Zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo| The last novel of Jose Maria Arguedas

Fergus G. Mitchell
The University of Montana

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EL ZORRO DE ARRIBA Y EL ZORRO DEABAJO

THE LAST NOVEL OF JOSE MARIA ARGUEDAS

By
Fergus Mitchell, Jr.
B.S., Saint Louis University, 1955

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
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[Signatures]
Chairman, Board of Examiners
Dean, Graduate School

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

José María Arguedas, probably the greatest indigenous author of the twentieth century, left an unfinished novel, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*, which was published posthumously by the Buenos Aires publishing house Losada (1971). The novel deals with life in the fishing port of Chimbote, Peru, and is distinct from the bulk of Arguedas' previous works in that it employs new techniques in novelistic style, and deals with an environment other than the sierra.

The novel, on first reading, is confusing and leaves the reader with a sense of frustration and incompleteness. Arguedas uses a number of characters and situations which seem to have no other common denominator than that of being in Chimbote. He also adds four personal diaries to the work; one preceding the fiction, one following it, and two which interrupt it. These diaries are comments on his personal situation. Throughout the work the reader encounters symbolic images and obscure situations; most notable of which is the occasional appearance of two foxes and brief conversations between them. The reader will ask what these are doing in a novel of otherwise human affairs.

This study is intended to serve as a guide for the reader who desires to read Arguedas' last novel. Extensive discussion has not been given to individual previous works of the author. However from time to
time some of them have been compared and contrasted to this his last work. As a matter of fact, more comparison and contrast have been made with Arguedas' other works than with those of other authors.

The first chapters are introductory in nature. The emphasis is on content rather than style. They attempt to give an overview of Arguedas' life, and of the novel as a whole, limiting themselves to the physical aspects of reality found in the novel.

The later chapters try to interpret the role the two foxes play in the novel and delve more into other levels of reality besides that physically and tangibly present. They also delve into the stylistic techniques that Arguedas uses, and try to interpret some but not all of the symbols. It is the belief of this student that a complete elucidation could be given only by Arguedas himself; that he carried some of the secrets of the novel to his grave. Nevertheless, the final chapters attempt to show his purposes for writing the novel, to interpret some of the obscure situations and symbols, and to extract the main theses.

In the text of this study, the rather long title, El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo is shortened and referred to as Los zorros. References to chapters of this thesis use Roman numerals ("Chapter III," "Chapter IV"), and references to chapters of the novel and other works are spelled out ("Chapter Three," "third chapter"). Unless otherwise specified, all page references are to the pages of Los zorros.
CHAPTER II

THE PERSONAL BACKGROUND

The literary world of Latin America was shocked and saddened when on November 28, 1969 one of its members took leave, and by his own hand, ended a life that had grown up and flourished in two worlds. It was a life that had tried to reconcile these worlds, and in so doing had created an indigenous literature seldom matched in authenticity and poetic beauty.

José María Arguedas' life was one of artistic success and personal sorrow. He was extremely sensitive to the hatred and injustice, to the beauty and love surrounding him, and poured out his sentiments in six novels, thirteen short stories, besides other works of ethnology, folklore, translations, and poetry.

He was born in 1911 in Andahuaylas, an Andean community in the Department of Apurímac, Peru. Both of his parents were white. His father, Victor Manuel Arguedas, was a lawyer and judge from Cuzco. His mother was a native of the town where he was born. However he lost his mother by death when he was only three years old, and his father remarried a widow with three children, all older than himself. His stepmother was not long in showing her disdain for the little boy.

When José was six years old his father was transferred to the province of Lucanas. José María lived in San Juan de Lucanas and Puquio
with his stepmother—his father came by horseback to be with them on the weekends. When José was nine years old his father lost his job. His judgeship was revoked for political reasons, and he had to seek employment elsewhere. For about three years the elder Arguedas lead a persecuted life, fleeing from one town to another. The government of Leguía, which he opposed, was then in power. It was during these three years (1920-23) of his father's absence that the boy was at the mercy of his stepmother and older stepbrother. It was a traumatic experience for a boy less than twelve years of age:

Durante este tiempo fui víctima de mi madrastra y de mi hermano político, que era un hombre cruel y señor del pueblo, San Juan de Lucanas.¹

In correspondence with Donna O. Levy, who wrote her doctoral thesis on his novelistic prose, Arguedas revealed that his stepbrother was the person that he most hated in his childhood, and who in turn, hated him the most.² His stepbrother was one of the principals of the town: a misti; that is, a Europeanized person who dominated in the town. But if the mistis dominated in power, it was the natives who dominated in numbers: "Mi niñez transcurrió en varias de estas aldeas en que hay 500 indios por cada terrateniente."³

Considering the long absences of his one parent and the cruelty


³José María Arguedas, "La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú," Mar del sur 3, No. 9 (1948-1949):68.
of his stepmother and stepbrother, it is not surprising to find that he sought consolation and affection from the native population. Evidence of his immersion in the Quechua world from his earliest childhood is given by his fluency in the Quechua tongue. It was not until he was ten years of age that he learned the Spanish language: "Yo recién a los diez años aprendí a hablar español, pues en mi niñez sólo habla [sic] quechua."^4

It was about the time that he learned to speak Spanish in his tenth year that he was first exposed to the non-Andean world. He spent a short period of time in the fishing port of Supe where according to Arguedas himself, as given in an interview, he experienced as a child situations which would later be incorporated into his last novel, Los zorros. It was in the port of Supe that he glimpsed the contradictions and injustices that continue in the Peru of today. In this interview, given a few days before his death, Arguedas said:

Hace meses que estoy trabajando en una novela que plantea la situación que confrontan los habitantes de un puerto de pescadores. Es mi experiencia en Supe, en la juventud. Pero el escenario escogido es Chimbote, el puerto pesquero más importante del Perú. (Trobo, no page number)

However, he was apparently not long in Supe, for most of his childhood experiences and memories are of the sierra. Those experiences with his father's new family were anything but pleasant. So unbearable became life under his stepmother and stepbrother that he fled to a nearby ravine (quebrada de Viseca) where there was an ayllu or Indian

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^4Claudio Trobo, "La última entrevista con Arguedas," Imagen (Caracas, Venezuela), No. 64 (1-15 enero 1970), no page number, referred to subsequently as Trobo.
community. There the boy received the tenderness and care that he had not known from the whites. It was an affection and love that remained with him all his life. Ernesto, the fictional character who represents him in *Los ríos profundos*, explains this affection:

Huyendo de parientes crueles pedí misericordia a un ayllu que sembraba maíz en la más pequeña y alegre quebrada que he conocido. Espinos de flores ardientes y el canto de las torcazas iluminaban los maízales. Los jefes de familia y las señoras, mamakunas de la comunidad, me protegieron y me infundieron la imparable ternura en que vivo.²

When Ernesto's father returned after three years of absence it was in this ayllu that he found his small son:

Cuando los políticos dejaron de perseguir a mi padre, él fue a buscarme a la casa de los parientes donde me dejó. Con la culata de su revólver rompió la frente del jefe de la familia, y bajó después a la quebrada. Se emborrachó con los indios, bailó con ellos muchos días. Rogó al Vicario que viniera a oficiar una misa solemne en la capilla del ayllu. Al salir de la misa, entre cohetezozos y el repique de las campanas mi padre abrazó en el atrio de la iglesia a Pablo Maywa y Víctor Pusa, alcaldes de la comunidad. (*Los ríos*, p. 59)

Pablo Maywa is in reality don Felipe Maywa, a Quechua leader; a man of high ideals and great nobility of character, that made a profound impression on the boy that was to last all of his life. Reminiscing over former years, Arguedas wrote in his last novel:

Don Felipe me acariciaba en San Juan de Lucanas, como a un becerro sin madre y el tenía la presencia de un indio que sabe, por largo aprendizaje y herencia, la naturaleza de las montañas inmensas, su lenguaje y el del insectos, cascadas y ríos, chicos y grandes; y si bien era "lacayo" de mi madrestra, o a veces creo que vaquero, se presentaba ante ella como quien de hecho está procurando protección, a pesar de ser sirviente. (*Los zorros*, pp. 22-23)

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The loneliness of a small boy in an immense world—a loneliness increased by his own relatives—found relief and consolation in the company of this man:

Y cuando este hombre me acariciaba la cabeza, en la cocina o en el corral de los becerros, no sólo se calmaban todas mis intranquilidades sino que me sentía con ánimo para vencer a cualquier clase de enemigos, ya fueran demonios o condenados. Y yo era muy intranquilo; estaba solo entre los domésticos indios, frente a las inmensas montañas y abismos de los Andes donde los árboles y flores lastiman con una belleza en que la soledad y silencio del mundo se concentran. (Los zorros, p. 23)

The boy was twelve years old when his father returned, old enough to journey on horseback, and the next year was a joyful one for him and his father, for they had each other, and they traveled from town to town together. This was also a valuable experience for the future writer, for it gave him a wider acquaintance with the birds, animals, and flora of the sierra, and also of the customs, celebrations, and music of the people of other towns.

But it was to come to an end all too soon. After about a year of traveling, his father took him to a religious boarding school in Abancay and left him, because there was no work for the father in that town. The separation was hard for both: "Mi padre fue demasiado pronto de Abancay, cuando empezaba a descubrir su infierno; cuando el odio y la desolación empezaban a aturdirme de nuevo" (Los ríos, pp. 59-60).

The year (fifth grade) at the boarding school was one of loneliness and longing for his father, for his past natural surroundings, and for the people of don Felipe Maywa. The religion of the fathers who conducted the school was the religion of the Europeans, of the imposed culture, and he found it forbidding. He noticed that the sons
of the wealthy and influential were those who were favored in the school. Thus for him the European religion of the whites was an instrument of subjection, a subtle means of helping the mistis maintain their iron hand. As a child he had faith, but his faith was in the animistic world of the Quechuas where

... birds and animals exist as possible friends, as integral living relations in the Indian world. One is not alone on a mountainside or pampa if an eagle, a falcon, a vicuna, even a little duck, hovers nearby. Then love and sorrow can be shared. Flowers, too, have understanding. All ... are struggling members of a fraternity sometimes called the universe.6

For the Quechuas and for the child José María Arguedas, all living things, all mountains and all rivers had their own spirits, and each spirit spoke more plainly and intimately than the invisible God of the Europeans. This does not mean that the child's animism excluded Catholic elements, for these too, after four centuries, had become incorporated into the Quechua mind. His inner rebellion was against the pure Catholicism of the upper classes. In Los ríos profundos Ernesto, the fictionalized counterpart of Arguedas, tells of his affection for a little picture of a Virgen he once owned:

... la señora donde quien estuve alojado me obsequió una Virgen como ésta que preside tu cuarto. Tenía un marquito de vidrio. Le guardé en el bolsillo de mi saco durante los días que estuve en Huaymanga. Por las noches colgaba el cuadrito de la pared, cerca de mi cabecera ... Me festejaron, cuando les mostré la Virgen. Podía protegernos contra los bando-leros. (Los ríos, pp. 238-39)

It is not hard to understand this affection when one considers that the little Virgen was perhaps a "mother-image" for a child who had

One of man's ways of relating to the universe is through religion. José María Arguedas' way of relating to it was through the Quechua animism he knew as a boy. Although he later espoused and was inspired by the cause of Lenin, he was never able to tear himself away from the animism of his childhood. About a year before his death, when he received the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega Award for literature, he said: "¿Hasta dónde entendí el socialismo? No lo se bien. Pero no mató en mí lo mágico" (Los zorros, p. 298).

That the magic within him was active throughout his life is evidenced by the confidences he exchanged, eight months before his death, with a giant pine tree in the town of Arequipa:

El pino de ciento veinte metros de altura... llegó a ser mi mejor amigo. No es un simple decir... Desde cerca, no se puede verle mucho su altura, sino sólo su majestad y oír ese ruido subterráneo, que aparentemente sólo yo percibía. Le hablé con respeto... Oía su voz, que es la más profunda y cargada de sentido que nunca he escuchado en ninguna otra cosa ni en ninguna otra parte. (Los zorros, p. 206)

Although Arguedas had glimpsed the world of the coast during his period at Supe, he did not really come into it, until he was an adolescent. He was about fifteen years of age when he was taken from the Andes and entered in a secondary school in the coastal city of Ica. This city is the setting of one of his short stories, "Orovilca," in which he participates. In the story he tells of the isolation he felt in this new world:

... yo trataba de no llamar la atención hacia mí; porque entonces, en Ica, como en todas las ciudades de la costa, se menospreciaba a la gente de la sierra aindiada y mucho más a
los que venían desde pequeños pueblos.7

He spent two years at Ica, then another year of secondary education in Huancayo followed by two years as "alumno libre."

In 1931 at twenty years of age he entered the University of San Marcos in Lima, but the University was closed the following year by the government of Sánchez Cerro. His formal education cut short, he found employment in the Post Office Administration in Lima. The young man had left the world of the sierra and found himself struggling for existence in the urban world of the coast. But in spirit he never left the sierra or his Quechua people.

The urban world of Lima was suffering from the international financial crisis that had begun in Wall Street in 1929. The capital was seething with unrest and ferment. Haya de la Torre had founded the APRA8 in 1924 and its members were protesting the inequity and poverty suffered by the Indians. Even stronger in their protests, and calling for more sweeping reforms along Marxist patterns, were those of the Amauta movement. Their leader, José Carlos Mariátegui, an accomplished essayist; had just a few years before published his famous Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana,9 urging an end to the feudal system and a redistribution of the land to the Indians. The young Arguedas, no stranger to poverty and injustice, became enamored with the philosophy of social protest:

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8Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana

9First published in 1928 by Biblioteca Amauta, Lima. It has passed through nineteen more editions since that time.
Fue leyendo a Mariátegui y después a Lenin que encontré un orden permanente en las cosas; la teoría socialista no sólo dio un cauce a todo el porvenir 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 encauzarlo. (Los zorros, pp. 297–98)

His protest did not limit itself to social and economic spheres. He began to read the "Indian" or "indigenous" literature of the day and suffered a great disillusion. It perturbed him to find the indigenous literature of that time lacking in depth and authenticity. Determined to change it, he set down his own experiences in literary form in a collection of three short stories which he entitled Agua. To convey the authenticity, the tenderness, and the beauty that he knew, he created a new language, a castellano quechuizado, which used Spanish words in Quechua syntax. For the first time the non-Quechua reader was able to enter in depth into the lives of the serranos, and share not only their abandonment and lack of justice, but also their love for each other and their magical relationship with nature. In regard to this first work of Arguedas, the critic Angel Flores has said:

Yo me atrevo a . . . afirmar que el cuento "Agua" supera toda la literatura peruana, que es la quintaesencia misma del indigenismo y por lo tanto la obra cumbre de ese género. (Flores, p. 504)

After being closed for three years the University of San Marcos was reopened and Arguedas, now twenty four, went back to school. It was while he was studying his last year of letters that he became involved in a student incident that was to result in his arrest and imprisonment. In 1937 the Italian general, Camarotta, came to visit the campus. He

was an envoy of Mussolini and was being escorted by Peruvian officials. Without warning a group of students plunged into the group, grabbed the general and gave him a dunking in a nearby fountain. They were protesting Mussolini's involvement in the Spanish Civil War. Among the students was José María Arguedas. He was arrested, along with fourteen others, and imprisoned in El Sexto, the formidable penitentiary of Lima, subject of a later novel.

The difficult life behind bars corroded the young man's health and he had to be hospitalized. After a year of imprisonment he was released. He left an older man for his twenty seven years: his physical stamina had been weakened, but not his spirit.

He put the education he had acquired at San Marcos to work as a school teacher. His first position in this field was as a teacher of Spanish and geography. He returned once again to his Andes, to the town of Sicuani in the Cuzco region where he taught these subjects in a secondary school. He remained in this region for a space of about three years, a happy one in his life. He was back among his Quechua people and now was able to help them. In his off-time he spent many hours giving free lessons in Spanish to the Indians.

It was during this period also, that he met Father Jorge A. Lira, a parish priest of Maranganí. Arguedas could see the priest's great intimacy with and love of the Quechua people, and persuaded him to gather songs, stories and legends. The two worked together traveling in southern Peru, collecting the folklore from the mouths of the people and preserving it in written Quechua and Spanish. Arguedas had already published a work in this field, Canto Kechwa (Lima- 1938) and was soon to
gain national fame as a folklorist, producing in his thirty-sixth year the collection, *Mitos, leyendas y cuentos peruanos* (Lima, 1947) and two years later, *Canciones y cuentos del pueblo quechua* (Lima, 1949). Four years later appeared *Cuentos mágico realistas y canciones de fiestas tradicionales en el valle de Mantaro* (Lima, 1953).

