Beyond the Aesthetics and Social Contextualisation of José Hernández's Martín Fierro:

An Unmasking of the Myth of the Literary Creator and the Literary Creation

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University

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This thesis is an original work by Michelle Shirley Almirón undertaken in the pursuit of the Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University submitted on June 2017.

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Like any other person, I am the sum of all my interactions with people and the world. What I bring to this dissertation is a deep love of story and literature and a restlessness of spirit (perhaps as a consequence of being a child of migrant parents). As part of the very small contingent of the Argentine diaspora in Australia, I needed to understand the reasons for the familial uprooting from its origins before I could fully bond with my birth country and my 'Australianess'. The outcome is this thesis. With both intellectual and intuitive understanding, I found a wholeness of being and the realization that Melbourne is my home.

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ABSTRACT

Martín Fierro by José Hernández has enjoyed much success since its publication in 1872: first, as the popular gaucho poem that excited the rural inhabitants of a newly formed Argentina and launched the literary and political career of its author; second, (from 1913 on) as a literary juggernaut that successive generations of Argentine writers have returned to again and again - to find the essence of '*Argentinity*'[1], to align their literary career with the gaucho poem or to rail against its central position in the nation's literary landscape. Such has been the reaction to the gaucho poem that many literary commentators and critics have struggled with the question of 'How do you solve a literary problem like Martín Fierro?'

Pierre Bourdieu's The Rules of Art provides a critical and complete approach to literary criticism that moves away from the paradigm of literary and social readings of texts that have dominated the discipline. It provides a multi-layered and organic sociological approach to understanding the literary classics of a nation as well as the national literary canons that seem to rise up from literary fields both slowly and spontaneously.

This dissertation endeavours to clarify the principles for the study of literature using the sociological tools and analysis of literary texts and fields espoused by Bourdieu in The Rules of Art in order to apply it to the case study of Hernández's gaucho poem and the literary field of the Argentine nation during the period of nation formation.

[1] A vulgar translation of 'argentinidad' – a short hand word to emcompass the essence of the Argentine nation.

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CHAPTER 1

Beyond Aesthetics and Social Contextualisation

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Revista Noticias de la Semana is a weekly magazine publishing in-depth articles on current affairs in Argentina. In June 2011, it published a series of critical pieces detailing President Kirchner's political branding which the editorial classified as the 'K-discourse'; a discourse that, according to the editors, had been manufactured. In its editorial, the magazine identified Beatriz Sarlo – a well-known and well-regarded literary academic in the country[2] – as the person most terrifying to the Kirchner Administration[3]. The editorial identified Sarlo as the most qualified person to decipher the 'K-discourse' that when broken down revealed the Government's attempt to co-opt the narrative of the mothers and grandmothers of Plaza de Mayo's fight against the state-sanctioned terrorism exercised by the military junta in the decades of the 1970s and early 1980s. In co-opting this narrative through their 'K-discourse' the government merged it with their own political branding in order to justify the government's positioning as a victim of the media, foreign agencies (such as the International Monetary Fund) and corporations. In the same magazine, in an article that Sarlo titles, 'History does not have an owner' (La Historia no tiene dueño'), Sarlo argues that this alliance with the grandmothers and mothers of Plaza de Mayo allowed the Kirchner administration to appropriate the discourse that utilized the recent and

[2] Sarlo has published many books on Argentine literary criticism including Scenes from Postmodern Life (2001), Borges: A Writer on the Edge (2007) and The Technical Imagination: Argentina's Modern Dreams (2007).
[3] Santamarina, Silvio. "Se Rompe El Relato." Revista Noticias de la Semana (18 June 2011): 13.

wounded memory of a nation (the memory of the disappeared generation, children of the grandmothers and mothers of Plaza de Mayo) and fuse it with the administration's political agenda in order to occupy the same space of victimhood occupied by Plaza de Mayo movement of protest. It allowed the administration to align itself with this memory/history of victimhood which innoculated it from genuine political criticism. This, according to the Sarlo, allowed for the justification of many political initiatives of a dubious nature[4].

Whether or not these literary efforts in a political arena were justified and whether or not Sarlo was correct in her criticism is not the focus of this thesis. What is relevant to this dissertation is the idea posited in the editorial that the most dangerous person in the national social space could be a literary academic. On first consideration, this idea seems fanciful, even absurd. But, what is intriguing is the idea that the tools of literary criticism can be used to reveal what is hidden. That is, how stories (which include memory, history and fiction) can appear in the cultural and political space as if borne from a vacuum and how literary criticism can be used to reveal the undercurrents that support their existence. This thesis focusses on literature. Particularly, how a literary canon was manufactured in Argentina using Martín Fierro as the starting point. The example from Revista Noticias de la Semana provides a neat illustration on how literary criticism can break down how a story came to be, or in the case of this thesis, how the gaucho poem was utilized in the making of the Argentine literary canon.

Much is hidden when a literary text is identified as part of a canon, or of being a work of genius, or of representing a society. It buries the manufacturing

[4] Sarlo, Beatriz. "La Historia No Tiene Dueño." Revista Noticias de la Semana (18 June 2011): 109.

process that goes into creating cultural value. As Pascale Casanova explains in The World Republic of Letters (1999), a literary work is considered a single unit by academia, separate from everything, almost as if it is a manifestation of a "random succession of singularities"[5]

Although, literary criticism has provided us with tools to decipher coding and subtext, temporality and ahistoricity, metonymy and metaphor, there are still many devices, not fully explored, that can assist the literary scholar in this process of uncovering. This is the subject of this dissertation. In these pages, it is hoped that a small but meaningful contribution is made in furthering the knowledge about how literary value is manufactured by using the sociological/literary tools set out by Pierre Bourdieu in The Rules of Art (2006) and applying them to the literary text that is considered to most exemplify the Argentine nation, José Hernández's titled Martín Fierro (1872) and La Vuelta del Martín Fierro (1879). This application will endeavour to solve the literary problem that Martín Fierro has become as successive generations have layered it with their own meaning as sanctioned by the literary gatekeepers, critics and educators of their time.

This thesis has two aims. One is to extract a set of principles from Pierre Bourdieu's The Rules of Art in order to provide a methodology for the study of literature that moves beyond the dichotomy of literary readings versus social readings of texts. The other is to apply this methodology to the literary case study of José Hernández's famed gaucho poem in order to solve the literary problem of Martín Fierro.

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[5] Casanova, Pascale. The World Republic of Letters (Massacheusetts, Harvard University Press, 2004): 2.

There is a clear movement in Bourdieu's work towards reconciling the opposite camps existent within the literary field. The range of sociological tools Bourdieu offers (the field of power, the literary field, *habitus*, author-positioning, space of possibles, the *illusio* and social misrecognition) allow for an in depth understanding of how literature is made. The sociological tools are robust enough to reveal the agenda behind literary actions and to uncover the production process that has gone into generating literary value. They are also flexible enough to consider the thematic, aesthetic, ideological and dissemination choices authors have made in order to produce their work and to place these choices in the original circumstances with the field of power (economic, historical and political forces), the literary field (the space of possibles[6] available to the author at the point of entry into the field and during the trajectory of their career) and the social misrecognition at play that allowed for the manufacture of value of the literary work or *illusio*[7].

Martín Fierro is the perfect vehicle to test Bourdieu's method of literary analysis. It is the text most studied, adapted, copied and retold in Argentina. The poem about a gaucho that becomes an outlaw because he refuses to obey a government that mistreats him has become the text that holds the memory, identity and will of a nation. It is a text that Argentine literary scholars and intellectuals return to again and again either to tear down from its privileged position in the national literary realm or reposition at its centre. How does such a text move from being a popular vehicle for dissent and entertainment for the *pulperías* (local publicans) that existed in the rural outskirts to being the poem

[6] A term found in Bourdieu's work that will be further explained in Chapter 2 which will be revisited again in Chapter 4.

[7] Another bourdieuian term that will be further explained in section 2.7.

every well-regarded Argentine writer feels the need to tackle in order to assert their position in the field?

1.2 SCOPE OF DISSERTATION

In order to put into practice Bourdieu's methodology, this thesis will undertake research in several areas.

Historically, it will cover the Argentine literary field from its emerging stage during the nineteenth century to its more established period in the early to the middle of the twentieth century. It will begin with the declaration of independence from Spain in 1810 and conclude with a review of the body of criticism written by Jorge Luis Borges about the gauchesco and the poem Martín Fierro in the 1940s and 1950s.

Geographically, it will focus on the Rio de la Plata and La Pampa regions (see maps in section 3.1 for further clarity) that includes the capital and province of Buenos Aires. It will concentrate on the main actors in the field of power and the literary field throughout the decades mentioned. The gauchesco, the literary movement to which Martín Fierro is attached, came from this particular region. This literary movement had not only its own specific form and genre, but also its own political associations and ideology and outlook known to the region.

Literarily, this dissertation will endeavor to explore the factors that had an effect not only on the production of Martín Fierro, but also on the author and the evolution of the Argentine literary field. In limiting the scope of this dissertation in this manner (historically, geographically and literarily) will allow for a comprehensive testing of the methodology set out by Bourdieu.

1.3 THESIS RATIONALE

This thesis contributes to the scholarly knowledge in the discipline of literary studies by building on previous modes of literary theory through the extrapolation of the ideas expressed in Pierre Bourdieu's The Rules of Art. Bourdieu's theories have been used to analyse artistic practice and cultural production. His ideas have also been used to construct our understanding about how literariness may be manufactured and measured. His theoretical understanding of literary criticism has been extended by scholars such as Pascale Cassanova who have made inroads into the understanding of literature beyond borders. Yet there are few examples of a complete application of Bourdieu's literary principles to an entire national social space outside of Europe spanning several decades.

In addition, in contrast to Bourdieu's example, which is an exemplar analysis of Flaubert in The Rules of Art, this thesis is important because it traces the genesis of a literary field before it reaches a state of autonomy. When Flaubert wrote Sentimental Education, Bourdieu posits that the literary field had started to enter its autonomous stage. In the example of Martín Fierro, the literary field was in an emerging state (this will be further discussed in Chapter 4).

This dissertation also makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the Argentine literary field and the study of Martín Fierro because although many scholars have contributed to this area. Martín Fierro and the Argentine literary field have not hitherto been viewed through the prism of Bourdieu extensively. Applying this new mode of literary analysis to Martin Fierro, considered the foundational literary text of the Argentine literary canon, will allow for a thorough exploration of how the text was first conceived not only by the author but by a newly formed national social space and an emerging

literary field. It will, hopefully, provide clarity in a crowded area of scholarly research. It will also reveal what interests drove the poem to be reviewed and critiqued by so many commentators, especially after the turn of the century.

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

This dissertation uses a qualitative approach to first understanding and distilling Bourdieu's key concepts and then, uses each of these concepts in their own separate chapter to discuss Hernández's Martín Fierro. This dissertation will utilize what John Speller refers to as 'discursive indicators' in Bourdieu and Literature (2011). That is, the review and evalution of primary sources such as letters and correspondence, articles written by the actors in question, literary works and the manner of distribution and communication of literary texts *inter alia.* It will also point out any patterns or relationships between these and the historical, political and social events which surround them.

Chapter 2, will outline the last two hundred years of literary theory in order to temporally and culturally contextualize Bourdieu's outlook on literature. It will also focus on exploring how Bourdieu understands cultural production and literature and organizes it into a comprehensive working framework for the study of literature. The possible limitations of Bourdieu's approach to literary criticism will also be evaluated in order to ensure an agile approach to the study of literature.

Chapter 3 will be the first section to deal with the Argentine example. It will attempt to discover the field of power that was in effect from independence in 1810 to the 1940s and 1950s. The field of power will be limited to the Rio de la Plata and La Pampa region where the *gauchesco* genre first originated. This chapter will consider the military, political and economic factors that created the first conditions for an emerging literary field local in form and flavour.

In Chapter 4, the emerging literary field of the Argentine Rio de la Plata region will be explored from the time of independence until the time of publication of the first part of the gaucho poem in 1872. How the space of

literary possibles emerged and was established will be surveyed in order to recreate the literary field, as Hernández would have perceived it during his time.

Chapter 5 will concentrate on discussing Hernández's *habitus* and how this influenced his thematic, stylistic, ideological and dissemination choices when writing the two different parts of Martín Fierro, La Ida and La Vuelta, each published in a different year.

Starting with Leopoldo Lugones and finishing with Jorge Luis Borges, Chapter 6 will continue from the death of the author in 1886 and explore how the gaucho poem was consecrated and re-positioned in the next few decades. This chapter will reveal the social misrecognition at play that ensured the gaucho poem would retain its position in the centre of the Argentine literary field from then until this day.

Chapter 7 will attempt to draw all these threads together in order to provide an extensive response to the question: how do you solve a literary problem like Martín Fierro? Further discussion on the idea of the gaucho poem being a literary problem can be found in section 2.9.

1.5 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation will use several research questions to guide its research outcomes.

The first question will endeavour to answer how a heteronomous literary field is described and measured. In The Rules of Art, Bourdieu focuses on the dynamics of an autonomous literary field since the French literary field he was investigating was already fully formed. Although Bourdieu does provide clues about what to look for when describing a literary field in formation, there is scope to expand this further and understand how it works through the application of these principles to a newly investigated case study. Moreover, because this dissertation will cover nearly fourteen decades of a national social space, there will be scope to observe how the heteronomous field transforms into an autonomous one. Thus, the first research questions will endeavour to understand the creation of an Argentine heteronomous literary field and its slow transformation into an Argentine autonomous literary field.

The second question guiding this dissertation will turn to the author of Martín Fierro, José Hernández. Throughout the decades, many tomes have been written about the life and genius of Hernández to the point where it has obscured his contribution to the literary field. Using Bourdieu's sociological devices such as habitus and space of possibles will allow for an understanding of how the author's background, disposition, feel for the literary game, and reaction to external political, economic and social pressures all informed the literary choices made by Hernández when he published his gaucho poem. The fact that he published the gaucho poem in two parts, the first in 1872 and the second in 1879 when the author had experienced many changes of fortune will provide an ideal

opportunity to track the changes in habitus and opportunities available in the space of possibles.

The third focus of enquiry will extrapolate Bourdieu's work on the *illusio* and the collective misrecognition and endeavor to illuminate Martín Fierro's changing position in the Argentine literary field. By charting the different phases of how the gaucho poem has been regarded by the literary gatekeepers and how it was disseminated to the Argentine public, it will be possible to understand a key difference between the French literary field as Bourdieu found it when analyzing Flaubert and the Argentina literary field of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Where the push towards autonomy led the French literary field to produce a movement known as art for art's sake, the heteronomous literary principle led to the fabrication of a literary *illusio* in order to produce an Argentine national identity. Once this was achieved, the Argentine literary field then moved towards autonomy through a repositioning of the gaucho poem.In understanding this transformation, this thesis will attempt to explain how the gaucho poem began as a simple text of protest for the rural inhabitants in the Argentine provinces (politically opposed to the intellectual movements at play in Buenos Aires) and one that was shared through the oral gaucho tradition of storytelling, move to being the text that became the classic work of Argentine literature that the upper classes in Buenos Aires utilized to demonstrate the nation's cultural maturity.

1.6 CONCLUSION

This dissertation hopes to consolidate the information available on the gaucho poem into a Bourdieuian structure in order to uncover the reasons for its continued literary success. By subjecting the gaucho poem to the Bourdieuian treatment, it is anticipated that a true 'unveiling' (a term Bourdieu refers to in The Rules of Art) of Martín Fierro may occur.

The next chapter will begin by exploring the last two hundred years of literary criticism, the literary sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and how such a new mode of literary understanding may be used to understand Martín Fierro's enduring impact in the Argentine literary field.

Chapter 2

The Rules of Art:
A Novel Approach to Literary Theory and Criticism

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the long history of literary theory, many authors from Oscar Wilde in The Critic as Artist (1891) to Harold Bloom in "An Elegy for the Cannon" in The Western Canon (1994) have put forward the rather contentious idea that literary meaning or value is made after the fact. The last two hundred years of literary theory demonstrates a process of meaning making that has been instrumental to how literature has been perceived and evaluated. Extending this idea, some literary critics have argued that ultimately, this meaning making or value adding has directly contributed to the construction and institutionalization of culture. As already presented in Chapter 1, this understanding is vital to the development of this thesis which will explore the ideas set out by Pierre Bourdieu in The Rules of Art (1996) and how they may be employed to reveal the workings of literary phenomena.

The objectives of this chapter are twofold; one is to outine the breadth of theories that have made up the literary landscape in the last two centuries and the other is to use this foundation of literary criticism to develop a novel approach to literary understanding. Section 2.2 will attempt to provide a summary of modern literary theory and criticism in order to provide worthwhile context necessary for the evaluation of a bourdieuian approach to literary criticism. Section 2.3 will set out the bourdieuian rules regarding the study of literature that will be further expanded in sections 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6. A summary of how these literary tools

will be applied to the gaucho poem and the Argentine literary field will be explored in section 2.7. Section 2.8 will examine the academic critiques the bourdieuian mode of literary analysis has attracted in order to provide a well-balanced perspective on this innovative mode of literary criticism. Finally, section 2.9 will look at the particular literary problem of Martín Fierro, which has been the text that countless critics, reviewers, authors and scholars have returned to again, and to reevaluate and consider throughout the last century and a half.

It should be noted that what will be presented in the next chapters is a very schematic representation of the literary field focusing on Bourdieu's dichotomies. Exploring the often-followed trajectory of literary reading theories and social reading theories in the field of literary studies is what is at the heart of this chapter. What follows is not an exhaustive discussion of literary theory to date, but a strategic classification of literature according to the needs of this dissertation[8].

[8] For a full and detailed history of literary theory, see the third edition of Literary Theory: An Anthology (2017) edited by Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan.

2.2 LITERARY THEORY

The world of literary theory is, of course, a controversial one to navigate. The discipline seems to act as a catchment for academic guerrilla tactics where political values are most fought. The cultural wars of the last few decades are a good example of this. As noted by people such as David Ayers in Literary Theory: A Reintroduction, these wars indicate the tendency for proponents of opposite theories to dilute debate to simplified extremes of ideology vs. aesthetic standards, left politics vs. right politics and social justice vs. conservative morality[9]. In effect, academic conversation becomes binary.

The following review of literary theories hopes to demonstrate the necessity to move beyond this. However, it will be limited in scope. It will cover only the last two hundred years of literary criticism that has witnessed a quickening of the development of contrary modes of literary analysis. This section will consider Literary Reading Theories (LRTs) that focus exclusively on the text to determine its literariness[10] – an approach that has given rise to the legitimization of criticism to the point of imbuing it with scientific rigor. It will also cover Social Reading Theories (SRTs) – a style of criticism that utilizes social parameters to measure the literary offerings of a text. These theories have been signaled as the antagonists of LRTs as they directly scrutinize the strict measurement of true literariness used by the latter. Specifically, SRTs question the scientific robustness that LRTs apply to a text without regard to it's social context, nor the economic and political demands of the society in which the work is created.

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[9] For a good summary of the culture wars, see Literary Theory: A Reintroduction by David Ayers.

[10] By literariness, I am referring to Roman Jakobson's definition that appears in Recent Russian Poetry (Prague: Tipografia, 1921): 11 where "the object of literary science is not literature but literariness, i.e. what makes a given work a literary work".

2.2.1 LITERARY READING THEORIES (LRTS)

LRTs propose that a special set of acquired skills is needed to accurately penetrate the meaning of a text. Put simply, LRTs generally focus on the literariness of text. It is an umbrella term that encompasses many literary movements that concentrate primarily on the form of a text (although, some do include an analysis of content) in an effort to determine its merits – that is, whether or not it is deemed literature.

Principally, LRTs have endeavoured to transform literary analysis from an *ad hoc* reading to one that catalogues the study of literature – the goal of theorists being to convert the discipline into a scientifically robust suite of techniques comparable to any ‘hard’ social science. Figure 1 on the next page depicts an overview of how the various LRTs are related.

As Figure 1 illustrates, the Enlightenment period throughout Europe yielded important modes of perceiving literary works such as Romanticism, Symbolism, Psychoanalysis and Aestheticism. Marxism sets the course for SRTs, which will be dealt with in section 2.2.2.

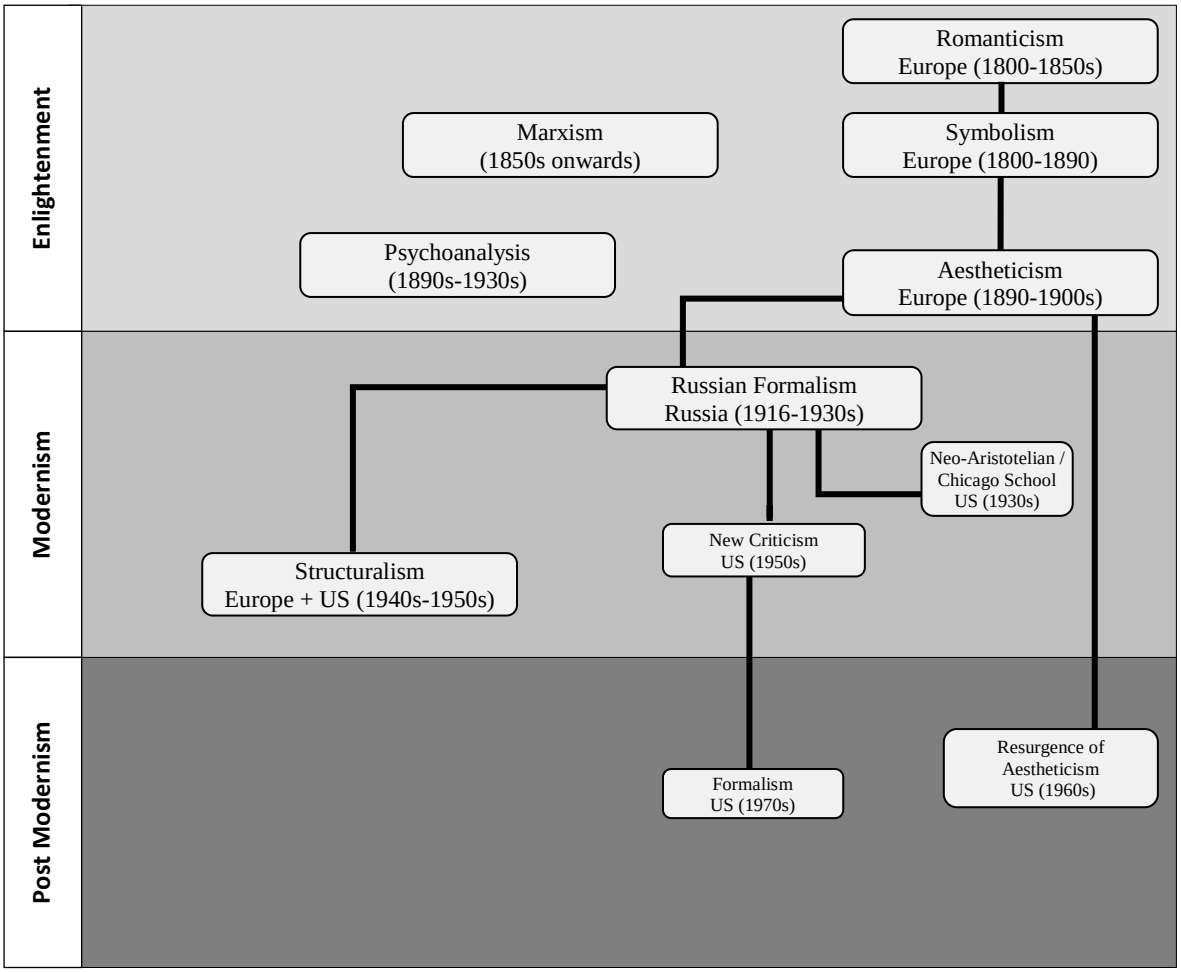

Figure 1: The relationship between Literary Reading Theories

Modern LRTs owe their beginnings to romanticism and then symbolism, movements that began in the margins of society meant to challenge the existent trends of realism and naturalism at the time in art and literature[11]. Romanticism emerged as a challenge to reason where writers and artists were committed to the imagination and the expression of emotion[12] whereas symbolism emerged as a counterculture against the dominant class' social and economic interests of the

[11] Habib, MAR. A History of Literary Criticism and Theory: From Plato to the Present. (Oxford: Blackwells , 2008): 489.
[12] Schneider, Joanne. The Age of Romanticism. (Westpoert: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007): 5.

time who were identified as the bourgeois that rose to economic and political prominence due to the effects of the industrial revolution. This stand against bourgeois ideals was a common occurrence in artistic movements throughout the periods of the Enlightenment, Modernism and Post-Modernism.

The hallmark of this new bourgeoisie class was economic control and those intellectuals and artists wishing to critique this new class attacked its fundamental stronghold – its financial influence. It is no surprise that the first point of call for such intellectuals and artists was to separate their own labour from this financial reach[13]. In addition, those intellectuals and artists not identifying with the ideals of the bourgeoisie made an effort to attack its foundation - reason. Arthur Schopenhauer provided the symbolist artists with the justifications for their anti-bourgeois sentiment and the arguments for the purist or disinterested gaze[14] while Friedrich Nietzsche provided the LRTs with the grounding to challenge the low standing the humanities had compared to the sciences. Symbolism laid the foundation for future literary theorists as it separated its ideas of art from the bourgeoisie ideal that all human labour and production could be simplified to a monetary value. Symbolism provided for the birth of an autonomous field of literature that began to obey its own rules outside the reach of reason and economic value.

Continuing on from symbolism was aestheticism. The aesthetic paradigm promulgated the ideal of art for the sake of art only. Harold Bloom, the American literary critic based at Yale University, continued the Aesthetic tradition in the twentieth century. Publishing from the late 1950's onwards, Bloom's seminal

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[13] Gill, Graeme. Bourgeoisie, State and Democracy: Russia, Britain, France, Germany, and the USA. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 53.
[14] Schopenhauer, Arthur. Philosophical Writings. Ed. Schirmacher, Wolfgang. (New York: Continuum, 1994): 306.

work on literary criticism, title The Western Canon, was launched into the theoretical debate in 1994. In it, Bloom revived the idea of "aesthetic value".

Bloom argued that what made a literary work canonical was their novelty which came through overcoming the anxiety of influence[15]. For Bloom, texts were the defensive aesthetic acts that were either successful or unsuccessful in relieving the literary Oedipal anxiety.

Aestheticism was pivotal in the creation of modern literary criticism because it allowed artists to find the new value of art – not its commercial value, not its political ideology but simply its beauty.

Where aestheticism placed the focus on beauty, the next generation of LRTs concentrated on the formal part of literary language. The beginning of the twentieth century saw emergence of formalism that furthered the autonomy of the literary field from economic and political influence. Formalism itself was divided two schools of thought: one, The Moscow Linguistic Circle, headed by Roman Jakobson and the other, the Society for the Study of Poetic Language, which included members such as Victor Shklovsky and Boris Eichenbaum. It should be noted that both groups were interested in the academic analysis of literary language and hoped to find a commonality of theory across literary texts.

The Society for the Study of Poetic Language came into being with an essay by Shklovsky, Art as Technique published in 1917. Here, the author dealt with a central point of the formalist movement; defamiliarization[16]. Shklovsky argued that individuals became accustomed to language through everyday use and the writing of literature had the responsibility to reverse this process[17]

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[15] Bloom, Harold. The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages. (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995): 9.
[16] Šklovskij, Viktor. "Art as Technique." *LT Lemon and MJ Reis (Eds. & Trans.),* Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays (1965): 5.
[17] Šklovskij 11.

The Russian formalists also decided upon a new definition for literary form. Whereas before it was considered that form was the literary container in which content was poured into (as Wilde writes, 'plastic form to formless things'), the Society for the Study of Poetic Language now described form as complete and self-contained[18]. As such, form was now separated from content and the form became the content itself.

The structuralist mode of literary analysis was a direct descendent of formalism, firstly, because of the early formalist Roman Jakobson's direct intervention and, secondly, because it extended the formalist intent. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure was the inspiration for this movement and also other modes of literary analysis. Before Saussure, language was studied in its historic and literary context. What the linguist achieved was the study of language based on formulaic objective principles. In his seminal work, Course in General Linguistics published posthumously in 1916, Saussure pointed out the difference between 'langue' and 'parole' where the former includes the structure and the rules of language and the later is labeled as speech. By making this distinction, the linguistic production of the individual and what was socially constructed was separated from what were peripheral linguistic accessories or what were accidental expressions[19]. Language was defined as a social construction that the individual could not change. Language was instead co-created with other members of society[20].

It is evident that Saussure added to the formalist tradition of giving language a positivist outlook that allowed for a scientific catalogue of known

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[18] Eikhenbaum, Boris. "The Theory of the Formal Method." Readings in Russian Poetics (1978): 112.
[19] Rivkin, Julie, and Michael Ryan. Literary Theory: An Anthology. Second ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004): 76.
[20] Rivkin 77.

functions divisible into units and unique to language. It is no accident that Roman Jakobson was seen as the next link in the structuralist chain. The ensuing upheaval of the Russian Revolution forced Jakobson to immigrate to Prague. There he immersed himself in the intellectual groups and soon founded the Prague School of Linguistic Theory. However, the outbreak of World War II forced the Russian to yet again relocate. He moved to Denmark where he contributed heavily to the Copenhagen Linguistic Circle. Soon, he crossed over into Sweden and then, finally migrated to New York. Here, at the *École libre des hauter etudes* (a French university in exile located in New York) he met Claude Lévi-Strauss, whom he collaborated with to develop the next key ingredients of structuralism.

Lévi-Strauss began to see that culture, like language, was a system characterised by an internal order of interconnected parts that obeyed certain rules of operation. A structure was both like a skeleton and like a genetic code in that it was the principle of action that allowed culture to exist in time as a living thing[21]. Structuralism furthered the work of formalism as it fortified the framework of the study of literature through the use of linguistics because it ensured a close and scientific study of language.

The last LRT that will be reviewed in this section will be psychoanalysis. This form of literary theory was based on the ideas on the human mind put forward by Sigmund Freud, the Viennese psychologist who introduced psychoanalysis to the world. Central to Freud's theory of the mind was the idea of the unconscious, that is, that the individual was reined by impulses that he or she was not aware of, hidden or repressed in their unconscious. As such, Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism was interested in unearthing the authors and

[21] Rivkin 53.

readers' underlying impulses. Psychoanalytic literary theorists have developed ideas on the motivations of authors and fictional characters, picking out the similarities between the author and the author's biography especially in regards to childhood memories and the author's attitude towards their parents, the inherent characteristic of the creative literary process, the symbolism within texts and how language is connected to the unconscious/conscious processes of the mind.

Jacques Lacan, the French psychoanalyst, made a significant contribution to Psychoanalytic Literary Criticism by amalgamating certain aspects of linguistics and structuralism to psychoanalysis where the use of metaphor was the main condition required for 'literariness'. What Lacan added to the study of literature is the awareness of a symbolic order where literary texts mirror reality. In fact, Lacan reinterprets the work of Saussure and creates a new branch of psychoanalytic literary theory by focusing on how language reflects the desires or demands of the unconscious [22].

Psychoanalytic criticism gave the study of literature the permission to declare that it was the study of what it was to be human. Where symbolism separated it from bourgeois thought, and aestheticism aligned it with the ideals of beauty, and formalism and structuralism gave it academic gravitas, psychoanalysis gave literary theory and criticism a dynamic purpose, one linked to the meaning of being human.

[22] Lacan, Jacques. Ecrits Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Norton 2 (1977): 175.

2.2.2 SOCIAL READING THEORIES (SRTS)

SRTs comprise of a more varied group of literary theories and modes of criticism (See Figure 2). Many SRTs were launched in an effort to uncover the silent voices within the grand theories produced under the umbrella of modernism. If LRTs began as an attempt to challenge the precepts of the enlightenment that defended the bourgeoisie condition, then SRTs continued this tradition of revolt and challenged the narrow estimation offered by what was considered universal truths.

There is no doubt that Marxism had an extensive and penetrating influence on many theoretical concepts surrounding the relationship of society upon individual, and vice versa. Although Marx did not concentrate on developing a Marxist approach to the understanding of literature, there was the basic precept that no object, even literature, existed independently of human, economic, class and ideological relations; the objective or reasonable or common world view was nothing more than a construction made by the collective of individual subjectivity. He also thought art itself was the production of human labour and as a consequence, was a commodity; the rules for the consideration of a work as literature were created by the ruling class to supplement and promote their interests; and finally, that language was not an exclusive system onto itself, but a social practice constructed to ensure that the interests of the ruling classes were protected[23].

Art and literature continued to preoccupy those thinkers sympathetic to Marxism not only in Russia and Germany, but also throughout Europe, England and the United States. There were many theorists that added to Marxist literary

[23] Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *The German Ideology*. Vol. 1 (International Publishers Co, 1970): 51.

notions. In England, Terry Eagleton provided historical context for the various literary movements, with particular focus on the English tradition of literary criticism[24]. He explained that most of twentieth century literary criticism reacted against the process of classification and categorization so prevalent during the age of Enlightenment. Eagleton explained that whenever there was a fundamental change at the economic level, it was followed by an intense process of ideological struggle in the superstructure. From this examination of modern literary criticism, Eagleton surmised that Marxist literary criticism began with two basic ideas. Firstly, that anything that existed in the superstructure, whether religion, law, art, morality, philosophy or language, did not have an autonomous past of its own. In fact, it is constructed in relationship to each other, and more importantly, to the working life of the individual. Secondly, the class that controlled the means of production also controlled the means of cultural production and as such, controlled the ruling intellectual force[25].

Another literary theory was Historicism or Hermeneutics that endeavoured to situate a text in its particular historical context. This manner of criticism has existed for the last hundred and fifty years and began with the writings of Hegel and Marx. Both of these thinkers changed the way in which history was studied and perceived.

[24] Eagleton, Terry. The Function of Criticism. Vol. 6: (Verso, 1984): 93.
[25] Eagleton, Terry. Against the Grain Essays, 1975-1985. (1986): 81.

