

***¿Qué es la patria?: Peruvian National Identity and José María Arguedas***

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## Introduction

As I walk under the inflatable fork and into Mistura in Lima, Peru, I feel as if I am entering into a culinary dream. Over the past few years, my trips to Peru have given me an insatiable appetite for Peruvian cuisine. Not only are the flavors so much richer than anything I have tasted in the States, but the history and fusion of the food make it exceptional. At Mistura, Peru's annual food festival, the air is filled with the smell of the nation's *platos típicos*. Several tents make up the gigantic festival and each houses food stands for a certain region: the *Mundo Andino*, *Mundo Amazónico* and *Mundo Norteño* are just a few of the 'worlds' that make up the festival. At Mistura, the diversity of the cuisine is not just acknowledged, but celebrated. It is part of what makes Peru the Gastronomic Capital of South America. (Baral) The *variedad* of Peru's food is a result of the distinct cultures found throughout the nation's diverse geography. *Papa a la huancaína*, a highland dish, and *Juane*, a typical plate from the jungle region, are both considered classic Peruvian meals. Together, their differences enrich Peru's culinary tradition.

While the diversity of Peruvian cuisine creates a culinary melting pot in Lima that has elevated the nation's gastronomic status, the same cannot be said of Peruvian society. The diverse geography of Peru has kept people, not just cuisine, separate since the birth of the nation in the nineteenth century. Although the Conquest brought Spaniards into both the *sierra* and *costa* of Peru, these two regions remained physically and culturally disconnected. The separation continued even after the *criollos* declared independence from Spain and the 'official' nation was founded. As decades passed, a distinct Andean world formed in the *sierra* that mixed indigenous and western characteristics. Meanwhile the indigenous people of the coast, due to more rapid industrialization and a weaker resistance to western intruders, assimilated into *criollo* culture. (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 91) It was not until the era of modernization in the early

twentieth century that that the imagined national expanse of Peru became increasingly real. Advances in technology allowed for the construction of *carreteras* connecting the *costa* and *sierra* and consequently increasing communication and trade between the regions. Suddenly, the incubated Andean world was challenged by an increasing presence of its other national half. (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 21) Instead of the exciting fusion that the encounter of regional cuisines experienced in Lima, however, the encounter of the *costa* and *sierra* only made the asymmetry of the *patria* more evident. This problem deepened as globalization later entered the country. In such a complex reality, the definition the *patria*, or the ‘authentic’ Peru, was unclear.

José María Arguedas was all too familiar with the fractures in Peruvian society. While born and later educated in the westernized world of Peru, Arguedas was raised mostly by the indigenous people of the *sierra*. He spoke Quechua before *castellano* and shared the ‘magical’ perspective of the native Peruvians. (Sandoval and Boschetto-Sandoval 97) On a personal level, Arguedas could not bring the western and indigenous parts of his identity into harmony. He believed that the identity crisis he experienced was echoed by the nation on a larger scale and was the reason why national identity was so problematic in Peru. He brought this individual and national conflict into his work as an author. Arguedas approached the question of *¿Qué es la patria?* by looking into the fractures of Peru's society and serving as a mediator between the two primary worlds through his literature. This role as mediator is most clear in his novels *Deep Rivers* and *Todas las sangres*. These, *Todas las sangres* especially, make up the pinnacle of his literary *proyecto*, in which he offers readers an alternative national narrative to spread his hope for a unified and thriving Peru.

While Peru's identity hung in the balance between the traditional Andean world and the perceived modern 'progress' of coastal Lima, Arguedas offered a synthesis that neither clung to the colonial past nor assimilated into homogenous global modernity. His hope for *una patria unificada* lay in a new way of looking at history, placing the indio at the center of the nation's progressive construction towards a modern Peru. Arguedas' portrayal through his novels of a *patria* whose identity is rooted in *mestizaje* offered Peru the opportunity to create a nation whose progress is collective and in turn avoid what he considered the ever-deepening trap of individualism.

### **I. The Imagined *Patria***

The social fractures and lack of unity in Peru can be traced back to the western formation of nationhood. As Benedict Anderson argues in his work *Imagined Communities*, European civilization was the first to come up with the concept of a nation and national identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (Anderson 84) Before nation-states, dynasties divided up power among the European elite. Tangible shared culture, such as a belief in a particular divinity, formed communities, and dynastic realms extended over all communities that they could reasonably control. The notion of forcing a unified cultural identity onto these diverse communities served the dynasty no purpose. (Anderson 19)

The allocation of power through dynastic rule was challenged by the creation of the printing press in eighteenth century Europe. The emergence of print capitalism in Europe, particularly the novel and newspaper, created a community that connected people over vast regions. These publications offered a new way of thinking that was vital to the idea of nationhood: that is, the idea of simultaneity. At this time, the concept of a divine power uniting the experience of all mankind was waning. By overcoming the sense of "homogeneous, empty time" that was not part

of a divine plan for humanity, the novel and the newspaper allowed readers to perceive of events as still being related insomuch that they happened at the same time and within the same framework. Whether the framework was the narrative of a novel or the physical proximity of two stories in a newspaper, print allowed for separate events to appear as taking place within the same community. The newspaper in particular allowed people to relate to others in their perceived community that they had never even met. This community, not yet a 'nation,' was made possible by a print-language: a synthesis of various vernaculars found throughout the dynastic realm and used in print to make publications accessible to a vast area of people. The print-language phenomenon resulted in the spread of 'national' languages. Such uniformity allowed for much larger groups of individuals to *imagine* themselves as part of a national whole and experience the national narrative together in a common tongue. (Anderson 24-25)

As these 'unofficial' or naturally occurring nationalisms were forming among people of a common print language, the change from dynasty to nation ensued. Rulers who were threatened by the influence of print used their authority to control the national identity set forth by publications. By taking hold of nationalism through print and controlling whom it belonged to, rulers could protect the expanse of their power and bind these reading communities to the dynasty. Suddenly, dynastic rulers also became representatives of the people they controlled insomuch that their experiences were connected to the narrative of the entire print language community. They could therefore relate to each other not only as oppressor and oppressed, but as fellow citizens of the nation state and all that it represented. (Anderson 85)

Anderson refers to the use of nationalism to bind communities to a dynastic power as 'official nationalism,' and it was an essential part of the age of imperialism. Anderson defines official nationalism as, "stretching the tight skin of the nation over the entire dynastic empire."

(86) The national identities formed through European print capitalism were forced upon conquered peoples. It was irrelevant to the Europeans whether or not the people they brought into nationhood adopted their new identity enthusiastically. The conquerers only wanted the conquered to accept the national narrative that warranted their subservience. In the case of the Americas, indigenous people were expected to accept their place on the bottom rung of European society—placing them in a narrative that opposed the *grandeza* of their own imperial history.

Ironically, despite being the foundation of unofficial nationalism, language was irrelevant to the imposition of national identity during imperialism. (Anderson 86) The native inhabitants of Peru, for example, were expected to view themselves as part of the Spanish Empire despite having no linguistic or cultural connection to *castellano*. Compare this to the evolution of the nation within the European continent: since European communities had evolved over centuries in close proximity, their language and culture were not too entirely different. Print language alone allowed for a reasonably unified identity to form due to pre-existing cultural similarities amongst adjacent communities. (Anderson 44) Obviously, this was not the case for those communities taken over by the Conquest.

Clearly, nationhood was an unnatural development for the colonized people of South America. As Anderson observes, empire and nation are incompatible: those from the colonized land never feel a complete solidarity with their colonizer. (110) The cultural divides, such as language and religion, are too vast for synthesis. No print-language could have successfully combined Quechua and Spanish in a way that both sides could comprehend. And besides, even if it could have, the national narratives of print capitalism could not have captured the experience of both worlds simultaneously without catering to one cultural perspective over the other, therefore omitting solidarity and with it the sense of togetherness that newspapers and novels

provided for Europeans. This leads to an important aspect of official nationalism that was absent from the spontaneous formation of unofficial nationalism. Unlike unofficial nationalism, official nationalism was intentionally created for the purpose of domination. As Anderson states, it is, “an anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups which are threatened with marginalization or exclusion from an emerging nationally-imagined community.” (101) Created by the ruling class for the purpose of reinforcing their power, it is no wonder that official nationalism was critical for the exploitation of the New World.

Official nationalism took shape in Peru as Spanish conquistadors marked out national borders without concern for geographic divides. Over this new nation legitimized by the western map, they imposed their language, culture and authority in the name of the *Virreinato del Perú*. (Anderson 50, 175) The importance of this western redefinition of the ‘Americans’ is monumental. Though the countries that make up South America, including Peru, may now seem like natural pieces of the South American puzzle, their formation was anything but ordinary for the millions of indigenous people that lived through the Conquest. For the natives, the ‘discovery’ of America meant strangers appeared suddenly from a foreign land and took it upon themselves to redefine a cultural reality that had existed for centuries to make it part of *their* ‘national’ destiny. From Lima a new narrative was diffused to the smallest pueblos of the Andes, where indigenous people were told of their allegiance to a foreign world.