Arguedas’ first novel, *Yawar fiesta* appeared in 1941 when he was thirty years old. It deals with Puquio, the capital of Lucanas, the Andean community where he had lived as a child, and continues the use of the new Spanish-Quechua language he had created for his first stories. Between this, his first novel, and the next, there is a period of thirteen years. This period of creative silence is due partly to the fact that he was involved in the collecting and translating of folklore mentioned in the last paragraph, and partly to a lapse of health.

In 1942 he took on additional burdens when he was called away from the Andes to Lima to form part of the Commission for the Reform of Secondary Education. Because of the excess work his stamina failed in the second year, he became excessively ill and his physical capacity was reduced to a third (Flores, p. 504). Arguedas was then thirty-three years old. It was not his first experience with ill health, as we have seen. The collapse of 1944 retriggered a psychic malady acquired in his childhood:

En mayo de 1944 hizo crisis una dolencia psíquica contraída en la infancia y estuve casi cinco años neutralizado para escribir. El encuentro con una zamba gorda, joven, prostituta, me devolvió eso que los médicos llaman "tono de vida". El encuentro con aquella alegre mujer debió ser el toque sutil, complejo que mi cuerpo y alma necesitaban, para recuperar el roto vínculo con todas las cosas . . . El encuentro con la zamba no pudo hacer resucitar en mí la capacidad plena para la lectura. En tantos años he leído sólo unos cuantos libros. (*Los zorros*, p. 11)
Yo me convertí en ignorante desde 1944. He leído muy poco desde entonces. (Los zorros, p. 15)

But, if since 1944, his reading was eclipsed, his creativity was not. It is true that immediately after 1944, Arguedas, as he himself said, was for a few years "neutralized" from writing. The crisis of 1944 was the first of the "avalanches" that were to fall upon him from time to time to thwart his creative career:

Hace muchos años que mi ánimo funciona como los caminos que van de la costa a la sierra peruana, subiendo por abismos y laderas geológicamente aún inestables. ¿Quién puede saber qué día o qué noche ha de caer un huayco o un derrumbe seco sobre esos caminos? (Los zorros, pp. 289-90).

The 1944 collapse was devastating. As we have seen, his physical capacity was reduced to a third, his ability to write was reduced to nothing. The creative power that had raised indigenous literature to new heights with Agua and Yawar fiesta was now in the abyss.

Then something happened that is hard to explain—perhaps cannot be explained—perhaps it is one of the mysteries associated with creative art: the period of impotency was followed by that of the greatest productivity. The abyss disappeared and the author was again on the mountain. In 1948 he found himself working on a new novel, Los ríos profundos, destined to surpass anything he had written before. This was followed by El Sexto (his prison experiences), and was to cumulate a few years later in the two volume work, Todas las sangres, which many critics consider to be his masterwork. Other critics claim that Los ríos profundos is better. Both deal with the sierra, but Los ríos is autobiographical and individual, while Todas las sangres is written in the third person and is panoramic. The high quality of his fiction
earned for him several prizes, including the national Faulkner Prize and the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega Award.

In the non-fiction field also, Arguedas was forging ahead. At the age of forty-two, he became head of the Instituto de Estudios Etnológicos del Museo Nacional de Historia. He continued his compiling and translating of Quechua folklore producing "Folklore del Valle de Mantaro," (Folklore Americano, No. 1, 1953) and later "Cuentos religioso mágicos de Lucanamarca," (Folklore Americano, Nos. 8-9, 1960). The former includes songs of the traditional fiestas of the Mantaro Valley as well as the tales. In the latter collection, the magical-religious stories are given in both Quechua and Spanish.

One of Arguedas' major accomplishments was his translation of Inca mythology. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries some of the Spanish catechists and missionaries, notably Francisco de Avila, had collected from the mouths of the people, the traditions and myths of their ancestors, recording them in Quechua. Arguedas, in collaboration with other scholars, deciphered these early writings, converting them into modern Quechua and Spanish in a work entitled Díoses y hombres de Huarochirí (Lima: Museo Nacional de Historia e Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1966), one of the best existing documents of Peruvian mythology.11

In 1962 appeared a poem, "A nuestro padre creador Tupac Amaru." Although Arguedas' prose is charged with lyricism, he wrote very few poems as such. This one, his best, composed in Quechua and translated

into Spanish, is both a hymn of praise to the fallen Inca leader and also a call to the race to regain their freedom.

Arguedas was an ethnologist and folklorist by profession and taught these fields as well as Quechua. He was professor at the University of San Marcos, the National University of Education, and finally at the agricultural university, La Molina, where he was head of the department of Ethnology. In 1963 he traveled to Spain and spent a year there collecting material for his doctoral thesis which compared community life in Spanish and Peruvian villages. The thesis appeared under the title, Las comunidades de España y del Perú (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1968).

If one looks back over Arguedas' fifty eight years of life, he will discover that his great output, the vast bulk of his production occurred after he was forty, in his last sixteen years. It is the period of all of his novels (except Yawar fiesta) and the majority of his short stories and non-literary production. He seems to have reached the summit of his career with the creation of the novel, Todas las sangres. While some will argue that Los ríos profundos is more artistic, all will agree that Todas las sangres, with its panoramic view of life in the Andes, and beyond, is his most ambitious work: a novel of two volumes and over five hundred pages.

After that he wrote a collection of four short stories, but absent from them is the highly idealistic tone of Todas las sangres. They involve, as their main theme, the experiences of a young boy in his confrontations with premarital sex. In the author's own words, "Son solamente cuatro cuentos, nada buenos como forma pero muy reveladores
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en cuanto a cómo es el hombre andino" (Levy, p. 77).

If the years after forty were ones of great accomplishment and creativity, they were also, paradoxically enough, ones of periodic frustration and discouragement: "Luego, caí en un estado de prostración tan lóbrego como los que me atacan en los últimos veinte años y de los que salgo cada vez con mayor agonía" (Los zorros, pp. 207-8). None of these setbacks had reached the depth of the 1944 plummet, but the author feared another recurrence of the earlier tragedy. In 1962 his strength failed, and he retired to Santiago de Chile, to the home of a friend, to recover (Los zorros, pp. 21-22). Writing had become for him a way of life and he did not want to lose it: "... si no escribo y publico, me pego un tiro" (Los zorros, p. 21).

In April of 1966, alone in his office of the National Historical Museum, he attempted suicide with barbiturates but failed. Later he compared the episode to one of his childhood, when death had also refused him:

¡Si yo era el mismo, el mismo pequeño que quiso morir en un maízal del otro lado del río Huallpamayo, porque don Pablo ['gamonalcito de entonces'] me arrojó a la cara el plato de comida que me había servido la Facundachá! Pero también allí en el maízal, sólo me quede dormido hasta la noche. No me quiso la muerte, como no me aceptó en la oficina de la Dirección del Museo Nacional de Historia, de Lima. Y desperté en el Hospital del Empleado. Y ví una luz melosa, luego el rostro muy borroso de gentes. (Una boticaria no me quiso vender tres píldoras de seconal; dijo que con tres podría quedarme dormido para no despertar; y yo me tome treinta y siete. Fueron tan ineficaces como la imploración que dirigí a la Virgen, llorando, en el maízal de Huallpamayo.) (Los zorros, p. 16)

The last three years of his life, in spite of reverses, were active ones. In 1968 he traveled to Cuba and was impressed by what he
saw there. Life there reminded him of the purity of folk life he had known among the Quechuas:

Pruebas de eso, de lo renovado, de lo desenvilecido encontré en Cuba. Pero lo intocado por la vanidad y el lucro está, como el sol, en algunas fiestas de los pueblos andinos del Perú.  
(Los zorros, p. 19)

He saw in socialism a hope for the future, but he was not a politician and in his writings he had never allowed propaganda to subordinate his art. When he received the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega Award in 1968 he said:

No pretendí jamás ser un político ni me creí con aptitudes para practicar la disciplina de un partido, pero fue la ideología socialista y el estar cerca de los movimientos socialistas lo que dio dirección y permanencia, un claro destino a la energía que sentí desencadenarse durante la juventud.  
(Los zorros, p. 298)

In the same discourse he said the other source of inspiration was his own Peru:

El otro principio fue el de considerar siempre el Perú como una fuente infinita para la creación. . . . No, no hay país más diverso, más múltiple en variedad terrena y humana; todos los grados de calor y color, de amor y odio, de urdimbres y sutilezas, de símbolos utilizados e inspiradores. . . . Imitar desde aquí a alguien resulta algo escandaloso. En técnica nos superarán y dominarán, no sabemos hasta que tiempos, pero en el arte podemos ya obligarlos a que aprendan de nosotros y lo podemos hacer incluso sin movernos de aquí mismo.  
(Los zorros, p. 298)

In May of 1968 he began work on a new novel. With the exception of El Sexto, which dealt with his prison experiences, the action of all of his novels had taken place in the sierra. His new novel was to have a new setting: the coastal port of Chimbote. For the first time he was to use an urban environment for a major undertaking. He went to Chimbote and spent some time there to familiarize himself with his subject,
but he worked on the novel in various places, including Santiago de Chile, Lima, and Arequipa. To complete it, he was given a ten-month leave from the Universidad Agraria.

However, he began to have difficulty finishing the novel in this time. The added responsibilities, the years of creation, study, and struggle for his people had taken their toll. During 1969 he found that his efforts were not producing the results he had hoped for. He had struggled to reconcile the world of his youth with his adult world; he had opened the vision to others, but he himself seemed exhausted. In November he sent what he had written of his novel to the Editorial Losada in Buenos Aires. Then, on the twenty-eighth of November, in one of the salons of the university, he fired the shot that was to result in death four days later. The end came December 2, 1969.

Angel Flores, writing about Arguedas many years before the latter's death, said that "la vida y la experiencia de Arguedas presenta un caso insólito de bilingüismo, de bi-cultura" (Flores, p. 504).

Arguedas was also multiprofessional: ethnologist, folklorist, writer of fiction. It is interesting, in regard to this latter category, that he did not consider himself a professional writer: "Yo no soy escritor profesional, ... Escribimos por amor, por goce y por necesidad, no por oficio" (Los zorros, p. 25). He wrote because he loved to write, because it was his means of release, his means of combating the injustices his people had experienced, and his means of sharing with the non-Andean world its tenderness, its magic, and also its loneliness.

Arguedas' personal life was, in fact, an example of solitude.
He had no real home as a child until he was adopted by the Indian community of Viseca. But he lost this home and felt the separation the rest of his life. His early formative years were indigenous, his later years of formal education were European. As Vargas Llosa said, Arguedas as a child was, culturally speaking, and Indian. But when he went to Lima and to the university, the confines of his childhood were broken; he entered and became a part of the non-Indian world. Rodner saw in this bicultural state, a cause for his isolation:

Arguedas suffered that special kind of agony peculiar to men of two cultures. It is what . . . sociologists have referred to as both the tragedy and distinctiveness of the marginal man, a man whose strength comes from the capacity to see cultural events from two sides but who precisely because of this ability no longer has the conviction belonging to either system.12

To support this view she quotes the critic Julio Ortega:

Sólo sé que en su obra esa agonía aparece como una insoluble escisión: el drama íntimo de la ambigüedad entre su raigambre indígena y su desajuste dentro de la cultura moderna. . . .

La ambigüedad esencial del mestizo—escindido entre su raíz indígena y su profundo exilio—aparece como uno de los debates más íntimos de la narrativa de Arguedas. Es el debate de la magia y la crítica, de la piedad y la rebeldía. La soledad es la consecuencia de ese proceso. Pero también el sueño de un destino común. (Ortega, p. 78)

Ortega saw this inner struggle as a cleansing or "liberating" process. The culmination of this process was, according to him, the reason for the author’s death:

[Arguedas] . . . muestra la ambigüedad mestiza como su signo y destino: su identidad profunda con el mundo indígena, del que lo separa otro destino, ligado a la conciencia y la crítica. Ese mundo complejo era un debate poético: un exorcismo

hecho de pavor y piedad. Al cesar la fuerza de esa liberación agónica se comprende que Arguedas decidiese morir. (Ortega, p. 78)

Rodner viewed the culmination of this process as the triumph of reality, the shattering of a dream:

Like Don Quixote José María Arguedas longed to create another being for himself, one which could live a life superior to that which surrounded him. When the forces of reality finally triumph and shatter his dream, he must die. (Rodner, p. 10)

For César Lévano, on the other hand, the death of Arguedas was due to his psychic malady fanned by frustration; frustration in the face of social injustice:

Su muerte es, volvemos a lo dicho, un resultado en el cuadro clínico de su mal nervioso, pero también algo más. Su gravedad viene de lejos. Quién sabe si los gobiernos—las fuerzas de clase detrás de los gobiernos—no son al final, las principales culpables de tanto fracaso, de tanto desengaño, de tanta frustración en hombres como Arguedas, jóvenes y viejos.¹³

Arguedas' death may be due to his solitude, to his "liberation," to the shattering of his dream, or to his frustration as a social combatant. It may be due to all or to none of these. It is beyond the scope of this study to give a complete answer for the cause of the tragedy. But it is quite evident, that while working on his last novel, the author felt the tragedy approaching: "Veo ahora que los Diarios fueron impulsados por la progresión de la muerte" (Los zorros, p. 289).

Because of the tragedy the novel was left unfinished. The parts which have been completed give the reader the impression that the author was looking for something, that he was trying to extract significance


¹⁴Parts of Arguedas' last novel.
from the pulse of life, from the confusion of this busy city.

As has already been implied, the artist was taking a chance when he embarked upon his new novel, for he was treating a new environment. He was trading the sierra, which he knew well, for the bustle of cosmopolitan life. He was stepping outside the wall that divides Andean society from that of the coast. He was stepping into a thriving port where Peru confronts the Pacific, and the world. We shall not take a look at that environment.
CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Chimbote is a port on Peru's west coast about 250 miles north of Lima. Formerly it was a tuna port, relatively small, but it possessed one of "the finest natural harbors on the west coast of South America: a great landlocked crescent of deep blue water."¹ In the early forties it had a population of some 5000 persons. But within a fifteen year span (1950-1965) its population, not doubled, not tripled, but increased twenty-fold! This remarkable growth was due primarily to two events.

The first event that fomented this change was the development of hydroelectric power on the Santa River, the largest river on Peru's west slope, which enters the Pacific near Chimbote. There is an abrupt fall of the river through the Andes which rise near the coast in this region. The plant was built in the late forties, and in turn, provided the energy which started to change Chimbote. More than 100,000 kilowatts are now transported fifty-seven miles through high transmission lines to the coastal port. This, together with the presence of anthracite coal and iron ore in the region, has produced at Chimbote a steel mill, one of the industrial breakthroughs for this small port in a struggling nation. The mill was built and is owned by the government

¹Newsweek, June 9, 1947, p. 48.

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corporation Peruana del Santa. It figures in the novel, not as the principal scene of action, but as a backdrop. It serves a highly symbolic purpose in the novel with its column of flame-tinted smoke pouring unceasingly into the sky. This appears again and again as the principal leitmotiv, a symbol which is discussed later in this study.

The other development which caused Chimbote's population to skyrocket was the utilization of the anchovy or anchoveta. These are small fish, silvery in color, about five to eight inches long, that travel in millions in tightly packed schools near the surface of the sea. They follow the Humboldt Current, a cold mass of water that originates in the Antarctic and moves northward along the Peruvian coast. The anchovy prefer the coolness of the Humboldt Current while they feed on the diatoms and zooplankton which thrive in nutrient rich upwelling waters warmed by the tropical sun.2

The anchovy long served as food for pelicans and gannets, which, in turn, left droppings of nitrogen rich guano on promontories and offshore islands. The guano left by the birds had been traditionally used as fertilizer, but in the early forties a group of scientists working for the Peruvian government conceived the idea of going directly to the anchovy for nitrogen. They showed that a bird's stomach "was a highly inefficient fertilizer factory." Efficiency could be improved almost 400 percent by catching the anchovies directly (Stroetzel, p. 20). Moreover the anchovies could be used in feeds as well as in fertilizer. This is, in fact, the great value of the anchovy: a nitrogen-rich

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supplement for poultry and livestock feeds.