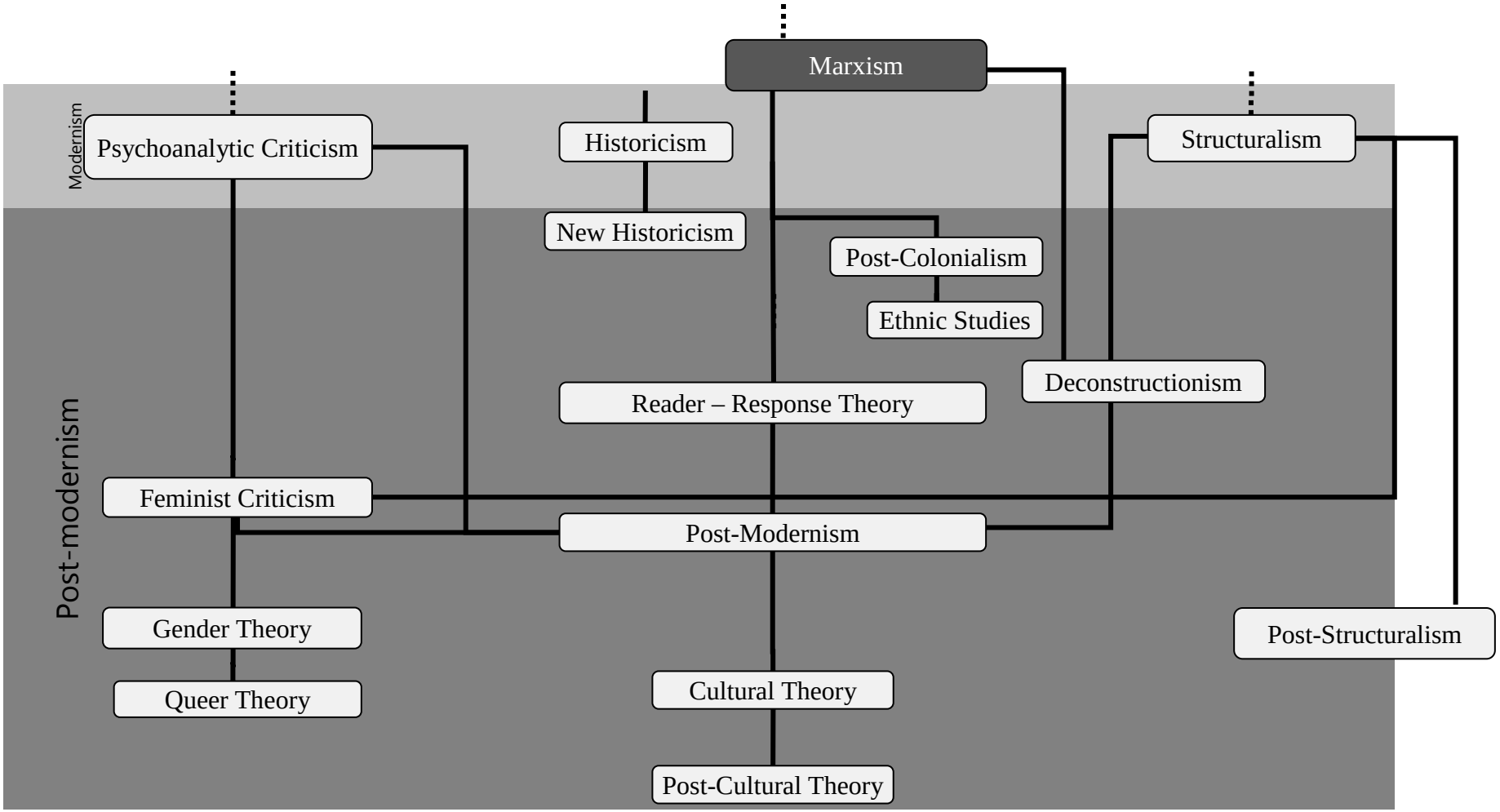

Figure 2: The Relationship between Social Reading Theories

The first tenet of Historicism was that all concepts, events, findings, and works of literature and artistic value were surrounded by historical circumstances. If any work of art were studied in isolation it would lose the meaning that was attached to it in its time. By looking at a text's historical context, then the logic within the work became easy to grasp. By respecting the historical constru ct of a particular text, then the critic had a better chance of overcoming, or at least of being aware of, their own temporal bias[26].

Historicism was also very much influenced by Michel Foucault. The French cultural critic published an essay in 1969 titled, "What is an author?" where he scrutinized the idea of authorship as it developed through history. In particular, Foucault considered that the author and text were perceived by the reader as one and the same[27]. The name of the author became a function of category in itself, a sort of classification of genre and merit. For example, to say the name Shakespeare not only conveyed the name of the author, but also the medium of plays, a type of writing and a type of esteem held for the author[28]. In this light, Foucault lists four characteristics that denote the 'author-function'. These included: firstly, the author-function occured when there were strict rules of entitlement; secondly, the author-function did not exist in the same way across the different time periods, for example, in the middle ages, there were many folk tales that existed without the identity of the author; thirdly, the function did not occur immediately, but traveled through a complicated trajectory where the identity of the author was constructed; and finally,

[26] Habib 760.
[27] Bouchard, Donald F. Michel Foucault: Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews. Translated from the French by Donald F. Couchard and Sherry Simon. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977): 118.
[28] Bouchard 124.

the function sprung from the distancing of the author from the text through the narrator[29].

Another mode of literary criticism that was influenced by Marxism was Post-structuralism. The main scholar attache to this movement was Bakhtin who endeavoured to create a whole theory of the novel in his seminal publication Discourse in the Novel. Bakhtin argued that words were a site of ideological struggle[30]. Deconstructionism took Bakhtin's ideas further, by looking at how language and meaning were constructed. It owed much to Structuralism, and the Algerian born thinker, Jacques Derrida, developed it. In 1967, Derrida published three seminal books, Speech and Phenomena; which dealt with Edmund Husserl's understanding of signs, Of Grammatology; where he proposes a scientific approach to writing, and Writing and Difference; where Derrida wrote commentaries on the works of Hegel, Freud and Foucault.

The main aspects of Deconstructionism were that it endeavored to discover the logocentrism of any text or concept that contained within its universal truth[31]. If the logos was removed, the system of language began to destabilize. This continual replacement of one meaning over another was what Derrida termed metaphor. As such, the purpose of Deconstructionism was to take words such as freedom (which Derrida terms 'transcendental signifieds'), invested with so much unquestionable authority in terms of its meaning and bring it down to its relationship to history and politics so as to demystify the truth that was associated with its signification[32].

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[29] Bouchard 124-130.
[30] Bakhtin, Mikhail M. The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays (M. Holquist, Ed.; C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981): 271.
[31] Dodd, Charles Harold. The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968): 266.
[32] Derrida, Jacques. Writing and Difference. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978): 274.

At the same time in the twentieth century, feminism evolved and branched into literary criticism not only reviewing the role of women writers, and the representation of the feminine and the female by male writers but also to understand how artists represent gender and sexuality and how their own gender and sexuality influences their literary creation.

Using such theorists as Lacan and Derrida, women thinkers such as Julia Kristteva and Hellene Cixous put forward the idea of feminine writing that observed ideas of the unconscious, the body and an apologetic use of the subject. Other feminist books have focused on bringing to light text written by females that have been forgotten through history, such as Elaine Showalter's A Literature of Their Own published in 1977.

In Britain, Virginia Woolf's most seminal work on Feminist Literary Criticism was, A Room of One's Own which was originally a lecture given at Cambridge University in 1928. In the first of these lectures, Woolf used the metaphor of a room to that of a woman's own writing career. As she stated, "a woman must have money and a room of her own is she is to write fiction"[33]. The French thinker, Simone de Beauvoir published her feminist classic, The Second Sex, in France in 1949. The Second Sex which discussed women's secondary position in society throughout human history[34]. Beauvoir asserted that throughout history, man has been able to let go of his animal nature through labour as it moved from hunter to working the fields in agriculture. In contrast, women suffered the "bondage of reproduction" and were tied to their animal self. As such, becoming a mother was

[33] Woolf, Virginia. The Common Reader: First and Second Series. Vol. 1. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1948): 4.
[34] De Beauvoir, Simone. The Second Sex Trans. *HM Parshley* (New York: Vintage, 1974): 46.

seen as life affirming for women[35]. For the author of The Second Sex, it was not until reproduction was seen as a natural part of life and not invested with life satisfaction that this bondage would disappear. However, for Beauvoir women are asked to "forget self and to love"[36].

Moving away from issues of gender, theorists have concentrated on ideas of national identity, ethnicity and cultural identity within the movement of Postcolonial Criticism. Similar to Feminist Criticism in that it focused on a group disenfranchised from producing literary text, Postcolonial theory emerged as a stream within literary criticism as so called 'third-world' continents such as Latin America, Africa and Asia began to cut their colonial ties from dominant European nations. Its momentum – as a theory and form of criticism – began to gather in the 1950s with a sleuth of influential publications such as Frantz Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks published in 1959, and Edward Said's seminal Orientalism published in 1978 and The Empire Writes Back published in 1989. The role of Postcolonial Criticism was to critically account for the history of colonialism from the point of view of the colonised, to understand the economic and social consequences of colonialism on both the colonised and the colonial power, to scrutinise how decolonization has occurred and its impact on the decolonised nation; and to provide a voice for decolonised nations to challenge the dominant ideas and classification of these[37].

Postcolonialism had endeavoured to challenge the western literary canon by pointing out that the canon of English literature contained ideological components.

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[35] De Beauvoir 57.
[36] De Beauvoir 233.
[37] Young, Robert JC. Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001): 11.

Frantz Fanon in The Wretched of the Earth (1961) examined the characteristics required for a revolution against colonialism using Marxist ideas as its basis. He observed that integral to a successful revolution was a unified national consciousness. However, this was difficult to achieve because usually a nation's own middle class ended up imitating the dominating middle class of the colonising nations which meant that it would not support it's own literature[38]. This process of colonialisation and decolonialisation had a direct interruption on artistic practice and cultural production. The indigenous culture became frozen in a mode of defense which hindered it development or evolution[39].

Edward Said, the renowned cultural and literary critic, contributed much to the development of Post-colonialism. In his first book, Beginnings published in 1975. Basing his ideas on Foucault, Said saw colonial dominance embedded in the meaning of words such as 'home', 'belonging' and 'community'. In response to this, the role of the critic should be to carve out a space in between dominant culture and its systems of control in order to render them useless[40].

In Said's classical work, Orientalism, published in 1978, the theorist revised how the West had constructed and represented the images of the Orient. Said catalogued the many ways the Orient had been misrepresented and misaligned in the West, which included that Islam was a subpar and savage version of Christianity[41],

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[38] Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth. 1961. Trans. Constance Farrington. (New York: Grove, 1963): 153.
[39] Fanon 238.
[40] Said, Edward W. The World, the Text, and the Critic. (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983): 5.
[41] Said, Edward. Orientalism. 1978. (New York: Vintage 1994): 65-66.

the eroticization of the sexuality of the Oriental female[42] and the dehumanization of the Arab individual[43].

Another mode of literary theory bloomed in this vein was the Reader-response and reception theory that argued that individuals were not passive puppets that regurgitated culture. Reader-Response Literary Criticism gained traction in the beginning of the twentieth century, both as a reaction against the rigidity of formalism and a revival of the classical respect for the audience / reader. The theoretical underpinnings of Reader-Response were found in the philosophical concepts of Edmund Husserl, a German thinker who explored the idea of 'appearance'. In particular, Husserl studied how the individual subject perceived external objects. Husserl endeavoured to contain this perception through a concept he called 'bracketing' which created a phenomenological reduction, increasing the sureness of what is known[44]. For Husserl, individuals perceived the world through a subjective construction. The parallel could be drawn that readers created meaning when engaging with texts.

Postmodernism had its own contribution to make to literary theory. The originating text that launched the Post-modernist perspective into the scholarly world was Jean-François Lyotard's The Postmodern Condition. Here, Lyotard made a stance against the ideas of the Enlightenment, which Lyotard argued encouraged the grand narrative of modernity and hid the true cacophony of different viewpoints.

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[42] Said Orientalism 187.
[43] Said Orientalism 296-98.
[44] Husserl, Edmund. Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy: Philosophy as a Rigorous Science, and Philosophy and the Crisis of European Man. Trans. Lauer, Quentin. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965): 76-7.

Linda Hutcheon in "Theorising the Postmodern" added to postmodernism by asserting that the limits between various literary genres had been blurred to the point where there are no clear differences between short stories and novels and autobiography and history and a long poem. In addition, there was no distinctive border between fiction and non-fiction but in fact an intertexuality between the conventions between high, middle and lowbrow texts[45]. In the era of Post-modernism our understanding of culture stopped being homogenous.

From the early 1970s onwards, culture moved from being understood as exclusively associated to the branding of good taste in terms of classical music, art and literature to its broader understanding as put forward by anthropology – culture not only was understood as referring to the arts, but also to social and symbolic structures such as rituals, processes and procedures accepted and practiced within society. During these decades, and under the influence of Marxism, culture became political and seen as an instrument of domination. However, culture as a dominating structure was not the only way in which this entity was understood. It was also seen as a medium for creating resistance[46]. Ideas of sociology, Marxist criticism and structuralism were combined to understand how media portrayed events to satisfy the interest of the ruling classes and how in turn, new generations resisted these versions of events through their rituals of music, fashion and dance. In Substance: The Meaning of Style (1979), Dick Hebdige analysed how punk culture proved to be a counter cultural phenomenon that challenged neo-liberal capitalist norms. This is where Pierre Bourdieu enters the conversation. With his seminal work, Distinction

[45] Hutheon, Linda. A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction. (New York: Routledge, 1988): 10.
[46] Rivkin 1025.

(1984), the French sociologist showed how the propagation of taste and aesthetics was hierarchical – each generation learnt how to 'be' by learning how to react and enact modes of taste (through the consumption of culture) and with this, economic class was maintained even when there was a change of guard at the generational level. For cultural theorists, culture could be created from above or below and because of this, it was a site of struggle[47].

Literary theory and criticism have expanded to encompass many points of view (whether ideological or aesthetic) and has endeavoured to provide the tools to study a literary text from every angle possible. Bourdieu's work in cultural theory has been worked upon and expanded. For example, Pascale Cassanova builds on Bourdieu's methodology in The World Republic of Letters (2004). Where Bourdieu mainly stays within the national social space, Casanova examines how the city centres of literature (Paris, London) mark the standard of literature that is then exported to other national social spaces and literary fields throughout the world. As a corollary, Casanova then extends this idea to authors who successfully measure themselves against this standard and then, in turn, are used as the literary standard in their own literary fields. The key to the existence of this international literary standard is the autonomy of the field in question. The more autonomous a field, the closer it is to this international standard. Much like Bourdieu's methodology, Casanova's extension of this has attracted scholarly criticism. For example, Michael Malouf points out that Casanova's inquiry fails to take into account the trajectories of 'non-canonical' figures that experience revivals[48]. However, Bourdieu's analysis

[47] Rivkin 1027.
[48] Malouf, Michael. "Problems with Paradigms: Irish Comparativism and Casanova's World Republic of Letters" New Hibernia Review 17:1 (2013): 55.

of the literary field and how it is being impacted on by the surrounding fields of power (political and economic) would be an interesting area of research to refute this claim that this mode of literary analysis fails to explain the success of literary anomalies.

Moving on and relevant to this discussion is how Casanova seeks to bridge the gap between Literary Reading Theories and Social Reading Theories[49]. To do this, Casanova proposes moving the text (literature) and society (the world) to a virtual space beyond politics where it sits in an autonomous space where scholars can understand form and aesthetics connected to history that Casanova refers to as a 'world literary space'[50]. It would seem that Casanova is returning to the autonomous literary space that the formalists first demarcated but with a difference; Casanova is interested in bringing social reading theories into that separate virtual space where not only scholars could investigate literary concerns from both literary and social reading theories but also explore how cultural resources are allocated and used to manipulate power or create social unity through literature[51]. The creation of an all-embracing mode of literary analysis permits each literary text to be considered anew taking into account the literary and social threads that are connected to its existence[52]. Casanova proposes a unification of national literary spaces where there would be an avenue to understand the different, national struggles over literature[53]. For Casanova, it is in these opportunities to compare different national literary spaces where the manufactured process of literary normalization and unification

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[49] Casanova, Pascale. "Literature as a World." New Left Review 31 (2005): 71.
[50] Casanova, Literature as a World 72.
[51] Casanova, Literature as a World 72.
[52] Casanova, Literature as a World 72.
[53] Casanova, Literature as a World 74.

becomes apparent that excite the author's research[54]. In proposing this 'world literary space', what is considered the present or modern example of literature would be a site of contest where texts are categorized and re-categorized[55]. Casanova's purpose in creating this 'world literary space' is to move beyond regional or linguistic fields so the instances of domination that exists between fields beyond their own inter-national literary power can be more readily seen[56]. This may seem a worthwhile cause, however, skipping the regional fields would fail to take into account the competition that has taken place to consecrate the local texts that have been identified as 'literary' by its field. Both processes of scrutinizing the regional and inter-national literary spaces would yield what Casanova proposes a revelation of the inequality of resources and power within literature[57]. As Casanova writes, this inequality reveals that literary revolts are usually the consequence of emerging national spaces[58] which fits in nicely with the idea that the process of world literary spaces requires an understanding of national literary spaces first. It is here that Bourdieu becomes especially valuable.

As Speller notes, Casanova provides for an amplification of Bourdieu's work[59] and points to Casanova's extension to the idea of autonomy and age of a literary field. The older a field, the more texts and authors that populate the field through successive generations, the more 'prestigious' and autonomous are the fields. This overview of literary theory in this section has served to set the context in which to explore why the bourdieuian approach to Martín Fierro is necessary.

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[54] Casanova, Literature as a World 74.
[55] Casanova, Literature as a World 76.
[56] Casanova, Literature as a World 78.
[57] Casanova, Literature as a World 89.
[58] Casanova, Pascale. "Combative Literatures." New Left Review.72 (2011): 131.
[59] Speller, John RW. Bourdieu and Literature. (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2011): 71.

Bourdieu provides for a complete evaluation of author and text and answers why a particular work is considered literary going beyond the binary options between LTRs and STRs. To further understand the use of a bourdieuian analysis of literature, Table 1 illustrates a quick comparison between the type of coverage several LTRs and STRs offer when analyzing texts. From this comparison, it is evident that Bourdeiu's methodology provides for a more extensive study of literary works because it places the particular text in its historical context and how it relates to the political and literary fields of where the text is published.

Table 1: A Comparison between different literary theories and their areas of focus

Theory / Movement	Focus on text / form	Focus on author	Focus on contextual political, social and literary relationships between author and social context	Focus on contextual history of when the text was written	Focus on how (or access to) previous literary movements, texts, authors have influenced the author and text in question	Focus on the contribution of each successive generation of writers and critics that layer the text with cultural significance
Aestheticism	*					
Bourdieu's Methodology	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cultural Theory	*			*	*	
Deconstructionism	*		*			
Feminist Criticism	*	*	*			
Gender Theory	*	*	*			
Historicism	*	*		*		*
Marxism		*	*	*		
New Criticism	*					
Post-Colonialism	*	*	*	*		

Post-Structuralism	*		*			
Postmodernism	*	*	*	*	*	
Psychoanalytic Criticism	*	*				
Queer Theory	*	*	*			
Reader-Response Theory	*					
Romanticism	*					
Russian Formalism	*					
Structuralism	*					
Symbolism	*					

It also considers the author before the text is published and after the text is published. Not only does it explain the author's background and understanding of how the literary game works but also how this affected its creation (literary text) and how they were constructed as authors after the publication of the work in question. It also allows for the consideration of how other critics and writers have valued the work not only when it is first published, but also through successive generations of the literary field. The following sections will now endeavour to detail how Bourdieu's methodology may work.

2.3 PIERRE BOURDIEU AND THE RULES OF ART

Pierre Bourdieu was a prolific theorist whose influence has exceeded his initial focus in anthropology and sociology. Bourdieu's ideas about society have permeated all aspects of the social sciences and the humanities. The reason why his theories have had such an extensive reach across these disciplines is because his ideas are dynamic, adaptable, and relevant. His exploration and identification of terms such as field, *habitus*, capital, social reflexivity, position-taking, space of possibles, *illusio* and social misrecognition, to name a few, allow for the literary theorist (and cultural theorist) to provide a virtual 3-D modelling of how a literary text came to be considered literary and the blueprint of production and credit-transfers that increased its literary value (which remains invisible until the tools of Bourdieu are applied to it).

Before embarking on what an understanding of a bourdieusian study of literature would look like, it is necessary to provide a brief summary of the word capital. The French sociologist uses the word capital and further defines it under the banners of economic and cultural. Bourdieu sees capital as the currency that is valued, exchanged, prized and distributed between the individuals with different dispositions playing in the same field. For example, the appointment of a professorship has more than the remunerative value attached to it – it also holds much esteem in the field of academia, meaning that it also holds great cultural value. This is because of the specific characteristics associated with the academic field. Bourdieu extends the Marxist meaning of the word 'capital' by including the system of exchanges evident within a field which is not limited to material objects or assets.

Cultural capital includes those intangible possessions imbued with symbolic value, such as works or art, certain labels of clothing, certain newspapers and book titles, prizes, education, personal titles or even certain mannerisms like a particular accent. Social capital includes the wealth of being well connected, the 'who you know' being more important than 'what you know' while economic capital includes those material things, such as wealth, property and assets that is easily associated with capital within theoretical contexts[60]

Of course, capital is only useful if others acknowledge it within the field as having value. Within his framework, Bourdieu showed an understanding that value within a field is not fixed but assigned arbitrarily. In fact, a title, standing or mannerism is deemed valuable by the logic inherent within a particular field[61]. What is especially interesting for Bourdieu is that this trading, exchange and recognition of capital does not occur in transparent context but a misrecognised process. Most individuals do not, on a conscious level, perceive that this valuing, scarcity and exchange of capital is occurring. This is essential for, as Bourdieu termed it, the process of legitimation. If people are aware of the game, then, the game is over[62]. Other key concepts found in Bourdieu's work will be defined in section 2.4.

In The Rules of Art, Bourdieu adopts a sequence of analysis that this dissertation will endeavour to replicate with one notable exception. Where Bourdieu begins by surveying the literary field and then continues on to review Sentimental Education from Gustave Flaubert's perspective and finally returns to matters of

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[60] Grenfell, Michael, and Cheryl Hardy. Art Rules: Pierre Bourdieu and the Visual Arts. (Oxford: Berg, 2007): 30.
[61] Grenfell and Hardy 30.
[62] Colebrook, Claire. New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997): 92.

theory, this dissertation will provide an analysis of Martín Fierro throughout the decades from the author's death to what will be described as the beginning of an autonomous literary field in Argentina. The reason for this return to the literary field is because the historical analysis of the Argentine field of literature dictates a slight deviation from Bourdieu's ordering. This is because, as opposed to the French literary field, the Argentine literary field is being studied when it is an emerging one. In effect, this dissertation is studying the genesis of the field instead of a constituted field – it is studying a field moving from a heteronomous state to one that is autonomous. Figure 3 provides a pictorial representation of this order. Beginning with the field of power, the dissertation will move on to the literary field and the space of possibles available in it. Once it has set up this birds eye view of the field of power and the literary field which providing a vertical, in-depth analysis of the agents, institutions, and literary movements at play and a horizontal or temporal view from 1810 until 1872, it will then move on to the author's point of view (which again provides for a vertical and horizontal or temporal analysis from the life of the author, the publication of the texts in question, and the treatment of these until the death of the author). Finally, the collective misrecognition and *illusio* that went into the creation of literary value of the text once the author could no longer exert influence over its literary product will be explored.

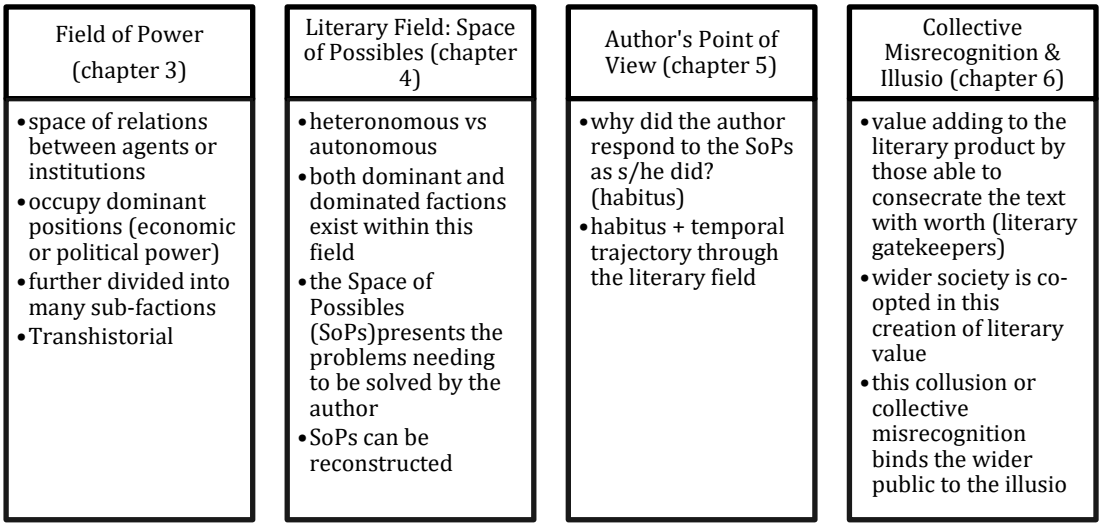

Figure 3: Bourdieu's methodology extrapolated from The Rules of Art

2.4 THE FIELD OF POWER

To understand what is the field of power, it is first necessary to comprehend the concept of field. A field is a close-circuited space with its own currency (or capital) where exchanges are made between individuals using this brand of currency particular to the field. The individuals that trade in this social currency relevant to the particular field make the field legitimate and containing of its own value[63].

In many of his publications, Bourdieu likened the field to the arena where individuals come together to play a game. The arena has its own boundaries, limitations, atmosphere and history of use or playing. For individuals to succeed in a game, they must have a keen understanding of the rules, the composition, and boundaries of the arena, and knowledge of past, current and potential players[64].

Bourdieu creates the concept of field to overcome the stagnant and overused objectivist (read structuralist) and subjectivist (read constructivist) dichotomy which plagues sociology and the social sciences in general. In the concept of field, Bourdieu moves beyond the simplistic nature of objectivism and finds an organizing sociological tool that allows for complexity and social dynamism. The field insists that agents wishing to become active participants within its parameters must obey the intrinsic laws within[65]. The field is not a static diagram of power that is imposed on its players. Instead, it is a changing paradigm that is embedded with the history of change and struggle, which at times reigns strong and at other times may diminish with relevance, depending on the external pressures upon it[66]. Bourdieu uses the

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[63] Grenfell and Hardy 29.
[64] Hillier, Jean, and Emma Rooksby. Habitus: A Sense of Place. (Oxford: Gower Publishing, Ltd., 2005): 23.
[65] Wacquant, L, and R Stones. Key Contemporary Thinkers. (London: Macmillan, 2007): 8-9.
[66] Wacquant 8.

degree of autonomy as the measurement of a field's strength and relevancy within a society[67]. This creates a very dynamic reading of these niche carvings within society where there is continuous conflict between those that defend the 'autonomous principles of judgement' inherent to that field and those that wish to weaken its principles by using different rules because they desire to consolidate their own power within the field using the standards of another field in which they have a higher standing[68].

As such, the field gives an individual a range of possible positions to choose from, each with its own costs and rewards. In this way, the field does have a major impact on the behaviour of individual agents acting within it, as depending whether they wish to uphold or dispute the principles inherent in the field, they will either use strategies of conservation or subversion respectively. Equally true is that established members of a field will have a vested interest in defending the existing principles of judgement while new entrants, wishing to make their own mark, will endeavour to challenge these principles. For Bourdieu, it is how the individual's *habitus* interacts with a particular field that creates movement and the progression of history within society[69]. Habitus will be further explored in section in 2.6.

Understanding the field also means understanding the possible available positions to be taken by individuals participating in that particular field[70]. However, if there are only a finite number of available positions determined by the history of the field, that means that the field only functions if it can find individuals who have

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[67] Wacquant 8.
[68] Wacquant 8.
[69] Bourdieu, Pierre. "Social Space and Symbolic Power." Sociological theory 7.1 (1989): 19.
[70] Bourdieu, Pierre. In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990): 192.

the pre-disposed background to fill these, to support these dispositions and act as required by the field[71].

As such, that which is "sacred" only comes about if predisposed individuals can appreciate it as such[72]. According to Bourdieu, the motivation, or 'the motor', for which the individual appreciates a title, position in a field, prizes or other such gains as sacred is found in the process of the individual actively expressing their agency[73], or as an individual with a purpose in life, or, as Bourdieu states it, with a 'social mission'[74].

Fields in themselves only approach complete autonomy and never fully reach it because they are interconnected to the field of power. Thus, when endeavouring to distinguish a particular field, the approach of the sociologist lies in perceiving the rules or the composition of the game found in a particular social space or, the "forces of polarity" that encourages the movement of agents around it[75].

So, in summary, the characteristics of a field include an award system or involvement and a commitment by a group of individuals to this involvement to an award system that has value and is worth pursuing; a cluster of already carved out positions existent within the system; an arrangement of proven strategies and proven modes of competition; and finally a group of individuals who have the resources and inclination (disposition) to compete in such an arena.

Scholarly critics have generally responded well to Bourdieu's concept of field. Although Jenkins in Pierre Bourdieu (1992) does heavily criticise the

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[71] Bourdieu In Other Words 194.
[72] Bourdieu In Other Words 195.
[73] Bourdieu In Other Words 195.
[74] Bourdieu In Other Words 195.
[75] Eastwood, Jonathan. "Bourdieu, Flaubert, and the Sociology of Literature." Sociological Theory 25.2 (2007): 152.

sociologist's concept as deterministic and reductive, including that it fails to fully capture the real workings of institutions[76]. However, the majority contend that it is a concept that allows for a better sociological investigation. For example, both Robbins[77] and Swartz[78] see the concept of field as undervalued[79] because it provides a modern yet robust answer to the question of structure and agency.

Warde (2004) is the most boisterous in his critique of the concept of field because he wishes to reintroduce Bourdieu's original notion of practice. Warde argues that overstretching the concept of field makes it ineffective because it does not take into consideration the competence that each individual may or may not have[80]. For Warde, implicit in the sociological tool of field is that all agents act within their positions with fully competent dispositions.

Warde also takes issue with the bourdieuian belief that fields are exclusively sites of struggle and therefore all who participate are strategic and competitive. For Warde, this does not take into account non-competitive fields[81]. There is a certain element of truth here, but this disregards that the concept of field is meant to describe a site of struggle, and as such, if there are no system of awards, then there is no field.

Finally, and most importantly to this section, all fields – whether educational, academic or literary to name a few – exist within a field of power or meta-field. The field of power is where all powerful institutions and agents exist in a national space.

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[76] Jenkins, Richard. Pierre Bourdieu. (London: Routledge, 1992): 86-91.
[77] Robbins, Derek. Bourdieu and Culture. (London: Sage, 1999): 37-40.
[78] Swartz, David. Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997): 9.
[79] Swartz Culture and Power 291.
[80] Warde, Alan. Practice and Field: Revising Bourdieusian Concepts. (Centre for Research on Innovation & Competition: The University of Manchester, 2004): 14.
[81] Warde 15.

It is where the decision makers in government, politics, industry, the law and academia reside. The events that occur within the field of power have a great impact on the fields that exist within it whether the impact is felt as a great overhaul of the system or merely slight ripples of change that gently run through it. Where fields meet, a place that Bourdieu refers to as the frontiers, is where the conflict between different agents and movements is most intense and where autonomy or heteronomy is decided[82]. This point is particularly salient given that one of the research questions of this dissertation revolves around understanding how the Argentine field moves from a heteronomous state to an autonomous one

The literary field exists itself in a meta-field or a field of power. This intensity in conflict is especially true in the frontier between it and the field of power[83]. This is because the cultural producers, which Bourdieu sees as dominated by the field of power (through economics) that sit at the apex of the literary field sympathise with those being dominated by the field of power – that is, by those economically and cultural dominated in the field of class relations[84]. In fact, during historic periods of crisis or formation (where there are usually vacancies in the positions available in the meta-field), cultural producers can use the symbolic capital they hold for the purposes of mobilising the dominated classes and challenge the ideas put forward by the established classes[85]. This particular state of affairs will become relevant in later chapters of this thesis when discovering the literary field of Argentina during its nation state formation period. This national social space in

[82] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Randal Johnson. The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993): 43.
[83] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 43.
[84] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 44.
[85] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 44.

germination has a substantial influence on the production of literature and literary value. Suffice to say that before endeavouring to map out a literary field, it is important in the context of this thesis to understand the field of power and how it sits in the national social space.

2.5 THE LITERARY FIELD

Setting out the literary field is about first understanding the characteristics of the social space in which the cast of thousands inhabit. Bourdieu is quite clear in putting forward the argument that only considering the life of the author as a series of events that have occurred without taking into account the matrix or context in which it occurred provides a very one-dimensional account of the writer's life and the literary process[86].

As stated before, the literary field is a dominated field that exists in the dominant space (that is, exists within the meta-field)[87]. As a result, there exists two hierarchies or two masters within the literary field: one that obeys the masters of the meta-field and one that opposes the masters of the meta-field. To explain this further: one hierarchy that obeys the laws of economics and another hierarchy that obeys the laws of cultural capital. Within each of these hierarchies, there is further fragmentation and subdivisions as evidenced by sub-genres and the mixture of different literary mediums. For example, at the top of the hierarchy that obeys the laws of profit will be the literary medium that delivers the most profits. This is usually the popular or genre novel. However, in the hierarchy of symbolic capital, it is not surprising that the example par excellence of the literary medium will be poetry[88].

It is important to note that the hierarchy that obeys the laws of economics is straightforward – profit is king. Things are a little more complicated in the hierarchy that obeys the laws of cultural capital. The goods produced for cultural evaluation

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[86] Bourdieu, Pierre. The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field. (Standford: Stanford University Press, 1996): 259.
[87] Dubois Pierre Bourdieu and Literature 90.
[88] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 47.

have two different and separate points of valuation that include their cultural value and their commercial value. There are instances where there is an accumulation of both cultural and economic capital. This, for example, usually happens when a literary classic is listed as part of the secondary school curriculum[89]. However, there are also instances where both points of valuation remain at odds with each other[90]. So, within the literary field, the prize for the hierarchy that obeys the laws of economics is material gratification, while for the hierarchy that obeys the laws of cultural capital, it tends to be a choice between 'sole legitimate profit' or cultural value which is in essence the recognition from one's peers.

The cultural producers are in effect, those who produce authors. As a consequence of the two yet opposite laws that operate in the autonomous part of the field of cultural production, the business of art operates in a system of negation or denial (or the French *denegation*) of two opposite yet joined ideas of disinterest in material profit or self-interest[91]. In this world, there are two types of credit: material capital and cultural capital. The accumulation of cultural capital is latent economic or political capital and is legitimate as is the 'refusal of the commercial'[92]. Cultural capital is the legitimate form of capital accumulation in the artistic/literary field. Therefore, those wishing to accumulate legitimate material profit in the literary/artistic field will need to first accumulate cultural capital by focusing on fomenting reputation[93]. In this transaction, publishers and art dealers become 'cultural bankers' where symbolic profits can eventually turn into material profits[94].

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[89] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 113.
[90] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 113.
[91] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 74; Speller 59.
[92] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 75; Speller 53.
[93] Dubois Pierre Bourdieu and Literature 87.
[94] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 76.