Both during the colonial period and after national independence, Peru has remained an *imagined* community. In reality, the diverse geography of the newly defined nation kept its Andean region separate from the westernized and easily accessible coast. This separation meant that the Spaniards’ arrival was not so quick to transform the cultural reality of indigenous Peruvians in the *sierra*. Their religious and linguistic characteristics not only divided them from

the West but also led to a new Andean world within the *sierra*. This other reality was a mixture of pre-Hispanic culture and Creole influence that resulted from the *transculturación* of the native people. This process of transculturation was only possible due to the strong, sophisticated culture of the indigenous community, as Arguedas often asserts in his ethnographical works. In his book *Indios, mestizos y señores*, he states that:

*Durante el largo período colonial el pueblo nativo asimiló una ingente cantidad de elementos de la cultura hispánica, aparte de los que las autoridades les impusieron. Ocurrió lo que suele suceder cuando un pueblo de cultura de alto nivel es dominado por otro: tiene la flexibilidad y poder suficiente como para **defender** su integridad y aun **desarrollarla**, mediante la toma de elementos libremente elegidos o impuestos. (16)*

This Andean World, a result of the *indios*' ingenuity, could be seen as the unofficial half of the *patria*. It formed naturally as a result of the contact between the indigenous people and the few Spaniards that reached the interior of the country. The official and dominant half of the *patria* resided in Lima.

The separate Peruvian spheres, one intertwined with tradition and the other almost indistinguishable from the West, remained fairly independent from each other until the twentieth century. The catalyst for change was the modern age and specifically the creation of the *carreterra*. The construction of interregional highways connected these two worlds and finally made their national bond tangible. As would be expected, however, this encounter was not smooth. (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 21) The nation's *sierra* and *costa* regions had evolved separately for too long, and the strong indigenous influence in the traditional Andes created a reality that was completely unrecognizable for *limeños*. Likewise, *serranos* were

unfamiliar with the modern western culture of Lima. How would the nation, with its two halves now meeting for the first time, cope with its identity?

At first glance, migration that took place during the modern age from the mountains to Lima may have seemed like the answer to this new national identity crisis. Ideally, *sierra to costa* migration would have created a cultural fusion or *mestizaje*, such as what happened in the case of Peruvian regional cuisines. However, as Antonio Cornejo Polar points out in his essay *Migrant Conditions and Multicultural Intertextuality*, migration and *mestizaje* are not the same. The "migrant is always a migrant" and cannot synthesize his indigenous past with the ahistorical western present. (Sandoval and Boschetto-Sandoval 196) The Andeans would always be treated as the other- as the intruder- in Lima. So, Arguedas' hope for an ideal united *patria* could not be realized through the physical movement of *serranos* to the city. Instead, a coastal "*desprecio por lo indio*" prevailed. (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 91)

## **II. José María Arguedas and his Literary *Proyecto***

In the midst of this modern identity crisis stood author and intellectual José María Arguedas. Arguedas was born to a westernized family and was educated in Lima. However, due to unique circumstances he spent the majority of his childhood living amongst *indios*. He spoke Quechua before *castellano* and shared the Indian perspective: valuing community and tradition and believing in the power of nature. However, he was educated by the West and therefore was one of the few to *conocer* both sides of the fractured nation on a personal level. His "unique multifaceted perspective" gave his voice legitimacy within the national narrative as he found himself "strategically positioned in the 'in-between' of tension filled nodes of encounter." (Sandoval and Boschetto-Sandoval 139) Here, Arguedas' identity oscillated between the two worlds, which were so different that he could not seem to come to terms with their

inconsistencies. His identity crisis matched that of modern Peru, whose identity as a nation was fractured between two geographically and culturally divided parts. With a light complexion and educated Spanish, Arguedas could have answered the national call to assimilation into Western Lima if he had wanted to. But interestingly, he chose to speak up for the Andean world. As a child, Arguedas was mistreated by his relatives and was shown incredible hospitality by the *indios* who took him in. Surely this experience taught Arguedas to value the indigenous culture that the westernized Peru dismissed. (Sandoval and Boschetto-Sandoval 96-97) Not to mention, adhering to his western self and rejecting his intimate *indio* identity would probably have been more difficult than lingering in between.

In an attempt to find personal and national synthesis, Arguedas began a literary journey that would last until his abrupt death. His fictional and ethnographical works were essentially a search for his own identity as an outsider to both worlds as well as an attempt to craft a national narrative that would redefine Peruvian identity through fusion instead of oppression. Perhaps what makes Arguedas so significant to his country is how he used literature, especially his pinnacle novel *Todas las sangres*, to invite his audience to actively partake in his synthesizing project. The characters in the novel hold very distinct plans for the nation and the novel itself does little to indicate *which* characters are truly good and which are bad. Instead, readers have to acknowledge the diversity of the *personajes* and then come to their own conclusions. They may even realize that the *patria* lies in the diversity, not the polarity, of the characters. (Cornejo 192) Arguedas wanted his readers to learn to appreciate the diverse social fabric of Peru just as they celebrated its culinary fusion.

### III. Arguedas' Ethnography

#### *Cusco como el auténtico Perú*

In his ethnographical work *Indios, mestizos y señores*, Arguedas communicates the fundamental importance of *lo indio* through his admiration of the Andean capital of Cusco. It is clear in his description of “*la milenaria ciudad imperial*” that he believes indigenous culture to be the foundation of the *patria*. He notes how upon entering Cusco, the “*Perú más pequeño, pero nacido del centro,*” evokes, “*un secreto e inmeso respeto.*” ‘Secret’ because it defies the *Peru más grande*, Lima, as the diffuser of national culture, and ‘immense’ because of its, “*contraste entre la ciudad quechua y la castellana*” that creates “*una rara e imposible armonía*” between “*lo quechua en su base, en su genio, en su hondura*” and the Spanish construction “*en la cima.*” The western *cima* of *cusqueño* infrastructure, as well as its culture, could not exist without its Incan foundation. Arguedas believed that this pre-Hispanic foundation would play a significant role in supporting a national identity that fused the *patria* into a united whole. He claimed that, “*los peruanos de hoy han encontrado que también lo indio es su stirpe... ha bastado la conciencia de hoy para que [Cusco] empiece a cobrar su extinguida categoría espiritual: centro y símbolo del Peru Nuevo.*” (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 134-136)

Cusco is model of modernization sustained by Indian tradition, making it the center of Arguedas’ *patria* and a glimmer of hope for the nation.

The harmony that Arguedas alludes to in Cusco is important: it contrasts with what his readers know to be the fractured and detached reality of modern Lima. Not only has the coast’s indigenous past been swallowed up by western industrialization, but it has also been replaced by an ahistorical present. *Limeños* live in a world without its own tradition and, unlike Cusco, without a cultural foundation. Arguedas explains in his work *Formación de una cultura*

*indoamericana* that indigenous tradition survived better in the *sierra* because of the geography. Colonial *pueblos* were like islands amidst indigenous culture because the Spaniards had difficulty taking over the rough terrain. In contrast, the *costa* was easily accessible and the coastal environment was greatly modified by the conquistadors, forcing the indigenous people to assimilate to western culture in order to survive. (22-23)

### **Oppression in Modern Peru**

Unlike the fusion of old and new in Cusco, the current process of national ‘progress’ was a threat to the fractured nation. Ahistorical modernization polarized the *patria* by increasing the power of the coast over the *sierra*. In the 1920’s, in reaction to the latifundistas’ loss of power in the *sierra*, the Peruvian government aspired for national growth through regulated economic integration that would include both regions. (Roggiano 11) However, the government housed in Lima was disproportionately influenced by the West and seemingly unconcerned for the impact that this integration would have on indigenous communities. President Leguía’s main focus was to, “*impulsar el desarrollo del Perú como nación en términos de expansión del mercado interno y en términos de la consolidación de un aparato estatal más fuerte.*” Although this goal would incorporate more *andinos* into the economy through production, such expansion required “*la sobreexplotación de la mano de obra aborígen*” and was designed to increase the government’s authority over the less powerful half of the nation. (Roggiano 161) The unpreparedness of indigenous Peruvians to enter as equals into the national economy reaffirmed the polarizing effect of Peru’s modernization. Instead of empowering the *sierra* by opening up the economy for it to enter into on its own terms, government-mandated economic participation further oppressed the indigenous population and made it more subservient to the Coast. Burdened by this

oppression, Peru's formation of a unified national identity that embraced both sides was almost inconceivable.

### **The Mantaro Valley and the Potential of *Mestizaje***

Arguedas' ethnography, however, was not entirely anti-modernity. In fact, Arguedas expressed in both his ethnography and his novels a hopeful forward-looking vision for a modern nation. That which made his vision different from the *estado's* was how he approached modernization. Instead of a hegemonic center furthering the exploitation suffered by *indios* at the hands of modern *hacendados*, Arguedas promoted natural progress through the voluntary participation of *comunidades libres* in the national economy. (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 105) The Mantaro Valley, a reoccurring focus in Arguedas' studies, is his prime example of the potential of modernization built on the heterogeneity of the nation's diverse identity instead of the hegemony of Lima. As David Wise explains in his essay "Indigenismo de izquierda y de derecha," the *indios* suffered under the exploitation of *latifundistas* even in Leguía's modernized Peru. Landowners in the *sierra* kept the indio population from advancing into modernity as their equals by exploiting them as nearly unpaid laborers. (Roggiano 165) This intensified the fractures in Peruvian society by reinforcing the oppression of indigenous people by the westernized elite. However, in the Mantaro Valley, the "casi inexistencia" of a class of powerful landowners combined with a weak church, "liberaron al valle de Mantaro de la polarización de las culturas," and more importantly, "de los más poderosos núcleos de resistencia a la difusión de la cultura moderna." (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 29) The upper class in Mantaro could not control how the *indios* would approach modernization. This prevented the all too common social divide and exploitation of indigenous labor that grew the upper class's western industrial economy during the 1920's.

