ] the causes of misfortune" based on hypothesis of these signs of existing natural beings "exert[ing] an influence on the destiny of humans" (ibid).

In terms of representing what Descola describes as "the forest of singularities", Castaneda through his Yaqui teacher does seem to invent many auxiliary concepts: "ally", "guardian", "self-importance", "mood of the warrior", "impeccability", "seeing", culminating with the "sorcerer's explanation" to decode, albeit tautologically, the non-ordinary dimension. Despite the *tonal* as a "social person...guardian" there is no social element that is on display in *Tales of Power* but instead the examples that don Juan gives refer to Carlos's bad faith, in terms of him not yet having enough power, not being in the "proper mood" or having too much "self-importance", all ways of referring to being imprisoned by the ego.

Nahualismo, as I discussed in my examination of Magaleno's *El resplandor*, emerged within a context of colonialism, wherein *nahualismo* constituted a 'colonial script' of subversion against Spanish rule and later extended its antagonism to the Mexican state. This *nahualismo terrorífico*, as Francisco Rojas González designated it, employed the threat of indigenous peoples, a brujo/sorcerer,

that could shape-shift and/or transform into an animal to undermine colonial/state rule. And *tonalismo*, as the paired destinies of animal and human at birth, seems to predate the Conquest and persist as a cultural practice into modernity. These two human-animal concepts are at times confused or lumped together often under the umbrella of *nahualismo*, and as Descola notes these sorts of analogical relations between human and non-human entities is not limited to Mesoamerica. Analogism in *tonalismo* is evident for example in the way that signs especially those on the body are interpreted in determining human-animal *tonas.* And in the case of *nahualismo*, a specialized person (*brujo*) with said ability to decipher the meaning and correspondences of bodies and elements, would be able through the use of "skins" take on the power and essence of an animal. Whether taken together or discretely, *tonalismo* and *nahualismo* as analogical structures of relation are not "individual" focused but rather "paired" and concerned with the parallel destinies of the other, within a great web of being. In contrast, Castanedas's New Age *Nahualismo* serves to undo the significance of indigenous history and the social links of said ontology in terms of the human and animal/nature, so as to universalize through said erasure the particularities of *nahualismo* and *tonalismo*.

At times, Castaneda seems to rely on animist descriptions of indigeneity characteristic of Amazonian groups, in which there is direct communication that is possible, a form of perspectivism that I will examine in terms of animal forms that Castaneda will encounter and whose point of view temporarily destabilizes his own subjectivity. In keeping with the emerging New Age movement that Castaneda contributed to, the prime concern is the individual and not the collective. The personal power and development focus of the quartet follows the lines of neoliberal and New Age harmonies as market efficiency and growth and the previously countercultural spirituality of individual spiritual development ally and flourish during the 1970s.

The subversion of *nahualismo* as a colonial script for indigenous rebels is neutralized in Castaneda's *Tales of Power*, as don Juan switches out his simple indigenous garments for the reputable

business suit. One way of reimagining the sorcerer's explanation is one that takes the *nagual* as corresponding to market forces that moves the *tona* (all things and all life) within the non-ordinary reality of capitalist magical realism. This capitalist magical realism of Castaneda severs social and interspecies bonds, such that don Juan states "I am no longer concerned with the ups and downs of my fellow men" as he dons his business *tauche* (suit) and declares "I'm a stockholder" (57, 161).

"Open" to the Animal: Identification and Revelation through the Animal Gaze

From the mythic gaze between Carlos and don Juan at the bus station in Arizona that so 'moved' the anthropologist to pursue indigenous transcendental knowledge to the numerous captivation of the animal other via the eyes, the effect of these encounters sets Carlos into moments of "passion". As forementioned, the anthropological machine is the dialectic of human and animal that "create[s] and police[s] a border between the human and its animal" and the discipline of anthropology as a part of the corpus of Western "man-making" is, obviously an operative part within this machine (Abbott 90). The shamanism of Castaneda is undergirded by instances of inhabiting the magical space between animal and man, wherein despite moments of ontological consanguinity between the animal other such as the Chicano coyote episode, the suspension of the anthropological machine nonetheless is illusionary as the singularity of universality Carlos reaches for is locked within the human horizon.

1. Mescalito: Canine-Spiritual Encounter

The most iconic encounter with the animal is Carlos's first non-ordinary experience with "Mescalito", the protector/teacher entity that was one and the same as the peyote plant that was crucial in don Juan's decision to take him on as an apprentice. In contrast to the other ceremonial hallucination rituals in *The Teachings*, Mescalito is not an "ally," an instrument of the "man of

knowledge" or *brujo* in either the divination via the sight and ventriloquizing of two lizards and jimson weed or the profound terror induced by the 'little smoke" of psilocybin. Instead, as Castaneda delineates in the structural analysis of *The Teachings*, if was available to anyone that ingested it regardless of being an apprentice, that as a teacher "it was supposed to exercise didactic functions" (i.e "[it] taught the right way") (180). This right way "consisted, not of righteousness in terms of morality, but of a tendency to simplify behavioral patterns" (ibid). And in terms of the form of Mescalito, "it was purported to have a definite form that was usually not constant or predictable… Mescalito was perceived differently not only by different men, but also by the same man on different occasions" and hence, could "adopt any conceivable form" (ibid). Of the forms that Castaneda encounters, it is this first canine form that not only introduces him to the experience of non-ordinary reality but the form that will set a paradigm for radical and destabilizing ontological moments throughout the quartet.

In this first encounter, Mescalito takes the form of don Juan's black dog, which had been roaming his ramada. As the peyote takes effect, the anthropologist disbelieves his eyes as he perceives the water the dog has drank from a pan "going down the dog's throat into his body…flowing evening through his entire length…[an] iridescent fluid traveling along the length of each individual hair and then projecting out of the hairs to form a long, white, silky mane" (15). This iridescence of strands attached to the body reappears in the second book, *A Separate Reality*, although it is now a matter of fibers expanding out from the navel that only those with the capacity to "see" can detect. In this way, Castaneda represents the aura of living beings and other beings from the non-reality such as Mescalito as resembling a negative photograph; although it is not until Castaneda masters the warrior way that the fear and trepidation of the negative dimension of non-ordinary reality subsides.

Physically, Castaneda experiences convulsions and he feels that a tunnel has encased him, compressing and suffocating him.[19] Following this sensation and perception of extreme contraction, he manages to "shift" himself into a "position where my heart would not pound so hard" at which moment he saw the dog once more and suddenly the anthropologist's mind is so clear that he "could not distinguish anything or anyone" (ibid). The intense light of the dog's iridescent body "kindles" Castaneda, he writes:

> I got to the water, sank my face in the pan, and drank with him… I saw the fluid running through my veins setting up hues of red and yellow and green… I drank until I was all afire. I was all aglow. I drank until the fluid went out of my body through each pore and projected out like fibers of silk, and I too acquired a long, lustrous, iridescent mane. I looked at the dog and his mane was like mine. A supreme happiness filled my whole body, and we ran together toward a sort of yellow warmth that came from some indefinite place. And there we played. We played and wrestled until I knew his wishes and he knew mine. *We took turns manipulating each other in the fashion of a puppet show*. I could make him move his legs by twisting my toes, and every time he nodded his head I felt an irresistible impulse to jump. But his most impish act was to make me scratch my head with my foot while I sat; he did it by flapping his ears from side to side. This action was to me utterly, unbearably funny. Such a touch of grace and irony; such mastery, I thought. The euphoria that possessed me as indescribable. I laughed until it was almost impossible to breathe. (45 emphasis added)

Initially, Carlos is motivated by curiosity as he "simplifies" his behavior as he mimics the dog drinking alongside him from a pan. The description of being "aglow" and the "iridescent mane" is reminiscent of mystical ecstasy, in which union is illustrated through the splendor of blinding light. The mystical tradition is fused with shamanism as the presence of God is substituted with the

[19] The tunnel recalls Ernesto Sábato's 1952 existentialist novel "El túnel" as a metaphor for isolation and loneliness.

presence of Mescalito in canine form, a spirit unlike all "guides" of medicinal plants that don Juan introduces to Carlos.

In general, this encounter with Mescalito conforms to the psychedelic trip so popularized by Timothy Leary, whom Castaneda had met in Mexico in 1962. Castaneda had attempted to partner with Leary by sharing with him that he had "learned much from the Indians of Oaxaca and Peru and northern Mexico" and that through the sharing of magic "we can both become stronger" (Znamenski 192). Carlos's ego death in this instance takes the form of mirroring and puppetry, at once connoting miming. This miming/manipulation between human and animal takes place within the realm of animality since Carlos describes that their camaraderie overnight had them howling, chasing, and pouncing playfully for hours on end. The didactic function of Mescalito of the "right way" not as morality but as performance of simple behavior, is to share with the anthropologist the world not just a non-ordinary reality as Castaneda will write in his structural analysis but rather as the "right way" is a matter of *openness* to being, that requires that the human step out of his humanity to inhabit and commune with an alternative reality as do shamans. This magic of miming is also present in the surrealist cinema of Alejandro Jorodowsky, who was influenced by Castaneda's shamanovels as the two were part of the cultural milieu of Mexico City in the 1970s.