The rules that govern cultural production are fierce, however; they are not stagnant. Major changes in the literary field can occur and they do because of a crisis (technological or otherwise) or extreme changes in the field of power that make way for new producers[95]. Nevertheless, those new to the field will need to play the game of cultural production with a sophisticated awareness. When newcomers come into the cycle of the literary field, if they bring with them disposition and an awareness of position-takings which radically conflict with the underlying structure of cultural production and the expectation of field, these newcomers will not be able to make their mark without the assistance of those external to the field[96]. This assistance can come in the form of political upheavals or revolutions or economic changes such as the Global Financial Crisis or severe technological advances, which inevitably assist writers in breaking into the field[97].

This constant struggle between the two hierarchies or masters that exists within the literary field is what ultimately creates the history of the field – a timeline of literary movements and shifts in the literary marketplace (both cultural and economic marketplace) that become embedded in the literary production of future generations[98]. This was evident when the last two hundred years of literary theory was reviewed in section 2.2. However, future generations of literary producers who are savvy and understand the rules of the game understand that to show the true nature of the field within their literary works is a vulgar act not accepted by those in the field[99].

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[95] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 55.
[96] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 57.
[97] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 58.
[98] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 106.
[99] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 73.

Crucial to understanding the topography of the literary field is that it grows not only temporally, but also by the available positions and dispositions within the field. This has an effect of the widening space of possibles between the points of opposition. That is, as the symbolic marketplace grows inversely to the literary economic marketplace, so too the autonomous principle expands. In an effort to escape the external pressures placed on it by the field of power, those agents in the literary field push towards autonomy. These agents (writers) develop a disdain for fictional works that are slaves to the masters of art-for-profit's-sake and art-for-entertainment's-sake, and choose a third option of art-for-art's-sake in an effort to differentiate themselves from the 'vulgarity' of outside forces[100].

Different political or social contexts may suppress or counteract this push towards independence[101]. This may be accomplished through a number of ways, including; the collating of anthologies to represent a certain theme, movement, or moment in time which necessitates a decision of who is included and who is excluded; the consecration of certain authors over others; the elimination of authors in the field throught time as they are forgotten and revisionism of the field in order to suit the agenda of any social actor. Furthermore, the 'universe' of a writer's contemporaries also influences the position taken by the authors as these provide, to a certain extent, the irritant that creates the pearl. Those authors that are absent from the history of literature have an impact on the workings of the literary field[102]. In essence, to only focus on those authors that literary history has safeguarded is to have a very limited understanding of any literary work.

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[100] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 59.
[101] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 60.
[102] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 70.

A field is autonomous if it manages to impose its own norms and sanctions on the producers within the field that is separate from the field of power, economics and politics[103]. Those in the periphery of the field (genre writers) who are closer to the dominant pole of the field of power will be more influenced by the demands of the field of power[104]. So those producers with little cultural capital will be more influenced by external forces[105]. The degree of autonomy changes from epoch to epoch and from one imposition of nation (or cultural identity) to another in different times. It does hinge on the type of capital the writers and artists representing the different dominant factions hold. For example, there will be the struggle between those artists/writers upholding the established order and artists/writers aspiring to enter the field[106]. For example, the fragmentation in the literary field occurs as one part of that field challenges the external influences and pressures placed upon them[107].

The degree to which a particular field is autonomous will be evident from how much it obeys its own internal structures. All fields are susceptible to external factors, however, the effects are not direct – rather they are altered as they enter a field. The sophistication of a field (i.e. – its level of autonomy) can be seen by how well it deflects or alters the impact of any external factors[108]. The measures of its autonomy is how well it can reject the external factors or divert them in favour of obeying its own internal logic – in the case of the French literary field, the ability to adopt the mantra of art for art's sake by being indifferent to commercial success

[103] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 40.
[104] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 40.
[105] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 41.
[106] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 40-41.
[107] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 201.
[108] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 14.

demonstrates an internal logic to the literary field that refuses to concede to the demands of the market. The more autonomous a field, the more likely it tends to 'suspend' or 'reverse' the dominant culture (or external forces) – what Bourdieu references as the dominant principle. However, the field is always affected by the economic and political field no matter how autonomous it is[109].

According to Bourdieu, the more autonomous a literary or artistic field is, the more critics will be co-opted into providing creative interpretations of a work produced. This means that writers and artists produce a work not only for a public, but a smaller public of equals who also happen to be the writer's/artist's competitors[110].

As such, a writer and her work are only made through the interaction and reciprocal recognition with her peers[111]. To stand out from the crowd, differentiation is a must. So, where themes and ideas surrounding the human condition are generally universal the forms in which they are expressed in are generally not. As a consequence, the competition of differentiation becomes intense at the level of form that can be understood as a type of coding that only other producers may understand to begin with[112].

This is important as it explains the focus of reviewers, scholars and critics on form and that those literary products with the most complicated of forms, Modernist literature for example, receive the most cultural capital within the field. This is evident when a literary field experiences a high degree of autonomy.

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[109] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 39.
[110] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 116.
[111] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 116.
[112] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 117.

However, as stated before, when Bourdieu speaks of this shift towards autonomy, the sociologist communicates that an autonomous field is still subject to outside pressures. Bourdieu mentions the notion of 'structural subordination', where the rules of society are made so as to favour the ruling classes[113]. As such, outside forces mould the shape of the literary field through the limitations placed on the literary industry by the demands of the market and the manner in which official bodies (usually controlled by the Government or the aristocracy) decide to fill positions of importance and direct influence in the field (such as those of publishing, journalism, academia) and how supportive they are of literary salons or gatherings[114].

According to each hierarchy there is a short cycle of literary products that have a discrete shelf life and a long cycle of literary products that are discovered, and gain momentum, with time. Because of this, there is a strong belief in the literary field that size of immediate audience is in direct and opposite proportion to the literary work's quality[115]. The more autonomous a literary field is, the higher the entry fee, which is the "acquisition of a specific code of conduct and expression"[116]. Each cultural producer has freedom, but to become a recognised author, the producer must understand that their freedom is finite, limited to the potential positions available, and the possible problems presented by the field itself[117].

A high level of autonomy also produces a blurring between the role of the writer and of the critic, where the writer, being so versed in the theory of producing

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[113] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 49.
[114] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 49.
[115] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 48.
[116] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 235.
[117] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 235.

literary text, is ready to produce the avant-garde that exists in potential in the field itself[118]. As such, greater autonomy means that the entry fee requires a higher level of reflexivity[119]. As a consequence, what occurs in a field becomes more and more linked to what happens in the history of the field[120].

In essence, when a literary field experiences a high level of autonomy, entry is denied to those who are not familiar with its heritage[121]. Avant-garde texts go through a process of social ageing where as the process of consecration continues and increases, the text is disseminated more widely in an effort to increase the number of readers exposed to it[122]. Newer generations arrive challenging the current avant-garde in vogue through the introduction of new movements or through the support of older movements[123]. This creates an accumulation of cultural capital within the field that further pushes it towards autonomy as the centre of the field (marked by the works considered to have literary merit) pulls away from the influence and demands of the field of power. A high level of autonomy within the field means that cultural producers are more likely to ignore the requirements of temporal powers in an effort to protect and nurture the collective cultural capital[124]. In this situation the line between commercial art and avant-garde is constantly claimed and reclaimed by either side in an effort to control absolutely the power to decide what is consecrated and what is not[125]. It is in this state of affairs where neither a traditionally literary reading nor a typical social reading of a text and

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[118] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 241.
[119] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 242.
[120] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 243.
[121] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 244.
[122] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 245.
[123] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 219.
[124] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 221.
[125] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 224.

author is sufficient as both push any analysis towards a fetishism of the creator[126]. Thus, all actors in an autonomous literary field participate in a collective labour to ensure that the game of consecration continues functioning through the exchange of credit, where established authors consecrate emerging authors through launching their book or writing a preface, or where younger authors consecrate older authors as gurus in the field, or between authors and literary critics, or between authors and benefactors – credit that is only valid within the field[127].

Since the process of consecration yields profits in the long term, only those that have the economic resources to sustain themselves in the short term are the ones that can provide the most avant-garde texts, or the riskiest propositions of literature[128]. As such, those writers coming from the lower classes are apt for writing literature that is in immediate commercial demand[129]. However, limiting forces placed by the ruling classes are not rigid. There are melting points where those in different positions within the field try to contest each other, and endeavour to impose some of their influence upon the other. A good example of this are the literary salons where agents from those fields of influence endeavour to compel their perspective on the cultural producer and to secure what Bourdieu describes as 'the power of consecration and of legitimation'. While the artists themselves attempt to convince those in power of their vision and of how to distribute the symbolic and material capital the state reserves for cultural producers[130]. So, even an autonomous field may find a convenient partnership with the state as those in power can provide

[126] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 229.
[127] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 230.
[128] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 261.
[129] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 261.
[130] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 51.

the material and symbolic benefits necessary to produce culture that the market does not demand[131]. Like those with political power, the owners of newspapers and those editors-in-chief also exert a great influence on the literary field. As Bourdieu notes, these have the power to make or break an artists' work with a favourable or unfavourable review[132].

For Bourdieu, at the heart of the struggle within the literary field is the power to confer literary legitimacy[133]. The prize, of course, is the power to decide who is a literary author and who is not. Interestingly, in this struggle for legitimacy and for being able to confer legitimacy, a writer or group struggling to reach legitimacy will inevitable confer legitimacy on their adversaries just by naming them as adversaries[134]. The dominant within the literary field use discretion and silence to maintain their orthodox discourse and only reveal it when newcomers come into the field and challenge it[135]. Persons, institutions, publications, gatherings and newspapers can serve as a classificatory scheme, which demonstrates the structure of relations within the field and serve as 'landmarks or beacons'[136]. For example, a publisher can be classified depending on its distribution and balance between investing in uncertain, long term projects and somewhat secure, short term projects[137].

Taking all of this into account, it is no coincidence that the art-for-art's sake or pure art movement arose when the technology and demand for the mass

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[131] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 52.
[132] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 53.
[133] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 42.
[134] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 42.
[135] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 83.
[136] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 95.
[137] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 98.

production of cultural goods began. The ideal of pure art commences in order to be able to create the artist/author and celebrate the genius creator - the sacred artist - to differentiate its genius from works that are mass-produced[138].

The distinction between the artist and the populist writer is reflected in the audience of each. Just like the well off can afford a bespoke suit, so they have the time and resources to comprehend and consume high literature. So, within the literary field, there is the field of production (mass culture) and the field of restricted production (high-end artistic and literary products). The first is aimed at non-cultural producers and the latter is aimed at cultural producers and competitors. Bourdieu points out that what this process achieves is that critics create 'distinction', and is in fact, a mode of criticism that is "a product of privilege"[139].

Protecting this "product of privilege" are the institutions that worship a particular aesthetic. Museums, literary and artistic trails, and other such institutions are the gatekeepers of "good taste"[140]. In light of this, the more advanced the autonomy of a field, the less the value is placed on the labour of the artist and more is placed on the artist itself[141]. As an obvious consequence, art-for-art's-sake, the purist movement, occurs in a field that is highly autonomous[142]. New entrants into the field will need to acknowledge the inherent history of the field in order to make their mark.

This process is furthered by the education system that takes off where each movement ends, canonising certain works and turning them into classics, preparing

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[138] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 114.
[139] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 289.
[140] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 293.
[141] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 295.
[142] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 299.

mass audiences to be receptive to avant-garde movements that have already been established[143]. As such, it is instrumental to understand the 'conditions of production' and the 'conditions of reception'[144] when analysing a literary text.

In the Rules of Art, Bourdieu focuses his attention on Gustave Flaubert's Sentimental Education. In nineteenth century Paris, the course of the literary field changed. For the first time, a wedge was driven between literature and commerce, and the movement of art-for-art's-sake is created – or as Bourdieu calls it, the cult of disinterestedness (to material profit) – and the literary field slanted towards autonomy away from the pressures and demands of commerce[145].

As Bourdieu observes, at the time of Flaubert, there was no particular 'apparatus of consecration' (a role usually taken by universities) so political bodies and similar groups of influence were given more opportunities to have a decisive impact on the field in question. They were able to do this by controlling the rules on limitations (lawsuits and censorship, for example) but also through the distribution of economic and symbolic capital (such as salaried posts, government offices and honorific posts)[146]. Due to this influence on the limitations placed on the literary field, what is considered literature is always a reflection of the preferences by 'self-made men'. During Flaubert's epoch, the novel form was the preferred choice of these 'self-made men'. Bourdieu suggests that the reason for the novel's pre-eminence among the dominating classes was due to the ease with which men in power could use these fictional pieces as neutral conversation starters to establish a common ground before entering into serious business negotiations (a prime example

[143] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 304.
[144] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 309.
[145] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 48.
[146] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 50.

being the serialized novel). In contrast, poetry was associated with bohemia and with supporting the political views of those in the marginalized sections of society[147].

Once Bourdieu establishes Flaubert's place in the literary field, and how the author assisted in transforming it, Bourdieu goes on to detail the state of the literary field from the 1880s onwards[148]. As opposed to the seventeenth century where Bourdieu notes that those authors most sacralised received the highest level of remuneration, the end of the nineteenth century saw those authors most regarded by their contemporaries receiving very little commercial success[149]. The theatre, where a small number of authors received great profits, was particularly considered the arena in which to achieve commercial success. Poetry, where tiny amounts of money were made by a small number of authors, was at the other end of the spectrum. In the middle was the novel, which provided a greater number of authors with commercial success so long as they catered to the tastes of the petit bourgeois and what Bourdieu labels the "labour aristocracy"[150]. As the literary field grows in autonomy and begins to create its own criteria of excellence, each genre within the novel form becomes more distinct from the other[151]. Hence, a comparison between the seventeenth century and nineteenth century literary fields reveals a remarkable contrast; the higher the possible financial rewards for a particular literary genre or medium, the lower its cultural capital within the literary field itself. As each genre within the literary field becomes more distinct (and more autonomous) each genre divides further into a "research sector" and a "commercial sector", with each sector

[147] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 50.
[148] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 113.
[149] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 114.
[150] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 114.
[151] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 114.

becoming increasingly hostile towards the other[152]. As time progresses, secondary subdivisions appear, for within the sector of pure production, there exists both the avant-garde and the consecrated avant-garde[153].How consecrated an avant-garde work is depends on how many artistic generations have come after it. Each artistic movement supersedes and outdates the previous one, which then consecrates works from a generation previous to its current predecessor[154]. An interesting by-product of this cycle is that as each successful movement has legitimized itself, they also legitimize the act of revolution in literature[155]. This move towards constant revolution creates a real tension at the centre of the field between those wishing to surpass their immediate literary precursors and those protecting their legacy as established writers[156].

Bourdieu derives a lot of his reasoning and gives an explanation of how the Field of Cultural Production and the literary field work by using the French example and the works of Flaubert. However, the specificity of this does not take away from the underlying conditions and characteristics of such fields. The principles of autonomy and of how cultural and economic capital works and is accrued within the field is applicable to many literary fields. However, as said previouslt, the case analyzed by Bourdieu shows an established literary field with considerable autonomy. Chapter 4 of this dissertation will take his argument further by applying his guidelines to construct the literary field of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Argentine literary field. After the construction of the field of power and the

[152] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 120.
[153] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 121.
[154] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 123.
[155] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 125.
[156] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 126.

literary field, it is possible to now include the *habitus* of the author and the trajectory traversed by the author within the field.

2.6 THE *HABITUS* AND THE AUTHOR'S POINT OF VIEW

Once the field of power and the literary field have been mapped out (providing a good understanding of the space of possibles available to the author) another layer of analysis can be added to the Bourdieuian approach to literary analysis. This means situating authors through a study of their *habitus* and the positioning choices made evident through their textual selections (thematic, stylistic, and ideological), their communications with other people in and out of the literary field, their other writings and their professional and personal associations.

To begin with, Bourdieu imagines *habitus* to be something akin to socialised subjectivity. The concept of *habitus* is not new. Previous philosophers such as Aristotle, Hegel, Weber, Aquinas[157], Durkheim and Husserl had played with the idea before Bourdieu. In particular, Husserl referred to *habitualität*, which the philosopher used to mean those factors already found in the environment that the subject has to navigate[158].

Put simply, a *habitus* includes the orientation or predisposition a person has toward a set of practices utilised to navigate the field they inhabit. Bourdieu calls this "a system of dispositions, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action"[159]. Bourdieu makes it very clear that the *habitus* is not a set of rules regulating behaviour that is set externally; it is adopted by the individual both consciously and unconsciously and choice is influenced by upbringing, culture, education and material wealth as well as

[157] For an excellent account of Aquinas version of *habitus*, see Ana Teresa Martinez. Pierra Bourdieu: Razones y Lecciones de un Práctica Sociológica, (Buenos Aires: Manantial: 2007): 94.
[158] Grenfell and Hardy 29.
[159] Hillier and Rooksby 43.

by personality and temperament and other such external and internal variants[160]. Some practices are subconsciously chosen and adopted without choice, and the same can be said for conscious modes of operating – although Bourdieu would point out that these conscious modes of practice are motivated by self-interest[161].

Bourdieu also explains that a *habitus* exists within a system. What he means by a system is that possession of a certain education, background, economic status and other such markers create a common environment he terms "lifestyle". People with this lifestyle make similar choices and have similar preferences in art and politics. This is not to say that lifestyle is homogenous. Bourdieu is quick to state that this appreciation of *habitus* can lead to the idea that "human behaviour is monolithic"[162]. He acknowledges that there is much diversity within a certain lifestyle, but he contends that this has limits and there is always a "loose systematicity"[163].

Another characteristic of *habitus* Bourdieu notes is that it is "non-natural" and self-reproducing but not eternal[164]. It is generative: it can re-invent itself with each new generation through extensive possibilities that change at each instance.

Finally, a *habitus* or disposition is useful as long as the objective conditions that created it stay the same. But of course objective conditions are not static – they change. When a *habitus* meets with a new set of objective conditions, it transforms

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[160] Colebrook, Claire. New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997): 92.
[161] Colebrook 92.
[162] Hillier and Rooksby 45.
[163] Hillier and Rooksby 45.
[164] Hillier and Rooksby 45.

or tweaks itself [165]. As such, *habitus* is not a tool that should be used on its own, but in conjunction with the field which is always a site of struggle.

For Bourdieu, the concept of *habitus* captures how action (the doing by individuals) is controlled within society without relying on outmoded and somewhat artificial explanations that action and the repetition of actions occur because of an adherence to rigid rules and customs[166]. *Habitus* accounts for the connection between the individual (the subjective) and the society (the objective) and supersedes previous theories that placed the making of "reality" with either the subject or the objective. According to the concept of *habitus*, perception of reality is made by and exists within the subject but is also created by objective structures[167]. Subject and object are not in opposition to each other or in conflict with how each formulates reality: both are the expressions of each other[168]. This manner of accounting for the creation of reality, in which the subjective individual and the objective society are co-conspirators in its construction and fluidity, challenges general scholarly trends that place the creation of so-called reality either with the individual, as seen in psychology, or with society, as seen with sociology, economics and political science[169]. In fact, Bourdieu believes that this dichotomy distorts scientific inquiry because it favours political beliefs that require the separation of the individual from the state.

The concept of *habitus* has attracted much criticism, the main one being that it is too structuralist and deterministic. A good example of this argument can be

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[165] Hillier and Rooksby 46-7.
[166] Swartz Culture and Power 95.
[167] Swartz Culture and Power 96.
[168] Swartz Culture and Power 96.
[169] Swartz Culture and Power 97.

found in Callewaert's explanation of Bourdieu's estimation of Foucault where he explains that both scholars elected and were elected by the positions available in the field as though the choices were strictly binary[170]. This approach to understanding *habitus* ignores that the field is filled with a space of possible that moves beyond binary choices. A person's habitus will orient them towards certain positions where choice is possible,[171] but although it is a great influencing constraint, it does not leave the individual without choice. *Habitus* does not determine an individual's fate[172]. Bourdieu explains that a subject's *habitus* is not deterministic because an individual is not a static point within the social space. Because of this, there is room between subjects and the institutions that have influence upon them, and in this room is where contradictions can occur[173]. Another way in which *habitus* does not necessarily predispose an individual to the fate dictated by societal objectives is when the characteristics of the *habitus* are different from the positions existing within the social space[174]. Adding to this is the notion that there is a temporality to the *habitus* which is relevant to each class and subgroup[175]. Hence, the subject's *habitus* is unfixed and constantly changing and updating. The most useful aspect of the *habitus* concept is that it explains how social relations become so familiar to the

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[170] Callewaert, Staf. "Bourdieu, Critic of Foucault the Case of Empirical Social Science against Double-Game-Philosophy." Theory, Culture & Society 23.6 (2006): 75.
[171] Fowler, Bridget. "Autonomy, Reciprocity and Science in the Thought of Pierre Bourdieu." Theory, Culture & Society 23.6 (2006): 100.
[172] Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc JD Wacquant. An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1992): 133.
[173] Bourdieu, Pierre. Homo Academicus. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988): 156-66.
[174] Hillier and Rooksby 31-2.
[175] Kauppi, Niilo. "The Sociologist as Moraliste: Pierre Bourdieu's Practice of Theory and the French Intellectual Tradition." SubStance 29.3 (2000):12.

individual that participation in social behaviour is felt as normal and still develop new strategies against social tension[176].

Perhaps the great weakness of the *habitus* theory is that, as Noble and Watkins (2003) noted, Bourdieu describes the *habitus* without explaining how this *habitus* develops[177]. Because Bourdieu ignores the idea of consciousness it is understandable that from first reading that a subject's *habitus* becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy[178]. Noble and Watkins argue that to avoid this problem, a Spinozan revision of *habitus* becomes necessary. As these authors explain, Spinoza had a monist approach, rejecting that the mind and body were separate. Instead, the philosopher believed that both were interconnected[179]. This view of *habitus* overcomes Bourdieu's insistence that *habitus* is unconscious. If you adopt the Spinozan approach, *habitus* becomes the accrual of external forces onto the body that becomes permanent over time[180]. As such, Noble and Watkins shift the focus of *habitus* from "embodied capital" to "bodily capital" where it is the body that holds the 'capacities'[181]. Noble and Watkins go on to criticise Bourdieu's usual argument, that of approximating *habitus* to a 'feel for the game' (that is, something that is almost an instinct) and instead point out that before a player can 'play', the player needs to train[182]. Thus, considering *habitus* as a form of bodily capital enables it to be not only a type of limitation of the individual, but an enhancement also[183]. Noble and Watkins also go on to describe that the *habitus* is created through action,

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[176] Noble, Greg, and Megan Watkins. "So, How Did Bourdieu Learn to Play Tennis? Habitus, Consciousness and Habituation." Cultural studies 17.3-4 (2003): 521.
[177] Noble and Watkins 523.
[178] Noble and Watkins 524.
[179] Noble and Watkins 525.
[180] Noble and Watkins 526.
[181] Noble and Watkins 526.
[182] Noble and Watkins 527.
[183] Noble and Watkins 527.

practice, and discourse. Keeping to the example of sport, they use the example that a coach not only breaks down each movement (say with a tennis racquet) and how to approach each shot, but also explains the movement. In doing so, the coach creates a particular discourse of teaching movement, of coaching and of the sport itself[184]. These scholars therefore provide key arguments against Bourdieu's position that the *habitus* is an unconscious disposition[185]. However, they do remain true to Bourdieu's intent. Using the same analogy of the sportsperson and their 'feel for the game', they provide a more detailed configuration of the levels of awareness that they separate into three categories, agentic reflection, bodily attention and practical sense (automaticity)[186].

Gebauer and William (2000) explain the incorporation of the *habitus* by the subject differently. They theorise that the inclusion of a *habitus* occurs, as it were, just under the radar of language[187]. That is, social customs are not communicated through language, but through modeling[188]. Thus, as each person becomes and embodies the social norm through example, they are both recreating the social norm and passing it on to other individuals[189]. Gebauer and William argue that this process causes the body to become 'institutionalized' because it is acting out the interests of the 'institution'. However, they point out that this is not a passive occurrence: the individual chooses to orient himself within a particular field, and so mimics the actions and behaviours evident in a particular arena[190]. This two-way

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[184] Noble and Watkins 528.
[185] Noble and Watkins 529.
[186] Noble and Watkins 530.
[187] Gebauer, Gunter, and Jennifer Marston William. "Habitus, Intentionality, and Social Rules: A Controversy between Searle and Bourdieu." SubStance 29.3 (2000): 75.
[188] Gebauer and William 75.
[189] Gebauer and William 75.
[190] Gebauer and William 75.

transaction means that while institutions affect and form the body, the body, in turn, affects and forms institutions[191].

It is a powerful idea and the cornerstone of Bourdieu's proposition about how individuals acting within society should be understood. *Habitus* is not an easy concept to grasp and apply. But its dynamic nature and adaptability make it one of the most powerful tools sociology has to offer.

Situating the *habitus* within the field, the artistic or literary work is the product not only of the author's imagination and level of talent, but also of the affiliations, interests and fields of power exerting pressure on the author at the time of production. The field is presented to each potential writer/artist as a space of possibles. Each space of possible is defined by its accessibility and how many agents are in competition for a specific position and the agent's disposition regarding this position[192]. The space of possible or a position only becomes operational when agents in competition with each other localise it and see it as a possible vocation, aspiration or expectation[193]. Or as Dubois puts it, "the social agent hardly does more than adjust his dispositions to his indicated position until he finds personal satisfaction in the match"[194]

The *habitus*/disposition of the artist/writer will nudge her subconsciously and/or consciously towards surveying the space of possibles within the literary/artistic field. This is likely to reveal the positions and potential positions available in the field. The potential and existing positions in the space of possibles occur because of creative/artistic/cultural/social problems that require a

[191] Gebauer and William 75.
[192] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 64.
[193] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 64.
[194] Dubois 91.

literary/artistic solution. All these potential positions are involved in a tight struggle for dominance. In this struggle for dominance, writers/artists choose their positions. These positions are constantly changing due to the nature of the internal logic of the field, as well as the subtle effects of external factors. It follows that the meaning of a work will change when there is a change in and to the field [195].

The question is, of course, how explicit or conscious position taking in the field is for the author and how obvious are the dispositions available in the field. It is something that changes from moment to moment within the field and it depends on how autonomous the field is, as well as on any external factors affecting it. As such, it is different for each agent and from each time period[196].

For example, when a literary field is highly autonomous and therefore quite advanced, the option of the naïve author is unavailable to the newcomer. So any work produced must in some way be a 'nudge or a wink' between colleagues in reference to the field[197]. When discussing habitus, Bourdieu refers to the idea of strategy. The agent, depending on their habitus, their disposition and their 'feel for the game' will try to dominate the 'legitimate problematic' (the issues which are the site of struggle in the field and where agents will endeavour to find an artistic/literary solution) with a strategy which is not necessarily conscious, but which the agent will have the required habitus to formulate[198].

A further example of dispositions available is the process a writer will go through in selecting a publisher to submit their manuscript to. Each publisher will

[195] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 50.
[196] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 72.
[197] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 109.
[198] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 18.

have certain connotations. They will, for example, be identified as commercial, middlebrow, literary, emerging reputation or established reputation[199].

Bourdieu argues that this pre-selection (or choice) undertaken by authors either through conscious intentions or through unconscious dispositions ensures that the objective structures within the field exist due to the grace of the efficacy of these states conscious or unconscious pre-selection made by the agents within the field. This then also ensures that agents feel as though they have found what Bourdieu refers to as their 'natural niche'[200] when in fact, a lot more has gone on behind the scenes for writers with certain dispositions to be matched up with existing positions in the space of possibles within the field. Bourdieu also refers to the idea of "trajectory", which describes the career of a writer/artist and the series of spaces they occupy in the field over time[201]. As such, the writer's disposition makes him or her ready to accept certain positions available in the field. It should be noted that both position-taking and dispositions available are in a constant state of flux. Every new position made or taken displaces the whole structure of the literary field so it can be accommodated – it affects other positions taken[202]. The relationship between the field and *habitus* is in constant flux. Although the space of available positions does influence the characteristics required of possible candidates, and in turn, has an effect on the types of agents each position attracts, it is not deterministic[203].

Positions, on the other hand, are spaces in the literary field that can be taken up by writers/artists/producers with the disposition relevant to that position. The

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[199] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 134.
[200] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 134.
[201] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 18.
[202] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 64.
[203] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 65.

more a person is free from economic needs, the freer they are to pursue cultural capital through their literary works[204]. The literary field is made up of positions defined by its relationship to other positions. Each objective position in the field is engaged in a continuous struggle with another objective position and the field is thus in a constant state of conflict[205]. These constant movements between the possible positions available in the field and those actually taken by cultural producers have a direct influence on whether current modes of literary styles are honoured or invalidated[206].

Understanding the position the author has taken within the literary field is instrumental when analysing a particular literary text. This process of reconstructing the "space of the artistic position-taking" entails piecing together all of the positions available within the field and observing where the author chooses to be situated, demonstrated in the author's choices in form and content of their literary work[207]. Evidence of the author's intention regarding a position taken in the field can be found in declarations by the writer on literature and, as indicated, indirectly within the literary work itself. For example, Flaubert's intricate use of interlocking direct speech, indirect speech and free indirect speech allows the author to create a distancing effect between the various protagonists. This distancing effect creates a facade of social neutrality, allowing the author's hand to be effectively invisible. This apparent social neutrality gave Flaubert credibility in front of his critics and peers, who had no interest in "writing the mediocre well"[208], further elevating his

[204] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 62-3.
[205] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 232.
[206] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 233-34.
[207] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 87.
[208] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 94.

literary work to that of pure art because it is not tainted with partiality, politics or biases[209].

A further analysis of the position taken by the author is afforded when the 'hierarchy of genres' is considered, which notes which authors and styles of writing are consecrated; that is, given legitimacy, credibility and value by the literary gatekeepers. An author has a choice of any genre, style and work of past authors, and can decide to copy it, reject it, or transform it. When Flaubert elected the form of the novel for Sentimental Education, he selected what at the time was considered an inferior mode of expression. However, Flaubert transformed this medium, and elevated the novel to a new status. The style he chose was realism, hitherto used by his contemporaries for 'social literature'. But Flaubert's realism is not a literature of protest, but a type of realism for the middle to upper classes in which the French author combines a refined mode of writing with a realist approach to the bourgeois[210]. In essence, Flaubert combined two opposing styles –something his predecessors failed to achieve – writing about the most ordinary instances using the distancing between author-narrator-protagonist with the highest form of writing. If you imagine Flaubert in a reconstructed historical literary field of his time and reconstruct his point of view before he was known as 'Flaubert the author', it is clear that he needed to stand out in the literary field by changing the rules of the game[211]. And, consciously or not, this is what he chose to do.

Positions arise out of the struggle between dichotomies such as emerging writer vs. established author, novel vs. poetry, art for art's sake vs. social art.

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[209] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 31.
[210] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 93.
[211] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 98.

Overall, the struggle is between established modes of art and literature and the more innovative forms; or, to put it another way, between established artists and those endeavouring to make a place for themselves by challenging those established artists and co-opting other artists from previous generations[212]. Each position then is a point of 'investment' that is, if chosen, then a commitment and when a pouring of time and resources is required. Some positions may yield economic or cultural capital or both or neither[213]. Those who possess high amounts of economic, cultural and social capital move into new positions created in the space of possibles first[214]. From this space, a newcomer, in order to gain recognition in the literary field, must create a point of difference from other authors, especially those already established. If a newcomer is successful in creating difference, she will also create a new position within the field. When done successfully, this creates the avant-garde[215].

When it comes to understanding position taking, the question is not how the writer came to choose this particular position in the space of possible, but how that position came into existence[216]. For Bourdieu, the literary product is a manifest of the position-takings (or literary solution to the legitimate problems) available in the field while the author is a product of the position chosen in the field[217].

The struggle/relationship between the different agents inside and outside of the artistic/literary field depends to an extent on the field's autonomy[218]. To avoid severe competition, consecrated writers only acknowledge their contemporaries in

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[212] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 16.
[213] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 64.
[214] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 68.
[215] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 106.
[216] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 162.
[217] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 34.
[218] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 40.

the past[219]. Complementary literary figures in a given time provide for a good definition of the space of possibles. Even the esteem held by writers and artists for each other has an impact on the positions available within the field in successive generations[220]. Part of the effort a newcomer has to undertake is to push the more established authors into the past, creating time in the literary landscape[221].

According to Bourdieu, the formation and dissolution of groups follow a particular pattern. Infant avant-garde movements bubble up into the field, propelled by different actors positioned throughout the field. Once the movement consolidates, the symbolic capital accumulated goes to the few who possess the right *habitus* and the correct position in the field. Usually, the second generation in an avant-garde movement receives the symbolic profits[222]. All this seems as if it happens naturally, giving credence to the belief that agents are not manipulated by the set of objective relations in the literary field[223]. To create a new avant-garde movement, a potential author needs to instinctively understand the history of the field of cultural production. By doing so, the author can then realize the specific objective problem present within the field and is able to create the specific solution via a literary text. Bourdieu does touch upon the question regarding how aware the agent is of this process and concedes that much depends on the agent's trajectory, their own particular historical moment within the field and the level of autonomy present within the field[224].

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[219] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 60.
[220] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 66.
[221] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 107.
[222] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 267.
[223] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 269.
[224] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 272.

To exemplify this in the present-day literary field, there is much hostility at present between bestsellers that are forgotten tomorrow and classics which keep on being printed because of their installation within the education system[225]. Those publishers, editors and writer interested only in the sacralisation of classics are involved in a 'denegation' – that is an 'ambiguous behaviour' where they wish to create a business without being interested in its commercial success. This is because they chase symbolic success that is seen as worthier success because it derides any interest in money – what can be considered a base interest[226]. This causes the field to be in constant turmoil as it is caught in a struggle between those authors who have made an impact on the field and are thus trying to remain current and those new writers endeavouring to make their own impression onto the field and break the stronghold of the old regime (or movement in vogue). As such, the field is always 'temporalized' as the new entrants in the field rise to overtake the old guard[227]. As those authors reigning over the field are toppled by the emerging talent, and as they become consecrated and associated with particular schools of thought, remaining like fossils in the amber of history, they become familiar as time goes by and they begin to enjoy some commercial success. However, once their immediate successors have aged, they may come back into vogue as examples of the literary past, and they may choose to side with the generation challenging the supremacy of those writers that challenged their own supremacy. This transfer of generational credit may appear in the prefaces or articles as "winks, silent and hidden references to other artists, present or past"[228].

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[225] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 147.
[226] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 149
[227] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 157.
[228] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 161.