In Mantaro, as Arguedas observes, the near absence of a *señorial* class allowed for a strong community of *mestizos comerciantes* and *indios* to work together towards collective growth. These *mestizos* embraced modernity while also holding onto their indigenous heritage. He notes that, “*no hay conflicto entre la economía de los comerciantes y los indios,*” because the *comerciantes* are interested in the, “*fortalecimiento de la capacidad adquisitiva de los comuneros, que son sus clientes.*” (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 30) It was not a matter of exploiting one group for the benefit of another. Instead, both groups progressed as a result of their relationship as equal economic partners.

Communities with a long history of oppression by the *mestizos* could not move harmoniously towards modernity because the landowners channeled modernizing forces to fit their needs. In contrast, the absence of *señores* and the church in Mantaro meant that the complementary interests of the *mestizos* and *indios* flourished. As a result, the community progressed, becoming the, “*región más altamente desarrollada de los Andes indígenas.*” Furthermore, the *indios* were able to act as clients to the *mestizos* precisely because they owned land. Instead of being economically dependent on a *hacendado* for their provisions, they travelled outside of the valley to mines, not to “*entregar sus vidas*” but as free landowning men, where they worked as paid laborers. (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 104) The indigenous people used their wages to better the productivity of their own land and to take advantage of the “*gran mercado*” in Lima. (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 12) As Ciro A. Sandoval, editor of *José María Arguedas: Reconsiderations for Latin American Cultural Studies*, appropriately calls this grassroots process “modernization from within,” it supports Arguedas’ hope for a united nation where progress is freely accessible to the entire community. (xxxvii)

The success of Mantaro is a testament to the strength of mestizaje and its promise for the future of a patria centered on *lo indio*. Peruvians do not have to sacrifice the advances of Lima in order to become more inclusive. Arguedas describes the bustling city in *Formación de una cultura indoamericana*:

*Quien viaja a lo largo de los Andes peruanos queda absorto ante la actividad de esta pequeña urbe, con decenas de fábricas y talleres, cinco líneas de omnibus urbanos, casi cien restaurantes y diecisiete hoteles. Es frecuente oír decir a los recién llegados, sorprendidos ante el movimiento activo de la ciudad: “Parece Lima,” o “Parece la costa.” (101-102)*

Mantaro's *movimiento activo* is proof that modernization is not solely a product of westernization. Instead, Peruvian society can embrace its own potential for progress by allowing all citizens to contribute and take part in it. This fusion leads to growth that is not only inclusive but also rivals that of the western capital.

The key actor in the fusion of tradition and modernity in Arguedas' Mantaro narrative is clearly the *mestizo*. Many Peruvians who identified primarily with the West viewed the *indio* as backwards and as a “*freno que impide la evolución social del Perú.*” However, Arguedas' works argue that their inability to progress was due to centuries of oppression by their westernized *paisanos*. (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 18) Mantaro's *Mestizaje* supported Arguedas' argument that *indios* needed to access modernity on their own terms in order for *transculturación* (or growth) to continue. Mestizaje was the result of indigenous people embracing modernity independently by assimilating the aspects that were beneficial to them, just like they approached Hispanic influence during the Conquest. Furthermore, in Mantaro, the *mestizos* were equipping the remaining *indios* to join them by bringing them into the modern economy as *clientes* instead

of wage slaves. The Mantaro *indio* was being transformed into “*el mestizo actual de habla española, sin desarraigarlo y sin destruir su personalidad.*” (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 12) In other words, the *indios* were able to take part in a forward-moving process of modernization without abandoning their foundation of community and tradition *through* mestizaje. Such an evolution allowed indigenous Peruvians to participate in the *patria* as equals instead of being tied to an identity stuck solely in past tradition. (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 105) And, as Arguedas observes, this participation naturally leads to a growing mestizo class that could be perceived as the authentic Peru: a mix of indigenous culture with modern and united growth. (Sandoval and Boschetto-Sandoval 29)

Arguedas goes so far as to call Mantaro a “[*difusor*] *cultural compensador de la influencia modernizante cosmopolita ejercida por Lima.*” (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 105) Note “*cosmopolita,*” which points to another major concern that will be discussed later in Arguedas’ work *Todas las sangres*. This concern is for the detrimental effects of globalization on the *patria* as a whole, diffused by none other than Lima. Arguedas notes that unlike the modernization of Lima, “*todo el proceso de desarrollo económico moderno de [Mantaro] ...ha contribuido a afirmar algunos de los elementos característicos de la cultura peruana.*” (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 106) This *cultura peruana* was formed on the basis of *mestizaje* and transculturation and made possible by the strength of indigenous culture in the *sierra*. As Arguedas points out, the *indios* have “*transform[aron] casi todos los materiales o normas que... por método de dominio, se había tratado de ponerles... por conveniencia propia.*” (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 184) The ‘authentic’ Peru was a result of the indigenous people’s ability to resist complete domination by

the West and instead challenge it with its own *desarrollo*. In contrast, Lima's *patria* is a product of the *indios*' complete assimilation into westernization and tragic loss of their resilient culture.

#### IV. Arguedas' Novels

##### ***Deep Rivers: An Inward Reflection***

Just as Arguedas approached the idea of national synthesis in his ethnography by defending mestizaje as the hope for an authentic Peruvian future, he later turned to novels to expand his literary project. Unlike in his ethnography, however, he intertwined his literature with his personal journey, as seen especially in his 'coming of age' novel *Deep Rivers*. Arguedas presents both 'sides' of the nation for the first time in *Deep Rivers*, where the coast and the *sierra* meet in the Andean *pueblo* of Abancay. At the center of the work is young Ernesto and in this *personaje narrador* lies Arguedas' personal struggle.

Not surprisingly, Arguedas begins *Deep Rivers* in what his ethnography calls the "*Perú del centro*," and that which Ernesto refers to as the "center of the world:" Cusco. (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 136; Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 17) He probably introduced this half of the fractured nation first to avoid any confusion regarding the otherness of the Coast. However, instead of simply describing the "imperial city" as he did in his ethnography, Arguedas brought it to life as an actor in his literary project. Arguedas expanded upon his admiration of the Indian construction of Cusco through Ernesto's wonderment at the city's walls of Incan stone beneath colonial construction, comparing them to a river. Ernesto found the stones in the wall to be as "undulating and unpredictable as a river..." and he felt that the walls were "alive." (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 6) For Ernesto (and Arguedas) the indigenous culture that Cusco was founded on was by no means dead. It lived on through the wall and certainly through its inhabitants as well. Arguedas even uses Ernesto's description of the wall to hint at the indigenous resistance to

westernization that he noted in his ethnography. He notes how it appeared to be "...bubbling up beneath the whitewashed second story." (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 7) The second story was part of the colonial reconstruction of the city, and this image of the Incan ruins 'bubbling up' creates a picture of *lo indio* challenging the weight of the West's authority over the city. Arguedas' personification of the Incan-Spanish walls is an example of how, through the experience of Ernesto, Indian tradition and strength come alive in *Deep Rivers* in ways that ethnographic studies could not capture.

While Arguedas wanted to communicate the superiority of the Andean world through *Deep Rivers*, it is clear that he also used the novel to warn of the danger that oppression, even within 'authentic' Cusco, poses to national progress. At the beginning of the novel and upon arriving in Cusco, Ernesto and his father visited an old man to find work. This man proves to be the quintessential oppressive *hacendado* to whom Ernesto reacted coldly. Ernesto was also shocked by the appearance of the man's *pongo* or indigenous servant. The servant, "...was frail and spindly and...did not look at [Ernesto and his father]. Beneath his hat brim [was] his aquiline nose, his sunken eyes, and the tendons that stood out on his neck." (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 5) The sickly appearance that Ernesto described points to Arguedas' concern for the detrimental effects of oppression on the Peruvian *indio* by the powerful upper class. This *pongo* was in no way prepared to engage in modern society like those of the Mantaro Valley were able to do and it was because of the oppressive *hacendado*.

Despite the importance of Ernesto's experiences in Cusco in communicating the danger of oppression to national synthesis and indigenous tradition in the *sierra*, the main setting of the novel and encapsulation of Peru's national identity crisis is found in Abancay. *Deep Rivers* describes Abancay as a typical *andino* community, "...closed in by the lands of the Patibamba

hacienda. The whole valley, from north to south, from one mountaintop to the other, belongs to the haciendas.” (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 40) Surrounded by feudal dominion, the town of Abancay was in a state of disharmony as it was literally and figuratively being suffocated by traditional oppression.