So great has been the demand that more than 100 factories operate around the clock when the anchovies are being caught. The anchovies are trapped in nylon nets operated from seiners or bolicheras. The seiners, loaded to the gunwales, carry the catch to the factories where the fish are sucked up by huge hoses, weighed automatically, "cooked with steam, pressed and dried in rotary ovens, and ground to a brown powder for shipment in jute or paper bags."\(^3\)

This brown or ambered-colored powder is called fishmeal or harina de anchoveta, and in the 1950's sold for as high as $140.00 per ton while the cost of production was only $50.00, a profit that seems fantastic. With this type of gain it is easy to imagine the fever that spread throughout the country. As the forty-niners had descended on their coast in North America a century before in search of gold, so too did Peruvians from all regions descend on their coast in search of this new sea gold. Stroetzel tells how "between 1955 and 1962, a wild scramble took place. . . and . . . lawyers, dentists, doctors, engineers teamed to buy plants and boats" (pp. 20-21).

Some became rich:

The boom . . . created a new group of self-made millionaires. Biggest in the industry is 35-year-old Luis Branchero [sic] from an Italian immigrant family, who now controls 10% of total fish-meal production and has a fleet of 70 boats. ("Boom in Fishmeal," p. 67)

Luis Branchero, who had been peddling lubricants from a pick-up to put himself through college, impressed the lenders as an hombre de empuje—a man of drive. Today at thirty-four,  

\(^3\)"Peru Nets a Boom in Fishmeal," Business Week, February 20, 1965, p. 67, referred to subsequently as "Boom in Fishmeal."
he owns an estimated 10 per cent of the industry: his own boatyard and more than 100 seiners, a chain of newspapers, a TV station, and a vegetable-and-fruit cannery. Many others, like Banchero, became self-made millionaires. (Stroetzel, p. 21)

However it was an American, in fact, who started the anchovy industry in Peru. In 1950 Brayton Wilbur of San Francisco built the first factory with the collaboration of Peruvians Arturo Madueno and Manuel Elguera. The industry boomed, as we have seen—but it would be a mistake to think of the boom as steady. In 1960 the price of fishmeal fell to $57.00 per ton—a disaster for the industry. However the leading entrepreneurs were quick to respond:

To straighten out the market, Banchero and Elguera took the lead in forming the Consorcio Pesquero del Perú, a sales cooperative of about 90 plants that currently supply 65% of Peruvian exports. It handles $130-million to $140-million of sales annually through a subsidiary in New York and agents in other countries. Since Peru controls 75% to 80% of world exports, the Consorcio has been able to smooth out market fluctuations. ("Boom in Fishmeal," p. 68)

Elguera, like Banchero, started from small beginnings. He was a tuna canner, but early he entered the fishmeal industry and became rich. In 1965 at fifty-eight years of age, he was a magnate and considered the "Peruvian industry's dean and philosopher" (Stroetzel, p. 20).

But not all anchovy processors fared as well as Elguera and Banchero. According to Elguera "every nation needs bold businessmen who will take risks to make money. . . . the businessman—unless he moves fast and correctly—can lose his shirt" (Stroetzel, pp. 19-20).

Many did. The smaller operators, being undercapitalized, had to borrow at high rates of interest to get started. Also many of them could not afford modern equipment. These factors, along with spotty
anchovy catches in 1963 and 1964 and a temporary dip in prices, caused many operators to close down. Larger companies gobbled up smaller enterprises. Some larger investors, both Peruvian and North American, made a specialty of taking over ailing companies ("Boom in Fishmeal," p. 64).

The boom made Peru the number one fishing nation for a while, surpassing Japan in 1964. It created more than 30,000 new jobs both in the factories and on the sea. Thousands of Indians swept down from the Andes onto Chimbote and other ports in search of employment. Many of them found it. Though illiterate, the Indians were remarkably gifted at picking up new skills necessary in the mechanized plants. On the sea too, the Indians and cholos (mixed-bloods) showed themselves very apt. Many, in spite of being illiterate, took so well to the sea that they became patrones or seiner skippers and earned up to $10,000 per year (Stroetzel, p. 22).

Chimbote became the number one fishing port with elegant hotels, night clubs, bars, and brothels. Many of the newcomers, unused to such prosperity, blew their earnings on "fancy clothes, and Saturday night sprees" ("Boom in Fishmeal," p. 67).

On the outskirts of the port thousands of straw-mat huts sprang up on the desert sand. These communities or barriadas overbuilt themselves because more serranos (mountain people) converged on the port than it could possibly support. Also, with the modernizing of the industry and the closing of the smaller companies, many found themselves out of work. Unemployment spread and poverty existed alongside the booming prosperity. As has so often happened in the history of Peru it was the
illiterate chulos and serranos who suffered most.

It is during this period, after the peak boom—but when the industry was steaming on fewer factories, that the action of the novel takes place: between 1965 and 1969. The ambient of the novel is not that of current conditions, because in 1972 an event took place that changed the face of Chimbote.

During the boom years there had always been a certain preoccupation in the industry about lack of supply. At first the supply of anchovies seemed without end, but in July and August of 1963 "the anchovies mysteriously vanished and three million birds died of starvation—but the fish returned, abundant as ever" (Stroetzel, p. 22). Nevertheless the industry was aware of the massive plant shutdowns in California when the sardines disappeared in the 1950's. It was aware of the disappearance of the herring from Norwegian waters, a phenomenon which occurs every eighty years.

Then in 1972 it happened. The Humboldt Current shifted away from the coast, the anchovy supply plummeted, and as of this writing they have not reappeared. "The impact on the industry, employment . . . has been disastrous."^4

Between the boom years of the sixties and the collapse of 1972, two events have taken place which are of significance in this study. One is the military take-over of the Peruvian government in October of 1968 and the other—a year later—the death of José María Arguedas.

The first is of significance because it brought about a change

in ownership of certain institutions which appear in the novel. The novel is, in part, a novel of social criticism—typical in this respect of the work of most indigenous Latin American writers of the twentieth century, but a stronger characteristic in some than in others. Criticism of the imposed European culture is explicit in the first stories of Arguedas. It is still strong but more implicit and intrinsic in the novels Yawar fiesta and Los ríos profundos. In his last two novels, Todas las sangres and El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo, an additional element enters. These last novels include not only the exploitation of the Indian, but are broadened to include the exploitation of Peru by foreign interests.

When Arguedas wrote Todas las sangres he was portraying conditions then existent, but when he wrote his last novel about los zorros the social and political scene was changing rapidly in Peru. President Belaúnde Terry had been overthrown and exiled by the 1968 military coup d'etat—a junta lead by General Velasco Alvarado, of whom everyone expected the most conservative convictions.

But the junta surprised Peru and the world. Six days after it had come to power, it expropriated the holdings of International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, thus ending a long-standing conflict with the Peruvian government—a conflict which Belaúnde had not been able to resolve. Nor was that all. The military government initiated a series of political and economic reforms, which, as the economist Edmundo Flores points out in his article "Land Reform in Peru," "has in one year done more to transform the economic structure of the country than had any other government or political party in all
the history of Peru (The Nation, February 16, 1970, p. 175).

The military government was not communist, but rather nation­
alistic. It is beyond the scope of this study to analyze its structure,
but it is of significance to recognize that it has brought about many
reforms advocated by the Communists, Apristas, and other leftists.
According to Flores:

The Peruvian activists have now lost their cause and they
deeply resent it. The military has forestalled them, . . .
Now, a military government, to whom everyone attributed the
most conservative convictions, has snatched the goals from
the old activists. ("Land Reform," p. 175)

José María Arguedas, if not one of the activists, at least, as
we have seen, shared their convictions. Whether he shared their resent­
ment that their goals had been snatched from them, I do not know. He
did say, four months before his death, in an open letter to the govern­
ment head, General Velasco, that he was confident the "el Ejército
[sic] peruano hubiese cesado de ser el brazo armado del antiguo destino"
(Lévano, p. 27).

However Arguedas did not live long enough to see the full effect
of the new reforms. In Los zorros he shows us the iron grip that a few
men had on the sugar cane industry. In Chapter Three of Los zorros, he
alludes to the giant sugar cane plantation of Casagrande, controlled by
an international agro-industrial firm:

Casa Grande comienza en el Pacifico
traga la costa, traga los Andes
"Los hombrecitos de Casa Grande
ya están formados para marchar
todos los días desde las cuatro
van al campo a trabajar."
"¡Pobres hombres!"
Así lo mismo, así lo mismo
como en los cochos, bolsa triste arriba,
como en las putas, piernas arriba

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
ay sí, ay no "¡Pobres hombres!"

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
La chimenea de Casa Grande
bota humo sin compasión... (pp. 132-34)

This was written before May, 1969 when the sugar cane industry was still under the control of powerful private monopolies such as Gildemeister and Co. A few months after this, of that same year, the sugar cane holdings were seized by the new government and turned over as cooperatives to the workers. Edmundo Flores writes:

What happened at Gildemeister and Co., which was the biggest sugar producer in South America and accounted for nearly 30 per cent of the Peruvian crop, is characteristic of the whole overthrow. Gildemeister's main plantation, Casagrande, covered 260,500 acres... In all, Gildemeister owned 1.2 million acres. All its properties were seized and are now in the process of being granted to its former employees. ("Land Reform," p. 175)

The net result of these social changes, as far as the novel is concerned, is that Arguedas, unknowingly, was probably the last Peruvian novelist to witness the old social order of his country and describe it as current. The novelists who follow him will be writing of it from the past. He wrote of it from conditions that he knew. One might say that scarcely had the ink dried on his pages than what he was describing had become history. It is true that he envisioned these changes—but he envisioned them in the future, accomplished by the forces of socialism—not by the Peruvian military.

On December 2, 1969, José María Arguedas died, his novel uncompleted, and the reforms he envisioned uncompleted as well. The new government, it is true, had begun a program of reform in the field of
agriculture and in the oil industry, but it was not complete socialization. About a year after Arguedas' death, General Velasco "gave indications that the government would not move further to the left and that foreign investments and private enterprise would be encouraged."5

The fishing industry that had changed Chimbote from a town to a city—the roaring Chimbote of Los zorros—was still in the hands of private entrepreneurs as long as three years after Arguedas' death. But, in the meantime, the government had modified the power of the private sector. Notably it took over the marketing of fishmeal and fish oil (Watlington, p. 500). The industry itself, however, continued in the hands of private companies until May, 1973. At that time:

The Peruvian government . . . nationalized its beleaguered anchovy fishing industry and suspended all fishing . . .

The tightly controlled industry was shut down by the government to give the fish a chance to breed and recover. Fishing resumed on a trial basis in March, but the Humboldt Current, along with the schools of fish, has not returned. The impact on the industry, employment, and the Peruvian balance of payments has been disastrous. ("Anchovy Shortage," p. 52)

With the passing of the anchovy, the main industry of Chimbote is again the government steel mill, as it was before the fishing boom. The fishing industry has given out. It will some day probably be back, but very likely under government control. The roaring privately controlled Chimbote that Arguedas knew and criticized is, as of this writing, a thing of the past.

In the meantime the smoke continues to roll skyward from the government steel mill. This Backdrop in Arguedas' novel has now become

—Ese humo parece la lengua del puerto, su verdadera lengua—dijo el visitante—; tiene y no tiene luz, tiene y no tiene bordes, no se apaga jamás. . . . le cuesta levantarse pero parece que nadie, ni las manos de los dioses que existen y no existen podrían atajarlo. (pp. 135-36)
A few days before his death, Arguedas, in the interview with Claudio Trobo of Imagen magazine, indicated that the protagonist of his last novel would not be any one person: "El verdadero personaje de la novela es un pueblo pesquero" (Trobo). He said it was to be his most ambitious work in which, by using one sector of Peru; namely Chimbote, he hoped to give the whole:

Mi actual novela es la que más angustias me ha costado, la que más me ha hecho padecer, porque en ella tal vez más que en ninguna otra aparece el Perú con todos sus elementos, en su inquietante y confusa realidad humana, de la cual el indio es tan sólo uno de los múltiples y distintos personajes. (Trobo)

What the reader is presented with then, is the phenomenon of many characters from various races and backgrounds, each with his own destiny. To develop a plot in an orderly manner from such a situation is highly difficult. A multiple protagonist like that of this novel is not conducive to an economical and tidy plot. César Lévano describes the confusion of Chimbote that seems almost its essence:

... ese monstruo portentoso de urbe sin plan, de alud migratorio, de eclosión demográfica, de miseria, hambre y mal olor, de barriadas de esteras o lata, de prostíbulos en que unos pescadores beben whisky un sábado para apalear a sus hambrientas mujeres el resto de la semana; gigante con músculos de acero y pies de barro, magma canceroso que creció en una noche: cuarenta mil habitantes in 1940; casi doscientos mil en este instante. (Lévano, p. 27)

Arguedas himself describes this bursting city, his protagonist,
figuratively. He sees her not as a monster but rather as a victim of those who exploit her. The once beautiful bay of deep blue water and its small fishing village have become turbid with the activity, smoke, and waste of industry. The city has lost the purity of its youth: "... antes espejo, ahora sexo millonario de la gran puta, cabroneada por cabrones extranjereados mafiosos" (p. 53).

Thus, early in the novel the author suggests the nature of the antagonists who will augment the suffering of Chimbote. This suffering becomes concrete in the lives of the individual characters; each life is a plot in itself, each carries its own destiny—but these many destinies are influenced by the common destiny of the city as a whole.

There are two main zones of activity around which the incidents of the novel seem to revolve. One group of situations revolves around the character of Braschi, who never appears directly in the novel. Like the foreign interests he is associated with, he is above and outside of the action, but he controls much of it. The other zone of activity has its center in concrete living individuals; personages of flesh and bone who come to life on the pages of the novel. They are from the lower economic strata, have little influence on the action, but are often victims of it. The first group, as we have said, is represented by Braschi and the foreign interests. The second group is best represented by Esteban de la Cruz, an infirm Indian who has migrated from the adversity and poverty of the sierra to Chimbote, where he hopes to find a better life.

Although there is no clear-cut plot in the novel, this chapter will attempt to reconstruct the chain of events around these two
mentioned zones of activity, the purpose being to point out the basic structure of the narrative fiction. In the first—the events surrounding Braschi—much of the activity is off-stage.

... 

Chaucato was an expert tuna fisherman in the early days of Chimbote before the days of the anchoveta. Among his apprentices was a young man named Eduardo Braschi who learned the skills of the sea from him. The two became companions, going on binges together which included drinking and Saturday nights at the brothels. But the older Chaucato was more in his element with the prostitutes than his younger apprentice. More inclined toward business, the latter saw a better use for his money. It was more profitable to exploit the sea than the prostitutes. Braschi opened up his own processing plant and bought tuna from the launch skippers. He seemed to have a keen sense for business. Realizing that a good start was important, he deceived the fishermen by buying tuna from them at one tenth their true value. He did this by putting a secret substance on his hand that smelled like rotten fish. The fishermen, thinking it was the fish that smelled and were spoiled, conceded to the lower price.

... 

With his excess earnings Braschi took advantage of the anchovy boom, building and buying out processing plants until he controlled a sizeable portion of the business. So successful was he that he branched out. One of his wings, the production wing, grew in Chimbote; and the other, the marketing wing, grew in Lima and in foreign markets.

... 

Chaucato saw himself bypassed. He saw the fervor descend upon Chimbote with the promise of the anchovy. Braschi soared high, leaving...
his old master behind in Chimbote. The former joined forces with the
large foreign enterprises, and from Lima organized a "mafia" to control
the industry to his liking. Smaller operators, who had started facto-
ries, were bought out or eliminated. Hungry serranos were recruited
from the Andes with promises for a better life. Some of those who had
earned only 1 sol per day in the sierra could now earn 100 to 300 sols
per day. Too many came, but Braschi was assured of a good supply of
workers.

The industry was willing to pay high wages, because these were
a small part of what they took in. Moreover the "mafia" found a way to
get some of its wage-money back by exacting a certain percentage from
the local bars, night clubs and brothels of Chimbote, and encouraging
the workers to spend their earnings in these places. Also, by keeping
the fishermen broke, the latter could be kept dependent and controlled
at will. Chaucato was one of these ... he continued to pour most of
his earnings on whiskey and prostitutes. But he considered it worth
his while, for in the brothels he was king, one of the most admired by
the prostitutes—old sea-wolf that he was—for his hombría.