There are also other, internal pressures active within the literary field that affect the *habitus* of an author and their choice in the space of possibles. Critics are instrumental in the process of consecration, but they do not exist in a vacuum. In fact, critics exist at the pleasure of audiences because they can only earn the title of critic if they are 'attuned' to their society, the 'tastes' and the 'whole *habitus*' of the audience[229]. With this in mind, it becomes clear the author will usually hide these encounters between their *habitus* and the literary field in the actual work creating a sort of 'symbolic fabrication' that discourages any real investigation[230]. Of course, it is usually a difficult strategy to uncover what Bourdieu terms as the 'first beginnings' of a text. This difficulty can mean that the researcher is trapped into accepting the position of the sacralised text as created by the gatekeepers of the field at the time of production. Bourdieu proposes that instead of trying to understand the particular nuances that made the text a classic to begin with, the investigator should instead look at the 'collective belief' the author tapped into in order to create the work which causes the identification or resonance with the reader: what Bourdieu labels the 'collective misrecognition'.

As such, a literary text does not have an innate value, but a received value coming from the collective misrecognition. As Bourdieu sees it, the value of a work of art is "collectively produced and reproduced"[231].

This point brings this section to an end, as the creation of social misrecognition will be discussed in the next section.

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[229] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 165.
[230] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 167.
[231] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 172.

Understanding the manner in which writers position themselves through their literary associations, competitors and adversaries as well as through their literary work is an important step in understanding the true literary value of a literary piece. It is the step from how the writer positions themselves in the field to how the writer becomes an author and is positioned in the field by publishers, reviewers, critics, scholars, literary institutions and the education system that reveals what exactly makes a particular work contain the essence of 'literariness'. It is this step that reveals what is usually hidden in the study of literature: that the human interactions and decisions by those in power within the field that lead to a classic becoming a classic are not as coincidental, fateful or magical as once perceived. Far from it – the process of literary creation is quite manufactured.

2.7 THE *ILLUSIO* AND THE COLLECTIVE MISRECOGNITION

The ultimate question for any literary scholar is what makes a novel, a short story, or a poem a literary work. Merely stating that its literariness makes it worthy falls short of our understanding of how our culture is produced. The smaller audience of peers and then of course the wider audience of the general public are responsible for creating the meaning and value attached to each literary piece. This is why the author is 'made' through the process of cultural production.

In contrast to other internal and external readings, Bourdieu is very much concerned with the question of what or who authorizes/authors the author. For Bourdieu, the production of culture has nothing to do with what Marxism, for example, says about the value of a unit of production, which maintains that a unit's value is derived from the process of production. But the value of a novel does not equate to the value of the physical material of a book or even the time it took an author to write it. According to Bourdieu, the value in the novel is in the symbolic value discovered by the first point publisher.

The publisher is the first contact the writer has with agents in the literary field when they wish to find an audience for their literary work. The relationship between the writer and the publisher is an uneasy one. Bourdieu considers it as antagonistic because they are "adversaries in collusion"[232]. Although the author makes the work, the publisher has the power to 'make' the work. So, it is prudent when asking who creates the creator to look at the ideology of creation that is quite evident within the literary and artistic fields. The author is traditionally regarded as the original and ultimate source of value of the literary/artistic piece. However, this

[232] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 78; Bourdieu The Rules of Art 220.

hides the undertakings of the cultural businessperson who, in exchange for managing the material capital derived from a particular work, endows the author with symbolic capital. The mere effort of 'discovering' a work, of publishing and marketing it, is the beginning of the consecration of the work. It is also the beginning of the accumulation of symbolic capital by the author who is being exploited by the cultural businessperson[233].

These cultural business people do not go about an obvious hard sell. This would be unproductive: remember that those within the most autonomous part of the literary field wish to push away any demonstration that they are keen to amass economic capital. Instead, they use public relations in the process of consecrating a new work of art or literature. Public relations, which include "receptions, society gatherings, and judiciously placed confidences", are regarded as a denegation of actual publicity[234]. The source of power of the consecrator (the cultural businessperson) lies in their ability to amass 'credit value' derived from the relationships they have with people within the field (writers, artists, other publishers, critics, and academics)[235]. Their social and literary capital within the field is what makes them so attractive to writers and authors.

Of course, the final consecrator of any literary work is the public. Readers at large will confer a work as literary through appropriating it and objectively or subjectively identifying with the value of the work[236].

The joint responsibility of both a number of people (the writer, the reader, the critic, the publisher and the editor) and political and economic forces for how the

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[233] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 76-7.
[234] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 77.
[235] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 78.
[236] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 78.

text is constructed is an aspect often ignored in literary criticism. As Bourdieu states, this partnership constructs what is considered universal reality. 'Successful socialization' ensures that each individual assimilates shared structures that include an agreement about what is art and what contains the essence of 'literariness'[237].

There is no denying that the reception (or lack of reception) of works of art or literature occurs in historically and sociologically rich circumstances. Works of art or literature become important because a particular group recognize these pieces as important to them, cultural needs borne of political and economic realities and the ability of academics and critics to realize its symbolic value (if there is any) or, as Bourdieu posits, to symbolically appropriate it[238].

It is important to note that although the public at large is the ultimate arbiter of what will become a literary classic, physical accessibility to an artistic or literary work is an illusion perpetuated to promote the idea that individuals self-exclude from cultivated forms of art. But understanding a particular piece requires a decoding process that is acquired through education (and often highly specialized education if the piece is to be decoded as it is originally intended by the rules established by the artistic field) that is not immediately accessible. Merely viewing or possessing a work of art or literature is insufficient to comprehend it[239]. The layperson may have physical access to the literary work in question, but they may not necessarily be equipped with the knowledge necessary to decode the work, that knowledge being the common system of references that cultural producers understand[240].

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[237] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 334.
[238] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 21.
[239] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 22.
[240] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 222.

Bourdieu sees a work of art as holding the same intensity of emotion for society and individuals as a fetish as fundamentally, a work needs to be imbued with symbolism that it is a work of art by society. Everything that has assisted a literary work to become a 'literary work' needs to be taken into account – even the social conditions of production as this reveals the behind-the-scenes alliances to people and belief systems[241]. So, not only does the production of the material work need to be accounted for, but also the production of the value of the work, or the symbolic production[242]. The writer produces the material part of the work while the publishers, the critics, the academics and the readers are involved with the symbolic production of the work[243].

As such, in terms of the manifestation of field, the reading of the work is an act of recreating its meaning through interpretation and perception. This decoding process is undertaken by the lay reader, the professional critic, the newspaper reviewer, the literary scholar, the secondary school teacher, and government agents on literary boards, and each one will have a different reading and their reading will hold different weighting. As Bourdieu writes, the literary work in question will most probably be revalued and constructed 'hundreds of times'[244]

This process of reconstructing the value of a literary piece is the process of cultural production. In this process not only is the material object produced (that is, the literary piece itself) but also the value of the material object – that is, the recognition amongst the literary community that the work in question has artistic legitimacy. This process of uncovering or decoding the work is one where cultural

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[241] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 35.
[242] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 37.
[243] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 37.
[244] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 111.

producers discover a "system of common references, a common framework"[245] within the work that “exists only by virtue of the (collective) belief”[246].

There is a two-stage process in the creation of the value of a literary piece: the first is the stage of consecration, where cultural producers join to create the value of a literary work; the second stage is making the audience through the education system. It is in the education sector that students are taught the decoding process[247].

Bourdieu’s mode of literary analysis breaks the spell created by the literary form and reveals the structures embedded within the text. In addition, what this manner of analysis achieves is a way of listing and analyzing the many reasons why a literary work is sacralised. Why does a particular literary work emerge when it does? Why is it created by a particular author? Why is it created in a particular form? Why does it capture the popular or critical attention of its contemporaries and later of literary scholars? These questions and their possible answers provide a picture that is more fully representative of the forces at play (in society, the literary field, the life of the author) that come together in the moments of literary production and dissemination.

Of course, this is a very difficult process when analyzing the classics. The positions available at the time are usually not commented upon extensively as they are about something fundamental to our functioning in a wider society, yet so mechanical and pedestrian at the same time – our social interactions and capital and how we position ourselves with the available options given to us in a particular field[248].

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[245] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 179.
[246] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 35.
[247] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 121.
[248] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural production 31.

The study of institutions and people and their relationships and the general 'common sense' of the time can be garnered from pamphlets and corporate newsletters from publishers, academies, established journals, trade magazines, and galleries. These are likely to disclose, sometimes hint, and at other times reveal fully the alliances and associations between agents, as well as squabbles and clashes between individuals which would have been known information at the time. Yet, when literary/artistic works are subject to traditional modes of criticism, the contexts of the relationships in which these works are created are lost. In effect, works are cleaned from their social context, providing for a sanitized reading of a literary piece that ultimately fails to truly reveal why it is, in fact, considered literary – why, as Jakobson would posit, it contains 'literariness'.

This understanding of how social misrecognition and the creation of an *illusio* work is key in the analysis of how Martín Fierro was further imbued with cultural value three decades after the author's death. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

2.8 LIMITATIONS AND CRITICS TO THE BOURDIEUIAN APPROACH TO CRITICISM

Bourdieu's contribution to the study of literature has been impressive. However, there have been many objectors to his brand of literary analysis, which uses sociological tools of discovery. There are many reasons for this. In terms of the study of literary works, criticism aimed at Bourdieu has tended to, interestingly enough, come from two camps: those who pursue literary readings and those who pursue social readings of texts.

To place these criticisms in context, it is helpful to understand that there has been in fact, much resistance to Bourdieu's sociology in some academic circles. In John Guillory's essay, "Bourdieu's Refusal"[249], the author lists many possible reasons for the rejection of Bourdieu's theoretical outlook North American and British scholars. Guillory lists the following reasons for the rejection of the French sociologist's theories which include the lack of understanding of Bourdieu's theoretical framework due to its being lost in translation from French to English, the discrepancy between the French and English academic and intellectual environments, Bourdieu's books being published in English without regard to the original chronology in which his works has been published, the severe difficulty any reader has in penetrating the sociologists meaning (Bourdieu's writing style is notorious for its density) and even the thorough self-examination that social reflexivity requires of the researcher (many academics have recoiled from undertaking such a level of self-examination that would reveal their own predispositions which may hinder an objective presentation of research material).

[249] Guillory, John. "Bourdieu's Refusal." Pierre Bourdieu: Fieldwork in Culture (2000): 19-43.

However, Guillory writes, none of these reasons truly reflect the unprecedented antagonism and opposition to Bourdieu's work, especially when other theorists of similar ilk – namely Foucault and Derrida – have been accepted with such enthusiasm in British and North American scholarly circles.

Guillory goes deeper and ventures another reason for the rejection that Bourdieu receives in English universities. The author states that it's Bourdieu's essential deterministic – and ultimately depressing – message that creates much resistance of his work in English academic circles. Bourdieu's sociological theories, as understood by English scholars, are that all social action can be reduced to self-interest as individuals strive towards the accrual of capital (either economic, social, cultural or symbolic). Any action undertaken by agents in the field is purely done with the caveat that it further their own self-interests as opposed to progressing social change or academic scholarship. Guillory notes, Bourdieu's North American and British readers deduce that the sociologist's account of human motivation is ultimately "reductive and pessimistic"[250] which is a misreading of Bourdieu.

Guillory explains that what is at the heart of the matter when English scholars reject Bourdieu is that they ultimately reject one of the most unspoken yet present ideas underlining Bourdieu's theoretical framework; that is, whatever social actions transpire and whatever the aims of the agents, every push forward or change in social movement will always return to rebuilding structures that dominate[251]. In other words, that social change is a zero sum game. What Guillory is alluding to is that revolutions and new social movements, no matter what their inclination, always

[250] Guillory 20.
[251] Guillory 21.

end up reproducing structures of domination. If this is true, then this is an ahistorical maxim[252] which many scholars may be uncomfortable accepting.

Bourdieu receives much criticism because many scholars believe that Bourdieu the sociologist is endeavouring to place sociology above all other academic fields. In the first few paragraphs in the Preface of The Rules of Art, Bourdieu invites this backlash into his backyard as he calls those that would argue that literature is the only way in which to view the true essence of being human in the world as "vapid reflections on art and life"[253]. It is Bourdieu that holds up the mirror to those modes of study that claim a unique affinity with being able to study the world and in doing so, invites the rebuttal that neither is sociology the be all and end all. In fact, the criticism leveled by these scholars at Bourdieu is that the sociologist is on a mission to create a social theory that is far reaching and all-encompassing in its understanding of the world. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. In his writings, Bourdieu has always been very careful to denounce any such inclination in his work, instead preferring to provide theory through specificity[254].

It is against this backdrop that criticisms on the limitations of the bourdieauian mode of analysis encounter resistance. It is interesting to note though, that the most insightful criticism has come from critics who to a large extent acknowledge and support the general impact of sociological analysis on the field of literary studies, though with reservations, caution and suggestions for the completion

[252] Guillory 22.
[253] Bourdieu The Rules of Art xiii.
[254] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 178.

of what is perceived to be a basically open ended methodology (for critical responses see Shusterman 1999, Brown 2000 and Shwartz, 2005).

The scientistic model vs. artistic discussion of Bourdieu's The Rules of Art has been the subject of critical attention from literary theorists and critics who have discounted the grand claims of revelation and unveiling made by Bourdieu's sociological (and not openly literary) methodology. Stephen Thomson (2003) questions Bourdieu's attachment to the scientific method having full ownership of the autonomous perspective[255]. The focus of Thomson's critique is a series of veiling images with which Bourdieu's crafts an idea of the veil. Thomson concludes that the:

> "hierarchy is quite clear and unbending: scientific writing is the form of text that is adequate to the structures that the literary text can only deliver shrouded in a haze of contingency, and as such it represents a categorical advance"[256].

Thomson's critical position is compounded by the common concern against Bourdieu, that his work lacks referencing, that he makes insufficient acknowledgment of the work of peers in allied disciplines and that his texts display a difficult attitude towards references.

At the publication of its first English translation in the early 1990s, The Rules of Art instituted an opposition of scientific and literary writing that is fundamental in creating a specifically scientific identity for Bourdieu's own text. Put another way Bourdieu's dismisses the literary in favour of the scientific method[257]. The effect, according to Thomson, of such opposition puts in the foreground

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[255] Thomson, Stephen. "The Instance of the Veil: Bourdieu's Flaubert and the Textuality of Social Science." Comparative Literature 55.4 (2003): 275-6.
[256] Thomson 276.
[257] Thomson 277.

Bourdieu's own lack of reflexivity[258] and failire to scrutinize "any soul but its own"[259]. Indeed, the text positions itself as transcendent of examination by dividing textuality "into the dreaming and the lucid and align[ing] itself entirely with the latter"[260]. Here the sociological methodology of this work on literature and its position within the field of academic disciplines and institutions, mediated by a broad division between continental European and Anglo-American universities, begin to transect.

Despite these limitations, Bourdieu's approach to the study of literature has much to offer. In the following chapters, this dissertation will endeavor to use Bourdieu's tools of analysis and apply it to the case study of the gaucho poem Martín Fierro and how this text has endured throughout two hundred years of Argentine literary history.

[258] Thomson 277.
[259] Thomson 278.
[260] Thomson 280.

2.9 A NOTE ON 'GRAND THEORY'

In The Rules of Art, Bourdieu reserves a chapter titled "Questions of Method" to state his disdain for what he terms 'grand theory'[261]. Bourdieu explains that attempts by sociologists or any other scholar to regurgitate theory without the solid basis of empirical study demonstrates a "false audacity" which is promoted by those seeking to gain "new academic respectability"[262]. Bourdieu warns against using his own sociological discoveries as a grand theory.

This dissertation does not endeavour to provide a 'grand theory' of literary analysis. What it attempts to accomplish is to situate the problem of a literary text that has become the site of struggle for a nation and understand the origins of this phenomenon. However, as this thesis is quite ambitious as it will cover two-hundred years of Argentine literary hisrtory, there may be some confusion its purpose.

However, the analysis in this dissertation will follow the counsel set out by Bourdieu in "Questions of Method"; that is, look at empirical objects (literary texts, letters, legislation, speeches, diary entries, newspaper articles, author interviews together with secondary sources which can provide historicle contexts) and use the tools set out by Bourdieu as an organizing principle to analyse and understand a complicated literary text, made complex not because of its mode of storytelling but by the social context in which it was produced and re-produced.

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[261] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 177.
[262] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 177.

2.10 CONCLUSION: HOW DO YOU SOLVE A LITERARY PROBLEM LIKE MARTÍN FIERRO?

This chapter has explored the tools of literary analysis available from Bourdieu's oeurve. It has considered these tools and their posible limitations in order to prepare for their application to the case of Martín Fierro. Having surveyed these limitations, a bourdieuian breakdown of what makes a particular work literary provides much insight into the way society reproduces itself through cultural production and gives literary theorists further armor when contemplating literary texts. As Bourdieu writes:

> "This realistic vision, which transforms the production of the universal into a collective enterprise, subject to certain rules, appears to me in the end more reassuring, and, if I may say so, more human than the belief in the charismatic virtues of pure interest in pure form"[263].

In Argentina, the poem Martín Fierro is considered the example of Argentine Literature and the example of argentinity (or what it means to be Argentinean). Since its publication in 1872 and 1879, it has enjoyed immense popular and literary success. However, both did not occur simultaneously. Although its popular success was immediate, its literary success was built over decades, with a quickening of its literary consecration three decades after its publication.

From its publication, the gaucho poem was extremely popular with the rural inhabitants in the provinces and with the reviewers of rural newspapers who recognized the local gauchesco genre. For example, Pablo Subieta, a Bolivian writer and critic who published articles in the newspapers in the Rio de la Plata region

[263] Bourdieu The Field of Cultural Production 191.

wrote in 1881 that the gaucho poem would experience literary longevity because it was 'classically' Argentinian. Subieta went on to state that if Italy had its Divine Comedy, Spain its Don Quijote, Germany its Faust, then Argentina had its Martín Fierro[264].

However, it wasn't until 1913 that it became an overwhelming literary force that successive generations of Argentine writers have returned to again and again either to exalt or to challenge. To this day, scholars and writers continue to debate the central position that Martín Fierro occupies in the literary field. Carlos Gamerro poses an interesting dilemma in his book Facundo o Fierro: Los Libros que Inventaron la Argentina (Facundo or Fierro: The Books that Invented Argentina). In it he posits that the history of the Argentine nation would've been different had the literary field chosen Facundo as its national literary text; that is, that the literary field would've ensured a more stable historical course had they chosen Facundo (civilization) and not Fierro (barbarism)[265]. We will explore this contrast in chapter 7. Ultimately, Martín Fierro becomes a self-fulfilling literary prophecy that with each reading reinforces its dominance in the literary field. With each reading, it becomes a new Martín Fierro, changing like a chameleon to suit whatever modern circumstances are necessary – Gamerro points out that Fierro is rebirthed as the local indigenous marginalized fighter, then as the gaucho, then as the working class migrant and then as the militant peronist[266]– yet retaining its form of protest and a voice for the marginalized. With each reading, the text is transformed.

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[264] Subieta, Pablo. "Martín Fierro." Las Provincias. 272 (1881): 1.
[265] Gamerro, Carlos. Facundo o Fierro: Los Libros que Inventaron la Argentina. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2015): 48.
[266] Gamerro 48.

In “El Martín Ferro en Borges y Martínez Estrada”, Monegal contends that it is imporssible to read the gaucho poem as it was read 1873. He also states that it is useless because each reading, especially by those of great literary standing like Ezequiel Martinez Estrada and Jorge Luis Borges, conjures a new version of the text that lies like a film on top of the original reading made on its publication[267].

In Facundo or Martín Fierro: The Books that invented Argentina, Carlos Gamerro spends an entire chapter discussing how problematic the gaucho poem is to analyse. He sumises that the gaucho poem is an untouchable cultural product which has become the site of political and intellectual struggle that all ideologies wish to occupy in victory[268]. It is in this context that a literary text becomes a literary problem to solve. If this is the case, the question then becomes ‘how do you solve a literary problem like Martín Fierro?’

The principles set out in Bourdieu’s The Rules of Art provide a unique approach to literary analysis that allows for an understanding of the trajectory of the poem. To solve a literary problem like Fierro, it is necessary to move beyond the text, beyond the author, beyond the critics, beyond what is happening externally yet still consider each in turn so that the manufacture of literary value can be uncovered. Some Argentine scholars have already signalled that Bourdieu and Martín Fierro might be a good match, albeit indirectly. For example, Beatriz Sarlo and Carlos Altamirano in Ensayor Argentinos: De Sarmiento a la Vanguardia published in 1983 utilize Bourdieu’s concept of field to understand the development of the Argentine

[267] Monegal, Emir Rodríguez. “El Martín Fierro En Borges Y Martínez Estrada.” Revista iberoamericana 40.87 (1974): 287.
[268] Gamerro, Carlos. Facundo o Martín Fierro: Los Libros Que Inventaron La Argentina. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2015): 106-107.

intellectual field and to a lesser extent, the literary field[269]. Similarly, Silvia Sigal in Intelectuales y Poder en Argentina: La Década del Sesenta published in 2002 explores the points of intersection between the political, intellectual and cultural fields in the 1960s in Argentina[270]. However, none of these authors focus on the gaucho poem as this dissertation will. This may be in part because Spanish translations of the sociologist's works have been slow to materialize[271].

As such, this intense focus on the gaucho poem using the bourdieuian tools already explored and evaluated in this chapter will make up the rest of the chapters of this thesis.

[269] Altamirano, Carlos and Sarlo, Beatriz. Ensayos Argentinos. De Sarmiento a la Vanguardia. (Buenos Aires: Ariel, 1983): 161.
[270] Sigal, Silvia. Intelectuales y Poder en Argentina: La Década del Sesenta. (Buenos Aires: Veintiuno, 2002).
[271] For a good summary of the use of Bourdieu by Argentine scholars, see Ana Teresa Martinez's article "Lecturas y lectores de Bourdieu en la Argentina" (*Prismas* [online]. 2007, vol.11, n.1 pp.11-30). Disponible en: <http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1852-04992007000100001&lng=es&nrm=iso>. ISSN 1852-0499.

Chapter 3

The Field of Power: Argentine Independence and the Search for 'Argentinity'

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In section 2.4, this dissertation discussed Bourdieu's work on the Field of Power (also known as the meta-field as this is the centre of power that can influence other fields). As per the extensive analysis in 2.4, in the first instance, it is necessary to survey the field of power existant in the space that will be studied. In this particular example, the space in question is a geographic, political and economic one. In the nineteenth century, the Argentine national social space was very different from the French one as conceptualised by Bourdieu in The Rules of Art; one was in the process of moving from the grip of its colonial master and pushing for independence and the formation of a national consciousness, while the other was feeling the reverberations of the revolution of 1848 and the Second French Empire and had enough history and a distinct and established meta-field or field of power to encourage the formation of an autonomous literary field. Argentina's literary field was barely in its infancy, but its progenitors were no less enthusiastic about bringing it to life. There were many movements and contra-movements both external to the nation-building project (independence wars with both the mother country and other, regional sovereign neighbours) and internal, such as civil wars, which contributed to

the making of a national social space that prepared the building blocks for a national literary field.

This chapter will endeavour to recreate the nineteenth century and early twentieth century field of power by looking at two distinct areas. Firstly, the external and internal political and military pressures that manifested through the wars of independence and the securing of national physical and geographical boundaries, and secondly the creation of a national identity through internal civil wars fought over principles of centralisation versus decentralisation of power. These events were participated in by intellectuals and writers willing to contribute to the construction of a national identity in an act of propaganda for their particular side but also to encourage a general patriotism. What is interesting to note is that the site of the physical and military struggle was replicated in the site of the ideological/political struggle (which will be further discussed in this chapter and the next) that then became the metaphoric site of the representative, narrative and literary struggle (which will be discussed in Chapter 5 and 6).

The field of power represents the relationship between different clusters of power or capital[272]. Power groupings exist in competition with each other and cannot exist capriciously or, as Bourdieu described it, as 'brute force'. As already mentioned, the grouping of power (where intention is usually expressed through the movement and exchange of capital) must validate its presence or at least ensure that the manner of its existence is recognised and therefore identified as legitimate by society[273].

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[272] Bourdieu, Pierre. *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998): 264.
[273] Bourdieu The State Nobility 265.

In this chapter, this Argentine field of power will be discussed through the consideration of several historical themes emerging from the geographical, political and economic struggles present in each period of time that ultimately influenced the change of phases in the literary field. This will be discussed further in section 2.5. The following table summarises these themes.

Table 2: Historical themes present in Argentina from 1810 until the 1950s.

Time Period	**Historical Theme / Point of Struggle**
1810 – 1830	Independence vs. Colonialism
1830 – 1860	Unitarians (Buenos Aires) vs. Federalists (Provinces)
1860 – 1890	Civilization (Buenos Aires) vs. Barbarism (Provinces)
1890 – 1920s	Locals (Mestizos) vs. Immigrants
1930s – 1950s	Cosmopolitanism vs. Nationalism

Although the timeline does touch upon the 1940s and 1950s, it does so only lightly. During this time, the gaucho poem became a site of political struggle between the Peronists and the anti-Peronists. Although this is an interesting area of research, this will not be covered in this dissertation as it has been well covered in other works like Carlos Gamerro's Facundo o Martín Fierro: Los Libros Que Inventaron La Argentina (2015) and other such texts. Although Gamerro does not do so from a Bourdieuian perspective, his account provides for a starting point that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Similarly, it is important to note that this is not an exhaustive categorisation or retelling of the history of the nation, but a capturing of the historical events that were instrumental in creating points of reference to which a literary field could emerge[274]. As such, this section will provide a historiographic account of the field of power and not an interpretive one. Since history is as debated as literature, there may be scope in future academic research to provide an interpretive account of the political and economic history of Argentina, but this would be outside of the limitations of this thesis. As such, this is not a complete characterisation of the history of Argentina. What this dissertation will hope to highlight in this chapter are the main ideological points in opposition to each other which formed the basis of the main site of struggle of the meta-field. This will provide a blueprint in which to understand how the Argentine literary field will emerge and from which Martín Fierro will be understood.

It should also be noted that this compaction of historical events will centre primarily on the Rio de La Plata and La Pampa regions because this is the region where the gauchesca genre developed. Figure 4 illustrates the geographical location of these provinces in Argentina.

[274] For a more traditional account of the history of Argentina, the work of Daniel K. Lewis in The History of Argentina (2014), Donghi, Tulio Halperín. Biblioteca del Pensamiento Argentino (1997) and Ricard Levene A History of Argentina (1937) provide an excellent detailing of Argentina from colonial beginnings until the twentieth century.

Figure 4: A map of the Rio de la Plata and La Pampa regions in Argentina[275]

[275] Maps taken from https://www.webfoodculture.com/second/asado-argentine-gaucho/.

3.2 THEME: INDEPENDENCE VS. COLONIALISM

The road towards the independence of the Argentine nation is a complicated one that has been a rich source for scholarly analysis and discussion. Over the last two centuries, many academics and dedicated historians have endeavoured to scrutinize and categorise the different movements that made the case for independence and the sovereign Argentine nation possible.[276]. During the sixteenth century, the Spanish Crown maintained a tight rule over Spanish America through a number of regulations that included restricting the number and type of people granted entry into the Spanish colonies ensuring its resources such as gold, agricultural production and slave labour were transferred cheaply to supply and maintain the Spanish realm. To conserve this power, the Spanish maintained the viceroy in Perú and many divisional representatives and legislative frameworks of the Crown in Buenos Aires, the busiest and richest port in the realm at the time. These included *La Ordenanza de Intendencias* (the order to organize the realm into municipalities) in 1782, *the Real Audiencia de Buenos Aires* (a type of appellate court system) in 1773, Customs in 1778, and the Commerce Consulate (a type of commerce court and bank) in 1794[277]. Despite these administrative instruments, the eighteenth century brought a number of external challenges that caused the Spanish hand to weaken its grip on its colonies. As the U.S. and France participated in their own political revolutions and the industrial revolution increased British economic power, the revolutionary

[276] Svampa, Maristella. El Dilema Argentino Civilización O Barbarie: De Sarmiento Al Revisionismo Peronista. (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1994): 10.
[277] Blanco, Alfredo Félix. "Some Considerations on the Influence of Economic Liberalism in the May Revolution of 1810 in Buenos Aires, Argentina". Iberian Journal of the History of Economic Thought 2.1 (2015): 37.

sentiment present around the world echoed in Latin America as well and many intellectuals and business people began to argue for independence.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Napoleonic invasion of Spain distracted it from its colonial rule, giving the local creoles or *criollos* (those of both Spanish and indigenous descent) the opportunity to demand and declare the independence of Argentina. However, it would take more than four decades for the nation to be unified and seven decades before the capital city of the new Argentine nation was chosen[278]. True unity was difficult to secure after the declaration of independence on 25 May 1810 because each province had its own governor (or chieftain / *caudillero*). There were acustomed to an autonomous leadership which those in Buenos Aires did not want to disturb because it was thought such a move would interfere with the commercial success generated in the areas of La Pampa and La Plata. However, this manner of self-government within each province, although commercially and somewhat politically convenient at the time, brought on much civil unrest[279]. From 1810 until the mid-nineteenth century, the country was gripped in a civil war between those who wanted political power concentrated in Buenos Aires and those that wanted to challenge this centralist approach[280].

The temporary government assembly of 1813 passed laws that secured independence and legislated to remove the Spanish coat-of-arms and the images of the monarchy from the national coin and replaced them with the seal of the United

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[278] Mac Gann, Thomas F. Argentina: The Divided Land. Vol. 28.) New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1966): 22.
[279] Rock, David. Argentina, 1516-1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín. (California: Univ of California Press, 1987): 79.
[280] Levene, Ricardo, and William Spence Robertson. A History of Argentina. Translated and Edited by William Spence Robertson. (North Carolina: Russell [and] Russell, 1937): 458.

Provinces composed of a sun and liberty cap bordered by a laurel leaf[281]. In important documents all declarations were made in the name of the supreme sovereign of the people, all persons who entered the United Provinces were free and equal and all slaves became free[282].

By April of 1813, representatives from the Banda Oriental of Uruguay[283], headed by the Uruguayan *caudillero* José Artigas, came before the United Provinces to present their conditions for recognizing the sovereignity of the assembly of the United Provinces. In what became known as the April Oration, Artigas succinctly stated that the Banda Oriental should be recognized by the assembly and absolved from the charges that they had been traitors (these accusations had been made by Manuel de Sarratea who had had been in charge of the Banda Oriental army the year before), that the geographic site of Montevideo should stay as it had been founded and that the Banda Oriental (now identified as the Rio de la Plata region) would be recognized as an autonomous province[284]. In June 1813, the United Provinces rejected these conditions[285]. They were rejected because they were seen to be against the push for a centralized nation at a time when numerous battles were taking place to secure the country's borders. This rejection ensured that relations between the Banda Oriental and Buenos Aires remained difficult. This is the first layer in the site of struggle in the Field of Power which would ultimately have an effect in the production of the Martín Fierro.

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[281] Levene 281.
[282] Levene 282.
[283] The Banda Oriental represented the territories of what is considered modern day Uruguay, the state of Rio Grande do Sur and Santa Catarina in modern day Brazil.
[284] Abadie, Reyes, and Washington Washington Reyes Abadie. Artigas Y El Federalismo En El Río De La Plata: 1810-1820 (1985): 6.
[285] Levene 282.

During this time, although the representatives of the confederate provinces signed the declaration of independence, Juan Manuel Belgrano and Bernardino Rivadavia were sent to Europe to pacify the Spanish Court and to ensure the protection of the English Government[286]. While Rivadavia was sent to Madrid, Belgrano travelled to England in order to secure acknowledgement of the independence of the United Provinces. The Spanish Minister Cevallos rejected Rivadavia's request[287]. At the instigation of Director Alvear (the leader of the newly declared independent Argentina), Belgrano met with the English Secretary of Foreign Affairs to hand in a letter from Alvear declaring that the provinces of the Rio de la Plata did not have the ability to self govern. As such, these provinces appealed to Great Britain for its protection[288].

Although some powerful people believed that a constitutional monarchy would ensure the stability of the new Argentine nation, a politician called Mariano Moreno was pushing for a representative democracy that reflected the popular sentiment of complete independence from Spain and Europe[289].

Rivadavia and Belgrano failed in their mission to Europe which weakened Alvear's leadership. By now, Artigas had grown in esteem in the littoral region and was considered the natural leader of the east and its people in Entre Rios and Corrientes. In response Alvear rushed to combat Artigas' forces but his army was defeated, resulting in Director Alvear's fall and the dissolution of the assembly[290].

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[286] Levene 286.
[287] Levene 287.
[288] Levene 287.
[289] Levene 288.
[290] Rock 95.

The internal disruptions added to the external stressors on the nation's borders. For example, the battle of Sipe-Sipe in upper Peru caused a lot of problems for the new government because the Spanish victory in that battle threatened Argentina's sovereign borders in the north. At the time the Argentine army was spread thinly along its borders because many battles were being fought on many fronts[291]. While in the north, General Guemes held up the front against incoming armies with his infamous band of gauchos who used the guerilla tactics that suited their extensive geographical knowledge, their tendency towards autonomous action and their staunch loyalty to their chief while to the west, San Martín fought the Spanish in the Andes with his 'liberating army'[292].

In 1816, provisional deputies from the provinces began to arrive in Tucuman[293]. The formal opening of congress on March 24 was where distinguished representatives from each province came together with the intention of discussing the next steps in forming a national government. But what soon became clear was that most disagreed with how the nationhood project should proceed. The most influential figures of the revolution, San Martín and Belgrano still supported a constitutional monarchy under the English. The vast majority of delegates sided with the popular sentiment of complete independence and a republic.

In an effort to save the revolutionary movement and to contain internal and external threats to it, another declaration of independence was made on 9 July 1816 and during this time the following question was put forward for delegates to vote on:

> "Do you wish that the provinces of the union should form a nation free and independent of the Kings of Spain?"[294]

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[291] Levene 315.
[292] Levene 304.
[293] Rock 78.
[294] Levene 297-8.

Their response included the solemn declaration that:

> "..invoking the God who presides over the universe, in the name and by the authority of the people whom we represent…it is the unanimous desire of the United Provinces of South America to sever the oppressive bonds which connected them with the Kings of Spain, to recover the rights of which they were deprived, and to assume the exalted position of a nation free and independent of King Ferdinand VII, of his successors and of the mother country, and to remain in consequence, by fact and by right with full and ample power to give themselves the political organization which justice demands"[295].

The battle to secure the Andean borders intensified and many did what they could to support the military campaign in that región. The ladies of Mendoza sold their jewels and gave the proceeds to San Martín's liberating army while the General himself declared:

> "Let him who loves his country and his honor come and take arms with me"[296].

There is no doubt that the victory and passage of the Andes increased San Martín's reputation as a military leader.

On 12 February 1817, one of the first great victories of the campaign occurred in Chacabuco where a proper base on the coast of the pacific was secured[297]. It also enabled the victory of the Battle of Maipu, which was coordinated by San Martín and resulted in the freeing of Chile from Spanish rule[298].