The presence of the church and the señorial class, so importantly absent from Mantaro, were the primary obstacles to synthesis in Abancay. The *haciendas* created physical oppression of the *colonos*, who, “looked like the Old Man’s *pongo*... but were dirtier... and were barely able to remain standing.” (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 41) Meanwhile, the priest Linares assured that the Indians’ spirit would be equally subdued as he preached about the superiority of the *hacendados* as the “foundation of the republic” and the need for the *colonos* to be, “content with their humble lot.”(Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 43) This combination of physical and spiritual oppression of the *indios*, in Ernesto’s own words, “wouldn’t let them grow up” and was undoubtedly the reason why they were often perceived as backwards and unable to progress. (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 146) The oppression in Abancay also confirms the deep fractures in Peruvian society, since the indigenous people were unable to interact on an equal level with the westernized Peruvians. Neither group could identify with the other beyond the framework of oppressor and oppressed. Without solidarity, the fusion of identity into a single *patria* was impossible.

An important part of the *indios*’ appearing ‘content’ with their social standing was their silence. As Vicky Wolff Unruh mentions in her work about Arguedas’ *Deep Rivers* called *El mundo disputado al nivel del lenguaje*, “*el destino de la comunicación del poder es...el silencio.*” (Roggiano 199) This is clear in *Deep Rivers*, in which the priest Linares admired how the “*silencio de Dios*” reigned on the haciendas. (Roggiano 199) The *colonos* throughout the

work do not make a sound, besides those who “*lloran, gritan, gimotean y gimen.*” (Roggiano 199) Unruh contrasts the muteness of oppressed indios with that of the native people that Ernesto encountered in *pueblos libres*, whose voices, “*se caracterizan por su potencia y su vitalidad.*” (Roggiano 199) Perhaps most importantly, silence hides the truth. The pain of disunity in the nation was hidden by the *indios*’ silence. Meanwhile, the voice of power offered a national narrative that disregarded their struggle and justified their place of inferiority.

While the *indios* in Abancay are portrayed as passive and fearful, Arguedas hints at his *arma* for national synthesis by contrasting them, just as he did in his ethnography, with the strength (in this case the noise) of the *mestizo*. Two primary events represent this counteractive force. The first event is the rebellion of the *chicheras* in response to the shortage of salt in Abancay that resulted from the *hacendados* selfishly keeping it for their cows. The riot was instigated by the collective action of the *chicheras mestizas* who were concerned for the wellbeing of the entire community. Doña Felipa, a “well known chicha bar owner,” mobilized a group of *chicheras* to take back the salt, encouraging them to, “shout loudly so that the whole world can hear [them].”(Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 91) The *chicheras*’ shouts broke the oppressive silence of the streets of Abancay as they marched to retrieve the salt. However, they soon met the spiritual despot of Abancay: the priest Linares. Linares acted in defense of the *hacendados*, encouraging silence amongst the *chicheras* as an act of obedience to God, just as he encouraged the *colonos* to be content with their lowly circumstance.

While his words would have stopped a *colono*, Linares could not quiet the rioting women. Doña Felipa told Linares that God wouldn’t condemn them, but rather he would condemn the *hacendados*, and she continued her march to take back the salt. (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 92) Unlike the *indios*, the *mestizas* used their voices to both defend themselves and speak

out against their oppressors. They brought forward the *truth* about injustice in the *patria* by proclaiming the *hacendados*' corruption. Perhaps the most significant part of the riot, however, is what the *mestizas* did once they took control of the salt. Instead of keeping all of it for themselves, they set out to take some salt bags to the *colonos* of the nearby hacienda. Along the way, westernized *vecinos* who insulted the mob were drowned out by the **noise** of the *mestizas*' Quechua songs. The voices of the *mestizas* carried them to the hacienda, where the silent *indios* accepted the salt and retreated back into their shacks. (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 98) This event, including the use of indigenous Quechua songs and their interaction with *colonos*, introduced a theme that would carry into Arguedas' later works. Precisely, the rebellion emphasizes *mestizaje*'s remembrance of its Indian foundation in the midst of its progression into the future. Like the *mestizos comerciantes* in Mantaro, the *Mestizas* in *Deep Rivers* took action to bring the *indios* along with them into the future.

Not only does the *chichera* uprising break the oppressive silence of Abancay, but it also ushers in the nation's other half: *la costa*. The *hacendados* looked to *guardias* from Lima to restore order in their favor just as the Coast restored order to the *hacendados* through modernization mandates in the twenties. However, the presence of the coast only deepened the fractures of Andean society. Their partiality to the señorial class was evident as soon as they marched into Abancay yelling "death to the chicheras!" (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 133) It is clear in *Deep Rivers* that the coast's interference in the *sierra* did not intend to fuse a national identity between the two regions but instead reinforce the social divide that benefitted Lima. As long as the *masa indígena* remained oppressed, the *sierra* would function as a cheap producer for Lima's western capitalist economy.

Along with deepening the fractures in Abancay, the *soldados* also display the inauthenticity of Lima. The soldiers that arrived in Abancay were originally from Indian pueblos, but they had lost their indigenous identity when they joined the coastal *ejército*. They not only acted differently, but also looked westernized. While observing the *batallón*, a friend of Ernesto, Palacios, recognized a boy from his *pueblo*. Palacios pointed to his friend in western uniform and exclaimed that he “*era indio.*” (Cornejo 145) Antonio Cornejo Polar, a well known critic of Arguedas’ works, suggests that this acculturation points to the “*aniquilamiento de la identidad personal*” as a result of the lack of fusion within fractured Peruvian society. One cannot be both part of the coastal world *and* indigenous, so the *indio-soldados* ‘lose’ their heritage and assimilate to a superficial coastal identity sealed by their dress. (Cornejo 145) The assimilation of *indios* to western culture contrasts with the authenticity of Cusco, the center of Arguedas’ Peru, where the indigenous past is not covered up by westernization but rather is esteemed as the foundation of the city.

The westernized soldiers’ true antithesis is found not in Cusco, however, but in the *mestizas* of Abancay that proudly remembered their indigenous heritage and fought against their oppressors instead of joining them. (Cornejo 145) The second primary instance of *mestizo* rebellion took place between the soldiers and the *chicheras mestizas* after the *motin*. As the soldiers took over Abancay, *mestizas* sung *huaynos* in the chicha bars to voice their resistance. As Unruh observes, “*la resistencia se realiza colectivamente en las chicherías con el canto de los huaynos, que transmiten información cultural y contradicen las versiones del poder sobre los acontecimientos sociales.*” (Roggiano 200) At Doña Felipa’s *chichería*, a *mestiza* sang *huaynos* for an audience of coastal *soldados*. While these soldiers were in Abancay primarily to capture Doña Felipa and restore order to the señorial class, the *huayno* singer boldly praised

Doña Felipa's might. She was unafraid to speak out against the oppressors in song. Amazingly, instead of fighting back, a soldier in the audience, "did not silence the mestiza; he raised his arms and began to dance..." (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 176-77) Although *guardias* eventually stormed into the *chichería* and put an end to the music, the words had already been sung. Perhaps the soldier that danced to the *huayno* was drawn in by what Arguedas calls the "*vínculo nacionalizante de los peruanos*" that *huaynos* create. (Roggiano 27) These songs have pre-Hispanic roots, and Angel Rama claims in his essay "Opera de pobres" that *huaynos* are a *vínculo nacionalizante* precisely because they "...religa entre sí a todos los peruanos y al tiempo los religa con sus orígenes prehispánicos, cumpliendo las dos condiciones fundamentales de la aglutinación nacional." (Roggiano 27) The *mestiza's* song reminded the soldier, whose identity had been erased by westernization, that he was also part of her *patria*. She challenged the fractures that oppression had created between them.

Throughout the instances of *mestizo* rebellion in *Deep Rivers*, Ernesto is always present. Cornejo claims that Ernesto's escape from the *colegio* and into the indigenous or *mestizo* world, a repetitive occurrence in *Ríos*, is a reaction to the school's westernizing mission to, "...aniquilar lo que Ernesto considere su más propio: su pertenencia al mundo indio." (121) Ernesto was always trying to retreat to a place where he could experience the authentic side of both his identity and the nation, and this usually meant joining the *mestizo* rebellion against the West. When the *motin* took place, Ernesto ventured out of the confines his school to join the *chicheras* and followed in amazement as they reclaimed the salt and brought it to the *colonos*. Even when *vecinos* hurled insults at the marching *mestizas*, Ernesto revealed his solidarity with the mob by following behind. Also, Ernesto observed intently as the conflict unfolded at the *chichería*. He later regretted that he did not take part in the *mestiza's* fight, remarking that he

“...should have danced to the beat of that music.” (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 179) Ernesto felt a solidarity with the *mestizos* even though his *doble identidad* kept him from fully participating in their resistance. It is important to note, though, that Ernesto was not running away from modernity, but rather from the western part of the *patria*. He, like Arguedas, was clearly drawn to the authenticity of *mestizaje*, which engaged with the modern world that he came to know in Lima. However, it also valued the indigenous culture that was such an intimate part of his childhood and identity.