Coming back to the Mescalito episode, as the effects of the peyote begin to wear off and the ineffable joy fades away and cedes to the horror and pain of waking up human again, Castaneda writes:

> a long and very painful state filled with the anxiety of not being able to wake up and yet being awake… The passage from my normal state had taken place almost without my realizing it: I was aware; my thoughts and feelings were a corollary of that awareness; and the passing was smooth and clear. But this second change, the awakening to serious, sober

consciousness, was genuinely shocking. *I had forgotten I was a man! The sadness of such an irreconcilable situation was so intense that I wept.* (46 emphasis added)

The comedown of the peyote is experienced as an agony of re-integration of self; the sadness of the end of "an irreconcilable situation," in which he had not been a man but had felt and been in such miming links with a dog, the animal, the radical other. Carlos seeks to corroborate the veracity of his experience as a way of putting the matter and its uncanny feelings behind him, only to become embarrassed of his indecorous behavior.

A week after this incident, a friend of don Juan who had been present during Carlos's peyote session, recounts to him that what had been for the anthropologist a transformative experience in his path towards becoming a "man of knowledge" had been a rather pathetic sight. In rather comic terms he tells the serious pupil that he had taken off all this clothing and had ran and bit Don Juan's dog, convulsed and choked, and was finally left outside in the ramada because they were weary he would "piss all over the rooms" (19). The prior account of the friendship between the anthropologist and the animal/Mescalito spirit, however, in the eyes of the unaltered consciousness of those that witness his hallucination disclosed to Carlos that his non-ordinary experience was nothing more than a pissing match between the two**.** Perplexed, Castaneda questions whether he "played" with Mescalito in the way he had perceived it; as he denotes Mescalito as a dog, don Juan castigates him for demoting Mescalito's being to that of a dog, referring to Mescalito as an anthropomorphized "him" and refuting that "Goddammit! It was not a dog!" (20).

According to Olson, don Juan's teaching necessitates "a noetic conversion on the part of Carlos, a conversion that is symbolized directly in the apophatic character of the *via nagativa*... not negative because its is unconstructive or anti-world, but because it is directly opposed to the presuppositions and the presumptions of the ratiocinative, objectifying consciousness" (54). The negative versus luminous contrasts of the Mescalito follow this line of initiation whether shamanic,

mystic, psychedelic or otherwise. Whether or not Castaneda's animal encounters fall neatly into "the Open" as Agamben refers to ontological space that Heidegger posits this triple thesis, in which "animal is poor in the world" and "man is world-forming" is difficult to determine; yet, the negative image of the Mescalito episode and the *via negativa* cited by Olson illustrate the animal poverty that Heidegger theorizes. In clarifying this poverty, Agamben writes:

> On the one hand, captivation is a more spellbinding and intense openness than any kind of human knowledge; on the other, insofar as it is not capable of *disconcealing* its own *disinhibitor*, it is closed in a total opacity. Animal captivation and the openness of the world thus seem related to one another as are negative and positive theology, and their relationship is as ambiguous as the one which simultaneously opposes and binds in a secret complicity the dark night of the mystic and the clarity of rational knowledge. (59)

Both animal and human are subject to captivation, and this captivation is registered as animality, while the capacity of "man" to be bored (profoundly bored) dislodges "man" from animality, from "poverty in the animal" because boredom "disconceals" the "disinhibitor"- the object of captivation, and as such the human can see being as being, versus the animal seeing objects. The animal is in the openness but is not capable of disengaging the object to see being. The Mescalito encounter can be interpreted as Carlos's captivation moment, that sets a paradigm in the series, in particular the mirroring/mimicry that occurs between the two and the stages of the psychedelic experience cycles through the dark physical and mystic experience of truth and clarity of reason that concludes in the despondency of equivocation.

The engine of the hermeneutic circle in Castaneda however is never complete as the mystical union collapses since Carlos is still not on par with his teacher and the truth remains concealed from him. For instance, after this encounter with Mescalito, peyote hallucinations are not able to induce the canine Mescalito, but only a fierce monstrous humanoid hybrid that Carlos evades out of fear.

The communion with the luminous being of Mescalito and in effect with the dog that Carlos played with throughout the night will never take place again, since the next level of knowledge necessitates the ascetic way of the warrior by learning how to hunt.

2. Hunting as *Captivation* and Captivity

Castaneda's shamanovels can be seen as advancing a captivity narrative, wherein his experimental anthropology, his becoming a shaman, converts/adopts him into the ancient lineage of the Toltec *brujos*. As a literary genre, captivity narratives depicted the possibilities of intercultural communication, exchange and reconciliation between Europeans and Amerindians through a captivity that resembled at times a form of kinship rather than slavery.[20] As hemispheric narrative, these narratives of captivity extended from New England, the Borderlands of the Comanche Empire, and throughout Spanish America, and subsequently constitute a genre highly legible within the English and Spanish publishing realms. The function of these narratives, particularly in Spanish America, as Fernando Operé notes, especially in the post-independence period was to present a romantic image of the frontier in the service of nationalism. Within a frontier camposcape, Castaneda dramatizes how a "European man" like himself knows nothing while the "barbarous" Yaqui shaman's wisdom rivals that of any philosopher. It is in this frontier space, and within this metanarrative of captivity, that Carlos will unlearn "captivation" through the practice of hunting, a practice that continuously confronts him with the animal.

The theme of hunting is most developed in Castaneda's third novel *Journey to Ixtlan.* As Sluis has written there is a gender dynamic in the theme of hunting and the way of the warrior in Castaneda, in which "instead of drugs, Castaneda outlines an ascetic path of masculine power: the way of the warrior... in which along with don Juan's friend don Genaro, [Carlos learns] a host of new

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[20] As Marcy Norton, explains captivity for Amerindians was not limited to humans but extended to animals, that in turn became kin, attesting to form of kinship that transcended the human-animal divide.

concepts: 'stopping the world,' 'erasing one's personal history,' 'not-doing,' 'becoming inaccessible,' and 'becoming a hunter' " (Sluis 3).

As mentioned, one of the surprising things in Castaneda's novels is the absence of sexuality and eroticism associated along heteronormative lines. But, as Sluis points out, the universality that Castaneda is constructing is a male-centric one, a shamanic world (at least in these four books) where women are absent short of being evil monstrous shape-shifting *brujas* like the character of La Catalina, who Carlos manages to win over with his inadvertent charm.[21] "Castaneda makes it clear that no room exists for children, spouses, or romantic and especially sexual liaisons of any kind" (5). And contrary to numerous accounts by female followers of Castaneda's own sexual appetite, in the books "relationships between men and women are seldom discussed" but don Juan does provide Carlos with specific instructions on dealing with women. Commenting on a failed relationship, don Juan remarks that Carlos had made himself "too available." He adds: "The art of the hunter is to become inaccessible" (ibid). The weakness of Carlos thus is interpreted, among other things, as his openness, his ability to be captured by the other (here cast as female), but which we find is complicated within the binary of human and animal.

The theme of hunting and its relation to gender underscores Carol J. Adams claim, in *The Sexual Politics of Meat* (1990), that hunting and meat consumption are manifestation of a patriarchal culture in which male dominance and animals' oppression are linked by the ways that both women and animals function as absent referent in food production, especially within contemporary industry animal farming. In other words, "the way gendered politics is structured into our world is related to

[21] According to Sluis: "Despite the echoes of 1960s political radicalism that propel Castaneda to question 'Western' preconceptions of power and truth and to subvert class and race hierarchies, he predicates these on traditional gender norms. In *Journey to Ixtlan*, Don Juan asks Carlos whether they are equals, to which Carlos—reluctantly, as he considers himself the Indian's social superior—responds affirmatively. Don Juan states solemnly: 'We are not equals. I am a hunter and a warrior, you are a pimp.' Irony gives way to tragedy: Carlos, who measures himself by so-called Western standards of success, status, and self-importance, possesses neither the knowledge nor the power to survive in Don Juan's world. Instead of a shaman and warrior, he is reduced to the lowest of men. Carlos's tragedy—his lack of knowledge, power, and discipline—results from his misunderstanding the implications of his manhood" (Sluis 5).

how we view animals, especially animals who are consumed" (16). It is within this "sexual politics" that Carlos is imprisoned and weak. He manages to free himself episodically through the alternative indigenous masculinity paradigm modeled by don Juan. And since "patriarchy is a gender system that is implicit in human/ animal relationships", Carlos escapes and regains his masculinity precisely through animal encounters that bring the absent referent back into agonizing view, instigating perspectivist ethical considerations about the lives of animals in connection to his own.