If he had been bypassed in the fishing trade by Braschi, Chau-
cato was not about to be bypassed in the brothel by anybody. When a
North American stranger by the name of Maxwell won the admiration of the
prostitutes by dancing better than anyone else in the dancing salon,
Chaucato became jealous. His jealousy was not helped by Maxwell's
leaving the Peace Corps to become Peruvianized. To Chaucato, Maxwell
was always a yanqui, a gringo imposter, and his resentment grew.

Chaucato's troubles at sea grew too. He could not obtain a
larger launch to bring in better anchovy hauls because the industry, governed by his ex-companion, favored other launch skippers. The old man was even in danger of losing his own launch, or bolichera, because of aid that he had given to one of the labor unions.

Chaucato endured a long gruelling conflict with the Braschi-controlled industry, which increased the old sea wolf's frustrations. He was not able to get at Braschi—he was too far above his reach—but Maxwell, the ex-gringo, was still in Chimbote, and Chaucato incited the son of one of his prostitute friends to kill him. The prostitute's son, ashamed of his homosexual tendencies and anxious to prove his machismo, finally killed Maxwell by beheading him. Chaucato was revenged.

But he was revenged only on the man who had danced better than he, not on his ex-friend Braschi, who seemed to have everything in his hands. The Braschi-controlled industry called the shots.

The workers, of course, organized a union, but its effects to improve conditions for the workers were offset by industry maneuvers. Wage raises were agreed to, but these were followed by employee reductions. In one plant, Nautilus Fishing, the regular work force was reduced from 258 to 96 employees. The reader of the novel is given a tour through this plant and sees the new labor-saving machinery in operation. He hears the conversation between the plant's manager, don Angel, and a public relations man that Braschi had apparently sent from Lima. The visitor, "tool and loyal observer of the industry," converses with don Angel and we learn from their mouths how the industry outsmarted the workers:

The first union leader, an aprista, was able to be bribed by
the industry. He apparently fought for higher wage scales and benefits and won the admiration of the workers. But actually he had agreed beforehand with industry management on what the rates and benefits would be. Beside this clandestine agreement it was discovered that the aprista union leader was misappropriating welfare funds. This gave the communists, who had been working patiently within the union ranks, their chance. They took over the reins of the union and could not be bribed. Under their leadership it was discovered that the industry had been robbing millions from the fishermen by rigging the weighing scales. The communist leader, Solano, confronted Braschi in his Lima office. Braschi tried to compromise by praising Solano for his machismo or manliness: "¡Vas a ser mi marido entonces; yo estaba buscando al hombre que se convertiera en mi marido!" (p. 119). Marido literally means "husband" but in this case it meant "more of a man than I."

Braschi even unpocketed his pistol and laid it on the table before Solano—perhaps as a gesture to show that he would share his power with the union leader if the latter were willing to sit down and talk. But Solano was not willing to talk. He grabbed the pistol to Braschi's astonishment, pocketed it, turned his back and walked out of the office. The next day Solano called a strike, which proved to be long and painful, even occasioning some bloodshed.

At the end of the strike the union won. The industry had to make major concessions: the millions that had been stolen by the false weighing had to be returned to the fishermen. Also they were to get 30 more sols per ton for their anchovies. It appeared that Braschi had met his match... but Braschi was not alone: he had the government on
his side, and also powerful foreign interests. The factory manager, don Angel, explains how he and his superiors finally outsmarted the fisherman and workers:

Después de tanto aumento, ¡ras! "Devaluamos" la moneda, de 27 soles el dólar a 43. Y Solano debe haberse metido la pistola al culo, pero no disparó, porque también tiene a la final la cabeza fría. Ahora el pescador gana 30 por ciento menos que antes de la huelga. ¿Ya? No hay escape; en el Perú y el mundo mandamos unos cuantos. (p. 120)

Braschi seldom appears in the novel, his influence being shown through other means such as the conversation between the plant manager and don Diego, the apparent visitor from Lima. The latter is introduced to the factory employees as "un visitante . . . de la Empresa . . . enviado especial del señor Braschi . . . " (p. 141), but he is so congenial and open with everyone that it is hard to accept him as a Braschi agent. He even dances for the plant manager and the employees, thereby transfusing his own buoyant spirit to their souls.

The true Braschi agents such as Tinoco are less amiable. Tinoco served Braschi in the early part of his career as a matón or bully. For this reason he enjoyed certain privileges in the Chimbote brothels that others did not. Also, he was married to one of the prostitutes of the brothel which gave him additional privileges and authority. These he abused taking undue advantage of the prostitutes; besides being a bully, he was sex-crazed. He seemed unconcerned about the physical and psychic pain he inflicted on these women. All were repelled by him; and to make matters worse, he had impregnated several of them.

One of these was apparently Orfa. She had fled to Chimbote from the aristocratic city of Cajamarca where she had been dishonored. In
Chimbote she became a prostitute and had a baby. Everyone said that it was the son of the bully, Tinoco—the ultimate disgrace—but she denied it:

— ¿Hijo de Tinoco es tu huahua, de asno macho? . . .
— ¡De nadie! — dijo la madre — Mi nombre no es Orfa.
Hija de hacendado soy, botada, deshonrada, cajamarquina.

(p. 56)

She contemplated ending it all by drowning her baby and taking strychnine, but someone told her that on the mountain top, El Dorado, overlooking the sea near Chimbote, there was a phantom protector weaving a net of gold and silver. She considered the pilgrimage worth her effort and made it, but:

. . . en la cima, no encuentra a Tutaykire trenzando oro ni ningún otro fantasma y sólo un blanqueado silencio, el del guano de isla. . . . Pero ella no lo pudo ver porque tenía los ojos con una cerrazón de feroces arrepentimientos, de imá sapra, y saltó al abismo con su huahua en los brazos, a ciegas. (pp. 284-85)

Orfa was white. Other prostitutes, the Indian ones, also suffered at the hands of Tinoco. One, who had been impregnated by him, prayed for his death. Another named Florinda fared better. She was rescued from the brothel by her brother Asto. After being liberated she found a home and a good husband. He was an Indian musician, a guitarist, who traveled about Chimbote playing for alms, for he was blind. The three; Florinda, her blind husband, and her brother lived together in a modest but happy home. However Tinoco "el asno macho," the prostitute killer, who had been used to abusing Florinda, came to reclaim her. Nevertheless he was no match for her husband who beat Tinoco, not in hand to hand combat (for he was blind) but by his words and by his music. The guitar of the blind man aroused emotions which seemed to conquer
Tinoco's resolve, and he broke down. In reality Tinoco was chronically unstable; a victim of his emotions.

Tinoco, in fact, was too unstable to continue to serve in Braschi's "mafia" and he left it. He then attempted to find a cure for his malady by climbing a sand dune. A friend of Florinda and her blind husband, a little man from the sierra, induced Tinoco to follow him up the steep slope of the dune. The little man, dancing "like a top" on the dune's summit, was a siren beckoning Tinoco on, but the side of the dune collapsed, and Tinoco was buried under the sand.

Florinda and her brother were among the avalanche of serranos who descended upon Chimbote. The novel also follows the individual fortunes of others who arrived from the Andes. Some fared well in Chimbote, others not so well.

Among those who fared well was Hilario Caullama, an Aymara Indian from Lake Titicaca, who became a launch skipper, made money on the anchovy, and became influential in the port. Although he became relatively well-to-do he never lost his identity as an Indian. He took the part of the workers in their struggle against the industry, and was too distant and elusive to be trapped by Braschi.

Other serranos, such as Cecilio Ramírez and Gregorio Bazalar, escaped from miserable conditions in the sierra and found a better life in Chimbote. Bazalar went first to Lima, found employment there as a butler, and attended night school where he improved his Spanish. He then migrated to Chimbote where he became active in both pig-raising and civil affairs. He raised pigs in his own home in the crowded San Pedro
district. Outside the home he proved to be an astute (if not always honest) politician. He secured the favor of the influential North American priest, Father Cardozo, and became president of his district, a barriada of some 20,000 persons.

Cecilio Ramírez, another serrano, escaped from the tyranny of a cruel hacendado of a mountain district, and arrived in Chimbote with one of the migrations, or invasions. He managed to secure a little lot in one of the barriadas. With a wife and three children to support he went to work as an apprentice making cement bricks. He advanced to a full time craftsman, made money on the trick trade, but he spent it just as fast helping out less fortunate relatives and friends. At one time he and his wife had seventeen persons living under their roof, persons who had suffered misfortunes in the sierra and could not find employment in Chimbote. It was partly through the influence of Ramírez that Maxwell left the Peace Corps and became a Peruvian: Ramírez induced the latter to go into the brick business with him.

Another Indian, who migrated from the sierra, was don Esteban de la Cruz. He had been working in a coal mine in the mountains but the coal dust was damaging to his lungs. He finally left the mine and came to Chimbote to find healthier employment. However, he did not fare as well as Bazalar and Ramírez because he left the coal mine too late. Since his situation occupies a greater part of the novel than the others, it is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

Unlike the workers and fishermen, who come into direct conflict with Braschi and his machine, the serranos Bazalar, Ramírez, and don Esteban never do. That is, they live on the periphery of the conflict.
They, being humble serranos, are more concerned with day to day existence: they live from the expanding economy; they struggle with their environment; and they help their neighbors. They do not have time for economic polemics, but they are in a very real sense involved in another struggle which is more subtle and personal: the struggle for the minds of men.

Into Chimbote many religious groups had come, both Catholic and Protestant, most of them from the United States. They had come to work among the poor and teach the Gospel. But to the author (who had suffered in his childhood at the religious boarding school) this religious message was an intrusion, an imposition of foreign influences on indigenous culture and thinking, a subtle means of stifling freedom by inducing the destitute to accept their sufferings rather than to rebel against them.

In the novel, this influence is represented primarily by the North American priest, Father Cardozo, who was very influential in Chimbote. He had maintained this influence by hanging a picture of "Che" Guevara in his reception room and by preaching revolution, both of which made him popular with the poor. But this was all a front; in reality he was a secret agent of the CIA, a friend of Braschi.

Father Cardozo never came into direct conflict with anybody in the novel; he seemed amiable to all. However, in the last chapter of the novel, he called Maxwell to his office and questioned him about his leaving the Peace Corps, and about renouncing the United States. Maxwell, apparently for moral support, brought along his Peruvian friend Ramírez to the interview. Maxwell confessed to the priest what he had
done as a Peace Corps member: how he had learned to play the charango\(^1\) and how he had traveled many miles through the Andes as a member of a native dancing troupe. He told the North American priest how he became associated with Ramírez in the brick-making trade, and how he was planning to marry a Peruvian.

Maxwell's and Ramírez' interview with the priest was interrupted by a messenger who came from Ramírez' home, a little man who had brought Maxwell his charango and reminded him of another engagement. In the confusion the priest found himself pouring out his sentiments in a sort of mini-sermon in which he censured the excessive power of the United States (his own country) and upheld revolution. The sermon is so convincing that the reader wonders if the priest was really a member of the CIA.

Although most of the characters of the novel accepted Father Cardozo as a true revolutionary, there were at least two who saw through him. One was the solitary launch skipper Hilario Caullama, the Aymara Indian from Lake Titicaca; and the other one was the "loco" Moncada.

The "loco" Moncada was a zambo-mulatto,\(^2\) a native of the coast, an intermittent worker and free lance preacher. On his sane days he worked from the shore helping to pull fish in from the boats. On his "crazy" days he went on preaching sprees, traveling from street corner to street corner dressed in costume. People gathered to listen to him mostly for amusement—his sermons were hard to understand and seemed

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\(^1\)Type of small guitar-like instrument of five strings and sharp tones, used by the Indians of Peru.

\(^2\)A person of Negro, Indian, and Caucasian blood.
incoherent. By most he was regarded as a curiosity. His only friend was an Indian who had migrated from the Andes, don Esteban de la Cruz.

Don Esteban and Moncada first met when the former came to Chimbote. Esteban was a native of the mountainous region of Ancash and, as previously mentioned, had been a worker in the coal mines of that region. When he arrived at Chimbote he was infirm, his lungs clogged with coal dust.

The story of don Esteban and his friendship with Moncada is sufficient for a novel in itself. Esteban was born a serrano Indian, but his father abandoned the family for another woman when Esteban was less than eight years old. He was also later abandoned by his mother and left to work in the plantation of an uncle, a coca plantation where he had to work under adverse circumstances. So oppressive were the conditions that the workers (including Esteban) had to be chained at night to prevent their escape.

However Esteban did finally manage to escape, and made his way to Lima where he worked at various menial tasks and learned the shoe repairing trade. In Lima he ended up as the sexual pawn of a wealthy señora. Weakened spiritually and mentally, if not physically, by this illicit affair, Esteban left Lima, migrated again to the sierra where he found employment in the coal mine.

During his stay at the coal mine he witnessed deaths caused by accidents and lung congestion. Some of the workers who died of coal dust congestion had worked in the mine less years than Esteban, who spent a total of three years there. He was finally dismissed from the mine for insubordination, a blessing in disguise, because his lungs were
slowly being sabotaged by the dust.

He migrated up the valley to a small town where he met an Indian señorita, Jesusa, whom he married. Against the wishes of her boss, a restaurant owner, Esteban took Jesusa away from the town to the coast, to Chimbote where there were better opportunities and where Esteban found work as a chupetero; that is, selling lollipops from a large tricycle which he pedaled.

However the move to Chimbote did not remove the coal dust from his lungs and he was periodic victim of coughing spells; each one seemed to leave him in a more weakened condition than the one before. Jesusa, Esteban's wife, had a plan to ward off death. She had been converted to evangelism by a North American Protestant missionary and was certain that her husband could save his health by confessing his guilt before the missionary. But Esteban, who was too proud to bend to the yoke of the mine bosses, would not bend to the wishes of his wife.

Esteban's health was not greatly helped either by the location in which he lived. When he and Jesusa first arrived in Chimbote they could afford no more than a little lot near a swamp. There they built their hut of adobe and reeds on mushy ground that had to be reinforced with old cans, bottles, etc. to make a stable floor. The nearby cat-tail swamp, in fact, was as much mud as water and also served as an outlet for sewage.

Their next door neighbor on the swampy shore was the zambo, Moncada. Esteban and Jesusa first became acquainted with him one time after he had fallen ill and had not come out of his house for three days. They fed him and nursed him back to health. From then on Moncada and
Esteban became dear friends. Moncada received inspiration for his sermons from the courage of Esteban who battled not only against death but also against his wife in her efforts to convert him to evangelism. Moncada, in turn, gave Esteban moral support in his battle with his wife.

Don Esteban's lungs did not improve. He was eventually forced to go to the hospital for examination. Two doctors examined him and prescribed that his lungs could not stand the tricycle pedaling he had to do in his work as chupetero. Esteban then went to work as a shoe repairman, a job he could do in his own hut. His wife had a post at the market, and Esteban, from sheer weakness, spend many afternoons there, stretched out sleeping on a bench behind the stand.

Esteban never gave up hope, weighing the coal dust he spit up, trying to expectorate at least five ounces. He received much joy listening to the music of the blind guitarist, Antolín Crispín. One day Esteban saw a little man, smaller than himself, dancing to the blind man's music. He followed him and saw the little man scale the very steep slope of a sand dune and begin dancing on the top. This filled Esteban with such warmth and joy that he later revealed the experience to Moncada. The latter replied implying that not everyone could have seen the little man as Esteban did: "un hombre como uste'y yo vemos" (p. 198).