*Deep Rivers* ends in Ernesto’s final escape from Abancay. In the midst of conflict between the *soldados* and the *mestizas* along with the violent insurgence of plagued *indios* onto the town, his escape confirmed the impossibility of synthesis. (Arguedas, *Deep Rivers* 233) It also, as Cornejo points out, embodies Arguedas’ personal defeat. In *Deep Rivers*, “*se cierra definitivamente el camino de la inmersión del ser íntimo, en el recuerdo de la dura y dulce infancia...*” (161) Arguedas would no longer search for a solution to his personal identity crisis as an answer for national unity like he did through Ernesto. Instead, the author would turn his attention to the experience of the entire nation. Nonetheless, the novel brought hope to Peru as an important part of Arguedas’ literary project. He used *Deep Rivers* to introduce both parts of the fractured *patria* and established two key aspects of his search for national fusion: first, the danger of oppression, and second, the importance of *mestizaje* in counteracting it. The impossibility of personal synthesis for Ernesto and the unresolved tension between social groups in Abancay made way for a novel that would leave behind Arguedas’ personal struggle and offer a forward-looking solution to the tension. This solution would have to take into consideration a force larger than both halves and even more counterproductive to the formation of a unified national identity: namely, globalization.

## ***Todas las sangres: An Outward Vision***

Arguedas knew that in order to protect the nation and foster an environment where the synthesis of national identity would be possible, the Andean world would need to counteract the “*influencia modernizante cosmopolita ejercida por Lima*” that was driven by global forces. (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 105) He explains how the “*vías de comunicación modernas*” that were meant to connect Peru east to west or “*del pasado [nacional] al presente [global]*” could one day be “*convertido en circular*” between the regions. Then, “*el Perú avanzar[ía] no ya como una cabeza de fuego [(Lima)] que arrastra un larga cauda pesada y lastrosa [(la sierra)].*” (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 10-11) A circular integration would realize Arguedas’ ideal *patria*: one that embraces the indigenous ability to progress by assimilating the best of the ‘other’ while maintaining its historical foundation. His dream opposes the *cabeza de fuego* that was dragging the nation into an antinational global system. This move from national to global was a threat to the *patria* because it encourages individual success at the expense of the community, contradicting Arguedas’ belief in the importance of *collective* progress like that of the *indios*. *Todas las sangres*, the pinnacle work of Arguedas’ project, embodies his search for this ideal fused *patria*. The way in which he portrays the current fractured nation in his work, primarily through the characters and their interactions, allowed his readers to better understand the complicated reality of the nation in a global context and to imagine an alternative future.

Arguedas noted earlier in his ethnography that although the interaction between the *sierra* and the coast was not unique to the modern age, what *was* changing was that the modern interaction was unilateral. The transculturation that took place in Mantaro was not present. Instead, it, “*se trata[ba] del esfuerzo profundo por ingresar a un status social superior, al que se*

*encaminan los múltiples pueblos de todos los continentes.*” This pull was not, “... *sólo nacional [sino que venía] de todo el universo humano...*” which is precisely why the global context was important. Arguedas also explained that, “*la costa [(Lima)] es...la región que más ha avanzado hacia ese status superior; por eso atrae.*” (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 10) In other words, while the ‘authentic’ Mantaro Valley resulted from modern influence mixing with indigenous ingenuity, the globalizing force of Lima is luring Peruvians into a process that emphasizes their individuality as participants of the greater western world. This threatens the weak *unidad nacional* because, instead of creating a new regional or national fusion, it withdraws Peruvians from identifying with the nation. (Cornejo 18) Cornejo explains how Arguedas’ scope in *Sangres* was expanding to a global level as the novel captured, “*todo el Perú y un poco de los grandes poderes que manejan al Perú...*” (15) He emphasizes on how the *grandes poderes* do not just influence, but rather *manejan* the country is significant. It implies that Peru is losing control of its future to outside powers.

Despite the novel’s consideration of globalism’s threat to the *patria*, Arguedas made sure to also capture the internal struggle of the nation in *Sangres*. The plight of the *indio* is the central focus of the work. For native Peruvians, the history of the nation goes much deeper than the Conquest, and Arguedas puts their struggle against the West at the center of the *patria*’s progression. However, for most of Arguedas’ audience the only Peruvian identity that existed was the westernized one, whether modern or traditional. This is because, like *Deep Rivers* shows us, the westernized Peru used its power to oppress, and therefore silence, the other ‘half’ of the nation. Arguedas’ *Sangres* is a monumental piece of literature for Peru because it gave a voice to the silenced half of *patria* by making *lo indio* the **solution** to the characters’ struggles. Globalism is addressed not to overshadow but to add to the *indios*’ voice insomuch that, “Arguedas’ desired

intent [was] to portray a ‘total human world,’ a ‘complete social context,’” because the indigenous population’s “native destiny” is “interwoven” in this greater world. (Sandoval and Boschetto-Sandoval 145) By offering a look into the *entirety* of the nation, Peruvian readers are able to come to a more insightful conclusion about what the nation *really* is, or could be. Furthermore, the tension between *personajes* that represent the traditional, modern and indigenous parts of the nation brings the reader to question whether all of these national identities can coexist. Arguedas used a key figure in his work to suggest that there is a more promising alternative than simply disagreeing on *qué es la patria*.

*Sangres, Like Deep Rivers*, is set primarily in the Andes. This echoes Arguedas’ ethnography by supporting his belief in the *sierra* as the authentic center of the *patria*. The work begins in this setting with the death of a traditional *hacendado* named Don Andrés Aragón de Peralta. Andrés represents the old feudal order of the *sierra*, particularly in the town of San Pedro de Lahuaymarca, before the modern age. His final moments are ones of despair. He cursed his sons, Bruno and Fermín, and expressed his solidarity with the indigenous *colonos*. Furthermore, he declared that his possessions now belonged to his *colonos* and proceeded to commit suicide. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 11-13) Andrés’ final assimilation into the indigenous world at the time of his death represents early twentieth century Peru, during which the power of the feudal order in the *sierra* waned with the increasing influence of modernity. (Roggiano 208)

Arguedas represented the two westernized fragments of the *patria* and their varied responses to modernization in the twentieth century through brothers Fermín and Bruno Aragón de Peralta. Bruno, the younger of the two, exemplifies a social resistance to change in the *sierra* by the traditional western *patria*. For Bruno, Peru belonged to the señorial class and was founded

on the economic and religious oppression of the indigenous people. He perceived himself as not only economically superior to the *indios* on his traditional hacienda, *La Providencia*, but also believed himself to be their moral protector. The very name *La Providencia* expresses Bruno's views of his Peru. *Providencia* indicates divine guidance, which is what Bruno believed he was providing to the *indios* that he kept from interacting freely with the rest of Peru. ("Providence")

Arguedas warned readers earlier in his ethnographical works about the church's role as one of the main obstacles to progress in the *sierra*, and this is confirmed by Bruno. His strong religious convictions lead him to believe that the uneducated or backwards state of 'his' *indios* was an innate symbol of their moral purity. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 37) Bruno told the *colonos* on his hacienda that, "*Dios cerró para ustedes el camino del mal a cambio de la obediencia,*" emphasizing their inability to think for themselves and their complete submission to their *hacendado*. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 37) The religious oppression in Bruno's *patria* led to economic oppression as well. The traditional *hacendado* forbade the *indios* from equal participation in the national economy, stating that he guarded their souls and that they could not participate in their own *negocios* because, apart from him, they had nothing. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 38) The emphasis on the ignorance and helplessness of indigenous Peru by Bruno's traditional western *patria* was a tool used to keep them from identifying as an equal part of the nation.

Along with preventing the *indios* from identifying as equals in the *patria*, Bruno also excluded the modernized coast. Lima was not part of Bruno's nation since it challenged the Catholic feudal tradition of the Andes. He even believed that Lima was where Hell itself resided, so the notion of his heavenly Andean world coexisting with Hell as part of the same *patria* was impossible. (Cornejo 215) This aversion to modernity may have been more detrimental to

national synthesis than Bruno's belief that he was the moral *patrón* of his *colonos*. Since he equated Lima with Hell, he kept his 'pure' *colonos* from participating in modernization. Doing so prevented them from fusing with the rest of Peru since it bound them to slave labor. Bruno's resistance to Fermín's request that he 'loan' him his *indios* to do mining labor on his hacienda *La Esmerelda* is an example of this disunity. Bruno agreed only as long as his 'pure' *colonos* were kept away from Fermín's modernized Indians who would surely jeopardize their blind religious obedience. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 37) Even when Bruno reluctantly allowed his *colonos* to work at the mine, they worked in *mita*, meaning they were not compensated. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 36) Instead of giving the *indios* an opportunity to progress, Bruno's cooperation with his brother Fermín only confirmed the religious and economic oppression of his own *patria*.

Central to Bruno's resistance to national integration was his belief in what Cornejo calls an Andean "*Edad de Oro*." This idea affirmed a traditional Peruvian past and Bruno's ideal version of the *patria*. He believed that in the past, a "*señor bondadoso*" reigned, who was "*raigalmente inserto en la cultura quechua y sin embargo católico fanático, justísimo siempre...*" (Cornejo 226-27) The *Edad de Oro* divinely ordained the *señor*'s complete social and economic control of the indigenous people. However, despite Bruno's devotion to this ideal past, Cornejo makes clear in *Universos narrativos* that it "*carece de toda realidad histórica.*" (Cornejo 226-27) In reality, Peru's Andean past was one of awful oppression, not of *bondad*. As Arguedas explains in his ethnographical studies, the western invaders used Catholicism as a means to take control of the indigenous people. (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 166) Furthermore, the Spaniards' integration into indigenous culture by using the *mestizo* as an intermediary was part of their strategy to "*administrar a la inmensa multitud*

*conquistada.*” They did not integrate out of appreciation or respect for native culture. (Arguedas, *Formación de una cultura indoamericana* 154) Regardless of its inaccuracy, however, the *Edad de Oro* that Bruno defended had a crippling effect on the lives of countless *colonos* that were fully dependent on him. They were tied to feudal oppression and unable to interact directly with modernization as paid laborers.