In 1821, under the leadership of San Martín, Peru was also liberated from Spanish control. As San Martín entered Valparaiso, he uttered his most famous words:

> "From this moment, Peru is free and independent by the general wish of the people and by the justice, of its cause, which may god defend! – "Viva la partria! Viva la libertad! Viva la independencia!"[299]

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[295] Levene 298.
[296] Levene 298.
[297] Rock 85.
[298] Rock 86.
[299] Levene 320.

As San Martín retired from military combat and, although he was victorious on each of the campaigns he undertook to secure Argentina's borders, he refused many of the commendations and government positions offered to him in gratitude for his service to the nation. Instead, in a letter to General Mitre, San Martín wrote:

> "My promise to the countries for which I have fought is fulfilled; to secure their independence, and to leave them to select their own governments, the presence of a fortunate soldier, however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to newly established states"[300]

During this time, the government of Pueyrredon, as well as powerful figures like Belgano and Deputy Acevedo continued to push for a limited monarchy that would restore the Incan dynasty[301]. However, Fray Justo Santa Maria de Oro – a bishop who was very influential in the Tucuman Congress – pushed for the people to be consulted first. Meanwhile, the provinces were engaged in civil war. Pueyrredon was in Buenos Aires and those members of the political class in Tucuman felt that the seat of government should be transferred to their region[302]. The national struggle between monarchical and republican ideals was also being fervently fought in popular newspapers[303]. Popular sentiment, which opposed waging one war to dethrone a king in order to enthrone another, supported a republic[304]. Newspapers in Buenos Aires like La Cronica Argentina supported this sentiment. With this occurring in the background, Congress legislated for a constitution that created two legislative houses, one representing the provinces and the other being representative of the population with each congressperson representing 25,000 citizens. However,

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[300] de San Martín, José Francisco. Su Correspondencia:(1823-1850). (Buenos Aires: América, 1919): 60.
[301] Levene 326.
[302] Levene 327.
[303] Levene 331.
[304] Levene 332.

the Governor of Santa Fe and many of the political class in the littoral region refused to pass this legislation or uphold it within their own provinces as they vehemently objected to a centralist government they believed would diminish their autonomy[305]. This escalated to the point where the province of Santa Fe declared war on the centralist government in Buenos Aires. This was ultimately resolved by an uneasy peace treaty.

Taking a step back from the intricacies of historical developments and viewing this through the lens of the Bourdieuian national social space, a number of observations can be made. The road to independence and the creation of the national social space was fiercely fought. Whereas some leaders only wanted a separation from Spanish influence, many inhabitants wanted a complete split from Europe, much as the United States had done with its British masters in the century before. This conflict went on for many decades and left many seedlings left to gestate in the literary field. As will be discussed Chapter 4, intellectuals and writers wanting to publish would need to choose a side.

Using Bourdieu's approach to understanding a nation's Field of Power, the above exercise demonstrates that during this period Argentina as a concept of nation moved from an idea in development to an established sovereign with borders and proactive agents endeavouring to carve out the new nation's political institutions from military origins and groupings. This transition where the border of national social space was not fixed but becomes so as the internal struggles for political capital and economic capital gain prominence. However, this does not mean that previous points of sensitivity do not act as a catalyst for change and renewal given

[305] Levene 334.

the right circumstances. The military movements and the need to secure independence from Spain had a great influence on the dominant conversation in the national social space. Newspapers and literary offerings were geared towards the support for independence. When analyzing the literary field in Chapter 4 the dominance of this conversation during this period and the direct effect it had on the cultural production of the time will become evident.

3.3 THEME: UNITARIANS (BUENOS AIRES) VS. FEDERALISTS (PROVINCES)

It is evident that during this time Buenos Aires was the site of much internal political strife. The reason for this is clearly articulated by V.F. Lopez, a well-regarded academic, lawyer and politician of the time:

> "The torment which had been caused by the influence of the democratic and republican spirit, the social semi-barbarism of our country districts, the immense distances separating the capital cities of the provinces and the poverty they suffered, were in sharp contrast with the concentration in the city of Buenos Aires of all the resources and leaders that could give direction and power to the revolutionary movement. Because of the fatal necessity of the situation, and because of the effort of that constitutional vice which still hindered the emancipation and the development of the life of the republic, Buenos Aires had to usurp, so to speak, the sovereign function of directing the other peoples and of imposing a tyrannical military government, in order to unite them in a common effort against the repeated attempts of Spain to regain the lost empire of its colonies"[306]

It was inevitable that Buenos Aires be the cenre of power. Iit was where the revolutionary and independent Argentine spirit was born, one reason for this being that local merchants resented paying exorbitant fees to the Spanish Crown and thus supported the act of secession[307]. However, what those in Buenos Aires did not perceive or understand was that the provinces had had their own individual voice and manner of organisation since the colonial era. These provinces joined the revolution to fight for their own right to autonomy and self-government and were not necessarily supportive of the centralization of power.

In January 1822, Governor Martin Rodriguez of the province of Buenos Aires signed a treaty with the governors of Entre Rios, Santa Fe and Corrientes to strengthen the position of the unitarians through the agreement of three important

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[306] Lopez, Vicente Fidel. "Revista Del Rio De La Plata." Periodico Mensual de Historia y Literatura de America (1872): 580-1.
[307] Levene 353.

points of recognition. Firstly, that each province was autonomous. Secondly, that each province made a commitment to nationhood and thirdly, that each province would enshrine this commitment to nationhood in their respective constitutions[308]. With this settled, the Cabildo (temporary meeting of government) in Tucuman was closed and it was decreed that a national congress would be held in 1926 in Buenos Aires[309].

In 1826, newly elected President Bardavino Rivadavia encountered his own problems as the clergy were against his administration because he put an end to a number of the benefits enjoyed by the Catholic Church. He did this by the abolishment of the 'ecclesiastical forum' (this was where cleric crimes were tried by an ecclesiastical judge and not civil judges) and the termination of the tax on citizens for the Catholic Church. He also brought in a new law that individuals under 25 years could not take vows and the ruling that personal property held by monasteries should be confiscated and returned to the state[310].

In spite of this opposition, much was accomplished by President Rivadavia to encourage intellectual and social engagement in the community. Rivadavia founded the first Society of Literature in order to establish a firm commitment to the literary arts. Its purpose was to promulgate social practices that would encourage a modern culture[311].

This move to institutionalise and validate the work of the intellectual and artistic classes is vital to understanding the parameters that the Field of Power can

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[308] Rock 98.
[309] Rock 99.
[310] Levene 364.
[311] Myers, Jorge. "La Revolución De Las Ideas: La Generación Romántica De 1837 En La Cultura Y En La Política Argentinas". *Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* (2010): 4.

potentially place on the literary field. Bourdieu maintains that a literary field is made up of more than publishers, writers and readers. It is lso made up of the whole machinery involved in the production and sanctioning (or sacralisation) of literature and this includes awards and government grants and positions. The creation of a Society of Literature was the beginning of the legitimatisation process in the field of literature or what can be described as “direct patronage”[312].

On August 12, 1821 the University of Buenos Aires was opened. The first rector was Dr Antonio Saenz and he was charged with the responsibility of creating a program of public education for the whole nation. This allowed the educational institution to begin the process of finding and consecrating a national literature.

Politically, Rivadavia continued with his program of uniting the provinces. Despite this, he did not eradicate the real divide between the unitarians and the federalists and this quickly became apparent in how the Congress operated[313].

At this point in history, the Argentine nation was gradually establishing itself and populating its political field with legitimate political parties canvassing on behalf of the interest groups that had already established themselves in the early decades of independence. With the consolodation of the political field and the founding of such institutions as the University of Buenos Aires whose scholars were tasked with teaching local literary texts and the Society of Literature in the Rio de la Plata, the literary field began to emerge.

[312] Speller 82.
[313] Levene 371.

3.4 THEME: CIVILISATION (BUENOS AIRES) VS. BARBARISM (PROVINCES)

Once the site of struggle between the unitarians and the federalists was established, another point of contention between opposite parties was layered on top of this conflict. This had to do with the brutal dictatorship of Rosas and the intellectual elite that rallied against him. Juan Manuel de Rosas was elected as governor of Buenos Aires from 1829 until 1832. He was then elected again in 1835 and he stayed in power for over a decade.

Rosas came from a well-heeled family in La Plata and was a wealthy and powerful *estanciero* who controlled one of the country's largest exports at the time, ranching and cattle. In this type of economy, the largest businesses were about salting the hides and beef to extend their durability for export. Rosas controlled the *salderos* or salting factories of Buenos Aires which made him a wealthy man, and he used his strategic geographic location of the port, together with his status as a landowner, a governor and a wealthy man to secure his power in the region beyond the province of Buenos Aires. He impressed both the property owners who identified with him, and the gauchos who worked the land who saw him as one of their own. He was considered to be quite a brutal ruler. Any who opposed him were either run out of the region or assassinated[314].

On March 26 1835, the people of Buenos Aires delegated the entire public authority by plebiscite to Rosas[315]. Rosas had the properties of known unitarians

[314] Mac Gann 27.
[315] Levene 410.

confiscated. He also signed a treaty with the British to abolish slavery and to establish the *casa de moneda* (1836) to replace the former national bank[316].

Rosas is a controversial historical figure. Although politically he identified as a federalist (he was after all a *caudillo*), he was pragmatic enough to understand that being situated in Buenos Aires, centralising power in his province was useful to his own political goals[317].

He was seen as quite dangerous to the intellectual, artistic and economic elites for a number of reasons. For those who came from the upper classes, Rosas' allegiance to the Afro-Argentineans in Buenos Aires was disconcerting. These upper classes displayed much prejudice against the African-Argentines and viewed the active participation of Rosas and his family with this ethnic groups as distasteful[318].

But to begin with, the upper classes supported Rosas' reign because they thought he would be able to rein in the lower classes. However, his connections to the Afro-Argentines created a power base, which surpassed the economic and military power of the elites. These privileged groups came to resent Rosas' rule and perceived him as bringing rural barbarism to the city[319]. This is an important point as it introduces the idea of barbarism to the site of struggle. This will have ramifications for the literary field, especially as an Afro-Argentine becomes the downfall of the protagonist of the gaucho poem.

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[316] Levene 410.
[317] Gelman, Jorge and Fradkin, Raul. Juan Manuel De Rosas: La Construction De Un Liderazgo Politico. (Buenos Aires: Edhassa, 2015): 135.
[318] Gomes, Miriam Victoria. "Apuntes Para Una Historia De Las Instituciones Negras En La Argentina." El Negro En La Argentina. Presencia Y Negación. Ed. Picotti, Dina V. (Buenos Aires: Editores de América Latina, 2001): 413.
[319] Lynch, John, and Benigno H Andrada. Juan Manuel De Rosas: 1829-1852. (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1984): 9.

During Rosas' time in power, many Argentine writers, scholars and artists took refuge abroad[320]. The reactions against Rosas were intense. Writers and intellectuals such as Esteban Echeverria, Juan Maria Gutierrez, Juan Bautista Alberdi, Vicente Fidel Lopez and Miguel Cane came together and had secret literary meetings in the bookstore of a well-known bookseller named Marcos. When Rosas found out he closed the meeting place. In response to this, the group organised itself into a secret literary society.

But European liberal ideals were being adopted in Latin America and Rosas' manner of totalitarian rule went out of fashion. In 1852 Rosas was defeated at the Battle of Caseros and run out of the nation by his former comrade, General Justo José de Urquiza, who was the leader of Entre Rios and resented having to follow Rosas' rule[321].

It wasn't only the changing tide of politics and the sustained military challenge that contributed to the end of the Rosas regime. From 1810 until the defeat of Rosas in 1852, the demographic make-up of Argentina changed radically. Whereas before, each local *caudillo* acted as a leader of a self-governing administration that traded with other local and regional administrations, the influx of migrants into Buenos Aires and the neighboring provinces changed the manner in which the population related to its government. During this time, the population of Buenos Aires increased from 40,000 to 95,000, with a steady, yearly influx of 4000 European foreigners migrating to the new world[322]. This influx also meant there was a change in major mode of production. Where in the early part of the nineteenth

[320] Levene 411.
[321] MacGann 28.
[322] Rock 115.

century, ranching had been the number one source of employment this was overtaken by farming in the later part of the century[323]. Rosas quest for power went against the business interests of many of the landowners who felt that Rosas' commitment to regional wars and his need for able-bodied men to join the armed forces was a drain on the labour market and the profits of the province[324].

It is evident that Rosas's regime influenced the field of power. His own vast economic interests in ranching and the exports of hides were the foundation of his political influence. His reputation as a ruthless gaucho contributed to his ability to reign over the confederation during a time when Buenos Aires was flourishing economically. This also influenced the emerging literary field but in an unusual manner. For the writers who came from such a different background to Rosas and were forced into exile because of their criticism of him, what was seen as his gaucho's ruthlessness fed into the themes of civilization vs barbarism

It is important to note that many considered him a corrupt gaucho (this 'bad' gaucho will be further explored in section 4.2.3) . Rosas was a populist who used tyranny to secure his seat of power, a man who manipulated the gauchos and the African population for political gain. Unfortunately, the phenomenon of Rosas versus the political, intellectual and artistic classes in Buenos Aires sharpened the division between the federalists and the unitarians even though, ironically, Rosas did not identify with either. This led to a number of battles between the two camps that had direct consequences on the literary field.

[323] Rock 115.
[324] Rock 112.

After Urquiza overthrew Rosas he committed to ensuring that all provinces unite under his military and political authority[325].

Urquiza entreated many of the governors to sign a document that would confer upon him the interim title of Director of the Confederation of Argentina. The province of Buenos Aires, and its governor Bartolomé Mitre, refused to be a party of the agreement because many of the landowners believed that Urquiza would be given too much power as temporary head of the nation. Despite this, Urquiza was chosen as the interim president in 1853 and he chose the city of Paraná, Entre Rios as the centre of his reign. Throughout Urquiza's term as president, Buenos Aires refused to acknowledge him as president and when Dr Santiago Derqui, who had been one of Urquiza's ministers, assumed the presidency, he found it difficult to convince the nearby province of Buenos Aires to become part of the Confederation[326]. Although both sides endeavoured to reach a mutually beneficial agreement, diplomacy failed and both prepared to go to war.

Both sides sustained heavy losses during the Battle of Pavón in September 1861[327]. In an effort to conserve military power and because he understood the cost of invading the province of Buenos Aires all too well, Urquiza ordered his troops to depart from the battleground[328]. Mitre's troops advanced into Rosario, an important city in Santa Fe and presently Argentina's third biggest city, and .Urquiza, understanding his tenuous position, asked for private negotiations to be held with

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[325] Dusenberry, William. "Urquiza's Account of the Battle of Pavon". Journal of Inter-American Studies 4.2 (1962): 247.
[326] Dusenberry 248.
[327] An excellent account of the battle can be found in William Dusenberry's article "Urquiza's Account of the Battle of Pavon" published in the Journal of Inter-American Studies 4:2 (1962): 247-255.
[328] Scobie, James R. "The Aftermath of Pavón". The Hispanic American Historical Review 35.2 (1955): 154.

Mitre. After much deliberation,, Urquiza agreed to Mitre's terms and ordered his second in command, Ricardo López Jordán, to disperse the troops in Entre Rios[329]. Mitre was able to secure his ascendency to the presidency of the united nation of Argentina and the provinces finally united to create the modern nation of Argentina.

However, the problems between the two sides continued. Incidentally, a symptom of this which is relevant to Martín Fierro is the fate of El Chacho. Born Ángel Vicente Peñaloza, El Chacho was a military leader who defended the autonomy of the provinces during the infamous civil wars from the 1830s until 1850s in La Rioja. He fought against Rosas in defending the northern alliance, but later on acted as a federal soldier and leader on behalf of Urquiza, and as a federal mediator between the warring parties. However, as the battle between the 'unitarios' and the 'federales' intensified in the interior of the country, El Chacho reverted to backing the federalist cause. Sarmiento, who was the Minister for War at the time, ordered the execution of captured enemy soldiers without allowing them access to due process. El Chacho was captured, speared to death and decapitated. His head was placed on top of a spike and exhibited as an example. So although Sarmiento wrote against what he considered barbarism when he was in a position of power, he used barbaric methods to annihilate his enemies. In turn, this act created other enemies, including the author of Martín Fierro (this rivalry will be further explored in section 5.2).

The underlying ideological tensions and the economic shortages experienced by the Confederates meant that the peace treaty was short-lived. Within the

[329] Scobie 155.

Argentine Confederate there were two opposing parties: one that focused on the hostility of its counterparts in Buenos Aires and urged Urquiza to control them through force; and another that proposed a peaceful union with Buenos Aires[330]. This was perhaps because the government of Buenos Aires was well supplied economically as it was in control of the busy La Plata ports, while the Confederation found it difficult to subsidise its organisation: it was estimated that the expenses of the Confederation came to 3 million Bolivian pesos, yet its overall income barely reached 2 million Bolivian pesos[331]. This meant that the Confederation could not economically sustain its political preference for the autonomy it endeavoured to sustain through military action.

In 1868, towards the end of the Mitre presidency, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Dr Adolfo Alsina presented themselves as presidential and vice-presidential candidates respectively. General Urquiza also put himself forward as a presidential candidate[332], but in October 1868, both Sarmiento and Alsina were voted in by the electoral assembly.

It is important to note that Sarmiento arrived at his presidency with very clear thoughts on how the new nation should prosper and with very distinct political allegiances. He was considered part of the *Generation de '37*, a group of intellectuals and writers who imported Romanticism into Argentina as a political and artistic movement and adapted it to local circumstances.

His stance against Rosas is evident throughout his work[333]. He wrote Facundo: Civilization or Barbarism (1845), a non-fiction account of the state of the

[330] Levene 458.
[331] Levene 458.
[332] Levene 476.
[333] Carlés, Raúl Rivanera. Rosas. (Buenos Aires, Editorial Liding S.A., 1979): 314.

new nation as the *caudilleros* and *gauchos malos* (bad gauchos) ruin the progress towards civilization. Sarmiento, the unitarian, equated federalism with barbarism. This will be further discussed in section 4.2.4 of this dissertation.

Sarmiento's presidency is regarded quite positively by historians. He is praised for supporting the construction of the railway system in Argentina and for the efficient handling of the epidemic of yellow fever that swept through the nation at the time. He is renowned for his theory that the *caudillo*/chieftain spirit was innate to the land and the nation, and that this needed to be eradicated via a thorough program of education.

Sarmiento also propagated this separation in his presidency[334] [335].

Late in his life, Sarmiento lamented that the migrants that came from Europe were not the hardworking, liberal and political minded Anglo-Saxons that would move to the outer regions of the nation. He published several articles lamenting this state of affairs[336].

Under Sarmiento's presidency, it seemed that the division between the Unitarians and the Federalists was slowly mending. The two symbolic leaders of each of the movements – Sarmiento (as president of the nation and the highest-ranking unitarian) and Urquiza (the governor of Entre Rios and the highest regarded federalist) – had participated in a gesture of reconciliation when Urquiza cordially held a reception for the President in his palace in San José in February 1870. However, this move towards a reconciliation was short lived. When Sarmiento

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[334] Svampa, Maristella. El Dilema Argentino Civilizaci'on O Barbarie: De Sarmiento Al Revisionismo Peronista. (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1994): 55.

[335] This exercise of creating such a dichotomy and of labeling what is civilization and what is barbarism is evident in Sarmiento's Facundo that will be discussed further in chapter 5.

[336] Svampa 72.

returned to Buenos Aires on April 11 1870, General Urquiza was assassinated just outside of his house. Urquiza's principle lieutenant, Ricardo López Jórdan, claimed responsibility for the murder and usurped the office of Governor of Entre Ríos. Sarmiento moved to have all national armed forces concentrated to defeat López Jordán for what many regarded as an act of treason. After many battles, and another invasion of Entre Rios, Jórdan was defeated[337].

López Jordán's move against Urquiza was motivated by what he perceived to be the general's move away from federalist principles in order to humour a liberal/unitarian president and his lack of support for López Jordán's own political ambitions. Urquiza had backed his son, Domínguez, to be the next governor of Entre Rios instead of López Jordán[338].

Sarmiento managed to run López Jordán out of the province and the country and into exile in Uruguay. López Jordán unsuccessfully attempted to invade Argentina in 1873 and again in 1876. In 1888 he returned to Buenos Aires where he was killed by the son of an army officer López Jordán had allegedly ordered killed.[339].

A point of interest worth noting, a least sociologically, is that as Merkx notes in his article "Recession and Rebellions in Argentina, 1870-1970" there is a distinct correlation between the years in which Argentina is besieged by rebellions and the years that Argentina experienced economic declines[340]. This is telling, especially when noting how this would affect the literary field and foster Martín Fierro, a poem of protest (which will be explored in section 5.3) on behalf of a federalist movement

[337] Lememe 478.
[338] Shumway, Nicolas. The Invention of Argentina. (California: Univ of California Press, 1991): 254.
[339] Shumway 254.
[340] Merkx 287.

that had lost the ability to exercise political and military power and to exert change through revolution.

After the first phase of military and political upheaval in the form of the declaration of independence, the frontier wars against the indigenous populations and the wars with neighbouring countries, the Field of Power began to settle. But then Sarmiento's Facundo and presidency resurrected what had once divided the nation militarily and politically. It is these external influences that will have an effect on the emerging literary field which will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

3.5 THEME: LOCALS (MESTIZOS) VS. IMMIGRANTS

From 1850 to 1880, Argentina's exports to Europe increased dramatically necessitating a mobile and willing labour force. In response, the government instituted open migration policies.

Table 3 on the next page shows the rapid rise in migrant numbers from 1871 to 1924. The increase in migration numbers was deliberately encouraged by the Argentine government to provide for a readily available labour market. The influx also caused much fear and prejudice in the local community. The revolt of Tata Dios in Tandil is an example of this, where the movement began as a religious one and ended as a vehicle to attack the local immigrant population[341]. The migrant population in Argentina, made up mainly of workers, was slow to organize because they were more interested in making money to justify their move to the new country than acquiring political power, something which made them easy political and economic scapegoats[342].

In 1880, Congress moved to federalise the city of Buenos Aires. This was important as it meant that control of the nation lay not with the governor of the province of Buenos Aires. This year also marks other changes in the economic and political history of Argentina: the influx of migrants forced a change in the type of exports that were in demand (from cattle to agriculture) which changed the rural mode of life considerably and the figure known as the gaucho disappears from rural life[343] and becomes an outlaw[344].

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[341] Rock 142.
[342] Rock 143.
[343] Levene 487.
[344] Rock 143.

Year	Number of Migrants	Year	Number of Migrants
1871	10,247	1898	67,130
1872	27,884	1899	84,442
1873	58,096	1900	84,851
1874	46,937	1901	90,127
1875	16,458	1902	57,992
1876	17,478	1903	75,227
1877	17,975	1904	125,567
1878	28,098	1905	177,117
1879	31,459	1906	252,536
1880	21,274	1907	209,103
1881	25,110	1908	255,710
1882	42,783	1909	231,084
1883	53,733	1910	289,640
1884	63, 361	1911	225,772
1885	94,137	1912	323,403
1886	79,209	1913	302,047
1887	107,212	1914	115,321
1888	138, 790	1915	45,290
1889	220,260	1916	32,990
1890	77,815	1917	18,064
1891	28,266	1918	13,701
1892	39,973	1919	41,299
1893	52,067	1920	87,032
1894	54,720	1921	98,086
1895	61,226	1922	129,263
1896	102,673	1923	195,063
1897	72,978	1924	159,939

Table 3: Immigration from 1871 to 1924[345] [346]

Between the years of 1890 and 1914, there was another massive influx of European immigrants into Argentina. The increased number of migrants was government-sanctioned and supported by the powerful and influential land oligarchy that was in need of agricultural manual laborers. Solberg intelligently notes that for a

[345] Source: Tornquist, Ernesto. The economic development of Argentina in the last fifty years. Buenos Aires: Ernesto y Cia. Ltd. 1919, 15.
[346] Willcox, Walter F. International Migrations, Volume 1: Statistics. (NBER, 1929): 539-540.

country that has just fought for its independence and engaged in frontier and internal civil wars in order to assert itself as a nation, it seems ironic that the high levels of European immigration tied the Argentine economy to the European one[347]. However, where considerable effort had been placed on politically organizing the new nation for nearly the whole of the nineteenth century, the end of that century saw political elites and the upper classes (which were small in number but had significant clout with the political classes not only because of their vast wealth but because of the weakness in the electoral system which was victim to unchecked corruption and violation) turn to building the nation's infrastructure and their own wealth. This meant that issues of growing the economy became of prime importance for landowners and the focus of the political classes[348]. These economic issues also became of concern to the intellectual classes, who were editors and writers in journals, metropolitan and regional newspapers, in tertiary institutions as academics and teachers, and artists in government-supported artistic organizations – all owned by the leading families in the established oligarchy[349]. The focus and direction of the upper classes became the preoccupation of the nation's politicians, thinkers and artists.

This direct link between the wishes of the upper classes and the actions of the political and intellectual classes can be substantiated by looking at the wealth accumulated by the local landowners and the policies enacted by the central government in Buenos Aires.

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[347] Solberg, Carl. Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970): 13.
[348] Solberg 14.
[349] Solberg 14.

The families that made up the landed oligarchy were owners of the wealthiest land, which extended throughout the very fertile littoral region of Misiones, Entre Rios and Corrientes and the pampas, which included Cordoba, Santa Fe, La Pampa and the provinces of Buenos Aires. For example, in Buenos Aires, fifty families owned 4,600,000 hectares of the richest land in the country[350]. Between 1890 and 1912 the nation's exports increased from 100,000,000 to 500,000,000 gold pesos[351]. This could only be achieved with increased European (white) migration.

The government supported this push for more laborers to work the land by establishing open and unrestricted immigration policies[352]. Migrants were brought in to work the land and to also build the new country's infrastructure. In 1905, 20,000 Italian workers were brought in to build the extensive network of Argentine railroads. In the same year, the government contracted 7,500 immigrant workers to build the water system in Buenos Aires[353]. Foreign workers were also used in the cattle ranches, resulting in a rapid increase of meat exports, and they were also used to tend to the agricultural industry by working in the alfalfa lands. The very influential and powerful *Sociedad Rural* (Rural Society), the lobby representing landed interests, called for the government to build temporary 'welcome' accommodation for foreign workers. In response, Congress put aside 3 million pesos to build the immigrant hotel in Buenos Aires. During two decades, 2,400,000

[350] Solberg 14.
[351] Solberg 16.
[352] Lewis, Daniel. History of Argentina (Greenwod Publishing Group: 2001) 55.
[353] Solberg 18.

migrants permanently settled in Argentina[354]. Where in 1895, 25.4% of the population was born overseas, this increased to 29.9% in 1914[355].

Of course, what the upper and political classes expected was to import an obedient working class that would increase the wealth of the oligarchy but not challenge its position. Migrant workers were welcomed in the daily newspapers and weekly periodicals and their efforts praised and compared to the local working class. This created a divide between the local and foreign working classes that was sharpened by the portrayal of the foreign worker as of a higher caliber than the local worker. For example, Las cien hectáreas de Pedro Villegas, a novella published in 1914 by Godofredo Daireaux (a very wealthy landowner in the province of Buenos Aires who had migrated from France), depicted the great ability and care with which the French migrant tended the land. This was in sharp contrast to the depiction of the negligent and backward practices of the local farmers in the novella.

Some of this criticism of the local workforce was because of their mestizo status. Many from the intellectual classes believed people from non-European backgrounds were inferior in both capacity for thought and attitude and they based these assumptions on pseudo-scientific racial theories fueled by their lack of respect for the indigenous populations of Latin America[356]. It was believed by many politicians, intellectuals and members of the upper classes that mestizos, because of their mixed-race heritage, would hold the nation back from progress and civilization[357]. This argument was used to fuel the need for foreign workers.

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[354] Lewsi 67.
[355] Solberg 50.
[356] Solberg 26.
[357] Solberg 27.

The liberal migration policies not only allowed a large number of foreign workers into the nation, but also permitted many migrant businessmen armed with capital and ambition to make their fortune in this new land. Within two decades, many had established themselves as affluent urban property owners and commercial entrepreneurs who had accumulated much wealth, which contributed to the rise of the Argentine middle classes[358]. They too hoped to attain social esteem and political influence to match their wealth. However, the upper classes did not welcome this challenge to their authority and influence, and many justified this disdain for the Argentine middle classes quite simply: the foreign businessmen had to *work* for their wealth while the upper-class gentleman who did not have to work for his inherited wealth[359]. Despite this, the encroaching power of this new up-and-coming business class was undeniable. By 1914, 29.9 % of foreigners owed 72 % of the nation's commercial firms[360] and 65 % of industrial businesses[361]. However, they had made little inroads in owning regional land. Of the 72,000 estancias, only 29,000 had foreign owners[362] and most of them were vineyards as opposed to cattle ranches[363].

Once it became evident that the foreign invasion into the middle and upper classes was occurring, this was met with much resistance by the local upper classes. The local upper classes actively discriminated against wealthy migrants by excluding them from clubs and high society events, in effect barring them from upper class society[364]. Having the right 'historic' surname was necessary to gain

[358] Solberg 46.
[359] Lewis 70.
[360] Solberg 64.
[361] Lewis 70.
[362] Lewis 71.
[363] Solberg 68.
[364] Solberg 98.

access[365]. In addition, in the early years of the twentieth century, those from the upper classes who controlled newspapers and journals and had much influence with the intellectual and artistic classes used that authority to malign the immigrant businessman in that medium[366].

For example, Lucio V. Mansilla (nephew to the dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas) wrote much criticism of the wealthy migrant. He condemned their lack of imagination and higher aspirations, their ignorance of patriotism and civic duty as well as the unscrupulous manner with which they conducted business[367]. José María Ramos Mejía, who came from a well-heeled family of the landowning classes and was a well-respected physician who was also the head of National Council of Education (1908-1913) wrote two tomes on psychology and sociology titled Los Simuladores de Talento and Las Multitudes Argentinas. In them, he was extremely critical of the unchecked immigration that had flooded the nation[368]. Pedro G. Morante was a novelist who published Grandezas, which was about the daughter of an Italian migrant only interested in money[369]. Julián Martel, a journalist who wrote for La Nación, wrote La Bolsa, which was extremely critical of how Jewish migrants contributed to the fall of the economy in the later part of the 1980s through deceitful and speculative banking practices[370].

It was mainly the upper classes that were critical of the migrant influx. The only vocal group against the migrant population that came from the middle classes during this time were the teachers. This is because in 1903 the Ministry of Education

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[365] Lewis 69.
[366] Solberg 82.
[367] Solberg 99.
[368] Solberg 99.
[369] Solberg 101.
[370] Solberg 103.

sent for foreign teachers from Europe and the United States to fill the many roles for educators in the secondary school system. The possible employment of foreign teachers made local teachers protest vehemently.

Criticism of the migrant population was seen increasingly in the newspapers and journals. In La Nación, immigration was blamed for the high crime rates in Buenos Aires although, as Solberg notes, this was not supported by evidence[371].

The migrant working classes protested against this backlash through the growing union movement. In response to a bomb that was placed in the Colón Opera House, the Congress (assuming that the bomb had been placed by a migrant worker) passed the Social Defense Law that did not allow the entry of anarchists and unionists into the country and prohibited the assembly of such people[372].

Some intellectuals and politicians suggested that the way in which to assimilate the foreign working classes was through compulsory military service. However, the more popular sentiment was to instill these national cultural values through a national curriculum taught in primary and secondary education. This national curriculum would ensure that patriotic customs were followed and adopted and that the myths and the legends of the nation would be taught from a young age in order to inculcate a love of country[373].

This need to find the national vein of gold in order to promote an exclusionist (and non-cosmopolitan) Argentine identity prompted some writers to survey the local characters that made up the unique Argentine psyche. The answer

[371] Lewis 68.
[372] Solberg 133.
[373] Solberg 171.

was found in the Argentine gaucho and this will be discussed further in section 4.2.3.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This very brief outline of the developments, clashes and agents at play in the Argentine national social space has given a very clear indication that the push towards nationhood was quite deliberate and forceful, creating many situations of political paralysis and many opportunities for agents to exploit and usurp power, and land, all of which informed the intellectual conversation. This external reality had a direct impact and influence on the burgeoning literary landscape. This direct influence of the external political factors where factions were competing for power meant that agents would use the machinery of cultural production to assist in their goals. A literary field in its infancy has very little strength or autonomy to be able to withstand this external pressure. This, for Bourdieu is an example of a field whose heteronomous pole is stronger than its autonomous one. For Bourdieu, these situations create perfect conditions for a literary landscape that lacks autonomy because the fight for political power will cause agents to use the instruments of the cultural and literary landscape to further their own agenda.

Chapter 4

The Space of Possibles in the Argentine Literary Field

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The space of possibles is a playing field that all writers can access given the right *habitus* and the ability to manipulate or play with the system of constraints inherent in the field[374]. As already explained in sections 2.5 and 2.6, the space of possibles is where the author will take their position in reference to the legimitate problem to be solved at the time of the creation of the literary text. The legitimate problems particular to the Argentine nation were discussed as points of opposition in Chapter 3 or as themes of conversation. Creation is nearly always a response to the problematic existent in the field and a consequence of position taking in the space of possibles.

Reconstructing the space of possibles is critical to providing a true understanding of how the creator produced the creation and how the creator was produced through the estimation of their creation by the literary field and the field of power. Bourdieu described this process as the 'labour of objectification' where the ultimate purpose is to achieve a scientific point of view. That is, if all points in the space of possibles are objectified and become equal, this process allows for a more 'methodical criticism'[375]. For Bourdieu, the alternative to this method of analysis reproduces known, convenient concepts and simplistic outcomes:

[374] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 100.
[375] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 207.

> "Those who think in simple alternatives need to be reminded that in these matters absolute freedom, exalted by the defenders of creative spontaneity, belongs only to the naive and the ignorant"[376]

This chapter will endeavour to provide a labour of objectification of the Argentine literary field as it emerged during the nineteenth century in preparation for the Bourdieuian analysis of Hernández's Martín Fierro that will be undertaken in Chapter 5. Bourdieu's two-pronged approach to the analysis of the creator and the creation is an analysis both of the 'space of positions' (space of possibles) and the 'space of works' which can be seen as a 'macro-social analysis' and a 'micro-textual' analysis that run parallel and allow for a full understanding of the problem that is Martín Fierro[377]. Thus, the themes in the national social space will influence the positions available in both the 'space of positions' and the 'space of works'. This chapter will concentrate on the latter and it will attempt to show where the points of contention (or problems to be solved by active agents) in the field are found and how the Field of Power facilitated these positions in the space of possibles in the literary field.

In the Argentine context, the space of possibles will identify official and non-official literary movements. Official literary movements were those approved by the intellectual classes of Buenos Aires (both the capital and those who considered themselves in the part of civilization who directly influenced by Europe). Non-official literary movements were produced locallly or regionally (the provinces and those identified as representing barbarism and to an extent, the Banda Oriental). It will become apparent how the intellectual classes appropriated regional (unofficial) literary movements to meet their own literary and political agenda.