But in spite of Esteban's persistence he could not rid his lungs of the coal dust, and lost his battle with death, leaving behind Jesusa and two small children. On the night of Esteban's death, Moncada pronounced a speech from one of the wharfs. It was the funeral sermon for
his friend in which the "crazy" preacher brought suit against the universe:

... Moncada pronunciando su discurso funerario, de noche, inmediatamente después de la muerte de don Esteban de la Cruz; el sermón que pronuncia en el muelle de La Caleta, ante decenas de pescadores que juegan a los dados cerca de las escalas por donde bajan a las pancas y chalanías que los llevan a las boli-cheras. ... este sermón funerario en que el zambo "loco" en—juicia al mar y a la tierra. (p. 283)

In the foregoing synopses the action has been carried through beyond the novel; that is, beyond the written narrative. The latter, as before mentioned, is truncated. In his last diary the author indicated how he planned to carry out the destinies of several of his characters had he completed the novel; notably, Tinoco, Orfa, Maxwell, don Esteban de la Cruz, and Moncada. These destinies have been incorporated into the foregoing summaries.
CHAPTER V

CHARACTER PORTRAYAL

Introduction

In Chapter IV the principal characters that appear in the novel were introduced and their individual struggles were followed briefly. As before mentioned Los zorros contains no one central plot as usually found in a traditional novel. Rather the action of the novel is a sampling or cross section of the many lives of this booming coastal port. In this chapter we take a further look at some of those individual lives, attempting to understand better the individual personalities that give rise to the action described in the previous chapter.

In the classic view of characterization, personality and action are inseparable. Writing about the classic view of characterization, Macauley and Lanning quote Henry James' essay "The Art of Fiction" (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948): "What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character?"\(^1\)

Expressed in another way: "Plot, then, is character in action."\(^2\)

To be sure, there is no one plot in Los zorros but there is


action. The action does indeed arise from character, from the character of those who would exploit Chimbote and from those who struggle against them to maintain a better life. Although the costeños and serranos in Chimbote many times differ on what constitutes a "better life" they all seek it. None of them, including the author, have come to Chimbote seeking death. But paradoxically enough many of them end up not with a fuller life, but with death. There is an opposite force at work which goes against life. To understand better this opposition it is necessary to understand the characters or personalities which give rise to it, both those who give rise to life trying to maintain and assert itself as well as those who are exploiting it.

For this reason the characters of Los zorros can be arranged into two groups, those who exploit Chimbote and her citizens and those who try to assert and maintain their lives against this opposition. The inner struggle of Chimbote (the protagonist) is represented by those within Chimbote who try to maintain life and those who exploit it.

In this chapter attention is given first to the antagonists (those who exploit Chimbote) and then to those who are struggling against them. These latter (especially the serrano prostitutes and don Esteban) appear many times to be mere victims of the struggle. In the sections on the serranos and on Moncada of this chapter it is pointed out that don Esteban's role is not this simple, that his role is more than that of a mere victim.

The discussion of Moncada of this chapter is separate from that of the costeños and that of the serranos. Although Moncada is a costeño he has been reserved for a special section because his role in
the novel differs sharply from that of the typical costeño.

Following the passage on Moncada, two mythological characters, the foxes, are discussed. Attention is given to their place in Andean oral tradition and to their roles of intervention in the novel.

El Misti

The term misti is a Quechua term and it means someone of European culture who is more powerful economically than those around him.

In The Singing Mountaineers Ruth Stephan defines the term as follows:

The name given by the Indians to wealthy townspeople of western or European culture. Not only those of the white race are so called, but also mestizos and even Indians. If a man is powerful because of his economic riches and his culture, he is a misti. (Singing Mountaineers, p. 188)

In his first short story "Agua," José María Arguedas describes mistis thus: "Nombre de las personas de las clases dominantes, cualquiera que sea su raza" (Amor mundo, p. 17). The difference between mistis and the common people can also be expressed in terms of attitude.

In Yawar fiesta, his first novel, Arguedas underlines the contrast between the attitude of mistis and the attitude of the Indians toward their environment:

Desde las cumbres bajan cuatro ríos y pasan cerca del pueblo; en las cascadas, el agua blanca grita, pero los mistis no oyen. En las lomadas, en las pampas, en las cumbres, con el viento bajito, flores amarillas bailan, pero los mistis casi no ven. En el amanecer, sobre el cielo frío, tras del filo de las montañas, aparece el sol; entonces las tuyas y las torcazas cantan, sacudiendo sus alitas; las ovejas y los potros corren en el pasto, mientras los mistis duermen, o miran, calculando, la carne de los novillos. . . .

Pero en el corazón de los puquios está llorando y riendo la quebrada, en sus ojos el cielo y el sol están viviendo; en su adentro está cantando la quebrada, con su voz de la mañana, del mediodía, de la tarde, del oscurecer. (Lima: Populibros Peruanos, no date, p. 14)
In *Los zorros* the *mistis*, then, are those who control and help control Chimbote. Chimbote for them is not a place to be lived in but a place to be exploited. That she was once placid and beautiful and is now turbid with the wastes of industry is of little concern:

> Y aquí, en Chimbote, está la bahía más grande que la propia conciencia de Dios, porque es el reflejo del rostro de nuestro señor Jesucristo...

   - ¿Y el reflejo de la cara de Dios, don Angel?

Pero el Perú es ahora el primer país del mundo en pesca. (pp. 111-12)

These last words were spoken by don Angel, the plant manager of the factory and reveal his attitude and that of his superiors. It is a paradox that the exploitation of nature is what has given life to Chimbote. Hungry *serranos* have come to Chimbote to find new life and hope, and industry by exploiting nature has helped them find it.

But some of these *serranos*, in the very process of reestablishment have themselves become *mistis*. It is not merely a change of social station, but especially a change of culture, a change of attitude.

In the sierra, the Indians had inherited an altruistic attitude from the Inca emphasis on community spirit and cooperation, and later from the Spanish missionaries' emphasis on Christianity. But with the advent of modern competitive society, some of them lost contact with their old communities and replaced cooperation with exploitation:

> Yo conocí a un joven abogado indio que durante su vida de estudiante habitó en la caseta de un perro, en el Cuzco. Ahora desuelta a sus hermanos de raza... (pp. 171-72)

Others, while not exploiters themselves, identified themselves with the exploiting class. Federico, the ambitious brother of don Esteban, had become a pastry cook, and rejected his Indian past. He did not
want to be known as an Indian. We see in his behavior another characteristic of the mistis, the emphasis on appearances. When Esteban confronted him for this, he could not look his brother in the eye:

> Encorbatado, con traje elegante, el cocinero parecía visita, parado en medio del patio. . . .
> . . . El cocinero miraba el suelo, sus zapatos muy lustrosos. . . .
> —Tu ojo baila igual que de maricón mierda— le interrumpió don Esteban.— Cocinero pendejo. Manteca en restaurante, chicharra con zapatos lustrados, con falso corbata mierda. (p. 188)

The characteristic emphasis of the mistis on appearances concerns not only manners of dress but modes of behavior as well. Braschi, the chief industrialist who had exploited the fishermen and workers, does not appear as an exploiter, but rather as a friend, as a "buddy" of the fishermen. On the feast of Saint Peter he and his subofficials put on a sumptuous fiesta for the fishermen enthroning a gigantic statue of Saint Peter as their patron. Braschi even came from Lima for the occasion to celebrate and rub elbows with them:

> La última vez que [Braschi] vino fue . . . para entronizar a San Pedro, patrón de los pescadores, en un patio y gruta que mandó hacer a la entrada . . . de su fábrica más grande. Fue una fiesta de órdenes, con dos orquestas. Braschi bebió whisky como con doscientos pescadores. ¿Quién lo iba a diferenciar de un pescador? (p. 120)

He even appeared to be reconciled with Chaucato:

> Con Chaucato se dio un abrazo madre y Chaucato lloró. Es el primer patrón de lancha que tuvo Braschi. (pp. 120-21)

But after the great statue of Saint Peter had been enthroned and when the fiesta had degenerated into an orgy (the industry had brought in prostitutes for the "benefit" of the fishermen) Braschi was conveniently nowhere to be found:
Como a las tres de la mañana, las señoras, damas y damitas, salieron corriendo del gran patio de ciclones de la fábrica donde se hacía el baile porque... trajeron a esa hora, en veinte automóviles, unas cien putas... Braschi ya no estaba. Su avión particular dio una vuelta sobre la fábrica y el muelle, cuando las putas pasaron el límite de la placita del Santo y fueron alcanzados por los borrachos. (p. 121)

Many fishermen and workers could well be impressed by the lavish feast that the industry had given them. At the same time Braschi could maintain his outer respectability by being absent from the dregs of the celebration.

There was one fisherman, however, who was not impressed by the lavish feast, the Indian launch skipper Hilario Caullama. As a matter of fact he did not show up at all. He saw through the appearances and opposed Braschi, a point which will be discussed below.

**Serrano Adaptations**

In the total work of José María Arguedas one of the characteristics which distinguish him from other indigenous writers is the forceful authenticity with which he portrays the serrano. Being psychologically Quechua as a child he is able to give us the interior vision better than any other before him. In his first short stories ("Agua," "Los escoler-s") this interior vision is limited to the villagers and campesinos. Later on, however, in his novels the interior vision is extended to other serrano types and even mistis, such as the terrateniente don Bruno of Todas las sangres. As a matter of fact, Arguedas objected to being called merely an indígena or indigenista writer, because he believed the term was too limiting. In his article "La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú" (Mar del Sur 3, No. 9, 1948-49)
Arguedas says:

... se ha dicho de mis novelas ... que son indigenistas o indias. Y no es cierto. Se trata de novelas en las cuales el Perú andino aparece con todos sus elementos, en su inquietante y confusa realidad humana, de la cual el indio es tan sólo uno de los muchos y distintos personajes. (p. 66)

One might say, expressing the above in a different way, that Arguedas is the author of lo indio rather than el indio. The indigenous spirit is something that penetrates and influences the true serrano whether he be of pure Indian blood, mestizo, or white. Arguedas, especially in his novels, is always very sensitive to the attitude of his characters. It is their psychology rather than their blood lines which establishes them as indios, mestizos, mistis, or any combination of the three. For this reason the brother of Esteban, although of Indian blood, is included in the preceding section on El Misti because of his psychological makeup.

Being psychologically immersed in the serrano as he was, Arguedas not only saw the serrano's problem but experienced it. Thus in Arguedas' writing the plight of the Indian and the serrano appears not as a propagandistic commentary but rather as an underlying intrinsic experience that permeates many of his pages. In Todas las sangres and Los zorros it becomes a search for a better place for the serrano in a world which had been alien to him since the Conquest. It is what Julio Ortega, speaking of Arguedas, calls "posibilidad de morada" (Ortega, p. 80).

A place in society was assured the pre-Columbian Indian under the cooperative nature of the Inca social system. He lost this security of place with the Conquest and the imposition of Western ideas. The
Independence which promised to relieve his sufferings and give him a better place in Peruvian society, did not. It merely supplanted one set of masters for another, many times less understanding than their colonial predecessors:

Mientras el Virreinato era un régimen medioeval y extranjero, la República es formalmente un régimen peruano y liberal. Tiene, por consiguiente, la República deberes que no tenía el Virreinato. A la República le tocaba elevar la condición del indio. Y contrariando este deber, la República ha pauperizado al indio, ha agravado su depresión y ha exasperado a su miseria. . . . La feudalidad criolla se ha comportado, a este respecto, más ávida y más duramente que la feudalidad española. En general, en el "encomendero" español había frecuentemente algunos hábitos nobles de señorío. El "encomendero" criollo tiene todos los defectos del plebeyo y ninguna de las virtudes del hidalgo.3

The above difference was also noticed by José María Arguedas, who is also highly critical of the falseness of the new terrateniente.

He contrasts the old and the new:

... el terrateniente de corazón y mente firmes, heredero de una tradición secular que inspira sus actos y da cimiento a su doctrina; el terrateniente nuevo, tinterillosco y polítiquero, tembloroso, áulico servil de las autoridades. ("La novela y el problema," p. 66)

But even though the new terrateniente may have been false, he was forceful. More and more serranos had to abandon their roots as the terratenientes took over their land:

La República ha significado para los indios la ascensión de una nueva clase dominante que se ha apropiado sistemáticamente de sus tierras. En una raza de costumbre y de alma agrarias, como la raza indígena, este despojo ha constituido una causa de disolución material y moral. (Mariátegui, p. 47)

It is not surprising then, that booming coastal cities like

Chimbote beckoned the displaced *serranos* to a new and what promised to be a better life. As mentioned in the preceding section some of these *serranos* adapted so well to the coastal life, that they became converted to the European culture and became *mestis*. This was the case of Esteban's brother and the young Indian lawyer who fleeced his ethnic brothers.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that most of the *serranos* adapting to an industrial culture would of necessity reject their identity as *serranos*. Most of them did not. There is a difference between adaptation and conversion. *Los zorros* gives us an example of an Aymara Indian from Lake Titicaca who adapted to the fishing trade, became an affluent launch skipper, but who in his attitude never surrendered to European culture, fiercely maintaining his racial identity and love for his people in spite of his advanced social position: Hilario Caullama.

Like others, life was difficult for him in the sierra. He came to the coast and fared well. But he used what he gained to help others. Like Esteban's brother, his social position was raised, and like Esteban's brother he was indigenous, but here the similarity ceases. The two, despite being racially Indian, are completely unalike. Both adapted to the coast but one was converted into an ambitious social climber, the other was not. Caullama used his wealth to help his less fortunate companions and workers in the industry. He fought to raise their standards and even contributed to the union in its fight against Braschi.

When Braschi enthroned the gigantic statue of Saint Peter with the fiesta and orgy described in the last section, Caullama was absent.
But he made his appearance later when one of Braschi's subofficials tried to deduct the cost of the fiesta and orgy from the fishermen's earnings. The subofficial argued that Saint Peter was not the patron of the industrialists, that the large statue had been enthroned for the protection of the fishermen, and therefore they should pay. When he heard this, Caullama stood up in the assembly:

Entonces, en el silencio, don Hilario Caullama avanzó, con paso calmado, de indio que parece algo como que no ha aprendido a andar bien en la ciudad y oficinas. (p. 122)

Caullama advanced to the front of the assembly, stopped, and turned toward the superintendent giving his answer:

Ostí sabes que yo soy como analfabeto. Pero a Hilario no le engaña ni cóndor, ni zorro, ni víbora, ni superintendente. Nuestro Patrón de pescadores es San Pedrito... porque el bulto del santo [de la iglesia local] es chiquito no más, pues sea dicho. A ese otro bulto grandazo que ostí ha mandado hacer comprando de tiienda en Lima, lo ha bautizado, bien, legalmente, el cura parroco; pero en la noche y madrugadas de ese mismo ceremonies ostí y el mismo gran industrial, ojo de águilas, Braschi, ha des-bautizado feo con las putas. ¡Putas no, amigo Superintendente! Putas tienen su lugar señalado en Chimbote. (p. 123)

The foregoing words are revealing in that they contrast Caullama very effectively with his adversary. His superior integrity comes through in force despite his inferiority in Spanish. The superintendent tries to cut him off but is unsuccessful:

¡No! — gritó don Hilario —. Estoy con el uso de las palabras, en nombre del trabajo frente al capital. Tenemos patrón San Pedro consagrado de antiguo por la Santísima Iglesia Católica Romano; está en la iglesia. El bulto con pescadazo falsificado, que el Superintendente ha entronizado... y que las chuchumecas [ putas] han desbautizado, no lo habemos pedido los trabajadores al capital. ¡No pago! Si aquí, en la asamblea hay un sonso pescador descrismado, que pague, pues. (p. 123)

The superintendent, chagrinned by being exposed, backed up and promised to refund to the fishermen what they had coming.
The resemblance of Hilario Caullama to Rendón Willka of Arguedas' preceding novel Todas las sangres, is striking. Rendón Willka is the serrano who has gone away to Lima to be educated and has come back to the sierra to fight for his people. Like Caullama of Los zorros he is somewhat taciturn, distant, all wise, unbribable and quietly fighting the injustices perpetrated against his people. Arguedas seems to be following the romantic tradition in his portrayal of both Willka and Caullama. Both are idealized figures, above any moral defects which characterize most human beings, consequently "flat" figures as the term is often known in literature. But the term "flat" is not necessarily derogatory. In spite of being onesided, Willka of Todas las sangres and his counterpart Caullama of Los zorros give the impression of depth, there is something unfathomable about both of them. Regarding the impression of depth in "flat" characters, E. M. Forster says:

A novel that is at all complex often requires flat people as well as round, and the outcome of their collisions parallels life . . . The case of Dickens is significant. Dickens' people are nearly all flat . . . Nearly every one can be summed up in a sentence, and yet there is this wonderful feeling of human depth. . . . Part of the genius of Dickens is that he does use types and caricatures, people whom we recognize the instant they re-enter; yet achieves effects that are not mechanical and a vision of humanity that is not shallow. . . . his immense success with types suggests that there may be more in flatness than the severer critics admit.4

In contrast to don Hilario are the serrano prostitutes who have also come to Chimbote to find a better life, but have not found it.