Returning to the philosophical considerations, this sort of articulation of human and masculine essence against that of the female other and the recurrent bouts of loneliness prompted by specific animal encounters also recalls Paz's *Laberinto de la soledad.* According to Zamorano Meza, there is a direct line between Paz's articulation of *mexicanidad* and Heideggerian concepts of being, especially in the concept of authenticity.[22] "Paz's cardinal concerns are a historical understanding of the present and the pursuit of authenticity in the individual, in Mexicanness, and in the development of culture" (72). Accounting for the influence of Heidegger in shaping this concern for "authenticity" in Paz's work as well as existentialist philosophies of the period (Gaos, Sartre, Villoro, the Hipertón group), Zamorano Meza underscores the "authentic" as "being open, opposed to pre-definitions, spontaneous but yet appropriated of one's own historicity" (ibid).

The fundamental structure of being as *Dasein,* its being-in-the-world illustrated by the relationship between animal's "poverty in world" and the "world-forming" man, is a relationship that "rejected the traditional metaphysical definition of man as *animal rationale*" (Agamben 50). Animals in their captivation are incapable of revelation, as Heidegger writes: "to say that captivation is the essence of animality means: *The animal as such does not stand within a potentiality for revelation of being, neither its so-called environment nor the animal itself are revealed as beings"* (qtd in Agamben 54). The open, as

[22] According to Zamorano Meza,"it was an Ortegan effort that aimed to historicize, to understand within the historical circumstance, Mexican and Latin American thought. It was also a Heideggerian effort to become 'authentic' by avoiding disregard for the past (colonial, pre-revolution, etc.) and instead, to appropriate history in order to be able to find the current being of the culture" (65).

a "open wound" and "ontological vacuum", "blank zone in whose dark light Agamben will later tentatively feel his way out of the bloody humanist conundrum" is the site of potentiality of "man-making" of authenticity, that operates in Paz and that we see abbreviated in Castaneda through the dueling suppressions of gender/sex and species (Pick "Pick on Agamben" 4). It should be stressed that while Heidegger would not have appreciated the insights of animal perspectives nor the utility of entertaining phenomena like Mesoamerican *nahualismo*, Castaneda's turn to animals emphasizes a desire to reencounter the world in ways that go beyond the Western metaphysical and ontological traditions.

For instance, don Juan's indigenous warrior program seeks to cure his pupil of his passive and emasculated essence, recapitulating a common trope regarding the "reinvigorating" function that shamans serve for Western followers. The concept is introduced anecdotally in terms of personal relationships as the Yaqui guru imparts advice akin to imposing "boundaries" in becoming inaccessible. In Paz, inaccessibility is turned into a metaphor through the masks that safeguard the self from the other, but which also closes off the possibility of intimacy and union. Paz elaborates in "Máscaras mexicanas," writing that "toda abertura de nuestro ser entraña una dimisión de nuestra hombría" (33). I argue that Castaneda maps the gender and sexual differences in Paz's *dialectica de la soledad* onto the animal other drawing from the Yaqui warrior mythology to both "unlearn the weakness of "Western" masculinity, abandon Latino machismo, and adopt don Juan's ideas of stoic manhood" (Sluis 3).[23] Drawing on indigeneity, Castaneda bestows an aura of "inaccessibility" to the other through penetrating gazes the first of which catalyzes Carlos's apprenticeship when he first

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[23] In 2014 the Fowler Museum at UCLA presented an exhibit of Castaneda's Yaqui mask collection. According to a brief announcement of the event, "These 'pahko'ola' masks are made of carved wood, mostly painted in red, white and black, with goat hair added for eyebrows and beards. Sometimes they resemble goats, most important of Yaqui domesticated animals, or monkeys, which were seen as tricksters in the wilderness" (Cheng np). The announcement declares these as evident of the credibility of the anthropologist's work stating that "the masks themselves, which would have been very difficult to obtain outside of Mexico in the 1960s, are the clincher...It attests he was right there...in that specific area where he said he was doing field work" (ibid).

encounters don Juan, "his eyes seemed to shine with a light of their own. I avoided his gaze. I felt embarrassed. I had the certainty that at that moment he knew I was talking nonsense" and, cyclically throughout the quartet, animal eyes and identification serve to situate Carlos within "the open" (*Separate Reality* x).

Don Juan gives various examples to explain what "being inaccessible" is, all of which Carlos does not understand ("you touch the world around you sparingly," "you don't eat five quail; you eat one," "you don't damage the plants just to make a barbecue pit") (69). On a hunting outing to catch squirrels, don Juan mocks Carlos into comprehension of his teaching of "inaccessibility" by making the "long wailing sound of a factory whistle" and checking his imaginary watch to parody Carlos's routines around lunchtime, resting, taking notes, etc. Carlos explains that don Juan had "deliberately tried to scare me out of my wits with the heaviness of his unexpected behavior because I myself was driving him up the walls with the heaviness of my expected behavior. He added that my routines were as insane as his blowing his whistle" (73). Finally, don Juan explains that what truly defines a good hunter is that not "because he set his traps, or knows the routines of his prey, but because he himself has no routines. This is his advantage. He is not at all like the animals he is after, fixed by heavy routines and predictable quirks; he is free, fluid, unpredictable" (75).[24]

Despite the explanation of hunting, teacher and pupil do not in fact capture any squirrels. The lesson of capturing and killing the prey is deferred to the next didactic chapter in the novel, in which don Juan will qualify that "a hunter must not only know about the habits of his prey, he also must know that there are powers on this earth that guide men and animals and everything that is living" (79). The episode regards a rabbit that has been captured in one of Carlos's traps, that don

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[24] Mention the Magic deer account of DJ but that it's significance is accessorial in the hunter/hunted teaching and what I'm trying to argue in this section. However, but it is noteworthy as evidence of something that CC throws into the novel to give it a sense of authenticity as the deer is a fixture of yaqui mythology and yaqui preformative folklore (deer dances) that Tumbaga has described at length in his study of the warrior myth in Yaqui indigeneity representations.

Juan directs Carlos to kill. Upon his refusal, the pupil *brujo* undergoes confusion and extreme fear as he identifies with the rabbit's predicament:

> A series of confusing thoughts and feelings overtook me, as if the feelings had been out there waiting for me. I felt with agonizing clarity the rabbit's tragedy, to have fallen into my trap. In a matter of second my mind swept across the most crucial moments of my own life, the many times I had been the rabbit myself (87).

Don Juan admonishes Carlos that the rabbit had to die and that to not kill it would constitute interference on his part "because the power or the spirit that guides rabbits had led that particular one into [his] trap" (ibid). Yet Carlos and the rabbit's gazes meet, "we exchanged a somber glance, and that glance, which I fancied to be of silent despair, cemented a complete identification on my part" to the point that Carlos begins to shiver and experience nausea. In this moment of upset, Carlos kicks the cage to smash it and free the rabbit, but to his horror it hung limp in his hand and "a feeling of terror sent a chill through my body" (87). The lesson here is that "we are dregs in the hand of those forces [that guide men and animals]...so stop your self-importance and use this gift [the rabbit's death] properly [for food]" (88).

This episode is retrospectively placed before the Mescalito encounter, so that now in *Journey*, Carlos has already accumulated experiences, "moments of power," that have come into play in and the similarities of the post-effects of the peyote "a general sense of fatigue and melancholy" are implicitly linked. Don Juan's stoic reproach to Carlos's indulging in "self-importance" is a rebuke of not only his identification with the trapped animal but also of the compassionate affect that pushes Carlos to act and attempt to rescue and release the small mammal.

As such, "being inaccessible" occluding the "self-importance" as prescribed by the Yaqui teacher reimposes the boundaries of humanity, despite the sense that all life, including animal and human are subject to those forces. In a sense, the issue as will be further elaborated in the following

feline example, is that Carlos is rather too authentic, too open, and not enough of a warrior, since he is easily captivated like an 'animal' to the other (animal other). For don Juan, his pupil does not possess enough power to "see" beings and reality as they are, only through the power of learning to hunt, becoming a warrior, becoming inaccessible through a "mood of impeccability" can Carlos escape his European cage of domestication of cage and become free, become a man.

In contrast to this moment of disarming identification and agony, the test of Carlos's hunting ability comes in the last hunting episode where don Juan and Carlos hunt mountain lions since these possess "special powers". The two set up a cage of bait (water rats) to lure the big cat and once they see a "dark mass of an animal" both of then make penetrating noises while Carlos hurls a bundle of his possessions at the mountain lion. The pair do not succeed in capturing the animal and in the following days, Carlos starts to question the reality of the encounter ("in writing my notes the question of whether I had really seen the mountain lion came to mind") (117). Although don Juan confirms the experience, he nonetheless downplays the importance of questioning the reality of the experience saying that "as usual, you are focusing your attention on the wrong item. It makes no difference whatsoever whether it was a lion or my pants" (118). He explains that what Carlos accomplished with the mountain lion encounter was the mood of the warrior, yet another overlapping vague concept that don Juan must teach his pupil, which more than anything seems to serve the purpose of advancing the narrative while not offering much by way of substance and specifics. The Yaqui *brujo* explains the complex contradictory actions of this "mood" as "you were not paralyzed with fear...you had a degree of abandon, and at the same time you had a degree of control over yourself" (119). In sum for don Juan, the lesson to be taken from the encounter was that "you can spur yourself beyond your limits if you are in the proper mood" (ibid). Despite, this rare instance of praise Carlos discloses that "it would be idiotic to try to apply what he

was teaching me to everyday life," disbelieving that the mood of warrior could be applied to every single act as his teacher urges.