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[376] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 235.
[377] Speller 64.

4.2 THE SPACE OF POSSIBLES – AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

As stated previously, from the sixteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century the south of America was very much under the control of Spanish rule. During these three hundred and some years, the Spanish Crown kept a very tight control over the information available throughout the colonies and continually applied a strict censorship throughout the region. Writers responded to the control of their creative expression by embedding in their pieces mechanisms that hid their true meaning. Literary devices such as simulation, camouflage and mimetic formulations meant authors could hide their criticism of the Crown in their writings and avoid the colonial censor. As a result, narrative fiction depicted scenes and life throughout the extensive colony, as did newspapers that tested the waters by publishing short stories and poems. There was also a direct relationship between the development of fiction and the development of journalism in the region as each medium fed of the other in an attempt to push the boundaries and avoid the censor's hand[378]. However, as some authors have noted, this battle between local writers and intellectuals with the colonial censor meant that during this time under repressive colonial rule Argentina failed to generate a notable colonial literature.

The Spanish stronghold over the land loosened as time went by as each of the towns and villages expanded and developed into provinces and as Buenos Aires became a city flush with mercantile power[379]. In addition to this, the extensive and vital connections that Argentina (through Buenos Aires and its port) had with the rest of Europe meant that it had access to many of the ideas, intellectual and literary

[378] Lewis, Bart L. "Literature and Society: Madame De Staël and the Argentine Romantics". Hispania 68.4 (1985): 740.
[379] González, Aníbal. "Periodismo Y Novela En Hispanoamérica: La Ley Del Disimulo En Amalia De José Mármol Y Tomochic De Heriberto Frías". Revista Iberoamericana 72.214 (2007): 228.

movements percolating throughout Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century[380]. This fuelled the push for independence which, as previously mentioned, culminated in the first declaration for independence from Spain in 1810.

The publishing industry developed a stronger presence around this period too. As newsprint was the preferred mode of publication, all writers, poets and authors of other literary forms were first published in newspapers[381]. From independence onwards, two types of newspapers appeared in the national social space: the official newspapers that were supported by the successive governments and the popular ones that presented various points of view of dissent[382]. What is interesting to note is an observation made by Rojas[383], that as time passed and the push for independence gave way to the infighting between the governors of each of the provinces and the centralist one in Buenos Aires, newspapers moved away from any literary standards in their style and became more aggressive and sensationalist in tone when pushing their particular position. This changed the tone allowed in the space of possibles.

Many of the intellectuals in South America during this time were influenced by the various revolutions and upheavals that were underway in Europe. This adoption of European intellectual thought was supported and promulgated by the intellectual institutions of Buenos Aires. For example, the curriculum at the University of Buenos Aires included examples of ideology that came from French writers fresh from their experience of the French revolution[384]: writers like like

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[380] Lewis Literature and Society 740.
[381] Rojas, Ricardo. "Ensayo Filosófico Sobre La Evolución De La Cultural En La Plata". Historia De La Literatura Argentina (Buenos Aires: Editorial Guillero Kraft Limitada, 1957): 573.
[382] Rojas "Ensayo Filosófico Sobre La Evolución De La Cultural En La Plata" 578.
[383] Rojas "Ensayo Filosófico Sobre La Evolución De La Cultural En La Plata" 582.
[384] Myers 2.

AL.C Destritt de Tracy, Pierre-Jean George Cabanis, or Volney. In Legal Studies, the British influence was notable with the teachings and writings of Jeremy Bentham as well as James Mill (the father of John Stuart Mill) for subjects relating to political economy[385].

With this transportation of European ideas into the new continent, it is not surprising that European Romanticism, in vogue at the time, took root and impressed the next generations of Argentine thinkers, writers and philosophers[386]. Although the movement was imported from Europe, the anti-Spanish push for independence evident in the Field of Power had a substantial influence on the emerging literary field of a new nation in search of a national identity separate from the mother country. As such, the form of Romanticism that made it to Argentina was transformed to suit the local political circumstances. In terms of Bourdieu's model, this makes the literary field heteronomous as opposed to autonomous because the local intellectuals and writers are responding to the political need to identify as Argentinean. It is not until much later that the Argentine literary field begins to move towards the autonomous principle.

While Romanticism was practiced as an intellectual and artistic movement in Argentina, it is also important to consider that in the Rio de la Plata region a homegrown and popular literary form was germinating. Where Romanticism was an import from Europe, the gauchesco oral tradition practiced by the gauchos was slowly gaining momentum in this area. If Romanticism was the official literary movement capturing the attention of intellectuals and artists in Buenos Aires, the

[385] Myers 3.
[386] Lewis Literature and Society 740.

gauchesco literary genre was unofficially engaging the local rural inhabitants and gauchos of the Rio de la Plata region.

4.2.1 ROMANTICISM: THE OFFICIAL ARGENTINE LITERARY MOVEMENT

As already mentioned, Romanticism was the first literary movement to emerge in the burgeoning Argentine literary landscape; however, it was not an original movement. This is not surprising given that a lot of the young intellectuals and artists that came from the Argentine middle and upper classes were afforded the opportunity to live for a time in various European nations and on their return brought back the literary flavor *en vogue*. For example, Esteban Echeverría, one of the founding members of the Argentine Romantic Movement, lived in Paris between 1825 and 1830. His poem, Elvira o la novia del Plata, is considered to be the first Romantic poem written in Spanish which interestingly predates the first romantic poem El moro exposito written by the Spanish writer Duque de Rivas[387].

However, the style of Romanticism that was adopted in Argentina was different from the one being produced in Europe. As Lewis writes:

> "The romanticism that came to Latin America arrived in a distilled form, with patriotism, Christianity and an emphasis on the depiction of pristine, splendid American nature as the dominant themes"[388].

Argentine Romanticism was, in effect, a movement that focused on life lived and the life that was lived during that time was one of revolutionary fervor[389]. Where in Europe Romanticism coincided with a re-examination of ideals and of the past, in Argentina this movement was re-energized as the richness of the indigenous, African and creole cultures that came together, and that essence was forged into a national identity through external political agitation[390]. Some would argue that this changed

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[387] Lewis Literature and Society 741.
[388] Lewis Literature and Society 745.
[389] Lewis Literature and Society 740.
[390] Lewis Literature and Society 745.

Romanticism meant that it lost its original literary aesthetic. Whereas European Romanticism was an expression of a sensibility that was born in the old world that traced its culture back to the Romans and Greeks, Argentine Romanticism, although French in origin, was tempered by a society with a republican outlook formed by a shift in political organization through revolution[391]. Although the writings of Lord Byron and Victor Hugo were extremely influential, Argentine Romanticism was not so much a literary movement as a philosophical and sociological one.

In the several essays on Romanticism, especially those by one of its vital proponents, the Argentine writer Esteban Echeverría, the fundamental themes explored were taken from neoclassicism, the influence of Spanish literature, and materialistic philosophy[392]. However, these influences were not copied. For the Argentine Romantics, it was imperative that a literary work deliver originality, and so the neoclassical example was discarded because it relied on the imitation of previous models[393] and upheld ideals of morality held dear in previous societies[394]. Argentine Romanticism also saw a need to break away from Spanish literature. This is seen in Gutierrez's Fisonomía del saber español where he highlighted the need for Argentine writers to free themselves from the peninsular traditions[395]. The Argentine Romantics also upheld the philosophies expounded by Rivadavia that nation creation was an extension of the tradition of materialist philosophy[396].

The local intellectual and artistic elite used the Romantic Movement to fight local battles relevant to the Argentine political reality. Echeverría, with the support

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[391] Myers 9.
[392] Myers 9.
[393] Myers 10.
[394] Myers 11.
[395] Myers 10.
[396] Myers 10.

of others in the Romantic Movement, headed the opposition to Rosas with the *Asociación de Mayo* in 1848[397], named after the first declaration of independence on the 25th of May 1810. They also formed various literary groupings such as the *Salón literario* in 1837 and *Joven Argentina* in 1838[398]. The men that composed the *Salón literario* attacked the Rosas regime with essays and newspaper articles that touched on politics, the formation of society, and the role of literature in the new Argentina. They argued in each article and essay for independence and liberty and opposition to anything Spanish[399]. Echeverría wrote Dogma Socialista published as the Codigo in 1839 where he argued that it is only through political institutions that a national identity can be forged[400] – with Romanticism, Echeverría believed writers could be united from both unitarian and federalist camps[401]. However, Romanticism was used to fight federalism generally and Rosas's particular brand of complicated federalism mixed with self-interest. A further discussion of this can be found later in section 4.2.2 which discusses the group of writers particularly identified with the Romantic Movement in Argentina and in section 4.2.4 which discusses Sarmiento's Facundo. The writers identified with Romanticism became known as the *Generación del'37*. This group of intellectuals, artists and writers used Romanticism as a vehicle to assist them in breaking free from Spanish cultural influence and its aesthetic traditions[402] and to overcome their political opponents. It is already evident how the Field of Power affected the parameters of the emerging literary field.

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[397] Lewis Literature and Society 741.
[398] Lewis Literature and Society 741.
[399] Lewis Literature and Society 741.
[400] Lewis Literature and Society 741.
[401] Myers 4.
[402] Katra, William. "Sarmiento Frente a La Generación De 1837". Revista Iberoamericana 54.143 (1988): 536.

4.2.2 THE GENERATION OF 1837

Despite this affection towards the Romantic Movement, the *Generación del '37* was very clearly about personalities. The generation of writers and intellectuals that dominated the cultural landscape until the 1870s included Esteban Echeverría (1805-1851), Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884), Juan María Gutierrez (1809-1878), Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888), Vicente Fidel López (1815-1904), Bartólome Mitre (1821-1906), José Marmol (1807-1882), and Felix Frías (1816-1881) and was principally concerned with the ideas surrounding the making of a nation[403]. Their recognition as representative of this movement was because the cultural and social landscape was clear and unencumbered by any established cultural, religious or philosophical institutions that could act as gatekeepers or a counterpoint to this group of intellectual revolutionaries so intent on assisting in the creation of a national identity through the making of culture in such a virgin national social space[404].

There is no doubt that the *Generación del '37* benefitted from the quality education afforded them at the University of Buenos Aires. This university experience predisposed them to rebel against the political repression they faced under Rosas who ensured that all emerging institutions (academic, cultural etc.) stagnated leaving a vacuum for the 1837 generation to occupy. So complete was their mark on the social space that it wasn't until the 1870s that the Generation's profound influence on the national cultural landscape waned[405]. In addition, this generation was forged in an environment, instigated by Rivadavia, where trends

[403] Myers 1.
[404] Myers 2.
[405] Myers 2.

towards the secularization of public institutions and instruments were truly underway[406]. The impact of the *Generación del '37* was so powerful because its existence was a demonstration of Argentina's intellectualism separate from any traditional or Spanish institution[407].

The history of the movement of the generation of 1837 can be divided into five different phases. The first was in 1830 and 1838-39, when the majority of writers who belonged to the *Asociación de Mayo* published their first articles, essays and poems in the available newspapers and literary and political magazines[408]. This is where they defined the central questions worthy of literary and philosophical consideration[409].

The political environment of the region of the Rio de la Plata defined the second phase. Those exiled by the dictatorial administration of General Rosas made Montevideo their new home. It is during this phase that the Generation of 1837 completely politicized, became part of the anti-Rosista faction[410] and publicly part of the political conversation. They were decidedly against Rosas because they believed the Governor wished to reintroduce the Spanish Crown and the Spanish way of life into the nation[411].

The third phase was from approximately1842-44 until 1852-54. Although the original members of the group became geographically dispersed, the agenda they pursued united them. However, this dispersing, as well as the change in external political circumstances, resulted in a softening of the political agenda and a return to

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[406] Myers 2.
[407] Myers 2.
[408] Myers 3.
[409] Myers 3.
[410] Myers 3.
[411] Katra 530.

a more literary and philosophical enquiry[412] that had more to do with the Romantic literary movement. This allowed time and energy for the publication of important works such as América Poetica (1846-47) by Gutierrez; Alberdi's Veinte días en Genova (1844), Las Bosas (1852) and La acción de Europa en America (1847); and Sarmiento's Facundo (1845), Los viajes (1847) y Recuerdos de Provincia (1850).

In the last phases, the generation of 1837 lost unity of focus and began to align with the different political factions that became available once Rosas was defeated. Again, this is notable in terms of how responsive these writers were to the changes in the Field of Power. As Myers notes, it is at this point that there is a divergence in the writers' texts[413]. The fourth phase is the period of 1852-54 and 1880, where the new writers and thinkers coming through the system were recognized as the example *par excellence* of Argentine intellectual and literary work. Finally, the fifth phase is when the Generation of 1837 lost their influence on new generations and their impact on the intellectual and literary field[414].

The aesthetic and philosophical beliefs of the *Generación del '37* focussed on the civic ideals that institutions, whether social or political, should provide to the nation's citizenry, which in turn would lead towards progress. They believed that independence should also be won at the intellectual level and therefore work published needed to cut ties with the Spanish tradition. They also regionalised the Spanish language and they encouraged a reform to traditional Spanish grammar, punctuation and vocabulary because this would provide the groundwork for a national literary aesthetic. They vehemently rejected the anarchy promoted by

[412] Myers 3.
[413] Myers 4.
[414] Myers 8.

Rousseau's social contract and, although they agreed with Victor Hugo's statement that Romanticism was liberalism in literature, the generation of 1837 believed in free commerce and elitism when it came to social programs. Finally, because the French and English philosophers, intellectuals and writers had a great influence on this generation, poetry was seen as the most literary of forms. For Gutierez, poetry was one of the most exquisite fruits of human intelligence[415]. This provides a further clue about how the literary field was being formed, mimicking the European tradition that categorised poetry as the highest form of literature.

Two writers of particular note in the generation of 1837 were José Marmol and Juan Domingo Sarmiento. Marmol wrote the first Argentine novel, Amalia. The author, who was very much opposed to the dictatorship of Juan Manual Rosas had gone into exile in Uruguary in 1840, where he published Amalia in a pamphlet, serialized form accompanying the Montevideo Weekly in 1851. Once Rosas's regime fell in 1852, the serialized format was discontinued, and the novel was published in 1855.

There has been much discussion about the literary merits of the first Argentine novel that I will not replicate in this section. For Gonzalez, what makes Amalia worthy of literary merit is not its stylistic aesthetic, which she argues can be considered weak at times, but that the rhetoric and the discursive tensions as they relate to the construction of national identity make the novel as it is a political allegory. Amalia, the heroine after whom the book is named, represents the Argentine nation left destitute after her husband, the head of the household, was

[415] Katra 544.

killed by Rosas' men[416] - it should be noted that here the Field of Power is being replicated in novel form.

The other writer, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (whose presidency was covered in the previous chapter), chose another medium to advance the causes of this intellectual elite. Of all the writers, Sarmiento is known for being the most anti-colonial exponent of the Generation of 1837[417]. Sarmiento defended the writer's role in society in support of the revolution and independence[418] something he stated in a letter to Alberdi, where he wrote that the 'glorious and necesary purpose and task' of this movement was to create a national literature with its own peculiarities[419]. However, Sarmiento slowly moved away from the idea that fiction would be the best medium to forge the independent national identity to the concept that non-fiction and writing for the press would serve the nation best[420]. Sarmiento was known for his ability for self-promotion. While in exile, he wrote to newspapers promoting himself as the right leader to take Argentina into a democratic age[421]. Sarmiento's contribution to the literary field will be discussed further in section 4.2.4.

[416] González 232.
[417] Katra 530.
[418] Katra 350.
[419] Katra 531
[420] Katra 545.
[421] Katra 545.

4.2.3 THE GAUCHESCO LITERARY TRADITION: THE UNOFFICIAL ARGENTINE LITERARY MOVEMENT

Unlike Romanticism, the gauchesco literary movement was a genre borne from the unique political, economic and sociological conditions in the Rio de la Plata region. To understand this phenomenon and how *gauchesco* literature came about it is necessary to understand the origins of the Argentine gaucho. Put simply, the gaucho was a unique type of cowboy who inhabited the extensive plains of La Pampa, the province of Buenos Aires and the region of the Rio de la Plata.

The origin of the word 'gaucho' is widely disputed. Indeed, these disputes regarding the word mirror the wider disputes about the gaucho and the literary tradition that emanated from this group. The ethnic lineage of the gaucho is quite interesting to trace. Many scholars maintain that gauchos were the descendants of Andalusian pioneers and Indian women. By the time of independence, the Argentine gaucho was 300 years in the making. As Umphrey says:

> "…the gauchos inherited from three races characteristics that were further modified by the pastoral life of the pampas. From the Indian ancestors came the love for the free life of the plains, their hatred of restraint, of law and order, their patient acceptance of hardship and physical pain; from the Arab came their love of the noble companion of their nomadic life and their superb horsemanship, in which they rivalled, if they did not surpass, our own western cowboys. From the Andalusians they inherited their intensity of feeling, their religious superstition, and more particularly, the characteristic that brings us to the main purpose of this study, their fondness for poetry and music" [422].

Those in the north of the country who had more resources at their disposal and were better organized preserved the typical Spanish ballads and poems, which were religious, chilvaresque or burlesque (further research on how this stream of literary treatment fit into the larger literary field deserves its own dissertation but will not be

[422] Umphrey, George W. "The Gaucho Poetry of Argentina". Hispania 1.3 (1918): 145.

discussed here). In contrast, in the Rio de la Plata, the gaucho ballads were stories about the heroic exploits of the courageous and astute gauchos[423].

In the Rio de la Plata region, a *gauchesco* manner of speech was developed with its own spelling and an infusion of indigenous words into the Spanish language. Scholars have observed that the upper classes inhabiting the Rio de la Plata region were familiar with the language spoken by the gauchos. In fact, many scholars have noted that there were no linguistic differences between the landowners and the gauchos and fieldworkers[424]. But although there was "linguistic familiarity" between these rural classes there was not a "social familiarity"[425]. Pinell provides a good description of the gaucho in his element:

> "A portrait of his environment, therefore, the gaucho was brave enough to settle anywhere on the pampa. He became adept at capturing horses for himself, and the abundance of roaming cattle provided his food as well as other by-products for his daily needs. He learned to attend to many of his affairs on horseback - even fishing and cooking. His diet consisted of great quantities of beef, mazamorra (ground corn) and maté..."[426]

Of course, the sociological background had a great influence on this melding and merging of different aspects to create the gaucho culture. In the region of the La Plata, where the gaucho was a common figure in the landscape, both political sides battled to capture his allegiance. There were publications and publishers known as 'the gaucho gazetteers'. Two examples of gaucho gazetteers – who were also rivals – were Luiz Perez who believed in the federalist cause and Hilario Ascasubi, who

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[423] Shumway 67.
[424] Borello, Rodolfo A. "La Literatura Gauchesca Y Lo Social". Anales de literatura hispanoamericana. Servicio de Publicaciones, (1996): 32.
[425] Borello 32.
[426] Pinnell, Richard. "The Guitarist-Singer of Pre-1900 Gaucho Literature". Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana 5.2 (1984): 244.

lived in Montevideo in exhile, who supported the unitarian cause and wrote gauchesco poetry [427]. I will discuss Ascasubi further later in this chapter.

Luis Perez's case as gaucho gazetteer is interesting. Born in Tucuman, he was a soldier in the wars of independence and well known for his less-than-reputable associates. In the 1830s, Perez started writing in different voices and characters (variously El Gaucho, La Gaucha, El torito de los Muchachos, La Negrita, El Negrito), which he self-published in a weekly periodical with an interesting layout and design with motifs of gauchos and horses in order to make it attractive to the rural reader[428]. Perez's publications were widely sold in *pulperias* and markets and country stores widely and were printed on four pages on a broadsheet folded in half. Perez also paid for his publication/papers to be couriered to other rural towns throughout the provinces of Argentina[429]. The tone of Perez's writing was light: he used 'peasant humour' to reach his readers and listeners (his words were often read out loud in the *pulperias*). He used this mode of style to highlight the weaknesses of the unitarians and ridiculed their sense of dress, ways of speaking, reading materials and manners of behaviour. One of Perez's favourite images was to compare a unitarian to a weak and skinny horse – quite an insult at the time[430].

These types of gaucho gazetteers used this popular medium to promote their political views and in doing so contributed to the formation of the heteronomous literary landscape[431]. The push for independence within this print culture created a discursive/decisive element in the public sphere that encouraged the populace to

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[427] Acree, William G. "Gaucho Gazetteers, Popular Literature, and Politics in the Río De La Plata". Studies in Latin American Popular Culture 26 (2007): 197.
[428] Acree 200.
[429] Acree 200-201.
[430] Acree 206.
[431] Acree 198.

identify with the nation by taking sides. Through this process the gauchesco oral tradition was gradually published and transferred into the written form[432]. It is interesting to note that sales from print media were the highest in Argentina compared to anywhere else in Latin America during this time of nation formation[433]. And it is no coincidence that those publishing this material and those eager to consume it lived in the rural outskirts[434].

Federalist publications included El Viejo (newspaper named after the nickname for Rosas), La Gaceta Mercantil, El Diario de la Tarde, and El Archivo Americano. Although written by white, educated men – these often went to find information from the lower/popular classes like the gauchos, slaves and African migrants to complete their articles[435]. On the other side, unitarian newspapers included El Comercio del Plata and El Gaucho Jacinto Cielo[436]. When Rosas was defeated, the topics of interest in these newspapers and gazettes shifted to social and aesthetic issues instead of political ones[437].

As this change in the literary field was occurring, powerful sociological and economic shifts were in motion that had a devastating effect on the existence of the gaucho. In "Trade and Proletarianization in Late Colonial Banda Oriental: Evidence from the Estancia de las Vacas 1791-1805"[438], Ricardo Salvatore and Jonathan Brown reveal that labour patterns in the estancias were quite volatile: work was dependant on the demand for leather goods, which fluctuated according to the events

[432] Acree 198.
[433] Acree 198.
[434] Acree 199.
[435] Acree 199.
[436] Acree 206.
[437] Acree 208.
[438] Salvatore, Ricardo, and Jonathan C Brown. "Trade and Proletarianization in Late Colonial Banda Oriental: Evidence from the Estancia De Las Vacas, 1791-1805". The Hispanic American Historical Review 67.3 (1987): 431.

in Europe – for example, during the European wars, the demand for leather was quite high[439]. It was considered a very irregular trade, and academics such as Salvatore and Brown argue that the innate idleness or 'vagrancy' with which the gaucho was identified with was in fact due to the unstable demand for work. In othr words, there is little to no evidence that gauchos were not hard workers. Scholars have found evidence that many *estancia* owners were left without labour supply during the months from December to March because the gauchos would leave the *estancia* to work on the farms for the wheat harvest period[440]. So, in effect, labour patterns were affected by the seasonal demands of the land and cattle[441]. In addition, the civil unrest within national borders meant that a lot of the rural outposts became militarised and many gauchos were recruited as soldiers. Vagrancy occured when the gauchos were no longer needed as soldiers or workers on the *estancias* or on the farms. It was these changes that pushed the gaucho towards marginality and persecution[442]. Where before the gaucho was vital to the life and progress of the *estancia* he was now the main threat to the *estanciero* as there was an increase in the stealing of cattle and resources from these estates[443].

The gaucho's transformation from peaceful, hardworking rural inhabitant to seasonal worker (from farm to estancia to estancia to farm) to soldier to marginalised, unemployed rural vagrant to *gaucho malo* is an interesting sociological trajectory and one that is revealed in the emerging Argentine literary

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[439] Gelman, Jorge. "New Perspectives on an Old Problem and the Same Source: The Gaucho and the Rural History of the Colonial Rio De La Plata". The Hispanic American Historical Review 69.4 (1989): 716.
[440] Gelman 723-724.
[441] Gelman 724.
[442] Gelman 731.
[443] Molas, Ricardo Rodriguez. "El Gaucho Rioplatense: Origen, Desarrollo Y Marginalidad Social". *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 6.1 (1964): 75.

landscape. As the gaucho disappears socially, he appears in literature, and he does so through his song.

The history and evolution of the gaucho's attachment to his guitar and his song (both of which foster the obvious benefits of expression, entertainment, communication and community) was picked up by those writers coming from the educated classes who were intent on making their mark on and a contribution to the formation of the new Argentine literary landscape. It is in the *gaucho cantor's* repertoire that the intellectual and artistic classes found their first hints of native ingenuity.

Much like his European counterpart the wandering minstrel, the gaucho poet went from place to place singing or reciting verses with the accompaniment of his guitar, or a primitive version thereof known as the *vihuela* sometimes spelt *viguela* inherited from the Spanish conquistadores[444].. He performed where other cattlemen, ranchers and gauchos met to round up the cattle or in local rural general stores that at night became makeshift bars known as *pulperías*. It was in these *pulperías*, far away from the urban centres and existing in the land between ranches, where socializing and trading of news in the *rioplatense* region occured.

This oral tradition was eventually written down in the form of poetry. Table 4 compares the differences between traditional poetry and gauchesco poetry, as it existed during the nineteenth century in Argentina. Gaucho poets were asked to sing *cielitos,* a creole tune, where old language was accompanied by a background beat. The lyrics of these *cielitos* were usually about local customs, the history of the area,

[444] Pinnell 245.

the lives of influential men and the abuses that gauchos suffered at the hands of the local authority.

Table 4: Differences between traditional poetry and gauchesco poetry[445]

	Traditional	***Gauchesco***
Date	Produced during three centuries of Spanish colonialism.	Produced during the decades preceding and proceding the Argentine declaration for independence.
Style	Looked to the style of Spanish poetry using the forms made popular during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.	Used the traditional forms as reference but placed the native setting and experience of the gaucho at centre stage.
Area of Distribution	Found and conserved in the Andean and northern provinces of Argentina.	Emerged in the Rio de la Plata region.
Popular Themes	Used to express the local character and continued to use the traditional modes of expression. Became a localized, popular form of expression.	Became a new form and mode of popular expression identified as Argentinean and is pushed throughout the entire country as a form of national expression.

Apart from *cielitos*, these local raconteurs were accustomed to reciting poetry that detailed rural life. The form of these poems was octosyllabalic and usually consisted of stanzas 5 or 8 or lines[446]. The *cantores* either sang from a known repertoire or they improvised. Scholars have categorised the manner in which the *gaucho cantor* communicated his message. For example, the gaucho cantor's practices included: a) the gauchos memorized or improvised text; b) performances were by soloist or duo *cantores* singing alternating verses; c) each verse contained four lines and usually followed the rhyming pattern of ABBA; d) the *cantores* prefered octosyllabic lines;

[445] Sanzone, Eneida. "La Poesía Gauchesca, De Hidalgo Al Viejo Pancho". Oriental: La Historia de la Literatura Uruguaya (1968): 153.
[446] Pinnell 246.

e) usually, the subject matter revolved around relationships and love; f) the *cantores* used popular and witty expressions; g) the *cantores* reflected their rough lifestyle in their language, both in unusual pronunciation or syntax and in the occasional use of obscenities; and, h) the *cantores* made abundant metaphorical allusions[447]. As the form of gaucho communication evolved, so did the communication conventions.

Table 5 lists the conventions surrounding social visits, which eventually permeate into the conventions of the *canto*. It is from these populist rural beginnings that this *gauchesco* form of art was elevated and co-opted by the intellectual and artistic classes to create a national literature[448]. Ludmer demonstrates that there is a difference between the gaucho in the oral tradition popular among the rural workers and gauchos as they exist in text:

> "If the gauchos do not speak for themselves in the gauchesca, then the genre (then literature) makes use of them, of the word 'gaucho' and words of the gaucho, to define other interests – national interests – for example "[449] (Bosh 59).

Some scholars even argue that *gauchesco* poetry was artificially produced by a particular group of individuals with specific interests[450].

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[447] Pinnell 249.
[448] Shumway 67.
[449] Bush, Andrew. "Feet Notes: The Fancy Footwork of Josefina Ludmer on the Gauchesca". Romance Studies 23.1 (2005): 59.
[450] Shumway 31.

Table 5: Structure of an improvised dialogue (linear example)[451]

1	Salutation	This is reduced to the questions of 'What do you say?', 'What are you up to?', 'Where do you come from?', 'Who brought you here?'
2	Enquiry of -	Enquiries are made to the guest about his journey or about how his horse has fared during the journey
3	Invitation to de-saddle	The visitor is invited to dismount and saddle off their horse
4	Response to enquiry	Once the visitor accepts the invitation above, they answer the initial enquiries made during the salutation
5	A third person is called	A third person is called to attend to the horse, to heat up water, to serve the *maté,* or to prepare the *asado*
6	*Maté* ceremony	The host and visitor share in the ceremony of drinking *maté*
7	Enquiry regarding the central theme	Host asks the visitor questions that allow the visitor to turn to the central theme of the visit
8	Central Theme	The central theme is discussed
9	Invitation for later	The host invites the visitor to be a guest to the *asado* or to explore the surrounding countryside together later on in the visit
10	Secondary episodes	Subsequent issues are discussed
11	Farewell	This is considered a farewell between friends and goes beyond that of the host/visitor-guest relationship
12	Final	The final is brief and is it here that a time is made to meet once again

[451] Sanzone 147.

There was a fluid circle of transmission "from orality to print and back to orality"[452]. The intellectual and artistic classes mixed with the popular classes and went out of their way to visit *pulperias* and to understand the popular modes of expression and communication[453]. During these visits, members of the intellectual and artistic classes observed that the *canto* or *payada* followed its own rules, similar to the social conventions prevalent in general gaucho customs. Table 6 shows the rules of the *canto* or *payado* in a linear and simple fashion. The next section will explore those writers adopting the *gauchesco* form. These writers were José Hernández's predecessors and contemporaries in the literary lansdscape he inhabited.

[452] Acree 209.
[453] Acree 210.

Table 6: Ritual conventions of the payada[454]

1	The challenge
2	The response (or the acceptance of the challenge)
3	Exchange of banter
4	Discussion of the manner of proceedings
5	Each cantor presents the other to the audience
6	The main themes of the *payada* are sung in question and response format
7	Acceptance of the winner
8	Final complaints or lamentations of the cantor considered to have lost

[454] Sanzone 155.

4.2.3 (A) JUAN BALTAZAR MACIEL

Maciel wrote in 1777 during the colonial period. Like many poets of his time, Maciel echoed the response to the events occurring around him in his poems, such as the retaking of the Sacramento Colony in 1777 by Don Pedro de Cevallos[455]. He based four poems on this grand event, three written using the European modes of rhyme and meter found in neoclassicism and one written in the vernacular and style of the local popular and romantic meter, a poem called *Canta un Guaso en Estilo Campestre los Triunfos de Excmo Señor Don Pedro Cevallos*. What Barcia calls the 'ugly duckling' in the set of poems[456] is the first poem that can be considered to be written in the *gauchesco* style, for it gives credence and a poetic nod to the gauchos that had fought in the army of Pedro Cevallos.

It is useful to see the difference between one of the poems written in the neo-classical style and the one where Maciel introduces the style and tone of the local gaucho. In *Se consuela a los portegueses vencidos por el Excmo Don Pedro Cevallos*[457] Maciel uses the classical form as he describes how the victorious Don Pedro Cevallo was kind in battle. This poem lacks local colour and nuance and uses a more heroic and general style. In *Canta un Guaso en Estilo Campestre los Triunfos de Excmo Señor Don Pedro Cevallos*[458] the local colloquialisms and colour give it a completely different style[459]. Both were written in 1777 and by the same author but the difference in style is quite remarkable.

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[455] Barcia, Pedro Luis. "Juan Baltasar Maciel Y El Conflicto De Dos Sistemas Literarios". Humanidades 1.1 (2001): 54.
[456] Barcia 54.
[457] The Portuguese console themselves as they are defeated by Excmo Don Pedro Cevallos.
[458] A gaucho sings in the rural style about the triumph of Don Pedro Cevallos.
[459] For an extract in Spanish, please see Appendic 1.

In *Canta un guaso*, a few features are worth noting. One is the first time use of the introduction *Aquí me pongo a cantar*[460], which becomes the hallmark of how *gauchesco* poems begin and is a tradition very much taken up later by José Hernández. It is not an original introduction by Maciel as it had been used by the gaucho minstrels o *cantores* in the La Plata region before, but Maciel's adoption of it ensured its posterity. Another feature is the use of typical guacho pronunciation, for example *gazaña* instead of *hazaña* (meaning deed), *germanos* instead of *hermanos* (meaning brothers) and *bacas* instead of *vacas* (meaning cows). This gives the poem its local feel, and the use of the local vernacular a literary credibility. Still another feature is the use of the first-person voice of the anonymous gaucho, an 'everyman' sitting down to 'sing' in front of a an audience with what one immediately imagines to be a guitar, signaling that the *gauchesco* movement comes from an oral tradition.

As Bancia notes, what is revolutionary about Maciel's *poemita* (little poem) as he calls it, is that it is a departure from the neoclassical tradition made without hesitation or permission on the author's part. It is especially noteworthy considering that the weight of Spanish and European criteria of 'what is literature' would have been on the mind of such a well-read author[461]. Of course, to think that this revolutionary step would have been taken without thorough preparation and knowledge of the European literary field would be naive. In fact, Maciel was a well-known intellectual of the time who had his own library containing more than 1500 volumes[462] – quite a collection for a man of the cloth who lived in a Spanish colony

[460] Here I am singing.
[461] Bancia 59.
[462] Bancia 60.

in the eighteenth century. It is this very literary act that begins a rupture with the European and Spanish literary landscape that culminates in the *gauchesco* movement that accompanied and spurred on the declaration and independence of a new nation.

4.2.3 (B) BARTOLOMÉ HIDALGO

Bartolome Hidalgo built on Maciel's work and advanced the introduction of *gauchesco* poetry to the emerging Argentine literary scene that borrowed much from the oral traditions of the La Plata region. Although born in Uruguay, he was considered an Argentine founding writer because it was in Buenos Aires that he and his literary works were first noticed[463]. Hidalgo's own body of work is separated into two sections: one produced between 1811 and 1816 and the other between 1821 and 1822. The first output of poems had a more revolutionary theme for obvious reasons: Hidalgo was present when the wars and declaration of independence were taking place and during this time and during this time he picked up on the oral tradition of *cielitos*. These anonymous popular rhymes arose from the Spanish romantic couplets, but during the revolution moved on from their usual theme of love and romance to the themes of revolution, love of country and nationalist praise[464].

Obviuisly, Hidalgo did not invent the c*ielitos*, but he refined them and wrote them down and changed their mode of distribution so that where before they were transmitted through the oral tradition of song and verse, they now existed materially in written form. Much like Maciel, during Hidalgo's first phase, he abandoned writing neoclassical poems and adopted the form of *cielitos* as he worked as an army administrator during the day in the the army of José Gervasio Artigas.