Of the three brothels described in the novel, the Indian girls are relegated to the most debased one and earn less than the cholo and white

prostitutes. They have not lost their identity as serranas but have lost much of their human dignity. They are represented in the novel by Paula Melchora, a serrana who has been abused and impregnated by the sex-crazed bully, Tinoco. In the conflict that rages in Chimbote between the exploiters and the exploited, the reader is given a glimpse of one of the exploited in the person of this helpless serrana:

-Picaflor de puta, Tinoco; de candela, de cacana mierda. Yo, yo, Paula Melchora, ¡Madrecita del Carmen! No machorra [infecunda]; preñada pues, de su maldición del Tinoco preñada, yo, ¡Ay cerro arena, de mi corazón su pecho! Asno macho, culebra. (p. 56)

In the face of her helplessness she has very little to fight back. In her prayer for Tinoco's death the reader sees not only her desperation, but also her animistic religion, a religion not unmixed with Christian elements:

Dios, agua, milagro, santa estrella matutina; pez que sales como flecha de la piedra verde, de la cabellera ondulante que juega en la corriente, yerba del río; sombra de la libélula que prende sus ojos grandes en el agua de los remansos; salvajina que cuelga de los árboles al fondo del aire; tierra sangrienta que haces pesada la corriente del río en enero-febrero, que saltas sobre rocas y árboles y dejas tu polvo para siempre en la vida del que te bebe sin saber o sabiendo . . . Cruces santas, de a cinco, de a cuatro, que muera el Tinoco, que se achicharre, que siga detrás de ustedes, que caiga donde van ustedes a quedar, tristes. (p. 82)

Like the serrano prostitutes don Esteban de la Cruz seems to be another victim-figure of the novel. Like them he is an Indian from the sierra who has come to Chimbote with hope for a better life. Esteban has a rather bizarre physical appearance. He is described as "un hombrecito de omóplatos saltados, de ojos hundidos y de pestañas muy gruesas" (p. 72). This is not new in the works of Arguedas. He seems to have a preference for unusual and solitary personalities. Gertrudis
of Todas las sangres is a hunchback who leads a somewhat solitary existence. The upa of Los ríos profundos and Diamantes y pedernales are also solitary and unusual, set off from the main stream of society. The upa of Los ríos profundos is a retarded young woman who is abused by the schoolboys. The one of Diamantes y pedernales is a man, a harpist who is mistreated by the terrateniente of the region. Other solitary figures appear in "Warma Kuyay," "El foreadero," and El Sexto.

As was mentioned previously, Esteban was a victim of exploitation in the sierra, his lungs clogged with coal dust. Upon first encountering him in the novel the reader could easily feel that he is a typical non-hero as found in many contemporary novels. The non-hero is commonly the recipient or victim of the forces around him without any ability to control them or change them. It seems that this is the case of don Esteban when he first appears near a garbage can near the railway tracks of the market:

Don Esteban se puso a toser... sacó de debajo de su camisa una hoja entera de periódico; ... extendió el periódico sobre la basura en pudrición y las moscas azules que danzaban sobre ella; se arrodilló calmadamente, empezó a toser y arrojó un esputo casi completamente negro... Don Esteban tosía casi a ritmo. No podía blasfemar. Cuando en la hoja de periódico fueron lágados muchos escupitajos, los ijares de don Esteban se habían hundido como los de los perros próximos a morir de hambre, pero se soplaban bruscamente, se hinchaban y volvían a pegarse hasta lo más dentro de las costillas y huesos de la cadera. El pecho del hombrecito roncaba como la cuerda del gran tambor que tocan los indios de Ancash, su región nativa. (pp. 155-56)

5"'Upa' (el que no oye)" is a name given by the Indians to "los idiotas o semi-idiotas." Often these persons are believed to be imbued with magical virtues. See José María Arguedas, Diamantes y pedernales, (Lima: Mejía Baja, 1954), pp. 14, 26.

6See Macauley and Lanning, pp. 95-97.
Don Esteban is indeed a victim of the mining industry in the sierra, but although victim he is not a non-hero, a mere consciousness that is subject to the forces around him. It is true that Esteban arrived infirm in Chimbote and his infirmity eventually killed him. But despite this apparently passive role there is some hidden power within don Esteban that is capable of initiating action. And in fact, this hidden power does have influence in the novel.

And despite the fact of his encroaching death, there is a life giving force which seems to spring from him. His hope and courage seem unbounded. He is unshaken in his belief that by coughing up five ounces of coal dust he will be saved: "miraba con verdadera esperanza que la mancha que temblaba sobre la flema grisácea no fuera sangre sino carbón" (p. 156). When his wife chides him for saving the spit-up coal dust he is undaunted: "— ¡Carbón es! Animal, bestia. ¡Carbón es! Si llega a cinco onzas, me salve" (p. 157). His strength of will is so strong that he also resists the unceasing pressure of his wife to confess to the Evangelist. He even knows when his wife is thinking about chiding and has an answer ready before she nags:

— Yo no hablo de me suciedad con el Hermano, jamás, jamás — dijo don Esteban con voz muy débil y cavernosa y como si hubiera escuchado el pensamiento de la mujer —. Con el Señor hablo bien, derecho. (p. 159)

So strong is his will that he overreacts to the nagging of his wife. Instead of a mere reprimand to restrain her he wants to literally kick her down into submission: "Don Esteban alcanzó a estirar la pierna derecha hasta tocar el cuerpo de la señora" (p. 158). He is too weak to kick, to be sure, but he wants to. This is hardly a praiseworthy trait,
but it is indicative of his machismo, a characteristic that the passers-by in the market could not help but notice: "Hay hombres así — dijo uno —. De todo hay en el humano. Chiquitito, pero con traza de hombre" (p. 159).

Esteban shares in his race's belief in magic. His coastal friend Moncada had difficulty persuading him that coughing up five ounces of coal dust would not in reality change the order of the world. An Indian brujo (medicine man), had told a cousin that by getting rid of the foreign dust in his lungs, dust that was sapping his life, he would also be ridding Peru of the foreign dust that was clogging and sapping her life. The cousin relayed the message:

Gringo polaco soborna gobierno, primo. ¡Bota carbón, Esteban, hermanito, día y noche! Pesa bien. ¡Botas de tu pecho cuatro onzas, uno ya'habrás retrucado; botas gringo polaco! Carbón mundo volteas volteando! . . . Volteas carbón mundo; limpio, nada metal gringo queda, bandera piruano. (p. 187)

Esteban was only one of many miners who worked at Cocalón, the mine that was directed by a Polish-North American superintendent. Most of those who had worked there were already dead. In a way Esteban symbolizes these as well as himself. He is in a real sense a martyr symbol for the exploited of Peru, one who is a living witness to that exploitation. In spite of his impending death there is an undying fire that glows in his eyes: "las pestanas hacían sombra en el fuego a muerte que alumbraba en los ojos del hombrecito" (pp. 72-73).

In giving life to his characters, Arguedas throughout his work very often picks out a certain feature and focuses on it, such as a character's eyes. In Los zorros Arguedas concentrates on the black thick eyelashes of don Esteban. They seem to have a certain glow or
transcendent brilliance that symbolize the little man's spirit. They show that Esteban has a moral presence that imposes itself regardless: "La pestaña de usté mira sin que uno mire" (p. 72). The "luz negra" (p. 190) that glistens from his eyelashes is a light because don Esteban by his very existence and death shows the problem of modern Peru. But, paradoxically enough, it is also "dark" because by being exploited he represents the tragedy of modern Peru.

Don Esteban, then, is a paradoxical figure. His situation is hopeless and yet there is an aura of destiny about him. He is familiar with the prophet Isaías, frequently quotes him, and even in the most base circumstances seems to give an Isaïac warning to the society that is exploiting him:

Don Esteban tosió casi a ritmo... Si; a don Esteban le daba coraje ese ronquido de su pobre y chiquito pecho... Dos niños se habían detenido para verlo... se acercaron más al hombre-cito; estaban descalzos. El niño varón sólo tenía una camisa muy sucia que le cubría hasta las rodillas, la mujercita estaba peinada con trenzas; llevaba una falda rosada limpia, pero el monillo era traposo y sucio; la niña tenía las mejillas rosadas y el chico era huesudo de cara, su piel del color mismo de la tierra. Don Esteban oyó el ruido de los niños sobre las hojas secas de maíz, las cáscaras de huevos, la parte crujiente de la basura. Así como estaba, de rodillas, inclinado, casi a cuatro pies, alcanzó a volver la cabeza. Miro a los niños y se alzó un poco. Pudo hablar más claramente: "Y el hombre será homillado - recitó - y el varón será... Reventados serán los ojos de los bandidos; no, hijitos, de los altivos." (pp. 156-57)

El Costeño

The story of Chimbote is not only the story of the Indians who escaped from the sierra to find opportunity on the coast. It is also the story of the non-Quechua, Spanish speaking inhabitants of the coastal regions. In the novel, besides the difference in speech there is the
difference in emotional life. The emotional life of the serranos is felt in terms of other non-human creatures, both living and non-living: plants, animals, streams, and stones. The costeños, the porteños, being raised in a different, urban environment, do not have the intimate share in the emotional life of non-human creatures.

This is well represented by the difference between the two launch skippers, Hilario Caullama and Chaucato. Chimbote is a port crowded with pelicans young and old, seeking whatever they can to eat. Many of them have been driven from their natural feeding grounds in the sea by the fishing industry. In the novel, however, there is one old pelican who daily rides out to sea on the bolichera "Moby Dick" of Hilario Caullama. He knows he will not be chased away:

... el alcatraz "cocho" que, de noche, a la hora de zarpar de las lanchas, volaba despacio, de la playa al borde de la bolicera "Moby Dick" ... Ese alcatraz viejo se posaba "homilde" en la popa y se hacía llevar a alta mar por la "Moby Dick" y nadie, ... lo ahuyentaba. "Llora para adentro", decía del pájaro el gran patrón de la lancha, don Hilario Caullama, oriundo de las orillas del lago Titicaca, hombre aymara, de altura. "Llora para adentro, el pobrilla." (p. 89)

Hilario Caullama knows how the bird feels inside. This is in strong contrast to Chaucato, the launch skipper of the coast, who when he encounters the birds competing with him for the anchovy, reacts with an opposite attitude:

Cuando apareció la fila de alcatraces, [a Chaucato] se le cayó, enrojeciendo, el párpado bajo del ojo, ... "Vagos, despatriados, muertos di’hambre, grandazos", dijo mirando la majestuosa hilera doble y en ángulo cerrado de los pájaros. Empezó a dar órdenes a la tripulación, tranquilo en apariencia, pero con el hígado amargo. (p. 37)

Chaucato, in fact, fits the role of a salty launch skipper much better than his counterpart from the sierra. His language immediately
betrays him:

—¡Hijo de puta! —dijo clarísimamente—. Los alcahuetes del "Gato" ven la cáscara, el forro de los güevos. Cuando te meta los güevos sabrás, entenderás, como las putas. Estás en la mierda del "Gato", ¿no? ¿Y de ahí vienes a hablar aquí, carajo? (p. 35)

This typical language of the man from the coast fills a great part of the first six pages of the narrative, for Chaucato is the first character that one encounters in the fiction. It is a great contrast with the Indian characters of Arguedas' other novels and short stories. The emotional tenderness of the Indian people is lacking. We are indeed in a different psychological environment.

But Arguedas lets us know that there is more to Chaucato than can be seen in his rough exterior. Although none of the characters of the fiction are developed extensively in regard to interior conflict, there are a few in which we have a glimpse of this process. Chaucato is one of them. There is an inner regret that gnaws away at his soul. His habit of frequenting the brothels and his desire to marry a family-type woman clash with one another:

¡Pucha! Le tengo miedo a ella. No me puedo declarar. ¡Tanta puta!, me pesa como plomo en la lengua cuando a ella quiero hablarle. ¿Cómo mierda le hablo? (p. 37)

However this interior conflict is not pursued or developed. As in the case of Tinoco and the other characters whose conflicts we glimpse, most of it is off-stage. Arguedas seems to be giving us the interior conflict of Chimhote and as a consequence neglects that of his human characters. As a result their development is oftentimes weak.

The glimpse of conflict within Chaucato makes him more convincing as a person. He is not a model character by any means (he ends up
inciting the murder of Maxwell), but he has redeeming qualities. These are shown by his resistance to his ex-friend Braschi who has become all-powerful. Not only Chaucato's roughness but also his underlying strength are revealed by his speech:

Ya sabes que voy a escribirle a Braschi, yo mismo. . . . si me quitan la lancha le meto dinamita en el culo. Braschi ya no estará en el Perú, pero ¡carajo! ¡Puta madre! De Chimbote y del Chaucato no se va a olvidar ni cuando esté hablando con el Papa en Roma o con el rey de las putas en el infierno.

(p. 220)

Moncada

Moncada is a costeño, a native of the coast. He is a zambo, a mixture of negro and Indian blood, but he also has some Caucasian blood in his veins, and thus in himself is a representative of the three principal races of Peru. He is one of the two principal costenos appearing in the novel:

Y están, también, dos ciudadanos criollos, porteños, muy contrapuestos: "libre" el uno, Moncada; amoncornado el otro, Chaucato.

(p. 290)

But Moncada was not included in the section on the costeño because his role in the novel is not that of a typical costeño. In fact, his role, as will be shown in this section, is unique.

In his creation of Moncada, Arguedas again shows us his preference for the singular, the bizarre. And as he had done so often before in his work he concentrates on a singular feature in portraying his character:

Era zambo mulato, de nariz perfilada pero sin altura, con las fosas nasales muy abiertas en la base y cerradas hacia arriba en ángulo muy nítido, no como si fueran de carne sino de hueso puro. (p. 65)
On the exterior Moncada is a "crazy" street preacher who travels from corner to corner dressed in costume. One week he dresses as a barefoot fisherman, another week as a Turkish merchant, and still another week as a pregnant woman. His sermons are accompanied by much gesticulation, waving of hands and demonstrations, a sort of one-man moral play with all of Chimbote his stage. But being in the twentieth century, many of his acts have surrealistie elements. His sermons and admonitions many times seem incoherent, his language often dense. But beneath his seemingly incoherent ravings, is an underlying conviction and wisdom which can be felt, if not always understood. As a matter of fact, Moncada is the only character of the narrative fiction who sees the whole picture: "Porque él es el único que ve en conjunto y en lo particular las naturalezas y destinos" (p. 284). Moncada is therefore, by the author's own admission, his mouthpiece in the novel.

But besides his role as messenger, Moncada has another "intra-novel" role which is related to don Esteban. Both Moncada and Esteban have their predecessors in Arguedas' literature in such characters as the upas in Los ríos profundos and Todas las sangres. These are singular, eccentric characters, and are set in isolation against the other characters of their respective novels. Moncada and Esteban are also out-of-the-way personalities, but unlike the former they are not set in complete isolation for they have each other. These two personalities that stand out so, also stand together. It is of significance that one is from the coast and the other from the sierra, and that they have met in a bond of friendship.

Don Esteban with his strengths, defects, and very authentic
manner of speaking, gives one the impression that he could have been a living person whom Arguedas knew in real life. Moncada, on the other hand, has no moral defects. There are indications that he may have had them in the past before the action of the novel begins, because in a symbolic act he buries in the cemetery a little rag doll that resembles himself—perhaps an allusion to his dying to his former self. However in the action of the novel he is an idealized figure. Also, granted that there may be itinerant street preachers in Chimbote, it seems improbable that their sermons would be so profound and so well geared to the author's thinking as those of Moncada.

Before he finished Los zorros Arguedas knew that it would be his last work. It would be his last chance to leave his message with Peru. Being a twentieth-century writer he also knew that he could not directly interfere as a commentator in the narrative fiction without destroying the necessary illusion of reality for the reader. Moncada with his cryptic sermons is a device by which the author could get around this obstacle. He could put forth his theses and at the same time avoid a direct commentary. The message that Moncada gives is above the heads of most Chimboteans of the novel, and also probably above the heads of most readers. This does not mean that it is therefore ineffective, for most readers can feel the message even if they cannot understand it.