As a common feature in the novels, the pedagogical debate between teacher and pupil take the form of don Juan criticizing his pupil's lack of discipline and power, by pointing to Carlos's corpulent gut, his incessant knack for the notebook, and his "self-importance." However, in this instance the accusation of "self-importance" takes on a political dimension, in which Carlos, the animal, and his "fellow men" all come together. Don Juan charges that for Carlos "everything offends and upsets you. You whine and complain and feel that everyone is making you dance to their tune" (120). Carlos counters that "the mood of a warrior could not possibly help me overcome the feeling of being offended or actually being injured by the actions of my fellow men, as in the hypothetical case of being physically harassed by a cruel and malicious person placed in a position of authority" (ibid). To this don Juan clarifies that "a warrior could be injured but not offended...there is nothing offensive about the acts of his fellow men as long as he himself is acting within the proper mood...the other night you were not offended by the lion" (ibid).

As many of the rhetorical devices in Castaneda's shamanovels, the denouement of the conversation, offers no resolution and the matter will not reappear in the following chapters; however, in the following passage the question of revolution is touched on, albeit in a perfunctory manner:

> I explained my way of reasoning. The *lion and my fellow men were not on a par*, because I knew the intimate quirks of men while I knew nothing about the lion. What offended me about my fellow men was that they acted maliciously and knowingly.
>
> "I know, I know," don Juan said patiently. "To achieve the mood of a warrior is not a simple matter. *It is a revolution. To regard the lion and the water rats and our fellow men as equals is a magnificent act of the warrior's spirit.* It takes power to do that." (121 emphasis added)

Here we see how Castaneda draws on the language of political revolution of the time, resignifying it toward spiritual transformation through the animal. The mountain lion constitutes a radical other for Carlos that is “not on a par” with his "fellow men”. In contrast to the domestic feline episode that I will discuss shortly, the lion, is entirely unknowable, and although Carlos and don Juan fail to capture the wild animal, the special magical powers of the beast even in this attempt to capture it bestow the power of the “mood”. It is a mood that breaks Carlos’s usual manner of unthinking habits and routines by pushing him through fear towards a survival mode that propels him beyond his “self-importance”. As such he is not offended by the attack of the lion, but acts human in his animal instinct towards safety because the “hold” of “self-importance” has been cast away in the adrenaline infused moment. In this way, Carlos is thrust into the “ontological vacuum” of “the open” where animality and humanity are blurred.

According to Agamben, within Heidegger’s idea of *Dasein* “the animal cannot truly act or comport itself in relation to it: it can only behave” (52). Whereas, the emotional tonality of boredom is what “frees” Dasein from purely animal captivation, in Castaneda the “acting of the proper mood,” as unintelligible as it is, seems to stack the warrior squarely within humanity, a new humanity that is superior to the degradation and alienation of the human as “intelligent gorilla” within the taylorist factory of modernity, which Castaneda combats with his “New Age *Nagualismo*.”

The question of “fellow men” is a persistent and ambiguous question in the quartet, where at times the difference between Carlos and his Yaqui teacher rests on Carlos’s “openness” to his fellow men while his teacher seems to have transcended this concern. Who exactly is this “fellow men” is and what are the relational ties other than ‘humanity’ that connects Carlos with this collective entity? Don Juan seems to imply that in order to achieve universal (and interspecies) equality would mean that Carlos would have to rid himself of both the compassion towards the rabbit, and the “offense” hostility against his “fellow men”. Translated into the hermeneutics of Heideggerian ontology,

Carlos is too moved (captivated) by animal and fellow humans and without the aid of don Juan's teachings, this sort of identification rattles the cage of his captivity, but it fails to definitively free him.

Despite the voluntary nature of Carlos's apprenticeship, Carlos is captivated from the onset of his encounter with the Yaqui ("It was a look that went through me. I became tongue tied at once and could not continue with the harangues about myself ") (*Journey* 5). In 1971 *Wizard of the Upper Amazon* was published and narrated the captivity of Manuel Cordova Ríos, who was taken by a tribe as he worked as a *cauchero* in Iquitos, Peru. During his seven year captivity, Cordova Ríos was renamed Ino Moxo (meaning black jaguar) and was taught about medicinal plants (in particular ayahausca) and how to hunt from an elder chief. Whether Castaneda was inspired by Ino Moxo's experience, accounts of modern captivities abound in the region as colonial legacies and conflicts around land, natural resources and sovereignty between non-indigenous (*mestizo*) and indigenous peoples persist, despite nationalist imaginaries of inclusion.

As such, the hunting theme and its link to colonial and national antagonisms undergird the political, despite what can be interpreted as a suppression of the geopolitical implications of nationalities throughout his novels. For example, Carlos's own status and relation his home country as well as don Juan as Yaqui border-crossing indigenous guide, whom the Mexican state exiled to the Yucatan Istum, and some of whom are recognized in the United States as "first peoples." Given the ambiguity of Carlos's homeland, who constitutes his "fellow men" within the "revolution" that don Juan implies is required for the universalizing of life as proper "on a par?"[25] It becomes evident that the New Man iconized in the image of Che Guevara in Latin America and the insurgent movements in the United States of the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement do not constitute the sort of revolutionary spirit that the "teachings" will impart. Instead, the species of

[25] This deterritorializaion and reterritorization of Castaneda in the Southwest, or as Héctor Calderón regards as "Greater Mexico" within the quartet is a rich dimension that could not be expanded here but which provides an avenue for further articulations of border belongings and border identities that I will be investigating in the future.

"new man" that Castaneda is proposing is a reconstitution of "the spirit of man," quite literally in terms of the freedom he lacks as he gazes into the eyes of a house cat.

3. The Feline and Spirit of Man

In Derrida's "The Animal therefore I am" the incisive moment of philosophical inquiry is set in motion by the real gaze of his cat upon his nakedness and the theorist's subsequent shame. He describes this "passion of the animal" as "seeing oneself seen naked under a gaze that is vacant to the extent of being bottomless, at the same time innocent and cruel perhaps, perhaps sensitive and impassive, good and bad, uninterpretable, unreadable, undecidable, abyssal and secret" (381). This encounter with his house cat brings Derrida face-to-face with what his philosophical predecessors disavowed and consequently excluded from consideration, that the animal has a point of view (381). This "other" point of view on *me* and onto the world, also encompasses the feminine, anecdotally, the cat that sees the philosopher's nakedness is female, and within the narrative of creation and in the Western philosophical canon women were placed at a position of subordination and otherness.[26] Against this otherness of female and animal, Castaneda reinforces the humanity of the masculine as he disavows in the Freudian sense the biopolitical dimensions of a "New Hu(man)ity" he sees himself as a part of and which he will promote through the commodification of spurious ancient indigenous knowledge.

What is of most concern for Derrida is the pathos between the human and animal (cat), *why* and *how* he is 'moved' by the gaze of the otherness of his cat, and in this way challenging the philosophical tradition that regards the human self as autonomous, since the animal as a heteronomous 'other' has perturbed him with the ethical implications of said gaze. Derrida writes

[26] In the 20th anniversary prologue of *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Adams recognizes Derrida's contribution to the gendered politics and animal rights discourse. She states "Derrida's work on the question of the animal throughout the 1980s and '90s seeks to address this connection between masculinity and carnivorism" (7).

"as with every bottomless gaze, as with the eyes of the other, the gaze called animal offers to my sight the abyssal limit of the human: the inhuman or the ahuman, the ends of man, that is to say the border crossing from which vantage man dares to announce himself to himself, thereby calling himself by the name that he believes he gives himself" (381).

For example, shame before the gaze of the domestic feline occurs in an anecdote that Carlos recounts to don Juan, as the Yaqui teacher seeks to assess whether his pupil is ready to receive the "sorcerer's explanation". The "two cat story" concerns Carlos's epiphany regarding this essence and that of the cats that he was aiding to euthanize. The cats belonged to Carlos's friend who had found the pair as kittens "almost dead, inside a dryer in a laudromat" and "revived them through excellent nourishment and care groomed them into two gigantic cats" (108). Carlos explains to the reader that his friend could not keep the cats after she sold her house and since she was unable to find another home for them, all she could do "under the circumstances was to take them to the animal hospital and have them put to sleep" (108-9). As his friend takes one of the cats into the clinic, Carlos is left with "Max" who seemed agitated and he recounts that:

> …Our eyes met and an overwhelming sensation possessed me. Something got hold of my body, a form of apprehension, despair, or perhaps embarrassment for being part of what was taking place. I felt a need to explain to Max that it was my friend's decision, and that I was only helping her. The cat kept on looking at me as if he understood my words…my body felt a strange jolt and automatically I opened the door of my car. "Run, Max, run!" I said. He jumped out of the car, dashed across the street with his body close to the ground, like a true feline. (109)

This particular gaze more so than previous animal encounters is the episode that most resembles Derrida's own gaze with his cat. While the malaise that Derrida feels is about "shame of being ashamed" of his nakedness before the animal, in the case of Castaneda the embarrassment concerns

his complicity in the sacrifice of the animal, an animal with a name, and a fellow male entity. Moreover, this embarrassment also recalls Castaneda's mythic meeting with the eyes of don Juan in a bus station in Arizona, where he felt embarrassed that the laconic "Indian" had seen through him.