The most pertinent examples of his cielitos are *Cielito de la Independencia* and *Cielito Patriotico*[465]. Here Hidalgo uses euphoric lyrical prose in the gaucho

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[463] Umphrey 148.
[464] Becco, Horacio Jorge. "Los Cielos De La Patria". Revista Hispánica Moderna 34.3/4 (1968): 539.
[465] Titled *Song of Independence* and *Song of Patriotism* respectively.

style that uses local words and manner of speech to write about the new nation and the brave soldiers who were heroic and patritiotic.

In *Cielito de la Independencia*, the words are simple and joyful in celebrating the new nation and its independence from Spain. Unity is proclaimed and freedom from tyranny is assured to all the provinces. In *Cielito Patriótico,* the first line shows that it is sung from the point of view of a gaucho - an important and early signaling for the *gauchesco* movement. The words are also more personal and point to specific key battles and military heroes, unlike *Cielito de la Independencia*. The Spanish are also mocked and dared to try to take the provinces back. The tone in *Cielito Patriótico* is to share news, to be festive and to make sport of the vanquished Spanish colonialist army - all are equal under the blue argentine sky/*cielo,* all are Indians. These *cielitos* were not published officially until later but spread by word of mouth and were known to be recited not only in *pulperías* and in regional meeting points but also in upper class gatherings.

The second grouping of his writings was when Hidalgo published his famous *Dialogos Patrioticos*[466]. As opposed to the c*ielitos,* these have a critical tone. They looked at the aftermath of the declaration of independence and saw the failure to achieve unity through independence. Of special interest is the poem titled *Dialogo Patriotico Interesante*. In it, the voice used is tht of one saddened by what it has witnessed since the revolution of independence. Hidalgo describes a situation where citizen is pitted against citizens and the welfare of the nation is forgotten.

The protagonist is disillusioned with things such as th widespread poverty and inequality which have happened in the last ten years since the revolution.

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[466] Patriotic Dialogues.

However, even though there is much to fix in the new nation, at no point does Hidalgo promote a return to being under Spanish rule. Hidalgo's transformation of the *cielito* from a medium expressing love and erotic intention to an instrument of opposition and one envisaging where the new nation can begin to exist gives impetus to the nation-building drive. Both fields nurture each other: the push for independence politically drives the push for independence literarily and the literary rupture from Spanish forms of poetry further galvanises the push for the formation of a new nation.

This becomes evident in the story of how *Un Gaucho de la Guardia del Monte Contesta al Manifiesto de Fernando VII*[467] was produced. In August of 1820, the Niños Expósitos de Buenos Aires, publishers known for their support of the Spanish monarchy, published and distributed the *Manifiesto de Fernando VII* in the La Plata region. The text urged the inhabitants to return to being ruled by the Spanish, maintaining that if Argentina as a nation submitted to Spanish rule then the King would be amenable to ruling the colony once again[468]. Shortly after the publication of this manifesto, the *Imprenta de la Independencia* published an anonymous pamphlet with the already mentioned title of Un Gaucho. This poem was later published in an anthology titled *La Lira Argentina* in 1824 and soon after the author was revealed to be Hidalgo[469]. This particular *cielito* is very sharp and quick in replying to the King's propaganda. The anonymous pamphlet that was distributed in the La Plata region and was a revolutionary act meant to inspire and motivate the citizens of the new nation. Literarily, it is also revolutionary from the point of view

[467] A gaucho from the guard responds to Fernando VII manifesto.
[468] Núñez, Angel. "Un Cielito Gaucho Contra Fernando Vii". Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana 15.30 (1989): 9.
[469] Núñez "Un Cielito Gaucho Contra Fernando Vii" 9.

that a singing gaucho, a poor man fighting in the military campaigns of independence, apparently created literary verses[470]. Of course, this is Hidalgo's gift, as a man of letters, to the population. A gaucho did not write this poem; but Hidalgo, an educated man, has adopted the voice of the gaucho to promote his own political beliefs[471].

Hidalgo's anonymity throughout this time is also of interest. This mechanism of being invisible as creator but extremely political in the literary works allowed the author to be more persuasive in a time where both sides were fighting each other to be able to dominate the direction of the nation. It also allowed Hidalgo to be the voice of a nation instead of an individual voice[472].

Hidalgo is true in his vision of equality: he was the only author in the *gauchesco* movement who did not identify the Indian as a barbarian, but as one of the inhabitants of the new nation[473]. This may have been n to do with the fact that the author himself was a *mulato* and understood the traumatic impact of discrimination. Hidalgo promoted a position of dignity and inclusion in his writing and is remembered as one of the founding fathers of Argentine literature.

[470] Núñez, Angel. "Un Cielito Gaucho Contra Fernando Vii" 9.
[471] Núñez, Angel. "Un Cielito Gaucho Contra Fernando Vii" 9.
[472] Núñez, Angel. "Un Cielito Gaucho Contra Fernando Vii" 11.
[473] Becco 540.

4.2.3 (C) HILARIO ASCASUBI

Hilario Ascasubi started his career as a naval officer early and left to travel on the first Argentinean merchant ship, *La Rosa Argentina*, where he journeyed to the United States. Once back at the age of 22, he bought a publishing house from the Niños Expósitos and with José Arenales founded the *Revista de Salta* where much was published celebrating the recent battles in Ayacucho. He soon joined the military campaigns in Bolivia against Brazil but was taken prisoner by Rosas' armed forces in 1832. However, although Ascasubi was against Rosas, he was a federalist. Two years later, he managed to escape to Montevideo where he lived in exile for the next 20 years.

This time in Montevideo was when Ascasubi moved among the gauchos and learnt their style of expression and manner of song and poetry. He frequented the *pulperías* and the places inhabited by the local gauchos and joined them *troviando* through out the land like wandering minstrels. Here Ascasubi heard their *cantos* and made them part of his writing. In turn, the gauchos adopted his poems as part of their own playlist[474]. The method of dissemination of Ascasubi's gauchesco writings was not only through word of mouth but also through being printed on loose leaf paper which was passed around at night between the *cantores* and then, spread from camp to camp[475]. What began in written form soon became part of the oral tradition of the gauchos themselves[476].

Ascasubi's poems/cantos became extremely popular and spread across Montevideo, and the Argentine provinces of Entre Rios, Paraguay, Corrientes, Santa

[474] Rojas, Ricardo "Los "Trovos" De Paulino Lucero". Historia De La Literatura Argentina. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Guillero Kraft Limitada, 1957): 447.
[475] Rojas "Los "Trovos" De Paulino Lucero" 443.
[476] Rojas "Los "Trovos" De Paulino Lucero" 448.

Fe, La Pampa and even the city of Palermo (which was in the province of Buenos Aires that later was incorporated in the Federal Capital). What made them so popular was that Ascasubi recognised the different regions and provinces and brought them together in his poems, celebrating their difference yet pointing out commonalities at the same time. His writing was celebratory and unifying and acknowledged previous writers such as Hidalgo. He represented the new sensibilities of the internal wars using the traditional forms of Hidalgo[477].

In 1852 he returned to Buenos Aires and under the name of Aniceto del Gallo published his opposition to President Urquiza. It is evident from this brief outline that Ascasubi had the credentials and the battle experience to become one of the literary founding fathers.

In 1860, President Mitre sent Ascasubi to Europe to recruit more migrants, and he stayed there for a decade or so. During his time in Paris in 1872, Ascasubi organised his writings in three sections. The first grouped *cantos* and *trovas* under the title of *Paulino Lucero o los gauchos del Rio de la Plata*[478] and included poems written between 1839 and 1851that detail the battles against the 'tyrants' of Argentina and Uruguay. It included the forms of *cielitos,* romantic verses, *media cañas, redondillas* and *décimas*. The second included his writings under the pseudoym Aniceto de Gallo, which were published in newspaper form under the same heading and distributed in Buenos Aires in 1854. The third consisted of his epic poem of Santos Vega o Los Mellizos de la Flor that he began in Montevideo in 1854.

[477] Rojas "Los "Trovos" De Paulino Lucero" 453.
[478] Paulino Lucero or the gauchos of the Rio de la Plata region.

This final mode of publication was quite traditional, especially as he chose to do so with a Parisian publisher[479]. With this act, Ascasubi begins the process of consecration as the intellectual elite in the La Plata region look to their counterparts in Europe, especially in France, to see how they compared[480]. Although the poems in Paulino Lucero were more immediate, his lengthier and more serious piece, Santos Vega, did develop the literary genre. This contribution will be further explored in section 6.5.

[479] Román, Claudia A. "Paulino Lucero: Táctica Y Sintaxis". Revista iberoamericana 68.198 (2002): 110.
[480] Rojas "Los "Trovos" De Paulino Lucero" 482.

4.2.3 (D) ESTANISLAO DEL CAMPO

Del Campo first worked as a shop assistant but in 1853 was conscripted into the army. In 1859, he fought in the famous battle of Cepeda under the orders of Adolfo Alsina and again in Pavón in 1861 where he was promoted to naval captain under Mitre's command. From there, he worked in the public services and became a member of congress in 1870. By 1874 he was promoted to colonel and died in battle in 1880.

Before writing Fausto, Del Campo published under the pseudonym of Anatasio el Pollo where his work is often described as copying Ascasubi's style[481]. It is said that the idea of writing Fausto came about because Ricardo Gutierrez, another writer, invited Del Campo to see the European play Fausto de Ganoud at the Colón Theatre in Buenos Aires where, under the guise of pretending to be Anastasio el Pollo, he provided a running commentary on the play in order to amuse his friend[482].

El Fausto first appeared in pamphlet form in 1866 inside a newspaper published in Buenos Aires called El Correo del Domingo. Unlike other gauchesco writers, he explored the inner life of the gaucho, his thoughts and his feelings, as opposed to the daily life and events of the gaucho's life[483]. However, where Ascasubi and Hernández showed immense empathy for their gaucho protagonists, Del Campo has a mocking tone.

Del Campo's Fausto has been described not as a work that advances the gaunchesco tradition, but one of transition that kept the movement alive between

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[481] Rojas, Ricardo. "Estanislao Del Campo Y Su Fausto". Historia De La Literatura Argentina. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Guillero Kraft Limitada, 1957): 493.
[482] Rojas "Estanislao Del Campo Y Su Fausto" 499.
[483] Rojas "Estanislao Del Campo Y Su Fausto" 505.

Ascasubi and Hernandez[484].

In a study on Fausto, Josefina Ludmer (1987) presented a unique appreciation of Del Campo's Fausto. In it, she argued that Del Campo demonstrated the reverse of gaucho cultural appropriation as done during nation formation by the Argentine intellectual elite. As opposed to the cielitos and mediacañas which were learnt, rehearsed and then penned by many authors (Maciel, Hidalgo and Ascasubi) who went to the rural military camps and assimilated and elevated gaucho culture. Del Campo's gaucho goes to the city to view the cultural production of the intellectual and cultured city dwellers. This provides a balance of sorts, for it is the gaucho who invades the territoty of the city dweller asnd not vice-versa[485]. For Ludmer, Del Campo's Fausto was a story about how relations between city folk and rural folk are mediated.

Fausto exists on two levels. On one level, Anastasio el Pollo the gaucho tells his friend Laguna about the opera he sees when he is in Buenos Aires - an opera about a man who sells his soul to the devil. On the other it is the story of Anastasio el Pollo and Laguna and the story of the European Fausto as interpreted by the gaucho criollo.

There are many points of interest in the poem. One of the most poignant is that before the gaucho Anastasio el Pollo is allowed to enter the Theatre Colon, he is divested of everything that identifies him as a gaucho, that is, his tools and weapons and some attire[486]. The tension between the gaucho and the country and the *criollo* and city is noticeable as it is between the art forms themselves. Where Hidalgo

[484] Rojas "Estanislao Del Campo Y Su Fausto" 507-8.
[485] Ludmer, Josefina. "En El Paraíso Del Infierno: El Fausto Argentino". Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 35.2 (1987): 696-697.
[486] A small exerpt of the play in Spanish can be seen in Appendix 1.

focussed on creating patriotic poetry and Ascasubi gave his gauchos a unitarian voice, Del Campo produced material that made the gaucho a buffoon for city-dwellers to mock. Shumway puts forward the idea that this was the equivalent of using the technique of 'blackface' – that is, creating a mock up of foolish and backward country gaucho unaware of the high arts, which the upper classes could laugh at with cultural superiority[487].

[487] Shumway 79.

4.2.4 SARMIENTO'S FACUNDO

As was told in section 4.2.4 Sarmiento not only throught that caudillos needed to be politically defeated he also thought they should be exterminated (this is particularly evident in the example of El Chacho). As the euphoria of the wars of independence subsided and the work of nation building and of bringing together the federalists and the unitarians took over, the literary landscape mimicked the shift from the politics of inclusion to the politics of division (and the fight for dominance between warring factions) which occurred in the wider national social space. The literary work of note during this phase was Domingo F. Sarmiento's Facundo. Not yet president, Sarmiento wrote Facundo when he was considered to be part of the Generation of 1837 fighting against Rosas. Much has been written about Sarmiento's text. Goodrich's own analysis of this seminal work, "Yet another book about *Facundo*?"[488] provides a full explanation of why this work of creative non-fiction by Sarmiento has received so much academic attention. However, this analysis will focus on the themes and sections that are most relevant to this investigation: there are many other writers that have provided a thorough analysis of Facundo which is not necessary to replicate here. What is of relevance is Sarmiento's significant contribution to the construction of the gaucho's image and positioning in the Argentine imagination and literary landscape, which readied the literary field for Hernández' retort through Martin Fierro. As Goodrich states:

> "It is that tension between the inside and the outside of a cultural formation which has charted Argentine identity, both torn and sustained by the Facundo/Fierro divide"[489].

[488] Goodrich, Diana Sorensen. Facundo and the Construction of Argentine Culture. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010): 1.
[489] Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino. Facundo: Civilizacin Y Barbarie. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1845): 14.

Published in 1845 and written in a genre not quite known at the time as literary non-fiction, it's description of the Argentine way of life and intense criticism of the lack of a civilised (read European) presence left an enduring legacy not only on the emerging stream of *gauchesco* literature but also on the direction in which the Argentine nation took politically. Sarmiento was unapologetic in both his passionate geographic description and the harshness with which he described the people who inhabited it.

Sarmiento's Facundo o Civilización o Barbarie focused on the story of Facundo Quiroga, the *Gaucho Malo* (or bad/evil gaucho). Facundo Quiroga was born in the province of La Rioja and was a federalist *caudillero* who lived from 1788 to 1835. As a young man he attempted to join San Martín's liberating army, but he ws expelled because of his hostile disposition. He returned to La Rioja where he joined the provincial army and quickly rose through military hierarchy quickly. During the wars between Federalists and Unitarians he fought against Rivadavia's troops and soon after became the Governor of La Rioja. As a federalist leader, he corresponded regularly with Rosas. For Sarmiento, he represented the barbarism that had taken over the nation[490].

Concentrating on the mechanism of writing a quasi-biography of Facundo allowed Sarmiento to explore the issues facing Argentina: a new nation that had recently fought its way clear of Spain and was now fighting with itself. There was conflict between Buenos Aires, its central port and city, and the rest of the rural landscape headed by the *caudilleros*. There was conflict between its different races

[490] Sabsay, Fernando Leónidas. Caudillos De La Argentina. (Buenos Aires: Editorial El Ateneo, 2002): 107.

of its first peoples, the African slaves brought over by the Spanish in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the local creoles or *criollos* whose forefathers were the Spanish conquistadores and the incoming Europeans, whose number were substantial enough at the time to be noticed but not yet to swollen to the numbers seen in the late nineteenth century. In his literary work, Sarmiento, in much the same vein as other authors of the *Generación '37*, took the opportunity to critique the reign of Rosas whom Sarmiento identified as a *Gaucho Malo*.

Sarmiento's work began with an overview of the nation. In the first chapter he described the temperament of an Argentina beset by its inability to control its vast lands and to civilise its inhabitants. Sarmeinto's treatment of the physical landscape signaled his argument that Argentina's geography needed the civilising grace of the European hand. His first description of the land contains both a reverence and fear[491] – he saw the land as a never-ending terrain with infinite horizons difficult to be certain of or to control. He was critical of the inhabitants' lack of interest in mastering and navigating the great networks of lakes, a mastery of which would allow for the riches of population, and in turn culture to flow to the most landlocked provinces as had been done with La Plata River. He noted this not only as a resistance of the inhabitants to navigation but also as a resistance of the small population enclaves inhabiting the provinces that stuck to the barbarism supported by the *caudilleros*. In turn, these barbaric enclaves infected the more culturally fertile places with its brand of lawlessness[492]. This point is further emphasised throughout the chapter where Sarmiento argued that what united Argentina was not

[491] Sarmiento Facundo 29.
[492] Sarmiento Facundo 31.

civilisation and progress but barbarism and slavery. He noted that La Pampa blocked any civilising force that could emanate from the city of Buenos Aires[493]. For Sarmiento, the barbarians who inhabited the rest of Argentina were the gauchos. He outlined the life of the gaucho from birth to death. He explained that it was the women who were inside and outside of the home while the men remained without occupation, almost idle. Once boys reached adulthood, they were given complete independence yet nearly all of them found themselves without purpose. Sarmiento described these men as isolated, close to nature and closed off from any civilising force. To Sarmiento, they had no desire for progress because everything they needed they got from the land[494].

Sarmiento believed that the European tradition was superior, especially when it came to culture. For him, only those Argentine works recognised by Spanish critics as literature had any worth. For example, when he cited the poetic writings of Echeverria, he noted that those in the Iberian peninsula had approved the poet's verses[495]. Sarmiento labelled Echeverria's poetry as that of culture and of the city and poetry of the gaucho as inferior. He also compared the young city man to the young male gaucho, describing the (superior) city youth as cultured and possessing drive and aiming to contribute to the betterment of society[496].

Most importantly, Sarmiento described the four types of gauchos: the *rastreador*, the *banqueano*, the *gaucho malo* and the *cantor*.

Sarmiento likens the *rastreador* to a land hound, writing that all gauchos are *rastreadores* to a certain extent. A gaucho *rastreador* will know how to distinguish

[493] Sarmiento Facundo 32.
[494] Sarmiento Facundo 43.
[495] Sarmiento Facundo 48.
[496] Sarmiento Facundo 51.

between animal paw prints and human foot prints, where to locate water, and how far the next town would be by foot or by horse. In frontier communities, a gaucho *rastreador* was used by the authorities to track down thieves and outlaws: as Sarmiento explains, the *rastreador's* abilities, method and outcomes were held in such high esteem that once a perpetuator was discovered by the *rastreador*, rarely did the accused protest their innocence[497].

The *banqueano* was a kind of human topographer who had store in his mind the vast plains and endless horizon like a readily available map. The *banqueano* was used by the armies involved in claiming the Argentine lands from the indigenous populations. According to Sarmiento, the *banqueano* was always loyal to the general of the army but the general usually mistrusted the *banqueano's* loyalty. Sarmiento cited the legend surrounding General Rosas, stating that what made him such a formidable dictator was that as a gaucho he knew the taste and texture of each blade of grass from every ranch of the south of Buenos Aires[498]. For Sarmiento, the *banqueano* was vital to an army's success in each region[499].

In describing both the *rastreador* and the *banqueano*, Sarmiento showed a deep admiration for the skills and abilities of these types of gaucho. His portraits of them added to the mystification of the gaucho and to the gaucho's elevation to legendary status.

The third category of the gaucho Sarmiento described is perhaps the most intriguing - *the gaucho malo*. Sarmiento began his description of the *gaucho malo* by

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[497] "Se somete, pues, a este testigo, que considera como el dedo de Dios que lo señala" (52).
[498] Sarmiento Facundo 55.
[499] "El general Rivera, de la Banda Oriental, es un simple baqueano, que conocer cada árbol que hay en toda la extensión de la República del Uruguay. No la hubieran ocupado los brasileños sin su auxilio; no la hubiera libertado, sin él, los argentinos" (55).

describing everything that was wrong with him: he was an 'outlaw', a 'squatter' and a 'misanthrope'[500]. The sinister *gaucho malo* had the skills of the *rastreador* and the *banqueano*, but he did not have their 'natural morality' or a connection to the 'savages'[501]. The *gaucho malo* roamed amongst the good gauchos but usually lived savagely alone on the open plains. He enjoyed all the vices and seduced young girls and returned them to their families when he was satisfied. For Sarmiento, the *gaucho malo* was divorced from society and a depraved savage with white skin[502].

What was most useful about Sarmiento's classification of the gaucho was how it demonstrated the filters and blinkers through which the mid-eighteenth-century Argentine intellectual viewed the rural inhabitants of the land.

The last category was the gaucho *cantor*: the singer. Sarmiento equated the *cantor* with the minstrel and bard of the middle ages. He wrote that the job of the *cantor* was to be the biographer, historiographer, the entertainer and to a certain extent, an educator. Where civilised society depended on the written tradition to remember its history, the rural villages were dependant on the oral history provided by the simple *cantor* and his guitar. Sarmiento viewed this form of oral history as insufficient and open to manipulation. But he was kinder to the *gaucho cantor* than he was to the *gaucho malo*.

In chapter three of Facundo, Sarmiento revealed the true reason why the average citizen should fear the gaucho: his unlimited freedom. Not bound by laws or morality, the gaucho became the bogeyman to be feared. Inhabiting outlying

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[500] Sarmiento Facundo 56.
[501] Sarmiento Facundo 56.
[502] "divorciado con la sociedad, prescript por las leyes; este salvaje de color blanco, no es, en el fondo, un ser más depravado que los que habitan las poblaciones" (Sarmiento Facundo 56-7).

provinces yet to be conquered by civilization, the gaucho was the incarnation of the barbarism[503]. And for Sarmiento, the story of Facundo Quiroga and the dictatorship of Rosas, provided proof that barbarism had won.

With this lengthy introduction about the social history and geography of the Argentine nation, Sarmiento launched into a detailed history of Facundo Quiroga's life, which can be seen as a warning of what Argentina would turn into if such people were allowed to roam the nation with impunity.

When Sarmiento published Facundo, it was distributed as a serial in various newspapers like El Progreso[504]. Reception to Facundo was, as could be expected, divisive. Pedro Godoy, a writer for the newspapers El Siglo and the Diario de Santiago, wrote that Sarmiento had tackled a topic he knew nothing about and by doing so ruined the reputation of a man known for his valour during the revolutionary wars[505]. Alsina and Bartolomé Mitre provided thorough criticisms that Sarmiento ignored[506]. Alberdi was also one of the main detractors of Facundo[507]. The criticism was aimed at the artistic licence that Sarmiento took to represent the life of a 'typical' barbaric gaucho in order to justify his political ideas and political aspirations.

Echeverria also criticized it for being unfaithful to the biography of the main character and the history of a nation, while Alberdi criticized Sarmiento for his false

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[503] "Había, antes de 1810, en la República Argentina, dos sociedades distintas, rivales e incompatibles, dos civilizaciones diversas; la una, española, europea, culta, y la otra, bárbara, americana, casi indígena: y la revolución de las ciudades sólo iba a servir de causa, de móvil, para que estas dos maneras distintas de ser de un pueblo, se pusiesen en presencia de una de otra, se acometiesen y, después de largos años de lucha, la una absorbiese a la otra" (70).
[504] Goodrich 33.
[505] Goodrich 31.
[506] Goodrich 54.
[507] Del Corro, Gaspar Pío. Facundo Y Fierro: La Proscripción De Los Héroes. Vol. 1. (Buenos Aires: Ed. Castañeda, 1977): 24.

depiction of barbarism across the nation and stated that Sarmiento's Facundo betrayed the objectives of the generation of 1837[508].

Nevertheless, Sarmiento was considered to be one of the seminal writers from the generation of 1837 and, like others of that generation, was confronted with the division between the federalists and the unitarians. But it was Sarmiento who internalised it as the division between barbarism and civilisation.

Ultimately, with Facundo, Sarmiento endeavoured to redirect the literary field into rejecting the growing influence of the gauchesco tradition. Although the Argentine Romantics were not interested in the gauchesco mode as a literary device, they ignored it knowing that it was the popular voice of the rural inhabitants (a more cynical perspective might state that the gaucho was needed to work, to fight, and to vote and thus, their folkoric customs were not attractive to the intellectuals and writers tasked with finding an Argentine literary voice). However, Sarmiento was interested in 'killing off' the gaucho and therefore, went about discrediting the gaucho and their customs. This would have profound consequences in the literary field and the space of possibles available.

[508] "En lugar de escribir el Facundo como pretende ha escrito el Faustino como el libro lo demuestra" (Katra 548).

4.3 CONCLUSION: THE SPACE OF POSSIBLES IN THE ARGENTINE LITERARY FIELD

This chapter has endeavoured to undertake a ‘labour of objectification’ on the space of possibles available to Herández during the the nineteenth century. Figure 7 on the next page provides for a pictorial representation of this ‘labour of objectification’. During a hundred years of state formation where economic disagreements gave way to military conflicts which in turn gave way to political bipartisanship, the emerging literary and artistic fields were subject to the turbulence of these. This promoted a particular set of problems or position-takings for the next generation of writers. The literary field which was emerging was susceptible to the political happenings in the nation and questions of identity and Argentinity were continually fought for within it.

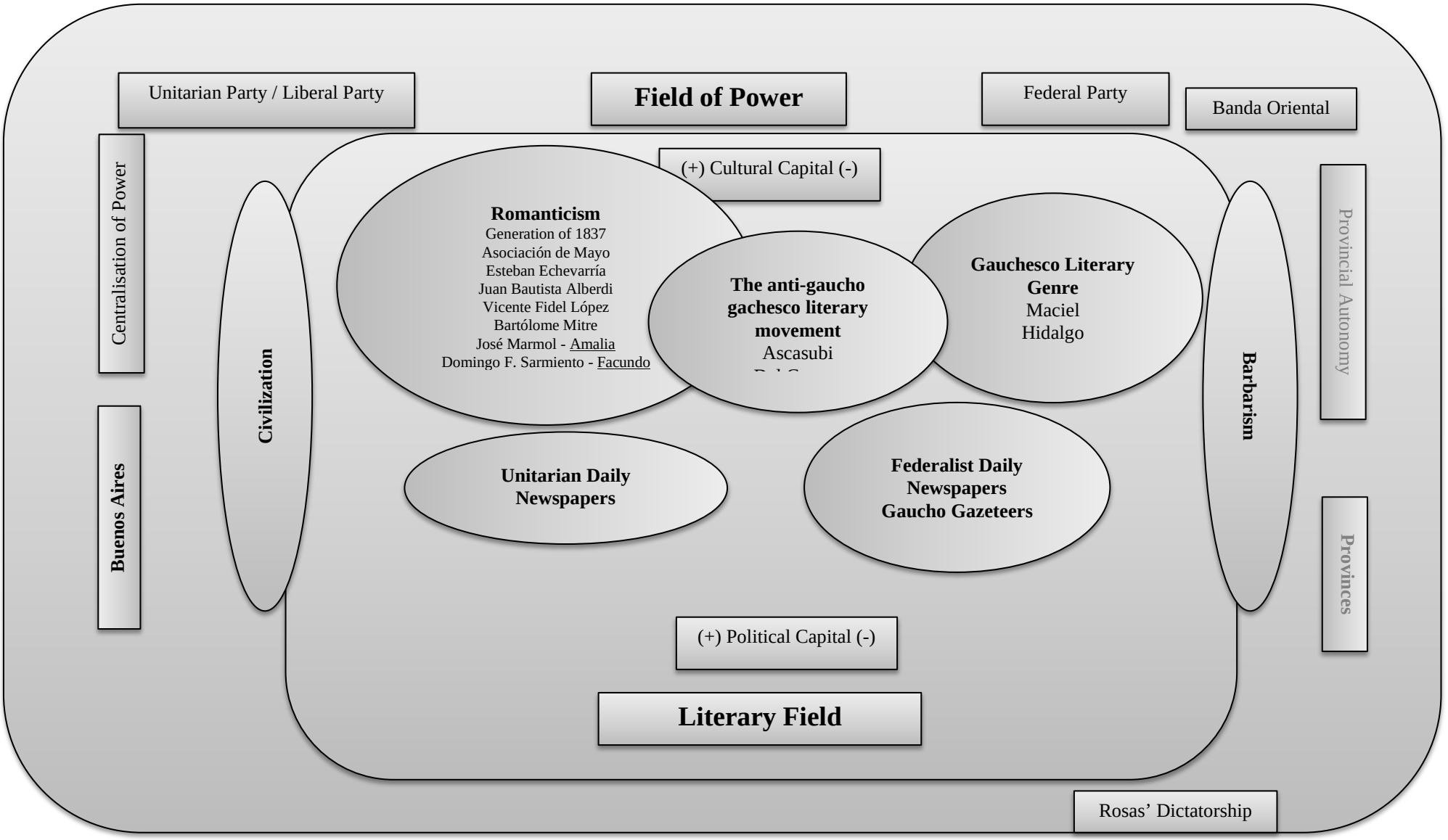

Figure 5: The Argentine literary field during the nineteenth century

During the nineteenth century, the events occurring in the field of power and specifically in the political, economic and the military fields had a direct effect on the emerging literary field in Argentina. The division between political and military elites as seen in the conflict between the unitarians and the federalists seeped into the emerging literary field, which during this time was heteronomous (that is, not established enough to avoid the direct influence of the field of power). Figure 7 illustrates this juxtaposition between the two opposing factions and how each side influenced certain parts of the embryonic literary field. The generation of 1837 was represented by a group of young men who came from the upper middle classes and who had been educated in the University of Buenos Aires. Influenced by President Rivadavia's plan to educate and civilize the nation, they adopted the European Romantic Movement and made it their own. They were successful in aligning their own aesthetic (and some of them were successful in aligning their own political aspirations) to the ideals of civilization and national progress. Their enemies were easily grouped behind the image of Rosas' dictatorship and identification with the *gaucho malo*. Ultimately, the Argentine field of power, 'space of posibilities' and 'space of works' was not autonomous because military and political easily influenced it form and the positions available within.

During the same time, in the Rio de la Plata region, there was the slow emergence of a local aesthetic. The oral tradition of the gaucho's *canto* had gradually emerged during the 300 years under Spanish rule. During the nineteenth century, this oral tradition was co-opted by lettered men serving in the military

during the independence and frontier wars and reproduced to sing the glory of a nation. But the intellectuals and artists located in Buenos Aires considered the form crude and rural. This set up an interesting space of possibles or options for position taking in the field for José Hernández, author of Martín Fierro.

The next chapter will attempt to describe the positions available to Hernández in the space of possibles given his *habitus*. The thematic, stylistic, ideological and dissemination choices made by the author of the gaucho poem will reveal the position the author took in such a complicated and unsettled space of possibles in a heteronomous literary field.

Chapter 5

The Author's Point of View: Hernández's *Habitus* and Positioning of Martín Fierro

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Where in the previous chapter, a 'macro-social analysis' was undertaken of the Argentine literary field and the space of possibles, this chapter will attempt to provide a micro-textual analysis of José Hernández's two texts, El Gaucho Martín Fierro (1872) and La Vuelta del Martín Fierro (1979), which will be subjected to a Bourdieuian literary analysis. This complex system of relations between the different individual agents or organisations that may or may not support the authors and their work (a work that showcases ideological and stylistic choices) in the field is difficult to recreate. Nevertheless, this next chapter will endeavour to reproduce how the author of the gaucho poem was 'positioned' in the field of power throughout his life and how this influenced the 'positioning' of his artistic production.

Section 5.2 will outline Hernández's biography in order to understand the author's *habitus*[509] while the remaining sections of this chapter will consider the choices made by the author when publishing the first part and second part of his gaucho poem.

As already mentioned, Hernández's gaucho poem was originally divided into two parts, published seven years apart. When Hernández published the second part

[509] See Table 7: The Biography of José Hernández for a quick overview.

of his poem, he retitled both as the La Ida y Vuelta de Martin Fierro. However, both parts reveal inherent differences. The first part is much shorter and divided into 13 chapters while the second part is divided into 33 chapters. Section 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 of this dissertation will explore the thematic, stylistic, ideological and dissemination choices that the author made, each of which had an impact on how he positioned the gaucho poem in the ‘space of works’. Sections 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 will then turn to the first critical reviews the poems received by both national and international literary critics and how these positioned the poem in the space of possibles.

5.2 THE HABITUS OF JOSÉ HERNÁNDEZ

José Hernández was born in November 1834 in the La Plata in the province of Buenos Aires and was raised in the country. This close contact with rural life allowed him to become a trained horseman and to be used to the conditions of living outside the urban centres[510]. During this period, there were generally three social classes, which remained separate and without crossover. The first was the self-proclaimed 'decent' class that included landowners, officials of the army, merchants and professionals. The second class, and perceived lower class, consisted of: the gauchos, those of European decent who held jobs involving menial tasks; indigenous peoples; 'mestizos' (individuals of mixed races); and people from the lower socio-economic classes in the European homeland[511]. The third class was made up of those from an African background. Rosas used this class to support his dictatorship, and in return, he lifted them to the same level as the gauchos. There was a vast number of Africans in Latin America due to the slave trade but a combination of the abolition of slavery in the southern Hispanic states, deaths due to disease and civil war and the eventual mixing with the vast number of immigrants from Europe meant that this ethnic group gradually seized to exist[512].

Hernández himself belonged to the 'decent' class of Argentine society. His own family tree displays the political divisions prevalent in Argentina at the time. His mother's family was related to the Pueyrredon family and was generally allied to the unitarians who, well connected with the middle and upper classes in Buenos Aires, proposed that the provinces should relinquish complete power to Buenos

[510] Gammalsson, Hialmar Edmundo. José Hernández: Ubicación Histórica, Trayectoria, Motivaciones Idológicas. (Buenos Aires: Plus ultra, 1972): 60.
[511] Gammalsson 18.
[512] Gammalsson 18-19.

Aires, allowing federalism to come about through centralism. In contrast, Hernández's paternal family sided politically with the federalists, who as described earlier, believed that the provinces should not surrender their power or autonomy to Buenos Aires[513].

While Hernández was growing up, rural life was difficult. Agricultural production was at a standstill from the 1820's until well into the 1870s because of the continued civil war and the little protection received from the state. Those farms without the resources to graze cattle became impoverished pieces of land empty of workers who were forced to move to ranches and work in exchange for food and shelter[514]. This, coupled with the increased number of European migrants who settled in the interior of the nation meant that gradually the gaucho became displaced[515]. This social change was the background to a young Hernández's childhood.

From 1841 until 1845, Hernández attended primary school at the Liceo Argentino de San Telmo under the direction of Pedro Sánchez, a well-known teacher at the time. Because the young Hernández was considered an advanced student, he was given the opportunity to attend extra-curricular classes of French, geometry and geography at no extra cost. His classmates were Juan José Urquiza, José Mariño, Teófilo Ezeiza, Manuel Badía and Nicolas Rivero who would become literary and political figures of importance in the future.