Because of Moncada's role as messenger, it is of value to try to penetrate some of his actions and sermons. Admittedly it is impossible to penetrate all of them, but it is worth the effort to penetrate some. The reader's feeling can be strengthened if it is aided by understanding.
In the example mentioned above with the little rag doll, Moncada is preaching as a barefoot fisherman. He refers to himself as "pescador pescado" (p. 69), another indication that he is dead to his former self and now lives for others. The sermon which he gives contrasts his steadfastness and purity of heart not only implicitly with his own past, but also explicitly with the corruption of the society which surrounds him:

Moncada se arrodilló al pie de la cruz, se alzó despacio, ... empezó a predicar. ... "... Y no es la moneda la que me hace disvariar sino mi estrella..."

A cada frase se alejaba de la cruz y volvía, alzando las dos manos. ... "... Toreo; no me cornea ninguna de las tentaciones que hacen rico a Braschi, al comerciante Mohana que quiso ser alcalde. Ahora ya los toros no me embisten; todos han sido toreados." (pp. 65-66)

Many times Moncada cries out in almost raving tones against the injustice which he sees about him. It is impossible to give all the examples. His preoccupation for Peru is very often present: "La muerte en Perú patria es extranjero ... La vida también es extranjero" (p. 165). The preceding is a good example of the dense language that Moncada uses. A possible interpretation of "La muerte ... es extranjero" is that death comes from the outside by foreign exploitation. There is a kind of play on at least two possible meanings of extranjero. Life is also extranjero but not necessarily in the sense that it comes from the outside as does exploitation, but rather that it is not a conocido, a familiar acquaintance, it is lacking in Peru.

The life-death theme is treated more positively in another reference of Moncada, which involves his friend Esteban. It is this
bond of friendship which supplies one and the other with the comfort and courage they both need. Moncada refers to his friend as "Lirio de la muerte—vida que nadie apaga" (p. 200). Esteban will die, but his courageous spirit will live on in Moncada, and in Peru. This little Indian's spirit will not only survive his own death but it will bloom.

Moncada, if not a prophet, certainly has prophet—like qualities in the sense that he cries out, he has the courage to alone speak out against a degenerated society. Like the prophets of the Old Testament he is very often not listened to, is regarded as a "loco" by those who hear him. Nevertheless despite its cryptic language his message comes out with force, and points a way to the future.

_Los Zorros_

The fox figure has been a popular one in western, oriental and indigenous mythology and folklore. Aesop's Fables in which foxes appear are well known to western readers. Outside of Peru, however, little is known of the fox's role in Quechua myths and folklore.

In the second edition of _Poesía y prosa quechua_, a small volume compiled by Francisco Carrillo and José María Arguedas (Lima: Biblioteca Universitaria, 1968) there is a section on "Fábulas Quechuas." The fourteen fables of this section are taken from the mouths of the Quechua people themselves. It is interesting that of the fourteen fables the fox plays a role in eight of them. But in all eight fables the fox ends up by loosing. This is in contrast to Aesop's Fables of occidental culture. In a modern edition of the ancient Greek classic twenty—four fables involving foxes show the fox emerging as the victor.
in ten of these and loosing out in only five. In the nine remaining fables the foxes either give advice, receive it, or in some cases, two foxes advise one another.

A form of the latter (two foxes intercommunicating) although absent in the ill-fated indigenous foxes of modern Peru, can nevertheless be found in the oral literature of ancient Peru. In Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí, one of the oldest works of Peruvian mythology in existence there is related an episode about the encounter between two foxes. In the fifth chapter of that work, a fox coming down from the world-of-above meets another fox coming up from the coastal region:

El que vino de abajo preguntó al otro: "¿Cómo están los de arriba?" "Lo que debe estar bien, está bien — contestó el zorro — sólo un poderoso que . . . (Dioses y hombres, p. 37)

The fox-from-above then goes on to tell the one from below how a powerful man of the sierra was having trouble with his wife. He starts to fill in the details in oral story-telling fashion, but then interrupts his gossip long enough to ask the fox-from-below how things are going in his world.

El que vino de abajo contó otra historia: "Una mujer, hija de un sacro y poderoso jefe, casi ha muerto "por (tener contacto) con un sexo viril (ullo)."

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9 Ibid., p. 37 as corrected by note on p. 271a.
We have the beginning of another interesting story from the world of below, but it is not pursued:

(Pero el relato de cómo esa mujer pudo salvarse es largo y lo escribiremos después; ahora volvamos a continuar lo que íbamos contando) (Dioses y hombres, p. 37)

Then the fox-from-above goes on with his story. After the reader has read a rather long episode from the world of above, he expects to hear the one from the world of below, the gossip about the holy chief's daughter who had almost died from coitus, and of how she could be saved. This story however is not pursued in the rest of Chapter Five, or for that matter, in any of the succeeding chapters of Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí. As a matter of fact the story remains hidden for three and a half centuries until the fox-from-below finally tells it. The daughter of the holy chief who almost dies by having her sex exploited by a male, is Peru symbolized by Chimbote. The story of her suffering and how she may be saved is told by the fox-from-below in El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo, and José María Arguedas records it before he dies.

The evidence for the above interpretation is very strong. In the first chapter of Los zorros the two foxes meet again and refer to their previous meeting "en el cerro Latausaco, de Huarochirí" (p. 60), the same place described in the seventeenth-century work. In Los zorros of Arguedas there is a repeated comparison of Chimbote and her bay as el sexo of a prostitute who had been exploited (p. 53, p. 54). The allegory is reinforced in the person of Orfa, the daughter of an aristocratic hacendado who was dishonored in her own town, fled to Chimbote and ended up as a prostitute (p. 56).
The first chapter of Arguedas' novel is unequivocally told by the fox-from-below, for he interrupts himself on page 60 to comment on his story:

EL ZORRO DE ABAJO: ¿Entiendes bien lo que digo y cuento?
EL ZORRO DE ARRIBA: Confundes un poco las cosas.

It appears that Chapter Two of the novel is also told by the fox-from-below: "Pero esta vez que cuento . . ." (p. 69). There is another aside at the end of Chapter Three: "¿Me oyes?" It is these asides that suggest the possibility that the whole narrative is told by the fox-from-below.

Altogether in the work there are two places where the text is interrupted by a conversation between the foxes. One is at the end of the author's first personal diary which precedes the fiction. The other is very near the end of the first chapter of the fiction. In their conversation at the end of the first diary there is a brief reference to the author's personal situation; then they go on to discuss, in very symbolic and cryptic language, the two cultures of Peru, the indigenous and the European. Near the end of the first chapter of fiction they discuss the inadequacy of the spoken or written word in describing reality. Reality, they agree, can best be expressed by the sights, sounds and other feelings of nature. This is followed by the discussion of their previous encounter "hace dos mil quinientos años" near Huarochirí. Then they talk about their respective worlds, the world of above and the world of below, as they were in the past and as they are now. The conversation is finished by the fox-from-below giving a description of the sights, sounds and smells of Chimbote.
Thus, the appearance of the foxes occurs early in the work and we have no more dialogues between them. However the lack of dialogues for the remainder of the work does not mean that the foxes are absent. They do appear again, but this time as characters in the novel.

In the preceding chapter of this thesis reference was made to don Diego, the apparent visitor from Lima who was introduced as an "inviado especial del señor Braschi" (p. 141). He had apparently come from Braschi to inspect the plant, but his behavior was so strangely buoyant and congenial that it was hard to accept him as a Braschi agent. He is not a Braschi agent, he is not even a human being; he is the fox-from-below:

- Yo soy de toda la costa, arenas, ríos, pueblos, Lima. Ahora soy de arriba y abajo, entiendo de montañas y costa, porque hablo con un hermano que tengo desde antiguo en la sierra. (p. 141)

In Chapter Three of the novel he appears as don Diego under the guise of a human being, but there are strange things about him. Besides unusual physical features such as short legs, slender hands and a wide mouth, there are psychic qualities which make him attractive even to persons like the plant manager, don Angel. Besides his buoyant optimism, he can dance like a top and spreads joy throughout the factory. He calls workers by their first name before being introduced to them. He inspires such confidence that even don Angel finds his tongue loosened and spills out many truths about himself and his superiors that he would not otherwise.

Don Diego, the fox-from-below, also appears again in the last chapter of the fiction. This time it is in the office of the CIA priest,
Father Cardozo. He is the messenger referred to in the preceding chapter of this thesis, who brings Maxwell his charango when the latter is being interviewed by the priest. The messenger seems to be able to get smaller or larger at will, and in his presence the CIA priest also loosens his tongue and censures the excessive power of his own country.

Father Cardozo, like don Angel before in the factory, seems to be acting out of character, and in fact he is, for he is under the influence of the fox.

The fox-from-above also appears in the fiction as a character, but not so often. He is the little man who, dancing on top of a sand dune, beckons the bully Tinoco on to his death. He like don Diego has unusual features such as thin whiskers, mouth larger than usual, and eyes that seem to glow even when they are shut. In fact, the two foxes are very much alike.

The little man who dances to the music of the blind guitarist and whom Esteban meets in the market, is one of the foxes, probably the fox-from-above. The brief words between Esteban and the fox reveal they understand each other at first sight. The little wide-mouthed man (fox) says to Esteban: "Tu nunca triste, ¿no?" Esteban replies: "¡Cierto! Tu nunca vas morir, oy bocón ¿por qué?" (p. 197). In a flash each has caught the spirit of the other: unbounded optimism and immortality.
CHAPTER VI

STRUCTURE AND STYLE OF THE NOVEL

Bipartite Structure: Narration and Biography

In the last two chapters attention has been given to the fictional aspects of Los zorros. But, as was mentioned in the introductory chapter of this study, the author broke the narrative in two places to insert comments on his personal situation. Altogether there are four of these autobiographical "diaries" included in the work; one precedes the novel proper, two are interspersed in it, and one, the "Ultimo Diario" follows it. It is this "Ultimo Diario" in which the author explains how the novel would have ended had he finished it.

This intermixture of narrative fiction with biographical anecdotes is extremely rare, if not unique, in works of literature. The question naturally arises as to why the author did it. In the first diary the author explains that he was going to write about the only thing that attracted him; namely, about the best manner of eliminating himself. He felt that he had to put this preoccupation into written form because: "se me ha dicho hasta la saciedad que si logro escribir recuperaré la sanidad" (p. 12). So immediately at the beginning of the work there is a clash of opposite forces: the desire to live by recovering his health versus the desire to die. This conflict occurs again and again throughout the diaries, and in the end death wins out.
This self-preoccupation of the diaries, however, was to be mixed with other motives:

\[ \text{Voy a tratar de mezclar [el tema del suicidio] y enlazarlo con los motivos elegidos para una novela que, finalmente, decidí bautizarla: "El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo"; también lo mezclaré con todo lo que en tantísimos instantes medité sobre la gente y sobre el Perú. (p. 12)} \]

This mixture, then, takes form in the diaries which are his personal struggle, interspersed in the narrative fiction which is the struggle of Chimbote. The preoccupation for Peru appears in both the diaries and the narrative fiction. While this interspersion has the defect of breaking up the narrative, it is meritorious in that it allows the student a closer view of the creative struggle. For example, as the author's creative powers become more impaired at the end of the novel the narrative becomes less leisurely. The fiction that follows the third diary is in large part like a summary. The reader does not feel a part of any continuing conflict. Any conflict anticipated is cut off by the truncation of the fiction. The non-fictional sections give us the reason: "ya no tengo energía e iluminación para seguir trabajando, es decir, para justificar la vida" (p. 293).

Besides the view of the creative struggle, the interspersing of biographical sections in the narrative is an aid in interpreting the latter. The diaries give us a closer view of the author's attitudes which in turn are an aid in interpreting some of the fictional symbols.

The fictional narrative in itself, aside from the diaries, is difficult to follow. The opening chapter focuses first on Chaucato's situation and then diverges rapidly to include as many as seventeen new characters in only fifteen pages of narrative. The second chapter is
more cohesive because Moncada and then Tinoco are focal points for much of the narration. In the third chapter, however, don Angel gives a resume of so many past events that the reader at times feels he is reading a history-text or newspaper. Again, as in the first chapter, the reader is called upon to remember many new characters and situations that seem to follow one another in rather rapid succession. For the most part, one gets the impression that the author is pressed to cover much ground in a short time. In the fourth chapter, however, the pace becomes more leisurely. The narrative focuses on Esteban and Moncada, the author seems less constrained, lets his characters do their own talking and thinking, and as a result achieves great expression. But as the novel draws to a close the narration again becomes more like a summary and finally is truncated.

On the whole, the fiction is top heavy in exposition. That is, character and conflict development are sketchy and continually give way to more expository material. New situations and characters are still being introduced in the last part of the book. The author himself realized these structural deficiencies. In a letter to the publisher he said that in the last part of the novel never completed, he had hoped to tie together and give fire to the tendencies and characters he had already defined (p. 289). He recognized that he was leaving a "novela algo inconexa que contiene el germen de otra más vasta" (p. 289).

Stylistic Features Typical of Arguedas' Previous Work

The style of Los zorros differs markedly in several respects from that of Arguedas' previous works. There are some stylistic aspects
of the novel, however, which are common to those of Arguedas' previous works.

One of the aspects found in most of Arguedas' novels and short stories is the use of Quechua. As explained in the dissertation of Carole J. C. Rodner (pp. 123-34), Arguedas clarifies the Quechua in various ways such as direct translation, short or lengthy explanations, or at times he uses no explanation, letting the reader infer the meaning of the Quechua from the context. Parallel examples can be found in Los zorros. For example, on page 62 there appears a passage in Quechua spoken by the fox—from above. This is followed by an answer, also in Quechua, by the fox—from below. These two passages are clarified by direct translation in the text. Translations may also be given by parenthesis or foot notes: "¹challway: pez", "²huanay: ave guanera" (p. 58). As in his previous works, Arguedas at times explains a term instead of giving a direct translation:

El pecho del hombrecito roncaba como la cuerda de un wankarcaja reseco y destemplado, es decir, del gran tambor que tocan los indios de Ancash, su región nativa. (p. 156)

Or the term may have to be inferred from the context, no explanation being given:

Cuando en la hoja de periódico fueron lagiados muchos escupitajos, los ijares de don Esteban se habían hundido . . . (p. 156)

Another characteristic of Arguedas' work besides the use of Quechua is the use of the special Spanish or castellano quechuizado that he created. This language is the incorporation of Quechua syntactic elements into Spanish. It is very prevalent in his early stories and Yawar Fiesta. In Los zorros, which he wrote after being more than
thirty years in the coastal world, it is less prevalent. From time to
time however it does occur in the speech of the serranos:

Me compadre es complacencia. . . . Yo bravo "homilde",
el soberbio. . . . ¡Arriba profeta Esaís, abajo marécón
David que llorando llorabas! (p. 161)

In the above example can be seen several characteristics which
are typical of this new language: short phrases, ellipses, vowel changes,
the use of nouns for adjectives, and the use of the gerund.

A trait very strong in most of Arguedas' production is the use
of lyricism. It is strong in all of his novels except El Sexto and
Los zorros, novels which take place in a non-sierra ambient. The nar­
ratron of Los zorros is for the most part prosaic, the natural surround­
ings conducive to lyricism are absent. However on a few occasions we
do get a glimpse of poetic tone in the psychology of the serrano charac­
ters, as in this interior dialogue of don Esteban:

Al hondo del quebrada, peligrosé, bullando fuerte,
corría el río, que dicen, mayu, . . . al mayu, pa'arriba,
agua crestalino, claro, como el espejo era; del mayu pa'abajo,
carbón salta saltando negreado las piedras... (pp. 162-63)

It is in some of the diaries, however, that the lyricism of Los
zorros is the strongest. These seem to be written at a more relaxed
pace than the narrative fiction. The author in the diaries seems less
pressed to cover material. He is more spontaneous, and at times
expresses himself in the poetic tone characteristic of his previous
works:

Las cascadas de agua del Perú . . . resbalan sobre abismos
. . . existen por causa de esas montañas escarpadísimas que
se ordenan caprichosamente en quebradas tan hondas como la
muerte y nunca más fieras de vida. (p. 13)
New Stylistic Features for Arguedas

One of the techniques of modern fiction is to break up the chronology of the narrative. Arguedas does this significantly for the first time in Los zorros. He was experimenting in this work with this new novelistic technique. For example, in the opening chapter he first presents Chaucato's fishing expedition and then follows it with the description of events in a brothel the night before. In this description Maxwell celebrates his leaving the Peace Corps by dancing in the brothel, but escapes from the brothel before being trapped by a prostitute. The author then goes on to other chapters and other episodes. Near the end of the novel, 186 pages later, he again returns to that same night to retell Maxwell's experience in the brothel. The second telling however is from a slightly different perspective. In the first chapter the events unroll from a more detached omniscient point-of-view. In the second telling of the last section, the narration although still in the third person, is told more from Maxwell's point-of-view. Another rupture of chronology occurs at the beginning of the fourth chapter when the narrative focuses on don Esteban. Here again is the retelling of an event that occurred in the narration eighty-three pages before when Moncada recognized his friend briefly in the market.