Like the erasures of animals' points of view that Derrida decries in Western philosophy, Carlos's telling of the story glosses over the detail of the torture and suffering of the cats found in a clothing dryer, in which the good fortunate of the cats is cut short since pets hold the status of property versus live entities, they could be disposed of if a living situation held no room for them. As such, these cats are not like Derrida's cats that are they are not as companion animals, with ethical lives, but pets and not even "truly cats" as Carlos determines. As Derrida writes "the name animal...delineating the ultimate ethical difference from the human, is also what render them capable of being sacrificed" (109), however, the animal form in this example by Castaneda is the animal as pet that is subject to sacrifice (and rendering within the industry of animal disposal) and is so proximate to him in its domesticated form that a recognition between Max's predicament and Carlos's own situation is visceral.

Castaneda's interpretation of the episode hinges precisely on this strong identification of Carlos between Max and an understanding and non-verbal communication that takes place between them. He writes:

> I fancied or perhaps I saw a weird flicker in Max's eyes when he looked at me before jumping out of the car. And I believe that for an instant that castrated, overweight, and useless pet became a cat. I told don Juan that I was convinced that when Max had run across the street and plunged into the sewer his "cat spirit" was impeccable, and that perhaps at no other time in his life was his "catness" so evident…*I thought myself to be like Max, overindulgent, domesticated in many ways,* and yet I could not help thinking that there was always the possibility of one moment in which the spirit of man might take over my whole being, just

like the spirit of "catness" took over Max's bloated and useless body. (110 emphasis added)

When Carlos compares the "castrated, overweight and useless pet" to himself as "overindulgent, domesticated in many ways", he is clearly implying his own emasculation. He also does this when holding out the possibility of the recovery of his "man-ness" in a sudden moment when "the spirit of man" would overtake his being. Despite these cats being male and the mountain lion's sex being unknown, the feline form within these shamanovels seem to follow the view that there is symbolic gender associated with feline species in contrast to the canine form, such that masculine enervating tropes circulate via the threaten seminal economy of predatory and savage feline figures and within the domestic sphere the mystery of the cat as pet holds these in tension, within a broader project of rehumanizing modern soceity through a new hu(man)ity, centered on an existential masculine dilemma.

Max the cat's dilemma, as seen by Carlos, is a loss of 'catness' as a wild essence, free from 'non-cat-being' of his domestic captivity. The reinvigoration of Max's 'catness', his being is the "impeccability", the possession of this saliently tautological attribute of the "warrior" and his mood. The "spirit of catness" and "the spirit of man" is an individual matter in Castaneda, such that "the spirit of man" is the individual being embodying the essence of man, as universal and male, and not a matter of "fellow men", the human other (always gendered male), since as in this case all traces of women as minimized and Castaneda's relationships disavowed in the suppression of the feminine and female others throughout most of his books. Once more, Derrida traces the trails of the disavowal of the female gaze and point of view within Western civilization, the viewpoint of the other (animal or woman's gaze), precipitates the descent into shame; wherein, the traditional response to this difference is to overcome it rather than what Derrida proposes as a "plurality" of species and sexes.

In a sense don Juan's reading of the two cats story, intended to underline the type of belief that he is eliciting from his disciple, is an attempt at this precise sort of overcoming of the other through tautological faith. He explains "as a warrior you *have* to believe that Max made it, that he not only escaped but that he sustained his power. You *have* to believe it. Let's say that without that belief you have nothing" (111). Yet, as the usual twists in the novels, just when Carlos seems to have grasped the lesson don Juan qualifies Carlos' errors or limitations in unexpected ways. For example, the Yaqui teacher asks about the other cat, the one that was put to sleep and demonstrates to his pupil how he failed to "see" his particular position within this story.

> Having to believe means that you have to also account for the other cat...you think you're like Max, therefore you have forgotten about the other cat. You don't even know his name. Having to believe means that you must consider everything, and before deciding that you are like Max you must consider that you may be like the other cat; instead of running for you life and taking your chances, you maybe going to your doom happily, filled with your judgments. (ibid)

This revelation of the alternative reading of the two-cat story takes place on a bench in a park in Mexico City. Instead of the threat of violence from magical creatures and forces in the camposcape, Carlos and don Juan are in the concrete jungle of the Mexican metropolis witnessing a man dying at a distance from them. The "accounting for everything" that don Juan urges in his pupil involves death, since "it is only because death is stalking us that the world is an unfathomable mystery" (114). The man dying on the ground is an "exquisite omen" for the power that Carlos has accumulated and alongside the revelation of the cat story, the test concludes with don Juan's request that Carlos recite César Vallejo's "Black Stone on a White Stone" as a way of summarizing the "have to believe" moral. The "indescribable melancholy" of the poem for Carlos is contrasted with the faith of don Juan that the lyric subject of the poem must have similarly to the dying man who "had enough

personal power to enable him to choose the streets of Mexico City as the place of his death." As such the Vallejo poem is interpreted as a representation of the "warrior's innermost predilection," yet what don Juan and Carlos fail to acknowledge is the contracted humanity at the center of the poem, in which the lyric subject is treated *like* an animal on account of the violence he suffers (115).

In terms of distinguishing between the captivation and captivity of the "the open" of Agamben relative to what Castaneda thematizes in terms of freedom, in which gender and sex are not an issue, the identification with the animal is a mirroring that occurs through a mesmerization of the gaze. This animal magnetism that Carlos succumbs to takes place within the literal open space of a rural Mexico. Against the wild and open space of the Mexican camposcape, where the frontiers of indigenous nations clash with that of U.S. and Mexican states, the urban space of cosmopolitanism requires an accounting of the content of the point of view of the other, where sacrifices not for the sake of sustenance but within the logic of capitalist scarcity, require the excising of the animal spirit, in Max, turned into a question of emasculation within the human realm. Whereas the feline figure, either in the wild or domesticated, prompts Carlos into the "proper mood" of the warrior as a matter of reinvigorated masculinity either through the terror of the mountain lion or the identification with the domesticated cat threatened with castration, the canine figures are exalted as part of the masculine universalized power that Carlos seeks and the lyricism with which he strives to infuse the non-ordinary.

Yaqui Animality, Mythological Beasts of Nationalism & the Barking Dog

There is a heavy evocation of lyricism in *Tales of Power* that sublimates the question of the other (as fellow men, animal other, and the unspoken feminine) as we see in the examples I will examine in this section and which I believe draws on Paz and other Mexican literary examples. In general, by recounting revelatory encounters with animals, Castaneda presents animal figures that

possess mythological and nationalist (Mexican) meaning within a fluid and vague backdrop, "the open" as articulated as border frontier, upon which humanity inscribes itself within and against animality.

As don Juan's teachings are intended to make a warrior of the Western male subject, the reality of Yaqui dispossession through centuries of conflict against imperialist and nationalist powers lies beneath the surface of the Yaqui warrior myth. Within the Mexican imaginary, the Yaqui nation prompts "a combination of anxiety and admiration based on warrior and traditional dance identities" in which regional pride and racial-ethnic disdain were a product a violent history of indigenous dispossession (that included extermination and deportation campaigns by the Mexican state) and postrevolutionary literary representations that "solidified their warrior identity to Mexican who had little interest in the Yoeme agrarian politics for which they fought" (Tumbaga 5). As Ariel Tumbaga explains the Yaqui warrior myth was not limited to Mexico but constitutes a transnational imaginary of the Yaqui nation and the Yoeme people, given that the Yaqui nation straddles the U.S.-Mexico border and because Mexican-American and Chicana/o authors employed "pre-Columbian or Conquest-era indigenous history, more often than not mythologized, to represent nationalism (political or cultural) when writing about revolution and struggle" (30).

This imaginary, however, paves over what Nicole Guidotti-Hernández qualifies as "transnational histories of violence" that took place in the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands during the Yaqui Wars (1533-1929). In particular during the Porifiriato, the Yoeme people who comprised "the major component of the labor force in the mines and haciendas of Sonora," "were targets of state-sponsored violence" as a way to remedy their "estado de salvajismo" (179). The Yaqui raids resulted from encroachments in the Yaqui valley from both the U.S. and Mexico and "demonstrated a sustained Yaqui imagining of subjectivity and nation tied to self-determination and economic sustainability" (180).