The twentieth century *mestizaje* that resulted from modernization becoming accessible to the *masa indígena*, like that of Arguedas’ Mantaro studies or his portrayal of the powerful *mestizas* in *Deep Rivers*, promised a fight for liberation that would deny any claim to authority on Bruno’s part. The silence of his *indios*, like that of the *indios* in *Ríos*, and their lack of resistance was key to Bruno’s individual power and *patria*. For Bruno, the authentic, traditional Peru was one that maintained *his own power*. He was unconcerned for national fusion and in fact did not want to identify himself with the rest of the ‘evil’ nation because it threatened his traditional authority.

Despite being brothers, Fermín and Bruno’s responses to modernization could not be more antithetical. While Bruno tried to protect an *Edad de Oro* through resistance to coastal modernization and protection of his preexisting social power, Fermín saw modernization as an opportunity to grow his economic power. He rejected indigenous culture and acculturated to the modern West. Just as *hacendados* took advantage of Leguía’s agricultural reform to exploit *indios* and grow their own wealth, Fermín invested his *colonos*’ labor in his mine with the objective of entering into Lima’s capitalist market. Interestingly, the indigenous people of Mantaro also turned to capitalism to progress. However, they did so freely and not under the oppression of an individual that would exploit their efforts for his own benefit, like Fermín. He embodies the effects of national capitalism on the *sierra* and is described by Cornejo as, “un

*empresario que vive para realizar su obra.*” (207) This identity could not be more opposite from the inward, stuck-in-the-past Bruno who wanted to insulate his traditional version of the *patria* from the modern *empresa*. However, despite their differences, their individualistic *patrias* are equally problematic for national synthesis.

Fermín believed the real *patria* to be the modern nation and Lima its center. He made clear that acculturation, not transculturation, by the indigenous population to the West was the only answer for Peru’s future. Unlike Bruno who took advantage of indigenous culture, Fermín found it embarrassing and believed it had no place in the *patria*. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 228) According to Fermín, the indigenous world had to disappear because it represented the darkness of a *strange* past-- certainly not his nation’s past. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 289) Only once the indigenous population was converted into “*gente de empresa*” would they become “*verdaderos hombres peruanos.*” (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 289) The *empresa*, unmistakably a product of western modernity, became the epitome of Fermín’s ideal Peru.

In Fermín’s Peru, the oppression of the indigenous population was mostly economic. The *fraternidad* that was so central to the indios’ culture and Bruno’s authority was *counterproductive* to Fermín’ capitalistic goals. He believed that **inequality** was the “*motor de lucha y de ascenso*” that, despite oppressing many, was necessary so that a few (himself included) could benefit from modernization. Fermín’s individualistic goal was clear: “*pretendo la grandeza del Perú a través de la mía.*” (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 229) The oppression that underpaid colonos suffered as a result was justified by the *engrandecimiento* of Fermín’s Peru, to which the ‘strange’ indigenous *colonos* did not even belong.

To put his plan for national progress into action, Fermín would manipulate the working *indios*’ pay at his mine. The modernized hacendado would pay them decent wages until they

became fully dependent on his industry. At that point, he would devalue their pay while he enjoyed “*ingresos en dólares.*” (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 76) This would ensure his own success and therefore the success of his Peru at the expense of the *indios*. His individualistic plan for constructing the modern nation meant allowing the *indio* to progress into modernity *only enough* to benefit the powerful, westernized class. It is important to ask whether this growth could even be considered progress, however, since it would maintain the social divide in Peru. There would still be one fragment of the *patria* that dominated the other, which does not seem like a step forward for the nation. Instead, it may be a new outer appearance to the same system of feudal injustice that Bruno hoped to maintain.

Although the brothers’ *patrias* shared the same system of oppression, they did not coexist peacefully. The threat that Fermín’s ahistorical *patria* posed to national fusion was revealed most clearly by the tension between Bruno and himself. In order for his modernizing plan to work, Fermín needed to take over Bruno’s traditional hacienda and install an electric plant for his mine. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 191) Though a simple predicament, this conflict of interests highlights the detrimental effects of the nation’s identity crisis. Their conflict reveals that their *patrias* are not the same nor completely separate, but rather they are parts of a greater, **undefined whole**. These fractured parts not only disagree over what that whole nation is, but they are also working *against* each other to make room for their version of the nation. Furthermore, the large indigenous population would continue to be oppressed regardless of which *patria* overcame the other.

The conflicting identities of Fermín’s modern *patria*, Bruno’s traditional Peru and the indigenous population created enough of a national identity crisis. However, as *Sangres* reveals, they were all threatened by a greater force that sought to negate the very existence of a *patria*.

This force is imperialism, and it is represented by the Consorcio. The Consorcio is introduced in *Todas las sangres* when Fermín discovered the *veta principal* at his mine and needed more capital to extract the metals. His search for a financial partner led him to Peru's 'cabeza de fuego,' Lima, where he met with the Consorcio, a global enterprise whose power came from *outside* of the *patria*. Fermín hoped that by ceding a portion of his dólares to this anti-national machine and giving control of the mine Apark'ora to the "imperio del gran Consorcio," he would be able to use their resources to bring the *patria* into modernity on its own two feet and truly define what it means to be a "verdadero peruano." That is, an *empresario* that has reached the western standard for success. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 288-289) However, the Consorcio had a different plan, as Fermín later realized.

The Consorcio used its financial power to force Fermín into a 20%-80% agreement that put him in a place of total submission. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 288-289) Just like the *masa indígena*, Fermín had no control over his own progress. The Consorcio would decide how to develop his mine for *their* best interest. As Fermín observed, the Consorcio tried to "embotellar" Peru in order to use it in its system. His observation is ironic, since he must be referring to his modernized western Peru, which is the very *patria* that was *embotellando* the indigenous people of the sierra by manipulating their wages. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 282) However, at least his plan was meant to *engrandecer* the *patria*, as fractured as it may have been. The "Zar," or CEO of the Consorcio, admitted that the Consorcio sought to keep the **entire** nation of Peru from developing on its own in order to exploit it on a global scale. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 447) Clearly, Imperialism's disregard for the wellbeing of Peru, just like Fermín's disregard for the wellbeing of the *indios*, is a serious concern for national synthesis. The Consorcio believed that Fermín "[tenía] la **limitación** de la *patria*" and it prided itself on anti-national sentiment.

(Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 284) If the Zar's economic empire were to completely *manejar* the patria, the fractures in Peruvian society would only multiply as the Consorcio would use them to grow its own success. National synthesis would be completely out of the country's control.

Throughout *Todas las sangres*, the themes of oppression and individualism expand with each new version of the *patria*. In Bruno's Peru, oppression is found towards the *indios*. Bruno was careful to keep indigenous culture in tact, however, because it served the individual needs of the *hacendado*. In Fermín's *patria*, concern for the *indios* seems nonexistent. His version of Peru is based solely on his own individual success at the expense of exploiting indigenous laborers by risking their lives in dangerous mining conditions. He not only disregarded indigenous culture, but made clear that he wanted to erase it from the nation. While silencing the *indios* is oppressive, Fermín's complete destruction of their culture is even more so. The Consorcio, however, promised more oppression and individualism than either of the brothers. Its goal was to exploit both the indigenous and western parts of the nation in order to grow its own success. This is seen clearly through the Consorcio's takeover of Fermín's project. If global powers defined the patria, there would be no patria to define, since they refused such a 'limitation' of their individual progress.

There are many similarities between Bruno, Fermín and the Consorcio's oppression of those less powerful to benefit their individual interests. For instance, it is clear that Fermín's version of oppression was multiplied by imperialism when one compares Fermín's attitude towards the *indios* with the Consorcio's view of *all* Peruvians. Fermín said that it was better not to expose the *indios* to modern technology because they could be dangerous when they become informed. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 153) Likewise, the Consorcio believed that it was better that "*la gente no tenga ojos*" and that they simply obey. (TS 199) Both Fermín and the

Consortio believed that liberation from oppression and the understanding that comes from progressing freely were threats to their individual power. Perhaps this idea came from Bruno originally, who as the moral protector of his pure *indios* could not allow them to participate in their own *negocios*. Doing so would certainly lead to independent growth and mestizaje like that of Mantaro, leaving Bruno without a basis for his power.

As long as this pattern of oppression continued, the nation as a whole could not synthesize. This was especially true when that oppression, like that of the Consortio, came from outside of the country. The threat that Imperialism posed to the nation is made evident when the government in Lima granted expropriation papers to the Consortio so they could force the residents of San Pedro off their land to make room for the mine's electrical plant. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 323) Bruno observed that the Consortio was the one that held lawmaking power, and even Fermín admitted that the government was not an adequate representation of the patria but rather a "*rostro*" of it. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 382, 285) This *rostro* was more concerned with global affairs than national ones. The already fractured patria had succumbed to the powers of imperialism, and the face of the nation, the government in Lima, allowed for it to happen. It is interesting that Arguedas nicknamed the CEO "*el Zar*," alluding to globalism's imperialistic character of taking over other nations or people groups just as the Spaniards did. Perhaps the same fate that devastated the pre-Hispanic world now awaited the entire nation under this global conquest. Even if the Consortio were somehow eradicated from the country, however, the fractures of tradition and modernity would be working against each other while continuing to silence the *masa indígena* that made up such a large part of the populous. If these three options, a fictional past, ahistorical future or no nation at all, were all Peru had to choose

from, synthesis would be impossible. The country was caving in under the weight of individualism and oppression that these conflicting *patrias* created.