The breaking of chronology makes following the novel difficult. The reader is snatched away from any movement he may be immersed in, and he must then readjust. Unless his memory is exceptional, he must thumb back to the first telling and reestablish a background for the subsequent telling. This is especially true in this novel because so many new characters and situations have intervened.
The chronological ruptures do have an advantage however in that they enable the author to enlarge the narrative field. He is not restricted by chronology. He can follow the destiny of more than one or a few characters. In a multiple protagonist as in this work it gives a more complete picture, but it also requires more work on the part of the reader.

Besides the sudden chronological ruptures, are two reminiscent episodes that stand out in the work. One is the retelling of past events, in more or less summary form, by don Angel in the factory. The other episode is the reminiscing of don Esteban in the fourth chapter when he thinks about his own past. Reminiscences when they are extensive, as these are, also break the chronology. They transport the reader from the main time of the novel to past time, but they are less disconcerting for he has the framework of the character in which to orient himself.

One of the most interesting chapters of the novel is the fourth. It very effectively portrays the character of don Esteban by use of the "flow-of-consciousness" technique. In the first part of the chapter Moncada and don Esteban are objectively described. This includes Esteban's coughing spell and the argument he has with his wife in the market. Exhausted, he lies down, and in a state of semi-consciousness, begins reminiscing about his friend Moncada. The narrator then concedes the floor to Esteban, and the latter, in his half-asleep state, becomes the narrator in a long interior monologue, a monologue which includes dialogues from the past. In these remembered dialogues we hear Esteban relating to Moncada his previous adventures and misfortunes in the
sierra. Thus we have a kind of double memory—a past within another past, which becomes vivid to us because of the immediacy of Esteban's interior monologue. The immediacy, in turn, is due in great part to the realistic use of language:

Salvare' escopiendo hasta so final el carbón que hay taconeado en me pulmón. Entonces, papacito Esaías, ya me boca no hablará sapo, culebra, . . . en de noche no le haré suciedad hasta cayer. . . . al basuras. ¡Caracho! Lindo se habla, en silencio, con el pensamiento, como el Dios. Igual. (p. 161)

The use of this technique provides contrast; that is, there is a contrast between the objective reality of don Esteban (who is on the road to death) and what he is thinking. The objective reality is presented to us through the point of view of an omniscient narrator. What don Esteban is thinking, on the other hand, is presented through another point of view, that of an interior monologue, which, because of its immediacy, makes the hopes and ideals of Esteban even more real for us than the sad circumstances of his physical reality.

Integration of "Lo Mágico" in Daily Events

Magic elements are not new with Los zorros. They are part of all of Arguedas' work, for they are part of the Quechua universe. An exception to this is found in some of his latter stories and the prison life of El Sexto where we are hit with stark realism. In Los ríos profundos magic forms a very important element, because it is part of the central character whose religion is Quechua animism. In Los zorros this animism seems less frequent. The ambient has changed but we get glimpses of it as in the prayer of Paula Melchora, quoted previously.

However if animism with its lyrical overtones seems less
frequent in Los zorros it is nevertheless present in another way. It presents itself as part of reality in the person of the foxes. The fact that don Diego can easily be mistaken for a human being on the first reading of Los zorros is proof, not that magic is absent, but that it can be skillfully disguised. To understand better this fusion of magic and reality it would be well first to take a brief look at the realism that is found in the novel.

Los zorros is in great part realistic in the sense that there is much preoccupation throughout the work with the harsh reality of daily life in Chimbote. This realism may be presented in summary form as when the plant manager, don Angel, discusses the invasions of serranos into the port, but it is most effective when it is presented in the form of detailed descriptions. Arguedas throughout all of his work, displays great talent for this style. He likes to pick out small but significant details and bring them to life. In Los zorros a good example is the description of the spittle that don Esteban has coughed up:

Esteban empezó a toser y arrojó un esputo casi completamente negro. En la superficie de la flema el polvo de carbón intensificaba a la luz su aciago color, parecía como aprisionada, se movía, pretendía desprenderse de la flema en que estaba fundido. (pp. 155-56)

Another example is the description of don Diego when he first presents himself in the factory office:

Don Angel observó que el sujeto ... usaba una chaqueta sumamente moderna, larga, casi alevitada y de botones dorados. El sujeto tenía en la mano una gorra gris jaspeada que don Angel había visto usar a los mineros de Cerro de Pasco. (p. 103)

The above description of don Diego's dress is convincing, and becomes even more real to us when the golden buttons and jacket shine
with brilliance under the overhead office light:

... pero vio que en la levita del visitante ondulaba y jugaba sobre los botones dorados una luz jaspeada. (p. 115)

Verdaderamente como la superficie de esos gusanos afelpados, tornasoles, cuyos casi invisibles pelos se mueven uno a uno, despidiendo resplandor a pleno sol como si el día fuera noche, así el gorro del visitante y los botones de su leva, a la luz potente del foco ultramoderno de la oficina, seguían trasmitiendo movimiento y colores, como seres vivos. (p. 116)

Realism is achieved by the pains the author takes to describe the way the light "reflects" from don Diego's apparel. It is so convincing that we accept it. The light is not pure reflection, however, for it has its own inner glow that comes from don Diego, a mythological being. But physical reality and magic have been described on the same level. We have been transported into the world of "magical realism" without being aware of it.¹

And so later when don Diego's shoe straps become transparent, when he dances like a top in don Angel's office and later in the factory, his mouth exhaling a bluish vapor, we accept it. We have been conditioned by detailed descriptions of daily existence in Chimbote in the first two chapters. This tone continues in the third chapter, but magical elements are subtly introduced into the prosaic descriptions to place us unknowingly on a different level of reality.

In none of Arguedas' previous works has the integration of magic and physical reality been so complete as in Los zorros. Even in the animism of Los ríos profundos and the transmutation of spirit from

¹"Magical realism" is a term first created by the German art critic, Franz Roh, and later applied to literary styles which amalgamate photographic realism and fantasy. See Angel Flores, "Magical Realism in Spanish American Fiction," Hispania 38 (May 1955): 187-92.
one dancer to another when the former falls dead in "La agonia de Rasu Niti," has the magic been so convincing. In the former works the magic can be immediately detected by the reader. In Los zorros the unsuspecting reader can fail to detect it.

What Arguedas has done then, in this fusion, is to remove the limits of physical environment. Magic is an integral part of the indigenous world and we become part of this world. He has given us a deeper vision of reality.
CHAPTER VII

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Reasons for Writing

The therapeutic reason for the diaries was given in the last chapter. The author did not know whether the diaries would ever be published or not, but he had to write. It was only by writing that he would regain his health. In 1968, when he began the first diary, he was on the threshold of suicide because "nuevamente, me siento incapaz de luchar bien, de trabajar bien" (p. 11). But at this point his desire to live was stronger than his desire to die. Otherwise he would have committed suicide at that time.

He did not. Instead he tried to break through the crisis with his pen: "No es una desgracia luchar contra la muerte escribiendo" (p. 26). By writing about his ills perhaps he could cure them. By writing about Peru's ills perhaps he could indicate a way to their eventual cure. As the diaries progressed however his own cure became more distant. He felt his own death approaching: "Veó ahora que los diarios fueron impulsados por la progresión de la muerte" (p. 289). But his own death did not have to cut off his message. He was anxious that the incomplete novel he published, not for the profit, but rather to allow his message to survive. Profit for him had never been a driving force:

Escribimos por amor, por goce y por necesidad, no por oficio.
Eso de planear una novela pensando en que con su venta se ha de ganar honorarios, me parece cosa de gente muy metida en las especializaciones. Yo vivo para escribir. (pp. 25-26)

Arguedas' work, then, was his life. And in the face of his own encroaching death he struggled that his work would survive. He wanted to affirm his own life in this work, and in the continued life of Peru.

**Symbolism**

In the letter in which he turned over the manuscript of *Los zorros* to the publisher, Arguedas mentioned the symbolism of the work, a symbolism which he had planned to develop further: "símbolos apenas esbozados que empezaban a mostrar su entraña han quedado detenidos" (p. 289). In spite of this, however, it is possible to interpret some of the symbols.

Among the most simple symbolic forms, easiest of interpretation, are the animal likenesses of various characters of the novel. Chaucato, the launch skipper, is compared to a wolf (pp. 63, 113, 219) and Tinoco, the prostitute abuser, is compared to a male ass (p. 56). Braschi, "ojo del capital" because of his lofty position and his all-seeing control, is compared to an eagle (p. 138). The exploited barrriada serranos are compared to a dying Onquaray onquaray insect (pp. 107-8). *Onquaray onquaray* in Quechua means "Enfermedad de enfermedad" (p. 107). The rather obese don Angel "valgan verdades, tenía una cabeza como de cerdo" (p. 109). Describing his zambo friend Moncada, don Esteban says: "¡Me compadre . . . lindo! Mariposa mensajero. ¡Cierto! Mariposa negro hay" (p. 183), a reference which well fits his role.

Don Diego and his brother, of course, have fox-like characteristics because they are, in fact, mythological foxes. They are indigenous
spirits that represent the coast, "el mundo de abajo," and the sierra, "el mundo de arriba," but antedate the Conquest, for they are immortal.

Besides the rather direct metaphorical connotation of these appellations, there are of course, the more sophisticated symbols. For example, the deformation of reality presented in the street scenes of Moncada's preaching and acting out roles frustrates the reader because there is a meaning crying out for explanation, but the translation is difficult:

\[...\] se presentó en los mercados de mujer preñada ya próxima a parir. Había mostrado el vientre, la barriga artificial donde tenía encerrado un gatito que lloraba, y el loco Moncada lloraba también: "Su padre lo niega..." E hizo gritar al cachorro de gato. (p. 68)

In the above example with its surrealistic overtones, the presence of symbolism is seen, but its interpretation is difficult. Surrealistic theory maintains that such cloaked symbols are nothing more than conscious manifestations of a deeper underlying reality. Arguedas in this novel often uses Moncada's presentations to symbolize the deeper reality underlying the problem of Peru. The above example is one of these. A clue to possible interpretation may be given by Moncada's own comments about unclaimed, unwanted offspring:

\[...\] los otros barrios de Chimbote están pestilenciados de gatos sin padre, como yo ¡hijito! (p. 68)

- Voy a parir hijo negado — dijo —. Gato sin ojos. El llorar consuelo desconsuelo; aurora sin crecimiento de luz verdadero. (p. 193)

The role of Moncada here is that of a woman left pregnant and defenseless by an exploiter. The child to be born is also useless and defenseless as is a cat without eyes. The denied child ("hijo negado")
and the denied children of the other barrios of Chimbote are part of the children of Peru. Moncada here could well be assuming the role of the suffering motherland (la patria) exploited by foreign interests while her children are left desolate. The "aurora sin crecimiento de luz verdadero" seems to refer to a kind of defective birth. The image could be one of a Peru with a potential that could be realized to the benefit of her people, but which is being exploited by outsiders and by opportunists such as Braschi.

Other metaphors, easier of interpretation, are also used to symbolize this exploitation theme. In Chapters IV and V of this study the comparison of Chimbote to a prostitute, was noted. Actually the exploitation of and in Chimbote takes place at various levels. The sea is exploited of its fish by the fishermen. These, in turn, are exploited by the industry and by the prostitutes. The prostitutes themselves are exploited by such men as Tinoco and the putaneros, who in turn, must yield a certain percentage to the Braschi controlled "mafia." The exploitation within Chimbote and of Chimbote is an example of the general exploitation of Peru.

As in previous works, Arguedas makes use of leitmotivs in Los zorros. The black, glistening eyelashes of don Esteban have already been discussed. In Los zorros, however, the most recurrent leitmotiv is the column of rose-colored smoke pouring forth from the government steel mill. Its first occurrence is before the fiction opens in a conversation between the foxes at the end of the first diary: "El hierro bota humo, sangrecita, hace arder el seso, también el testículo" (p. 32). In Chapter Three of the novel the author indicates an interpretation.
He associates the rose-colored smoke with labor. The following is significant because it occurs at the end of section:

... ese homo de la Fundición parece como el aliento de Chimbote. Pesa, tiene color rosado, garraspiento, que alumbras — dijo don Diego, volviéndose hacia la fila de los obreros...  
— Quién sabe, don — contestó la misma voz [del obrero] que se refirió al trabajito y la alegría. (p. 147)

Altogether this leitmotiv occurs at least twelve times throughout the work. Its last appearance is in the last section of the novel in a conversation between a Petuvian student and a North American priest who is more sympathetic to Peru than Father Cardozo. The student is leaving for Cuzco:

— Vea, padre Federico... la Fundición es la esperanza, ¿no? Ese humo de color rosado que no le hace caso a la oscuridad.
— Vaya al Cuzco, así, en ese ánimo. (p. 235)

Theses

One of the messages that can be induced from the novel is the condemnation of exploitation. The author does not condemn North Americans as individuals, for he gives favorable treatment to Maxwell who has left the Peace Corps, and to the North American priest, Father Federico, who is sympathetic to Peru. However those who exploit the people even though they be Peruvians (Braschi, don Angel) are given unfavorable treatment.

By his constant use of the rose-colored smoke pouring forth from the steel mill, and its association with labor, the author seems to be placing faith in labor as a saving force. The steel mill also, of itself, symbolizes industrial output. Because of his socialistic
position one can safely assume that Arguedas proposes industrial output in the hands of labor as a hope for the future.

He does this however not without pain. He knows that industrial output means a certain exploitation of the natural world which he loved. He seems to recognize this fact in his one negative reference to his favorite leitmotiv: "El humo rosado de la Fundición seguía 'meando' al cielo" (p. 217). Again his indigenous formation as a child and his adult education in the coastal world are in conflict within. His life long love of nature suffers when confronted with the practical exigencies of the future.

As explained in the section "Reasons for Writing" above, Arguedas believed that the novelist has a moral responsibility as a writer. In Los zorros this responsibility involved leaving to posterity the vision of Peru that he had. He chose Chimbote as the stage and the fox-from-below helped him tell his story. The story, though incomplete, is a vision of Peru as it is today and as he hoped it to be in the future. Since he was dealing with spiritual and prophetic values he believed they could most effectively be presented through the magic realism of the foxes. These foxes are the symbols of the two Perus. The fact that there are two Perus is one of the basic problems of the novel. They have mutual interests and must be reconciled.

Reconciliation, of course, implies change but not complete change. What is essential for the survival of each of the two Perus will survive. The two fox spirits will survive in a changed Peru. That is, the foxes are not going to change, they will be foxes forever, but external forms will change. The Indians, zambos, and mestizos are
descendents of the Incas, but do not live like the Incas in external things, but indeed they do in certain values such as their sense of community, and animism. In the future they will live under other circumstances which we cannot foresee, but their values will survive.

Value of the Work

As was discussed in the last chapter of this study, the novelistic structure is poor, being top-heavy in expository material. That the narrative fiction as a whole is poorly constructed, however, does not mean that art is absent. Although much of the work shows haste, the author has achieved great expression in parts of the novel. His use of the "stream-of-consciousness" technique plus his understanding of indigenous psychology and authentic use of language has made Chapter Four a true work of art.

Besides the artistic value of some of its parts, the novel does have practical value in that it documents the life of Chimbote that Arguedas knew. The fishing scenes and market scenes have an eye-witness authenticity. The psychology of the barrio immigrants is also authentically represented. This authenticity, presented through the author's vision, documents the suffering of modern Peru, and thus gives the novel value as an instrument of social reform.

The diaries are a document of the author. They enable a deeper penetration not only into his later struggles but also into earlier phases of his life. Much of the material incorporated into the biographical chapter of this study, was taken from the diaries. They will provide an important source for future biographical study of this great Peruvian ethnologist, folklorist, and writer.
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Dissertations