As we learn more about don Juan as recounted by himself, we find out decipher some of the teacher's attitudes towards indigeneity, which among other things professes a negative view of the animalized conditions of indigenous peoples in Mexico, especially the Yoeme people. Initially in his conversation with his grandsons friends, don Juan annoyed at having to repeat his teaching about Mescalito on the deaf acculturated ears of these young Yaqui men, reproaches them for believing that becoming like an animal during the encounter with the spirit of Peyote constitutes a degradation. He admonishes as follows: "Bajea says that whoever takes it becomes like an animal. Well, I don't see it that way. To me those who think they are above animals like worse than animals. Look at my grandson here. He works without rest. I would say he lives to work, like a mule. And all he does that is not animal-like is get drunk" (*Separate Reality* 28). These reproachful words echoes don Juan's earlier correction of Carlos's own pitying attitude towards the hungry children in rags that scavenger the leftovers of restaurant customers, in which Carlos laments that given such conditions" those children did not have the slightest chance for any intellectual growth". Don Juan counters "[c]an your freedom and opportunities help you to become a man of knowledge?" to which following Carlos's emphatic "No", his teacher tells him "then how could you feel sorry for those children?…Any of them could become a man of knowledge. All the men of knowledge I know were kids like those you saw eating leftovers and licking the tables" (*Tales* 110).

These attitudes by don Juan that serve to underscore in the case of his grandson the alienation of his acculturated life that cycles through work and inebriation, constitute for don Juan a degraded life, especially as his grandson and his ilk ridicule the teachings and have no resemblance to the famed Yaqui warrior spirit, which don Juan is attempted to reconnect them to through Mescalito and the teachings. And on the other hand, the example of the Dickensian pauper children circling timidly like dogs outside restaurant patio that stealthy devour and scurry away is for don Juan not a condition of degradation on the basis of what Carlos reports to him to be their lack of opportunity,

since don Juan counters that the experiences of those children more than not has constituted the personal history of the men of knowledge that he knows.

Despite, this when it comes to the saga of Yaqui dispossession, the dehumanization of the Yaqui, and in particular that of his own family, is narrated in a defeatist tone that characterizes the violence beset on the Yaqui by the Mexican state in animalizing terms. He narrates:

> That was the time of the great Yaqui wars. The Mexican soldiers came upon us unexpectedly while my mother was cooking some food. She was a helpless woman. They killed her for no reason at all. It doesn't make any difference that she died that way, not really, and yet for me it does. I cannot tell myself why, though; it just does. I thought they had killed my father too, but they hadn't. He was wounded. Later on they put us in a tram like cattle and closed the door. For days they kept us there in the dark, like animals. They kept us alive with bits of food they threw into the wagon from time to time. (*Separate Realitiy* 136)

And in the third book Don Juan again characterizes the mistreatment of indigenous peoples in similar animalizing descriptions: "I used to whine and complain a great deal. I had good reasons to feel shortchanged. I am an Indian and Indians are treated like dogs. There was nothing I could do to remedy that, so all I was left with was my sorrow. But then my good fortune spared me and someone taught me to hunt. And I realized that the way I lived was not worth living ... so I changed it" (56). As is in the case of the livestock animalization of the Otomies that I discussed in the chapter on Mauricio Magdaleno, the animalization of indigenous communities during both the colonial and republican periods in Mexico, shaped the particular expression of animality in terms of a degradation articulated here in terms of canine animals (dog or coyote).

The use of dog animalizations among indigenous peoples was a product of Spanish colonization. As Varner and Varner write "the use of dogs in the subjugation and dispersal of the Moors was effective training for a number of men who were to employ dogs in the subsequent

conquest of the New World" (xvi). Describing Pedro de Vera Mendoza as "noble and notoriously sadistic Andalusian", Verner and Verner shift the blame for the violence inflicted upon indigenous peoples of the Americas by conquest dogs onto the men that deployed them in the Reconquest of the peninsula and later in the conquest of new lands, since that the great destruction of these animals was part of the imperial project where "*montería infernal* (infernal chase, or manhunt), [ ] was to become a common sport in the Indies" (xv). As such, indigenous groups that were subject to these European dogs (mastiffs and greyhounds) not only feared them but held no kinship with the autochthonous canines these had enshrined in their myths.

In Aztec and Mayan mythology, dogs are the mediators between the terrestrial and underworld. In Laúd and Dresde codices, for example, dogs function as the guides of humans in the Mictlán, the infra-world, helping the death cross the labyrinth network of rivers to the god of the dead. Moreover, in the Florentine codex, Xolotl the Aztec deity of fire and lightening, twin brother of Quetzalcoatl, is depicted with a dog head and guides the dead through Mictlán, in the form of either the dog or the axolotl (or "water dog"). The hairless xoloitzcuintle is not a strictly Mexican canine, rather given their pre-Columbian distribution that extended from Mexico to northern Argentina, including the Andes and the Antilles, this species of dog came to represent the autochthonous against the foreign. Nonetheless, it is within Mexican nationalist imaginary that the canine figure is most evocative of *mexicanidad*.

As contemporary film and literary examples demonstrate, the dog animalizations of Mexican culture abound in their depiction of a particular barbarity of neoliberal Mexican desmodernity as "desmadre" as a neologism coined by Roger Bartra. The devolution of the revolution becomes evolutionary in a constellation of political zoological signs. Specifically, in Mexico, the revolutionary novels and *indigenista*/rural novels depict animality within the violence of new political formations and subjectivities, as I explored in Magadelano's *El resplandor*. Throughout the poetry of José Emilio

Pacheco, a surprising wide range of animals proliferate as modern nationalist bestiaries, fables that, according to Alvaro Salvador resemble mirrors on "the humanity of humanity and degradation of the world" (318).[27] However, some of the most salient use of animals seeks to ground symbolically Mexico's stunned political evolution in its primordial and mythic past. For example in José Revueltas's essay "México: Reptíl y ave" (1942), the discovery of the fossilized arqueopterix, "un tipo bien delimitado de transición entre los reptiles y las aves" prompts him to regard it as a symbol of a *mexicanidad* that is still paralyzed within an unresolved conflict between the mythic eagle and serpent encounter that founded Tenochtitlán, "un transición lenta entre el veneno y el aire, sangrando lágrimas, el débil tórax incapaz todavía de desprenderse para las ascensiones definitivas" (167). And in Paz's *El cántaro roto* (1955) the immutable despotic nature of Mexico is casted as amphibious in the poem's resounding question "¿solo el sapo es inmortal? (qtd in Flores pg). And Jorodowsky evokes this repressed and primordial "otro México" that Paz advances as a cardinal metaphor in the opening scenes of "El gran circo de sapos y camaleones" in *Holy Mountain*, when he displays a miniaturized reenactment of the conquest upon pyramids with Aztec priests, warriors, and their Spanish counterparts played by toads and lizards. Drawing on the construction of studies on *mexicanidad*, Roger Bartra reconfigures this amphibious form as the "water dog" axolotl, a figure for a *mexicanidad* imprisoned in the melancholic cage of the stalled metamorphosis of this creature.

As such, animality is a common fixture in Mexican identity discourses that seeks to ground nationalist sentiments of pride and tragedy associated with its overarching foundational narrative, as an unsurpassed and recurrent moment, in which the past is primitized as animal, the zenith of Aztec power nostalgized as a conviviality of animal-human in ritual and *cosmovisión*, the shattering of this union by the Conquest as the calamitious degradation of said apex in the ruins of a dehumanizing anthropological machine of imperial legacies. This entire Mexican animal imaginary, however,

[27] See Alvaro Salvador's article, "José Emilio Pacheco y los animales" (2010).

subsumes all recent and contemporaneous struggles of numerous indigenous groups such as the Yaquis as a "postdata" and a specialized task of anthropologically-based *indigenistas*, under this meta-narrative of "México bárbaro".

This animal imaginary, however, was not entirely a product of the pen, as Kristal argues in his examination of the ways that Paz's views of "dialectica de la soledad" where influenced and confirmed by painting and the plastic arts. According to Kristal, "la pintura ha estado presente en el proceso que lo llevó a exhortar al mexicano a participar en la cultura moderna, y en sus ideas sobre el arte como un registro que trasciende la particularidad al vislumbrar la comunión humana en la experiencia erótica" ("Eros" 119). For Paz, Mexican mythology is key in reconstructing the subject from the inauthenticity of modern social life towards union, stating that "explicar el mito desentrañar su sentido, es humanizarlo. Y, al mismo tiempo, aclarar el sentido de nuestra historia. El mito es el jeroglífico de nuestro destino" (qtd in Kristal "Eros" 120). Despite the present of the mythic past in Mexican muralism, Paz objected to the ideological uses of indigenous culture and ancient Mexico of muralists such as Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros (ibid). In opposition to these ideological artistic expressions, Paz sought the lyric expression of the Mexican condition and praised the artwork of Rufino Tamayo for its poetic transfigurative quality. "El elemento pasional y demoniaco corresponde en Tamayo a lo que he llamado transfiguración, imaginación analógica" (qtd in Kristal "Eros" 121). As Kristal explains "en los lienzos de Tamayo un objeto representado puede transfigurarse en otro objeto o serie de objetos, o en alguna imagen o serie de imágenes" (ibid).