While the national conflict that Arguedas presented through Bruno, Fermín and the Consorcio seemed hopeless, there was one *personaje* that held the answer in *Sangres*. Arguedas' plan for national fusion and progress lay not in a former feudal authority or foreign entity, and neither did it lie solely in the *masa indígena*. Similar to his Mantaro studies, Arguedas asserted in *Sangres* that the **future of the patria depended on the mestizo**. The *mestizo-salvador* in *Sangres* is Demetrio Rendón Wilka, and he, like Arguedas, was the educated 'other.' Rendón was a true mestizo: born in the *sierra* and educated in Lima. He had experienced both 'sides' of the nation. The first mention of Rendón in the work refers to him as an "*ex-indio*," which might imply that he betrayed the *indios* to side with the national capitalists or even with the imperialists in Lima that both exploited them. However, he soon claimed solidarity with Arguedas' authentic *patria* and especially with the *indios* by asserting that despite being educated by the West, he was first and foremost a *comunero*. (Cornejo 231-32) As Cornejo observes in *Universos narrativos*, "*la responsabilidad que el Común entrega a Demetrio es la de salvar a su pueblo de la opresión.*" (234) He escaped from Bruno's traditional western *patria* to give himself *ojos* in Lima, as the Consorcio would say, and to later return as the true *patria*'s hope for salvation.

Rendón used his *mestizo* identity as a **bridge** between the past and the future, or *lo tradicional* and *lo moderno*, always with the goal of liberating the *indios* and eradicating oppression from the nation. Unlike Bruno, he did not want to keep the nation in the feudal past, but he also did not want the *indios* to submit to modernized oppression under Fermín's national capitalism. Perhaps Fermín best summed up Rendón's philosophy as he observed that the difference between the *mestizo* and himself was that Rendón wanted to "*defender su raza*" and

“*desarrollarla*” through modernization. (158) It is important to see Arguedas’ hope for the nation in Rendón’s mission. In his work *Indios, mestizos y señores*, as mentioned earlier, Arguedas hinted at the same strategy when he mentioned how the indigenous people had, “*la flexibilidad y poder suficiente como para **defender** su integridad y aun **desarrollarla**, mediante la toma de elementos libremente elegidos o impuestos*” during the Conquest. (Arguedas, *Indios, mestizos y señores* 16) Arguedas desired for the same **freedom** of transculturation and *mestizaje* that formed Cusco to again take place throughout the *patria*, only this time it would involve the *toma de elementos* from modernity like it did in Mantaro. Rendón combined Arguedas’ appreciation for the *patria*’s indigenous foundation with his vision for integrated progress that modernization offered the nation. With the *indios* at the center of the *patria*’s progress, Rendón’s Peru promised a free, community-based culture to build upon that already took into account the wellbeing of *todos*. Perhaps Iván Teruel Cáceres best describes Arguedas’ ideal *patria* in his thesis:

[Arguedas] *no concebía un proyecto cultural discriminador, ni buscaba ahondar más en la histórica fractura entre los dos mundos. Pretendía encontrar un camino de conciliación, un espacio donde ese “caudal de las dos naciones” se pudiera unir... Aspiraba a construir **una modernidad de base indígena** en cuyo proceso el pueblo indio debía jugar un papel activo, oponiéndose a que, una vez más, la modernidad fuera impuesta desde el mundo occidentalizado y en las condiciones que éste planteara. Se trataba, al fin, de elaborar y desarrollar un modelo alternativo de sociedad en el que la cultura indígena asumiera una posición preponderante.* (43)

This vision contrasts with Bruno’s complete resistance to progress and Fermín’s reluctance to accept the nation’s past. Furthermore, integrated progress, unlike Fermín’s plan, would mean that *all* Peruvians would be able to participate in Peru’s future. They would work together as equals

for wholesome growth and Peruvian culture would be founded on *lo indio*. It would also benefit from the fusion of diversity in place of the exclusion of *lo tradicional* by *lo moderno* or vice versa.

Rendón began his liberating mission to *defender* and *desarrollar* the *indios* as *capataz* of Bruno's *colonos* at Fermín's mine. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 94) Fermín promised Rendón that this step towards modernization for the *indios* (modern work instead of hacienda slavery) would create "*prosperidad para todos*." Furthermore, he assured Rendón that their alliance would neutralize the impact of imperialism because Fermín wanted "*propiedad para todos*" in the hope that "*no se lo lleven todo los gringos*," only "*lo justo*." (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 95) With this common interest in the collective wellbeing or *desarrollo* of *todos* and a desire to *defender* the nation (especially the *raza indígena*) from being oppressed by imperialism, Rendón joined Fermín. Perhaps he believed that "*propiedad para todos*" would ensure the economic leverage that the *indios* needed to be able to participate as part of an integrated *patria*, just like it did in Mantaro. However, when it became clear that Fermín's *todos* excluded all who did not assimilate into his western *patria*, Rendón moved on. Only once oppression stopped dividing the nation between *verdaderos peruanos* and *indios explotados* would Rendón's plan for national synthesis be realized.

As Fermín's plan became more individualistic and tied to globalism, Rendón grew closer to Bruno. (Cornejo 239) He fought for an inclusive *patria* by shifting alliances throughout the work so that no oppressive character could define his place in the nation. As one of the *hacendados* of San Pedro observed, "*nadie lo agarra. El va como libre*." (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 162) The only clear enemy to Rendón was, naturally, the foreign Consorcio. (Cornejo 239) Bruno became part of Rendón's plan for liberation and national synthesis as they fought for

the indigenous world that they both believed was a central part of their true *patria*. Cornejo remarks that Bruno, “*sólo puede acudir, para salvar el mundo que imagina, a Demetrio, a los comuneros libres, a los colonos.*” (241) Bruno recognized Rendón as his only hope for protecting the Andean world when it became clear that his individualistic, inward *patria* was helpless before modern western forces. They shared a “*género común: el andino,*” and were both attacked by the outside world that tried to, “*explotarlos o aniquilarlos.*”(Cornejo 243) In other words, Bruno and Rendón become friends through their common enemies.

Cornejo captures the importance of Bruno and Rendón’s alliance perfectly. He points out how Bruno “*carece de conciencia histórica...confunde el futuro con un pasado nunca realizado...*” and therefore he needs Rendón, who, “*se sitúa en una perspectiva histórica, lo que le permite engarzar su vida en un proceso **colectivo**... hasta el punto de no importarle morir porque su proyecto se mantendrá vivo en otros hombres.*” (Cornejo 243) Rendón realized that the *patria* was never centered on a *bondadoso señor*. He knew that the authentic Andean reality, such as what Ernesto experienced in Cusco, was a result of the strength of the *entire* community and not the divine authority of a single individual. This realization allowed him to form a vision of a united *patria* founded on truth and collectivity.

Rendón’s collective project that included *todos* finally took shape when Bruno entrusted him with his hacienda *La Providencia*. (Cornejo 240) He wasted no time implementing his plan for integration and liberation, explaining to the *colonos* that the majority of the land would no longer belong to an oppressive *patrón*. Instead, the *colonos* would work all the land together, benefitting equally from its harvest. Furthermore, he united with the nearby community of Paraybamba where the impoverished *señorial* class lived. They received land also so that together the *indios* and *señores* would progress as a “*gran comunidad*” and share “*un solo*

*destino [integrado].*” (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 441) Rendón’s new community, a fusion of different parts sharing one *destino*, is representative of his vision for a united Peru. He, like Arguedas, wanted to “*desarrollar lo que hay de antiguo, no destruirlo.*” (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 435) Instead of replacing the indigenous emphasis on community in the *sierra* with individualistic capitalism or exploiting it for individual gain, Rendón used it to empower both indigenous and western Peruvians by including both in his community. Furthermore, unlike Bruno’s patria, Rendón’s proyecto was expanding. *Colonos* of nearby haciendas had “*despachado a sus patronos*” and were working as a community just like the *indios* at *La Providencia*. (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 441) And, unlike Fermín’s plan, the growth of Rendón’s project was possible **apart** from imperialism. It proved to be the only **national** future that was feasible.

Despite Rendón’s hopeful vision, *Sangres* ends in his tragic death. However, Rendón’s *proyecto* continued. When the soldiers finally arrived to kill Rendón for refusing the government’s order to cede land to the Consorcio, he was not silenced. The *mestizo*’s last words were directed to the *soldados* and, like those of Doña Felipa in *Ríos*, were ones of great strength and collectivity: “**Hemos** conocido la patria al fin, y ustedes no van a matar la patria.” (Cornejo 246) His final declaration exposed both the collectivity of Rendón’s *patria* (‘*hemos*’) and the otherness of the global Consorcio, represented by the *soldados* (‘*ustedes*’). Rendón’s community had finally experienced the *patria* as Arguedas believed it should be on the renewed *La providencia* and they would not be silenced again.