Among the various themes in Tamayo's art that evoke Aztec mythology are paintings of dogs, such as *Animales* (1941), *Perro aullando a la luna* (1942), *Perro loco* (1943), and *Perro y serpiente* (1943). Spanning the years of World War II, Tamayo painted these during a long stay in New York City. According to Saint Louis Art Museum catalog, these works by the painter drew on indigenous influences to allegorize the violence taking place in Europe, specifically citing in the case of *Perro y*

serpiente, Tamayo's hairless dog as modeled after canine shaped Mesoamerican funerary vessels. Through the particularity of Mexican iconography rooted in a timeless pre-Colombian past, the canine form could give lyric expression to a universal state of anxiety and desperation, akin to Picasso's *Guernica* that expressed said state within a reference to Spanish identity through the bull. A deeper probe of *Perro y serpiente* as well as *Dualidad* (1964), a mural of a seemingly feathered serpent-sun engaged in battle with a jaguar-moon, further illustrates the zoological imaginary apparently depoliticized in the transfigurative poetics of Tamayo's brush.

In *Tales of Power*, Castaneda brings closure to the unity and love of the Earth professed by both don Juan and don Genaro with a universal sense of desolation. Heavily evocative of Tamayo's paintings of dogs howling at the moon *Perro aullando a la luna* (1942) (Fig. 6) and *Perro de la luna* (1972) (Fig.7), as well as the barking dogs in the solitude of Mexico's ruralscape present in Juan Rulfo's writings, Castaneda inserts the anguished barking of the dog in a prolongation of the hermeneutical circle. Upon "caress[ing] the ground with tenderness" Don Juan "this loving being [the earth], which is alive to its last recesses and understands every feeling, soothed me, it cured me or my pains, and finally when I had fully understood my love for it, it taught me freedom" (292-3). The predilection of the warrior, according to don Juan is the earth, the world, and that he is grounded by an unalterable love for the Earth, and is thus untouched by sadness. After don Juan explains this to Carlos, a frightening sadness pervades the space and along with the hissing wind they hear the "distant barking of a lone dog" that the Yaqui teacher will claim is "the way my beloved earth is helping me now to bring this last point. That barking is the saddest thing one can hear" (293). For Carlos the solitary dog's barking causes him "numbing anguish" "it made me think of my own life, my sadness, my not knowing where to go, what to do" (ibid). Don Juan reiterates to his pupil:

> That dog's barking is the nocturnal voice of a man...it comes from a house in that valley towards the south. *A man is shouting through his dog, since they are companion slaves for life, his sadness, his boredom*. He's begging his death to come and release him from the dull and dreary chains of his life...that barking, and the loneliness it creates, speaks of the feelings of men...men for whom an entire life was like one Sunday afternoon, an afternoon which was not although miserable, but rather hot and dull and uncomfortable. They sweated and fussed a great deal. They didn't know where to go, or what to do. That afternoon left them only with the memory of petty annoyances and tedium, and then suddenly it was over; it was already night. (ibid)

The notion of companion species of what Donna Haraway sees as the *naturecultures* of a coevolutionary emergence of humans and dogs, is posited here as a bondage, an imprisonment to sadness and boredom of a rural hellscape reminiscent of Rulfo's Comala. The pairing of *nahualismo* within this rural *inferno* is lyrically tantamount to slavery, not in terms of labor or dispossession of self-hood, but rather the bonds of human-animal within this beastly landscape are rendered as bondage. The dog is an instrument of vocalization for the lyrical alienation of its human master. Both pet and master inhabit Heidegger's "Open" as "they sweat[] and fuss[] a great deal" in their profound boredom, a boredom that humanizes because it breaks animal captivation, and being apprehends itself as *Dasein*. Within this tedium, the poetic essence is most pronounced and the elements of this scene transfigurated into New Age spirituality that draws, in this case, on Mexican rural iconography of desolation in order to resonant in the emotional tonality of a universal authentic "open wound" through its lyrical quality, rooted in a cultural imaginary of the camposcape and its zoological political imaginary.

Conclusion

To close, I wish to turn to the legacy of Castaneda in terms of situating his spiritual border crossings within what would become known as the Californian Ideology, as a "hybrid faith" of right-wing market economics and left-wing freedoms of hippie artisanship (Barbrook & Cameron 6). According to Barbrook and Cameron, the development of hypermedia and "a nearly universal belief in technological determinism" emerged from the California cradle of the "free-wheeling spirit of the hippies and the entrepreneurial zeal of the yuppies" (1). Specifically, the Californian Ideology emerged at the late 1960s and early 1970s with the defeat of "the hippies and their allies in the black civil rights movement" as the political dimensions of "freedom" became mostly aesthetic in terms of connoting a cultural bohemianism, while state infrastructure were exploited by tech entrepreneurs who erased their dependency on the collective, in establishing the myth of the Silicon Valley visionary.

Castaneda's novels as part of the New Age spiritualism promoted individual self development in lieu of collective social liberation, in contradistinction to the revolutionary discourse of the "new man", as it made the anthropologist-*brujo* a million through his seamless academic-mass market publications. As a figure of masculine autonomy unconcerned with his "fellow men", don Juan's transformation into a business suited stockholder by day and part of a 'virtual' network of ancient Toltec sorcerers by night, is not quite a Silicon Valley giant but the traces of both Californian Ideology and California Cosmology of deep ecology are knotted together in his character.

Among other *indigenistas*, Castaneda's vision of animals is a favorable one, one might even venture a comparison with Arguedas in this respect. With regards to his de-coupling of *nahualismo* from its social and inter-species bonds and destinies may have been a response to the overwhelming negative representations of *nahualismo*, especially within the Mexican tradition, that rendered this indigenous phenomena in a dehumanizing manner. The novels do celebration the "wisdom" of indigenous peoples, albeit in ways that might not be commensurate with indigenous practices and

generationally accumulated knowledge. Moreover, the animal encounters in the quartet exhibit a concern over the life and inner perspectives of animal that coincide with the ethical considerations of the modern animal rights movement that was emerging in the early 1970s.

Nonetheless, the freedom made possible by being a "man of knowledge" and amassing enough "personal power" to cross the borders of realities, was at the cost of the suffering of others. Castaneda's reshuffling and distortion of indigenous cosmologies and customs through his utilization of *neoindigenista* elements had neo-colonial consequences in the U.S., Mexico and even Peru. His books "prompted a deluge of hippie, Yaqui Indian-seeking pilgrims to descend on the Sonoran Desert in Mexico in the 1960s" that eroded the conditions of Yaqui communities already living in precarious circumstances (Willis xxiii). In the U.S., Native Americans denounced "plastic shamans" like Castaneda for stealing indigenous traditions in order to turn a profit on the New Age market. And in Peru, neo-shamans such as Castaneda, whose peyote sessions can be seen as Mexicanized ayahuasca shamanic spiritual trips, contributed to the commercialization of "spiritual tourism" to ancient sites such as Machu Picchu and Amazonian encroachments by middle-class urban dwellers seeking a deeper and more authentic connection.

Cleargreen Corporation stands today as Castaneda's virtual post-human body managing all aspects of the deceased author's copyrights and publications. In continuing the *Nagual's* legacy of New Age *Nahualismo*, Cleargreen continues to turn to a primordial, Pre-Columbian América in order to soothe the open wound of a modernity composed of hypermedia in which interstitial frontier spaces have melted. The "schizophrenic existence" that undergirds the globalizing of the California Ideology is operative in the unintelligible dialectic of the *tonal* and *nagual,* that mystify the universalism of a contemporary moment in which "freedom is slavery" as the improvement of the self in its quest for freedom is ensnared in the primacy of market forces, as the *nagual* that moves and gives liquidity to the *tonal.*

The parallelism between human and animal destinies had been destroyed not just in terms of Castaneda's literary adaptation but in terms of the radical animalization of human life. The project of humanity's historical destiny, as Agamben explains, saw its last true believer in Heidegger, who believed "that the anthropological machine, which each time decides upon and recomposes the conflict between man and animal, between the open and the not-open, could still produce history and destiny for a people" (75). The humanity that is being foreclosed as Castaneda goes on to write a total of 12 novels is one that has been completely animalized by the post-humanist techno-utopia of the California Ideology. Agamben writes:

> Faced with this eclipse, the only task that still seems to retain some seriousness is the assumption of the burden—and the "total management"— of biological life, that is, of the very animality of man. Genome, global economy, and humanitarian ideology are the three united faces of this process in which posthistorical humanity seems to take on its own physiology as its last, impolitic mandate. (77)

When it is unclear whether the mere well-being of life that is entirely biologicalized/animalized within our biopolitical hyper-tech realities can be fulfilling, how can the form of "humanity" as Dasein keep itself "open to the undisconcealed of the animal" (ibid)? How can "man" reconcile with the other without the reconciliation of his animal nature?

The horizons of Castaneda's project essentialize and make literal this question in terms of gender and sex. In a conversation with a female follower, Castaneda transfixes his prey with his celebrity status and his "knowledge." Holding her hand he tells her: "You have always been like a bird, like a little bird in a cage…you are wanting to fly, you're ready, the door is open—but you're just sitting there. I want to take you with me. I'll help you soar. Nothing could stop you if you come with me" (Sager). The seduction of the young woman, who became an undergraduate at UCLA's

anthropology department upon Castaneda's urging that she apply, recalls that said project was always clearly squarely within the sexual politics of meat.

Conclusion

In this project, I have explored *indigenista* animality as a discourse that combines indigenous notions of human-animal relations and Western (often negative) animality by non-indigenous writers residing in or in dialogue with the indigenous problem in Mexico, Peru, and/or a hemispheric dimension. This *indigenista* animality engages with the construction and/or critique of the privileged national subject; in the case of Peru, the indigenous subject, in Mexico, the *mestizo*, and in the hemispheric context of the late 1960s, "the new man," in which indigenous *cosmovisiones* granted authenticity to said representations while also applying Western animality's binaries and hierarchies to their social and political context in their concerns over the exclusion of indigenous peoples.

Besides the legitimating function of representing indigenous peoples in intimate connection to animals and nature, the animal figures in these *indigenista* texts reveal biopolitical dimensions at work within the nationalist imaginaries of these regions. Above all, we have seen how animality depended on the political, especially Marxist, and anthropological paradigms of *indigenistas* that continued to exhibit the properties of counterinsurgency prose, in which the political agency of indigenous subjects is in doubt despite the support for indigenous emancipation and self-determination.

Further research should be conducted to bring *indigenista* animality up to date with the contemporary ways that it manifests within a set of concerns that continue to respond to questions of belonging and identity. One avenue of inquiry constitutes the continuation of the Castaneda project in terms of excavating the *nahualismo* lineages between Castaneda's shamanovels and animal-human representations in Chicana/o and Latinx literature. For example, Rudolfo Anaya, a founder of contemporary Chicano literature, in his 1972 *Bless Me, Ultima,* employs *nahualismo* and indigenous traditions in his representation of the experiences of a young *hispano* boy who is taught and guided by the *curandera* Ultima to navigate unseen and magical forces. Written from 1965 to 1971, Anaya's

Chicano "*nahual*" novel may have been influenced by Castaneda's own and, no doubt, owed part of its popularity to the familiarity of readers with fantastic animal shifting and magical narratives established by *The Teachings*. Given that, as Tumbaga details his is study of Yaqui indigeneity in Chicano literature, Castaneda's contribution to said field is considerable, these works and Chicana/o and Latinx Literature dialogue and respond to the *indigenista* animality of Mexican discourse and reshape it in their contestation of a particular *mestizaje* that occurs in the United States. As such, the traces of Castaneda's *indigenista* animality can be further examined not only in Anaya's best-known novel but also in his Sonny Baca series, which follows the shamanic trajectory of a New Mexican private investigator as he solves mysteries that intertwine "non-ordinary reality" with material class and racial conflicts.

Although, numerous writers and works within Chicana/o literature have used animals, such as Oscar Zeta Acosta, Helena Viramontes, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, among others, contemporary Chicana/o cultural and theoretical frameworks have turned to animals in reimaging identities that seek to transcend cultural, gendered, and national binaries. A prime example of this is Daniel Enrique Perez's essay, "Toward a Mariposa Consciousness: Reimagining Queer Chicano and Latino Identities," that explores the ways that queer Chicano and Latino artists have transcended negative stereotypes through a re-appropriation of the denigrating epithet of *mariposa*. Previously, I did a preliminary examination of animality along the U.S.-Mexico border in terms of probing the material and metaphoric intersections of human and animal migrations, that drew from Perez's study in analyzing the figural and material aspects of the *pollo,* as the undocumented subject and the *pollero/coyote*, in charge of smuggling operations.

In extending the scope of that initial exploration into the biopolitics of animal and human migration/refugee flows, I see an urgent need to continue to "think through animals" the global ramifications of climate change, economic precarity, and states of exception that are being carved

along national borders. For instance, these human-animal assemblages are present in sociological studies such as that of Vanesa Ribas's *On the Line: Slaughterhouse Lives and the Making of the New South* (2016) the underscores the material connections between the animal deaths and the vulnerabilities of Latino/a immigrants in oppressive exploitation in Chicken meat-packing facilities. Advancing through the animal capital route, films and literary works on Central American crossings through Mexico such *Sin nombre* (2009)*, La bestia* (2010)*, and La jaula de oro* (2013) offer the opportunity to elaborate the contours of a border animality, specific to the experience of unaccompanied undocumented minors, many of which are of indigenous backgrounds. Moreover, given that inhuman conditions of immigration detentions facilities and the expansion of these as well as ever more degrading abuses upon detained immigrants and refugees, I suspect that efforts to understand the particular monstrosity of states of exception through human-animal perspectives along the U.S.-Mexico border and those of other countries (European Union states as well as Israel-Palestine) will continue emerge to advocate for "humane" solutions and, possibly, the abolition of discriminatory borders, national, cultural, and/or human-animal.

And lastly, throughout this project the figure of Arguedas looms large, as it was through my initial engagements with his literary and anthropological corpus that I arrived at the various coordinates of this dissertation. Various scholars have examined aspects of Arguedas's works in presenting readings of his novels and poetry that locate nature and tensions of Andean and indigenous life with modernity, technology and a reformulation of the nation within the shifts of international and global transformations such as that depicted in his posthumous novel, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*. Jorge Marcone, Roberto Forns-Broggi, Scott DeVries, Sara Castro Klaren, and Gareth Williams, among others, have all touched on the significance of this novel is charting new directions of inquiry into the "modern nature" reflected in this work as well as more broadly within Peruvian and Latin American cultural discussions. For example Castro Klaren's article,

" 'Como chancho, cuando piensa:' El efecto cognitio ven Arguedas en el convertir animal," employs Deleuze and Guattari's "becoming animal" in exploring the cognitive effects of modernity in port city of Chimbote in a way that touches on the animal. However, as I have demonstrated through my case studies, an explicit animal studies lens allows for a more focused exploration of the symbolic and material dimensions of animals that then inform cultural, philosophical, and racial dimensions of works that wrestle with the question of the "naturalizing" of the nation within a historical ever-changing process. A future project that follows from this dissertation is a direct engagement with *la obra arguediana* on the basis of mapping the various animal oppositions, pairings, and hybrids that proliferate in his works, endeavoring to also continue to study the *mestizo/indio* divide at the heart of this project.

Fig. 1
Full-page Ford Advertisement in *Amauta* no. 2 (October 1926)

Fig. 2
Tristeza andina, Martín Chambi (1930)

Fig. 3
Primera motocicleta de Mario Pérez Yáñez, Martín Chambi (1930)

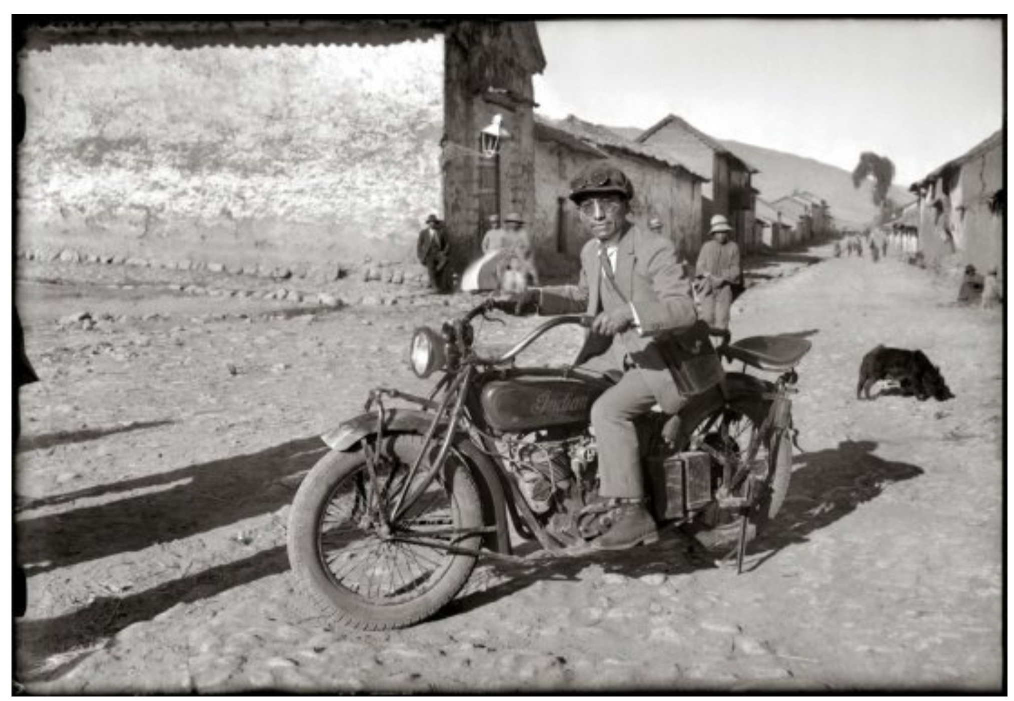

Fig. 4 *Autorretrato*, Martín Chambi (1930)

Fig. 5 *Automovilistas en el cerro de San Cristóbal*, Martín Chambi (1928)

Fig. 6 *Perro aullando a la luna,* Rufino Tamayo (1942)

Fig. 7 *Perro de la luna,* Rufino Tamayo (1972)

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