The collectivity and strength of Rendón’s movement spread beyond his final words and ensured that the true nation would not be overtaken by oppression. When Rendón realized that the Consorcio sent soldiers to kill him, he asked the *indios*, “¿[*Prometen*] seguir adelante?” to

which they enthusiastically replied that they would (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 442) His (and Arguedas') vision for an authentic, inclusive *patria* was possible because it was centered on *todos*, and not on his own experience as was *Deep Rivers*. When Rendón was shot, there was a loud noise "*como que si las montañas empezaran a caminar.*" (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 447) Those mountains must have been the *masa indígena* that Rendón hoped to liberate, walking freely into their future. As Cornejo notes, Rendón's death "*permite la irrupción del futuro en la novela*" made possible by the collectivity of his *proyecto*. (Cornejo 247)

The strength of this revolution reached all the way to Lima, where those at the Consorcio's headquarters heard a noise that sounded as if "*un río subterráneo empezara su creciente.*" (Arguedas, *Todas las sangres* 448) Another instance that Arguedas used a river to portray the resilience of *lo indio* in the face of westernized oppression is in *Deep Rivers*. As mentioned earlier, Ernesto believed the Incan ruins of Cusco were bubbling up like a river underneath the colonial walls. Just like the mountains, the river created an image of a movement that could not be easily hindered by a few individuals, no matter how much money or authority the western world had allowed them. Rendón's Peru was multiplied by the inclusion of all parts instead of divided by conflicting interests of different identities. Inclusivity ensured a national identity whose momentum could counteract western globalization, protecting Peru's diverse culture from anti-national hegemony.

*Todas las sangres* offers Arguedas' answer to the question *¿Qué es la patria?* through Rendón. However, this answer is not as easy to uncover as Bruno, Fermín and the Consorcio's ideas about the authentic Peru. Rendón said surprisingly little throughout the work, so readers must look to Rendón's life, and not only his words, to understand Arguedas' vision. The themes that Rendón's actions exuded are especially freedom, *mestizaje* and community. He did not tie

himself to any individual but rather shifted alliances freely, as seen in his leaving Fermín to partner with Bruno. As Cornejo observes, Rendón's "*disimulo*" in constantly changing alliances was "*un lícito recurso contra la explotación que sufren los indios.*" (Cornejo 231) His sense of liberation also applies to his treatment of the *indios* when he was given control of Bruno's hacienda and granted the *colonos* the freedom to work on their own in community instead of silencing and controlling them. Secondly, *mestizaje* is an obvious aspect of Rendón's character since he used both his experience in the indigenous world as well as his western education to serve as a mediator between the *indios* and their oppressors. His *mestizaje* was also reflected in his desire to develop the indigenous race instead of 'protecting' it from modern forces such as the mine or erasing it with western culture. For instance, Rendón held on to the *indios*' sense of community and even their language, Quechua, throughout the work. Community was clearly a central part of Rendón's mission also, as made evident by the expansion of his *proyecto* and his leadership after Bruno's death. All three of these 'ideals' are impossible in the midst of individualism and oppression. Oppression and freedom clearly cannot coexist, and prioritizing individual success diminishes community. Lastly, *mestizaje* takes place when there is freedom and open interaction in the community, which oppression also prevents.

Arguedas does not strictly define his *patria*, such as Bruno's *Edad de Oro* or Fermín's statement about the *verdadero Peruano*, but perhaps this flexibility is part of the character of Arguedas' Peru. In his version, the focus was not on the definition of a true Peruvian, but rather the inclusion of all groups to form a harmonious whole, just as Mantaro flourished because of its inclusive and free society. Beyond leaving the identity of a *peruano* open-ended, Arguedas did not specify the way that Rendón hoped to modernize the *patria*. This is because Rendón's mission was not to catch up to the West or redefine Peru as a modern nation. Instead, his goal

was to create a society like that of Mantaro where there is not oppression and individualism to work as barriers against unity. Modernization, as seen in Mantaro, is a natural result (and not an end in itself) of being free to meet the needs of the entire unified community. The key to Rendón's *patria* was that he did not try to define it, because doing so would mean controlling the nation to adhere to a specific vision, such as the West or *Edad de Oro*.

## **V. Did Arguedas Succeed: The Nobel Prize or Suicide?**

Arguedas' hope and passion for his fractured country is evident throughout his literary *proyecto*. Just like the *indios* that he sought to defend, however, Arguedas' fervor was overpowered by the western part of the *patria*. Mario Vargas Llosa, a well known Peruvian author, challenged Arguedas' vision. He was, "*instalado en la filosofía racionalista y empírica occidental*" and defended Fermín's modern westernized *patria*. (Teruel 16) Furthermore, Vargas Llosa used his literature to criticize the indigenous culture that Arguedas considered central to the nation. He belittled indigenous belief in his literature, referring to *lo indio* as, "*subjetividad pura... toda visión mágico-religiosa es irracional, no científica, pues presupone la existencia de un orden secreto en el seno del orden natural y humano fuera de toda aprehensión racional e inteligente.*" (Teruel 16-17) Vargas' attitude towards the indigenous part of the fractured nation sounds strikingly similar to Fermín's ideal Peru. Also like Fermín, Vargas found in the indigenous world, "*...el principal escollo para su modernización y desarrollo.*" His vision for the future required that the "*...culturas nativas '[paguen] el alto precio' de la aculturación, de la renuncia a sus tradiciones y a su lengua.*" (Teruel 5) His literary *proyecto* was opposite to that of Arguedas, as he hoped to eradicate diversity from the *patria* and define the nation based on his "*criollo y urbano*" agenda that aspired solely for a western nation. (Palou)

Similar to the plot of *Todas las sangres*, the tensions of the “*deshecho estado nacion*” are visible in Vargas’ literary criticism of Arguedas’ works. As Tereul points out, “*Vargas Llosa ‘pinta a Arguedas como un escritor nostálgico y arcádico que desea retornar al mundo arcádico de su niñez,’ pero cuyo primitivismo en la composición lo convierte definitivamente en un autor ‘mediocre.’*” (47) Vargas used his western standard of literature to render Arguedas’ style inferior, just like the indigenous culture as a whole was considered inferior to the West. Tereul also notes how, “*En cada análisis de las obras de Arguedas [Vargas Llosa] vuelve a plantear, según le convenga, tanto la autonomía del arte y su naturaleza de “mentira persuasiva.”*” (102) Again, Vargas used his place of authority as the more powerful voice in the nation to try and silence Arguedas’ literary project by deeming it a fantasy and essentially a lie. Surely, Vargas recognized the threat that Arguedas’ unified *patria* posed to his western privilege and he used his literature to *embotellarlo* by depicting him as primitive. By doing so, Arguedas would not jeopardize the enlightened, progressive West. The fight against oppression that Arguedas’ works were centered on was proven necessary by his real-life persecution as an author.

Pedro Angel Palou, author of “La disputa por la identidad andina,” explains why Arguedas and Vargas’ literature are so opposed despite their being *paisanos*. While Arguedas sought to “*dar voz a los sin voz,*” Vargas used his platform to, “*provocar una respuesta global a los temas que le preocupan.*” In other words, Arguedas was worried about the national repercussions of his literary project while Vargas was looking outward for his own success as an author on the global stage. This conflict of interests, namely Vargas’ concern for his individual experience and “*imagen pública*” versus Arguedas’ focus on the “*reestructuración social [nacional] y...la activación de valores comunitarios*” led to very different literary depictions of the nation. (Palou) Palou appropriately calls this literary dispute “*una disputa por la identidad*”

on a larger scale than solely literature. Both authors answered the question *¿Qué es la patria?* but with very different conclusions, just like the *personajes* of Arguedas' *Sangres* came into conflict while supposedly defending the same nation.

The contrast between Mario Vargas Llosa and José María Arguedas is significant because of the differing outcomes of their lives and literature. Vargas' popularity reached its climax when he was awarded the Nobel Prize for his globally renowned literature. With the West's ultimate stamp of approval, Vargas' career continued down a path of success. However, Arguedas did not await the same fate as an author or as an individual. In the shadow of successful westernized writers and individuals, Arguedas realized the "*tensiones irresolubles del mundo andino,*" which brought him to, "*rompe[r] con cualquier ilusión de unidad [nacional].*" (Palou) He did not finish his next novel following *Sangres* before silencing *himself* by committing suicide in the midst of his personal and intellectual crisis. (Palou) His life and work was so intertwined that the perceived failure of his literary project in light of Vargas (and others') success led him to forget the hope he so clearly invested in Rendón.

Just like Rendón's death, however, Arguedas' suicide did not mark the end of his *proyecto*. Decades after his passing, Arguedas' works are internationally known and respected. Furthermore, as I have learned during my time as a university student in Lima, there is a growing acceptance of *mestizaje* and a heightened concern for the indigenous culture and languages of the Peruvian Andes. While there is still much to be accomplished before Arguedas' ideal *patria* can become reality, progress continues to be made. Palou and Tereul's works, published in recent years, are testaments to the continued strength of Arguedas' message. His answer to *¿Qué es la patria?* is lived out by the nation today: a slow yet steady *acercamiento* to truth, liberation and communication amongst *all* people of the diverse nation.

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