On 11 July 1843, Hernández's mother passed away. Three years after the death of his mother, Hernández suffered from ill health and his father took him to

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[513] Chávez, Fermín. José Hernández, Periodista, Político Y Poeta. Vol. 1. (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1959): 9.
[514] Gammalsson 21.
[515] Gammalsson 22.

live in the country. Here, according to his brother, he learnt the way of the gaucho such as how to ride a horse and how to read the landscape[516].

In 1853, an eighteen-year-old Hernández left the southern farms of the province of Buenos Aires and participated in the civil war with a local chieftain who supported the military campaigns of Rosas and Belgrano. In 1854, Hernández enlisted in the military and fought at the Battle of El Tala, a battle fought between the governors and their individual militias from La Rioja and Tucuman. Although he was part of the winning side, he did not claim his honours or medals and instead retired from the military. On 5 March 1857, Hernández's father died. After working in commerce, Hernández managed to secure a job as an assistant to the Justice of the Peace in Paraná in the province of Entre Rios[517].

At the age of twenty-one, in 1855, Hernández joined the 'Partido Federal Reformista' and the ranks of the 'Reforma Pacífica'. The party supported federalism but argued that for the new nation to move forward and distance itself from the internal wars between Buenos Aires' centralism and the autonomy of the provinces the capital of the nation should be relocated to Rosario[518].

In 1859, Hernández began working as a stenographer for the confederate senate. He was also approved as a member of the Socialist Argentine Club of Paraná, in the province of Entre Rios[519].

Before 1860, Hernández's articles appeared sporadically in some periodicals, but after 1860, Hernández began to be a notable and regular contributor to La

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[516] Martín Fierro (Hernández, José. Martín Fierro. Edición Crítica. Ed. Nuñez, Élida Lois y Ángel. Primera edición ed. (Madrid: Colección Archivos, 2001): 527).
[517] Hernández Martín Fierro. Edición Crítica (2001): 531.
[518] Gammalsson 86.
[519] Gammalsson 95.

Reforma Pacífica in Paraná. This which was later closed down as it was not state-sanctioned and the editors failed to secure a wealthy backer[520].

From September 1860 onwards, Hernández became a journalist for El Nacional Argentino, an official newspaper of the federalist confederation. When the Battle of Pavón ensued in 1861 between Mitre and Urquiza, Hernández fought as a captain on the side of the federalist Urquiza.

Hernández's foray into journalism necessitated that he takes sides. At the time in Argentina, outside of the forming metropolis of Buenos Aires, many periodicals could not subsist from the meagre profits of their subscriptions. Thus, a periodical became an instrument that was subsidised either by the government through the supply of equipment or of property or grants, or by a wealthy benefactor with political ambitions.

Significantly, Hernández began his journalistic career working for publications financially supported by Justo José de Urquiza[521]. When Urquiza finished his presidency at the beginning of the decade, Dr Santiago Derqui, who rose to power together with General Pedernera and offered Hernández the position of secretary[522].

In 1863, Hernández married Carolina González, the daughter of a federalist[523], and in August of 1864 the author began working as a secretary and stenographer in the convention designated to reform the constitution of Entre Rios[524]. Also in 1863, he launched a newspaper supporting Urquiza called El

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[520] Donghi, Tulio Halperín. José Hernández Y Sus Mundos. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1985): 23.
[521] Donghi 23.
[522] Gammalsson 96.
[523] Donghi 37.
[524] Chávez 33.

Argentino. He also began writing articles in the form of pamphlets (that later on would be bound into book form) defending the revolt of D. Ángel V. Peñaloza, known as El Chacho, and advising against Urquiza's new conciliatory approach. Within the same month that the pamphlets were published, El Argentino was shut down[525].

In 1867, Hernández moved to Corrientes and in March of that year was entrusted with the position of Acting Treasurer for the province[526]. He also worked for the governor, Evaristo López, in several public roles such as private secretary, state attorney and secretary of the legislator. He was also appointed as Secretary of the Legislature and Minister of Finance and became affiliated with the newspaper El Eco de Corrientes, [527] which was a bi-monthly publication. There is much disagreement among scholars about whether Hernández did own this periodical or not. According to Jorge Perkins Padula (1996), in his award-winning book titled El periodista José Hernández, Hernández did not own the newspaper, but contributed regularly to it.

That there is a dispute here among historians is interesting. Much has been written about the life of José Hernández and the dispute about the facts of his life did much to contribute to 'creating' or manufacturing the author throughout the decades.

Whether as editor or regular contributor, Hernández used his journalistic licence to attack the policies of Sarmiento vehemently[528]. He constantly denounced

[525] Hernández Martín Fierro. Edición Crítica (2001): 533.
[526] Chávez 38.
[527] Gammalsson 114.
[528] Gammalsson 115.

the unitarians (who were fighting for central power in Buenos Aires) headed by Sarmiento[529].

These attacks were so frequent and pronounced that they created much rancour in the opposition: so much so, that they targeted the offices of El Eco de Corrientes by stealing equipment and destroying property[530]. Soon after, with the election of Sarmiento as president in 1868, Hernández returned to his family in Rosario[531].

In July of 1868 Hernández began to collaborate with La Capital (a daily newspaper still in circulation today) in Rosario. The newspaper was called La Capital in reference to the federalist's political belief that the capital of the nation should be Rosario and not Buenos Aires. The founder and editor-in-chief, Ovidio Lagos, was a close personal friend of Hernández. The title of Hernández's first article was 'Los sucesos de Corrientes y la prensa anarquista' ('The successes in Corrientes and the anarchist press'), where he dealt with the legal implications of censorship imposed by the Buenos Aires legisltors on the rest of the nation.

In his articles, Hernández tackled issues such as the imposition of so-called civilisation on the 'criollo' by those in power, the unjust distribution of land, the poor conditions of those living in the frontier and marginal communities, the new influx of migrants into the country and their assimilation, and the movements of the well-established Argentine oligarchy[532]. In 1869 he contributed to a daily called El

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[529] "¿No se sienten conmovidos los autores de la anarquía en presencia de estas multitudes sacrificadas bárbaramente en holocausto de sus ambiciones bastardas, a la vista de esas hermosas campiñas donde blanquean los huesos de tantos millares de hijos de esta desgraciada República, al contemplar esos pueblos empobrecidos, aniquilados por la guerra civil y sentadas sobres sus escombros las viudas, las madres, los huérfanos como la imagen de la desolación?" (No 166, El Eco de Corrientes).
[530] Gammalsson 116.
[531] Chávez 43.
[532] Chávez 52.

Rio de la Plata, where again he continued his criticism of Sarmiento by defending the citizen's rights to liberty and free commerce[533]. The newspaper's editorial was used to convince the populace of the advantages of maintaining local governing autonomy and the election of local justices of the peace, military comanders and school directors[534]. El Río de la Plata was seen as quite an influential newspaper because it was financially backed by Urquiza and had high circulation numbers in the province.

On 11 April 1870, dissidents in support of the ex-president's rival, Ricardo López Jordán, assassinated Urquiza in his San José Palace in Entre Rios. This act had long-reaching consequences throughout the nation where in Buenos Aires, those that were identified as being sympathetic with the gauchos' revolt were persecuted. Hernández was identified as having sympathies with the agitators and was forced to live in exile in Brazil[535]. From here, he travelled to Uruguay where he became a contributor to La Patria.

In 1872, Hernández returned to Buenos Aires, but because he did so before an amnesty for the dissidents had been declared by Sarmiento, he was forced to live incognito at El Hotel Argentino[536]. In this year, he published El Gaucho Martín Fierro. It was advertised in newspapers as a nationalistic style story about the trial and tribulations of the soldier living at the frontier. It was immediately identified as being very local[537].

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[533] Gammalsson 117.
[534] Hernández Martín Fierro. Edición Crítica (2001): 535.
[535] Chávez 52
[536] Gammalsson 123.
[537] Chávez 63.

In 1873, with the general support of the lower classes, López Jordán coordinated a coup to overthrow the government of Entre Rios. López Jordán was unsuccessful, but Hernández was once again forced to leave Buenos Aires and moved to Montevideo for a short time. The federal legislature, under the direction of Sarmiento, offered a reward for the capture of those responsible for the revolt in Entre Rios. These included López Jordán, Mariano Querencio and José Hernández[538]. Once in Montevideo, Hernández contributed to La Patria, which was edited by Héctor Soto, the son of Juan José Soto who was the editor of La Reforma Pacífica [539]. Once López Jordán was defeated in December, Hernández published his friend's manifesto in La Patria where López Jordán revised his stance against unitarianism[540].

Although in exile, Hernández's contribution to Argentine political life continued. The reason for this was because, though Uruguay and Argentina were two different countries, the cultural production that occurred in the region of El Rio de la Plata did not observe this political border. This gave Hernández access to the field of cultural production while being politically protected. Towards the end of Sarmiento's presidency, the political parties went through an extensive process of choosing the next generation of presidential candidates. They included Avellaneda, Alsina and Mitre. From Montevideo, and through the publication of his opinion in La Patria, Hernández supported the candidacy of Mitre. However, Avellaneda was successful in securing the popular vote[541]. As president, Avellaneda was successful

[538] Chávez 65.
[539] Gammalsson 124.
[540] Padula Perkins, Jorge Eduardo. El Periodista José Hernández. (Buenos Aires: La Plata: Subsecretaría de Cultura, gobierno de la provincia de Buenos Aires, 1996): 51.
[541] Gammalsson 125.

in unifying the provinces with Buenos Aires and in name Buenos Aires the capital of the nation.

During this time, El Gaucho Martín Fierro became extremely popular. The first edition was sold out within 2 months of its release and by 1874 the seventh edition was already being printed[542].

In 1875 Herández published a non-fiction book titled La Vida del Chacho that was an anthology of the articles he had published previously in El Argentino in Paraná during the year 1863. In La Vida del Chacho, Hernández retold the story of El Chacho's heroic deeds, defending the federalist cause and blaming Sarmiento for El Chacho's murder, adding to the rivalry between the two men who existed at opposite ends ideologically.

Shortly after publication, a critical review of the book appeared in La Tribuna, a daily newspaper owned by Héctor and Mariano Varela. La Tribuna had both morning and afternoon editions and had supported Sarmiento in his candidacy for president. The review accused Hernández of being 'reactionary', 'jordanista' (that is, in support of the likes of López Jordán), and biased. Hernández responded to this criticism in an article in La Libertad, another Buenos Aires daily. In his response, Hernández attacks Sarmiento and depicts him as being vengeful, emotional and responsible for the murder of his fellow federalists[543].

The personal rivalry between Hernández and Sarmiento was unmistakeable. Hernández's public persona was made up of his journalistic and publishing endeavours, his work as a political administrator and his numerous projects which

[542] Chávez 103.
[543] Padula 54.

included publishing periodicals such as El Bicho Colorado that used political satire to present his political leanings.

Donghi notes that throughout his journalistic career, Hernández used his pen to advance several political causes and interest groups, particularly those of the rural sector[544]. However, this issue-based approach to political activism meant that Hernández struggled to align himself with any political establishment that would have provided him with real political influence. Hernández failed as a journalist because his defence of these causes alienated him from those who could have a direct influence on power, which ultimately culminated in Hernández having to go into exile. However, it was this failure that moved him to find another medium or outlet for his voice, which he does through his gaucho poem[545]. In effect, Hernández's decision to turn to writing his gaucho poem provides him with political capital in the long run.

During 1877, Hernández joined the left faction of the 'Partido Autonomista Nacional', directed by Aristóbulo del Valle. The objectives of the party were to promote the interests of the petit bourgeois who believed in democracy and nationalism[546]. It was during this time, when Hernández began to make progress in the commercial and political worlds, that he began to write La vuelta de Martín Fierro[547].

By 1878, Hernández had established himself as a poet, publisher and real estate agent. Interestingly, it was his fame as the author of Martín Fierro that allowed him to prosper as an agent. This commercial success allowed him to set up his own

[544] Gammalsson 142.
[545] Gammalsson 145.
[546] Chávez 82.
[547] Gammalsson 126.

publishing house and self-publish 20,000 copies of La vuelta de Martin Fierro in 1879[548]. In addition, many who came into contact with Hernández called him Martín Fierro (the name of his gaucho protagonist), adding to his standing in the political sphere[549]. Hernández had some success in the party system and in 1880 was elected as a representative in congress[550].

It is during this time that the author defended causes he had been opposed to when he was younger. A case in point was his defence of placing the new capital of Argentina in Buenos Aires when in 1868 he had maintained that the capital should be in Rosario[551]. In 1886, Herández died, leaving behind a dormant literary legacy.

The process of discovery that allows for the *habitus* of the author to be revealed is the logical starting point when attempting to place the creator and the creation in the literary field. The study of Hernández's biography has revealed a number of relevant points (see a summary of this in Table 7).

The author's childhood, where he was exposed to an education that supported his ease with language, together with his learning the ways of the gaucho and exposure to the oppressive conflict between the extreme political forces of national formation, encouraged the author to gravitate towards a journalistic and political career. His inability to fully enter the political arena and have his own political views supported by the mainstream encouraged his creation of a literary text during political exile in which the author poured his disappointment, anger and sense of injustice, creating a literature of protest. However, where Hernández's career in journalism failed to grant him a valid point of entry to the political arena,

[548] Gammalsson 130.
[549] Gammalsson 130.
[550] Chávez 95.
[551] Chávez 95.

the success of El Gaucho Martín Fierro let the author access the political sphere legitimately. It is the myriad of stylistic, ideological and dissemination choices made by the author that demonstrate how he positioned himself in the literary field and how this placement allowed him to trade literary capital for political capital. The choices that Hernández made when writing, publishing and promoting his text will now be considered in detail in the next sections.

Table 7: The Biography of José Hernández

Year	***José Hernández's Biography***
1834	Born in La Plata in a rural ranch located in the province of Buenos Aires
1843	Mother died. He is sent back to live in the rural ranch where he lives with the local gaucho workers
1854	Fought at the Battle of El Tala
1855	Enlisted in the military and is aligned with the federalist movement
1857	Father died.
1859	Began working in the confederate senate in the province of Entre Rios
1860	Became a regular contributor to La Reforma Nacional and El Nacional Argentino
1861	Fought in the Battle of Pavón as captain on the federalist side
1863	Launched El Argentino, a newspaper that supported Urquiza. Hernández married Carolina González del Solar
1864	First daughter was born. As a journalist, Hernández becomes increasingly critical of Sarmiento's leadership
1867	Moved to Corrientes and was promoted to Acting Treasurer of the province and was also appointed the Secretary of the Legislature
1868	Began writing for El Rio de la Plata a newspaper financially supported by Urquiza
1870	López Jordán organised the assassination of Urquiza. Hernández was associated with the agitators and he was exiled in Brazil and then in Uruguay where he started writing the first part of Martín Fierro
1872	Hernández returned to Buenos Aires in secret and lived in El Hotel Argentino where he finished writing the first part of Martín Fierro
1873	Forced into exile again because of his association with López Jordán
1875	On his return to Buenos Aires, Hernández published LaVida del Chacho
1880	Voted in as a Senator for the federal legislature
1879	Published the second part the gaucho poem which became known as La Vuelta del Martín Fierro
1886	Hernández died

5.3 THEMATIC CHOICES MADE BY THE AUTHOR

El Gaucho Martín Fierro is the story of a peaceful gaucho who is forced to become an outlaw due to corrupt circumstances outside of his power. He is forced to work outside of society because of the unethical nature and administration of the government.

Hernández begins the poem with a nod to Maciel's convention "Aquí me pongo a cantar"[552] where the gaucho Martín Fierro introduces himself and his guitar with the second line "al compás de la viguela"[553] promising that he will sing his song until the end of days "cantando me han de encontrar aunque la tierra se abra"[554]. Martín Fierro is one of the first gaucho protagonists to tell his story in his own words. Fierro points out that since everyone else has had an opportunity to express themselves, now it is his turn: "Y dende que todos cantan, yo también quiero cantar"[555]. Fierro's voice is a sad one - he consoles himself with his song. However, Hernandez's gaucho is courageous, "ni los fantasmas lo espantan"[556]; he understands his limitations "yo no soy cantor letrado"[557]; and is willing to challenge anyone to a sing off: "y, si me quieren probar / salgan otros a cantar y veremos quien es menos"[558]. He is fair, "con los blandos yo soy blandos y soy duro con los

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[552] "Here I come to sing" in Hernández, José. El Gaucho Martín Fierro: The Gaucho Martín Fierro. Bilingual Edition. Trans. Ward, C. E. (New York: State University of New York Press, 1967): line 1.
[553] "to the beat of my guitar:" in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 2.
[554] "They'll find me singing even though / the earth should open up" in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 41-42.
[555] "and since everybody sings / I want to sing also" in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 29-30.
[556] "even ghosts don't scare him" in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 28.
[557] "I'm no educated singer" in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 49.
"I'm no educated singer" in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 49.
e who comes off worst" in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 64-66.

duros”[559]; and the land is his home and where he is willing to play and fight, “pues toda la tierra es cancha”[560]. Fierro is a gaucho who has been made hard by the land “ni la víbora me pica / ni quema mi frente el sol”,[561] but he is thankful for his freedom: “Mi 211loria es vivir tan libre como el pajaro del cielo”[562]. He is neither a violent man nor easily pushed around: “que nunca peleo ni mato / sinó por necesidad”[563]. He is only Sarmiento’s *gaucho malo* by consequence of the corruption of other men:

Y atiendan la relación que hace un gaucho perseguido, que padre y marido ha sido emperioso y diligente, y sin embargo la gente lo tiene por un bandido.	And listen to the story told, by a gaucho who’s hunted by the law; who’s been a father and husband hard-working and willing– and in spite of that, people take him to be a criminal.[564]

Hernández is signaling that he is taking on Sarmiento’s two-dimensional version of the *gaucho malo* and showing a three-dimensional character who transforms from a *gaucho bueno* or *banqueano* to a *gaucho malo* due to factors which have nothing to do with the gaucho’s personal characteristics.

In Chapter 2, the reader is given a further glimpse into the difficult life that Fierro has lived, “porque nada enseña tanto / como el sufrir y llorar”[565]. He tells his story of lament by letting the listener (reader) know that he has lost his wife, his children and his *ranchito* or home[566]. Fierro describes his life before he was an

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[559] “with the soft, I am soft, / and I am hard with the hard” in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 69-70.
[560] “since the whole earth’s a battlefield” in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 75.
[561] “the snake does not bite me / nor the sun burn my brow” in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 83-84.
[562] “It is my glory to live as free / as a bird in the sky” in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 91-92.
[563] “know that I never fight or kill / except when it has to be done,” in Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 105-106.
[564] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 110-114.
[565] “because nothing teaches you so much / as to suffer and cry.” In Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 125-126.
[566] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition:12.

outlaw. He would get up early to start the fire while his wife slept under her *poncho*[567] and once his morning *maté* was drunk he would work on the land, finishing the day with a sense of satisfaction and contentment: "¡Ah, tiempos!...¡Si era un orgullo ver jinetiar un paisano!" [568]. After a long day of work, the gauchos would get together with their families and tell stories, sing and converse until well after dinner. It was the time of the gaucho *baquiano* (Sarmiento's *banqueano*)[569]. It was a time when the gauchos were hardworking and content with their lot:

Ricuerdo…¡Qué maravilla!	I remember – ah, that was good!
Cómo andaba la gauchada,	How the gauchos went around,
Siempre alegre y bien montada	Always cheerful and well mounted
Y dispuesta pa el trabajo…	And willing to work…[570]

However, as Fierro signposts, this time of camaraderie, family and plenty is interrupted:

Venía la carne con cuero,	In would come meat roasted in the skin
la sabrosa carbonada,	And the tasty stew,
mazamorra bien pisada,	Cooked cornmeal well ground,
los pasteles y el güen vino	Pies and wine of the best….
Pero ha quende el destino	But it has been the will of fate
que todo aquellor acabara.	That all these things should come to an end.[571]

This idyllic life comes to an end due to manmade, historical forces such as the push towards independence and the securing of the frontier against the local indigenous population. The gaucho experiences the effect of these forces as a series of repeated

[567] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition:12.
[568] "Ah, those times!...you felt proud / to see how a man could rise." In Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 211-212)
[569] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 16.
[570] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 205-208.
[571] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 247-252.

traumatic events. Some opt to run away from this external force and intrusion and are branded outlaws:

Y al punto dése por muerto	And you can give yourself up for dead
si el alcalde lo bolea,	Right away, if the mayor catches you,
pues ahí no más se le apea	Because he'll come down on you
con una felpa de palos;	there and then, with a flogging–
y después dicen que es malo	and then if a gaucho puts up a fight
el gaucho si los pelea.	they call him a hard case.[572]

Those that retaliate are punished physically:

Y el lomo le hinchan a golpes,	They bruise your back with beating
y le rompen la cabeza,	And break your head open for you,
y luego con ligereza,	And then without any more ado,
ansí lastimao y todo,	Bleeding as you are and all,
lo amarran codo con codo	They lash your elbows together
y pa el cepo lo enderiezan.	And head you for the stocks.[573]

Fierro then describes how once beaten into submission, the gaucho is sent off to fight the Indians:

Ahí comienzan sus desgracias,	That's where your misfortunes start,
ahí principia el pericón;	And that's where the dance begins–
porque ya no hay salvación,	Because there's no saving you now,
y que usté quiera o no quiera,	And whether you like it or not
lo manda a la frontera	They send you off to the frontier
o lo echan a un batallón.	Or sling you into a regiment.[574]

Hernandez's poem evokes an empathy for the *gaucho malo* which chanllenges Sarmiento's academic consideration of the gaucho outlaw.

Chapter 3 continues revealing the plight of the gaucho who is taken from his land and made to follow the path set out by the authorities, who are following their own political agendas. Fierro states that those gauchos that complained were simply

[572] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 265-270.
[573] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 301-278.
[574] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 279-288.

physically punished until they were quiet. Furthermore, in many instances the gauchos were used as slave labour:

¡Y qué indios, ni qué servicio!	And as for Indians and army service–
Si allí no había ni curate!	There wasn't even a barracks there.
Nos mandaba el coronel	The Colonel would send uso out
A trabajar en sus chacras,	To go and work in his fields,
Y dejávamos las vacas	And we left the cattle on their own
que las llevara el infiel.	For the heatherns to carry off.[575]

As Fierro notes, as the cows were left unattended the 'infieles' (ie. the Indians) stole the cattle from under their noses. For Fierro, if this was what service to the government and nation entailed, he was not interested[576]. When the gauchos fought against the Indians they were given arms without bullets as those in authority sold them on the black market for profit[577]. In Fierro's world, the local indigenous population was seen as the enermy as well:

Allí sí se ven desgracias	And there truly you see misfortunes
y lágrimas.y afliciones;	And tears and sufferings;
naides le pida perdones	No one asks the Indians for mercy,
al indio, pues donde entra	Because where they break in
roba y mata cuanto encuentra	They'll steal and kill all they come across
y quema las poblaciones.	And burn down the settlements.[578]

Not only are the Indians savage but they are ruthless:

No salvan de sus juror	Even the por little angels
ni los pobres angelitos;	Aren't saved from their fury–
viejos, mozos y chiquitos	Old men, boys, and children,
los mata del mesmo modo:	They kill them all in the same way–
que el indio lo arregla todo	Because an Indian fixes everything
con la lanza y con los gritos.	With his spear and a yell.[579]

[575] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 415-420.
[576] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 60.
[577] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 61.
[578] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 475-480.
[579] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 481-486.

So while Hernandez takes great lengths to create empathy for the gaucho, the Indian is relegated to being the true *malo*. Fierro describes that the Indian would steal women from their camps and peel the skin of their feet so they wouldn't escape.[580]

Life in the army camps was also difficult for the gauchos because of the greed shown by those in charge:

¡Ah, hijos de una…! ¡La codicia	The sons of…! I hope their greed
ojalá les reumpa el saco!	will split them at the seams.
Ni un pedazo de Tabaco	Not even a bit of tobacco
le dan al pobre soldao,	do they give to a poor soldier,'and they
y lo tienen de delgao	keep him so underfed
más ligero que un guanaco.	he's skinny as a mountain deer.[581]

Fierro shares his impression that securing the frontier was not about service to the nation but about brute force:

Aquello no era servicio	You couldn't call that service
ni defender la frontera;	nor defending the frontier,
aquello era ratonera	it was more like a nest of rats
en que solo gana el juerte;	where the strongest one plays the cat–
era jugar a la suerte	it was like gambling
con la taba culera.	with a loaded dice.[582]

He goes on to tell a story about how one night, he returned to the soldiers' quarters and stumbled, waking up a drunken Italian soldier who did not understand Spanish and, in the confusion, tried to shoot Fierro. As everyone wakes up, they accuse him of entering the barracks in order to steal supplies[583]. Fierro also shows little empathy for foreigners in the camps who he says don't understand the land and therefore are hard work to train. They are also selfish, for they don't share food or tobacco with their fellow soldiers[584].

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[580] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 63.
[581] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 793-798.
[582] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 805-810.
[583] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 81.
[584] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 82.

It is this event with the Italian soldier that forces the gaucho to become a true outlaw because he is forced to escape from the camp[585].

Fierro's first instinct is to return home. But, after being a soldier on the frontier for 3 years, nothing is left. His wife is gone as are his children. In his absence, the authorities sold everything off and left his wife and children homeless[586]. As he tells it:

Por ahí andarán sufriendo	They must be wandering somewhere,
de nuestra suerte el rigor;	Enduring our cruel fate –
me han contado que el mayor	They've told me that the eldest
nunca dejaba a su hermano;	Would never leave his brother–
puede ser que algún Cristiano	Maybe some Christian soul
los recoja por favor.	Will take them in out of pity.[587]
¡Y la pobre mi mujer,	And my poor wife,
Dios sabe cuánto sufrió!	God knows what she must have suffered!
Me dicen que se voló	They tell me that she flew off
con no sé qué gavilán…	with some kind of a sparrow-hawk–
Sin duda a buscar el pan	no doubt to find the bread
Que podia darle yo.	that I was not there to give her.[588]

In Chapter 7, we find a desolate Fierro trying to find his children. He hears about a *milonga* (a dance) and decides to attend thinking that perhaps he might be able to speak to the locals and former neighbours to find out what might have happened to his boys[589].

At the *milonga*, Fierro, in his growing desperation to find out more about his family, becomes inebriated. In this state, he insults a young black woman, whose partner counters Fierro's insult by sneering at his tattered manner of dress. This results in a physical altercation[590]. During the fight, the black man produces a knife.

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[585] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 86.
[586] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 88.
[587] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1045-1050.
[588] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1051-1056.
[589] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 92.
[590] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 93-94.

The fight ends in the man's death at the hand of Martin Fierro[591]. The man was not given a proper burial, so many say that a *luz mala* or 'bad light' (considered something like a ghostly presence) haunts the place. From time to time, Fierro thinks about going back to the place and burying those bones, so the man's spirit can finally rest [592].

This act completes Fierro's transformation into *gaucho malo*. It is here that Fierro criticizes a nation that asks so much of its peaceful gauchos and gives so little in return:

Él nada gana en la paz	He earns nothing in peace-time
y es el primero en la guerra;	And he's the first to go to war;
no le perdonan si yerra,	If he goes wrong, they don't forgive him
que no saben perdonar,	As they don't know how to forgive–
porque el gauch en esta tierra	Because the only use a gaucho is in this
sólo sirve para votar.	land, is to vote.[593]

Martin Fierro is driven into the mountains where he sleeps under the moon without any company[594]. He realizes that the police are after him for the two murders, but he decides to stay in one spot until they find him – he refuses to take the coward's way out[595].

Finally, in Chapter 10, the guitar and the first-person narrative is given to Cruz, another gaucho that Fierro meets in his travels and who like him has been characterized as the *gaucho malo*. However, Cruz's circumstances of how he began this trajectory are a little different:

Alcé mi poncho y mis prendas	I took my poncho and my gear
y me largué a padecer	And I went off to suffer wrongs

[591] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 97.
[592] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 97-98.
[593] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1366-1372.
[594] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 106.
[595] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 113.

por culpa de una mujer	Through the fault of a woman
que quiso engañar a dos.	Who tried to cheat two men at once–
Al rancho le dije adios,	I said goodbye to my cabin
para nunca más volver.	Never to return again.[596]

Like Fierro, Cruz is aware that he is a second-class citizen and that although people in the city might say they feel for the suffering of the gaucho, they are willing to do little to lend a helping hand[597]. In fact, he pledges his friendship and loyalty to Fierro:

Ya conoce, pues quién soy;	So now you know who I am –
tenga confianza conmigo;	you can trust me.
Cruz le dió mano de amigo	Cruz gave you his hand as a friend
Y no lo ha de abandoner.	and he's not going to leave you –
Juntos podemos buscar	together, we can go looking for
Pa los dos un mesmo abrigo.	one shelter for the two of us.[598]

In Chapter 13, the guitar and the *cantar* return to Martin Fierro where, together with Cruz, he owns the label of *gaucho malo*:

Ya veo que somos los dos	I can see we're both of us
astilla del mesmo palo	Chips off the same block.
yo paso por gaucho malo	I'm known as an outlaw
y usté anda del mesmo modo,	And you're in the same situation–
y yo, pa acabarlo todo,	And as for me, to make an end of it all
a los indios me refalo.	I'm off to the Indians.[599]

In his last verses, Fierro states that he is not afraid of the land or of the elements. He decides to go and live in the wilderness beyond the frontier with Cruz. Before he does so, he breaks his guitar, so others cannot use it and so his voice is the last to be heard[600].

Hernandez's poem ends with an acknowledgement to God and a salutation of goodbye. Martín Fierro's story is what everyone knows but nobody wishes to tell:

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[596] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1873-1878.
[597] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 135.
[598] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 2143-2148.
[599] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 2143-2148.
[600] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: 142.

Pero pongo su esperanza	But he must fix his hope
en el Dios que los formó;	In the God who created him…
y aquí me despido yo,	And with that I'll take my leave–
que referí ansí a mi modo,	I've related in my own way
MALES QUE CONOCEN TODOS	EVILS THAT EVERYONE KNOWS ABOUT
PERO QUE NAIDES CONTÓ.	BUT NO ONE TOLD BEFORE.[601]

The subject matter of La Ida del Martín Fierro is one of protest. Hernández's chooses to give Sarmiento's *gaucho malo* a voice in order to elicit empathy, something which reflects a particular positioning in the emerging Argentine literary field.

Showing the trajectory from *gaucho banqueano* to *gaucho malo* and placing the responsibility for this transformation on the corrupt government and administration of the day ensures that the blame for the barbarism evident in the emerging nation that Sarmiento places on the *gaucho malo* is refuted. By allowing the gaucho to sing his own song to the audience (reader), Hernández makes the choice to give the gaucho the microphone. And he translates regional and rural orality into the written word that is a European tradition of literary output, which enhances the credibility of the gaucho's voice.

The second part of the poem, La Vuelta del Martín Fierro, was published in 1879, seven years after the publication of the El Gaucho Martín Fierro. By this time, the *habitus* of the author and the space of possible in the literary field had changed. In part, this was because of the publication of the first part of the gaucho poem but it was also because of the socio-economic and political changes within a society that was moving from physically securing borders to socially constructing a national identity. There are severeal differences in tone between the first and second parts, and the different stylistic and ideological choices that Hernández made will be

[601] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 2310-2315.

discussed further in section 5.4 and section 5.5 of this chapter. But the main difference, roughly summarized, is that El Gaucho Martín Fierro is a poem of protest while La Vuelta del Martín Fierro is a poem of integration. It mirrors the author's own experience of political and geographic exile and the physical return to and political re-integration into the nation.

The tone of the second instalment of the gaucho poem is much more conciliatory than its predecessor. Hernández departs from the traditional manner of commencing a *canto* and uses new words to begin:

Atención pido al silencio	Listen to me–you who are silent,
Y silencio a la atención,	And if you're listening - silence please,
Que voy a esta ocasión	As what I'm going to do this time
Si me ayuda la memoria,	If my memory helpms me out
A mostrarless que a mi historia	Is show you that my story
Le faltaba lo mejor.	Was missing its best part.[602]

There is an unmistakeable tone of hope in the last verse, one that was palpably missing from El Gaucho.

In the beginning of the second installment of the poem, Martin Fierro comes back from the desert as if from a dream and restates his commitment to self-expression and his point of view by stating that even though he has lived through many hardships, his unique voice and his love of singing has not been lost:

Gracias le doy a la Virgen,	I give thanks to the Virgin
gracias le doy al Señor,	and I give thanks to the Lord that
porque entre tanto rigo	through so many hardships
y habiendo perdido tanto	and having lost so much
no perdí mi amor al canto	I did not lose my love of singing
ni mi voz como cantor.	Nor the voice with which I sing.[603]

Hernández began the La Vuelta in the same defiant tone with which he concluded El Gaucho. However, there are noticeable differences. For example, quite noticeable is

[602] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1-5.
[603] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 37-42.

the new religious tone. In El Gaucho, Fierro always sang about being a good Christian. In La Vuelta, however, there is a more feverish tone:

Que cante todo viviente	The Eternal Father granted
Otorgó el Eterno Padre;	That all who who live should sing.
Cante todo el que le cuadre	Let everyone sing who has it in him,
Como lo hacemos los dos,	As we're doing now–
Pues sólo no tiene voz	The only creatures with no voice
El ser que no tiene sangre.	Are the ones that have no blood.[604]

There is a point of interest here. Creatures that have no blood are in effect not natural or not human. In El Gaucho, the clear enemy of was the corrupt government. In La Vuelta, the Indians have become the enemy of the gaucho. They are portrayed as the antithesis of Christians and, from Fierro's perspective they are creatures that are not human.

Fierro recounts the story of how he and Cruz disappeared into the La Pampa and were robbed of their horses by the Indians who thought they were an advance party sent to survey the terrain before an attack. Without their horses and wandering in the wilderness, Fierro describes a state close to death:

Allá no hay misericordia	Out there, there's no mercy
ni esperanza que tener;	Nor any kind of hope;
el indio es de parecer	The Indian's opinión is
que siempre matarse debe,	that it's always right to kill–
pues la sangre que no bebe	since whatever blood he doesn't drink
le gusta verla corer.	he likes to watch run out.[605]

Fierro explains how the Indians held him and Cruz captive for two years. During this time, they observed how organized the Indians were in preparing for their raids and how ruthless they were:

Odia de muerte al Cristiano,	They've a mortal hatred for Christians
hace guerra sin cuertel;	And give no quarter when when they figl
para matar es sin yel,	They murder without qualm,
es fiero de condición;	They're savage born and bred–
no golpía la compassion	There's no beat of compassion
en el pecho del infiel.	Within a heathen's beast.[606]

[604] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 43-48
[605] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 229-234,
[606] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 553-558.

It is interesting that Hernández chooses to mark the indigenous people of the land as barbaric as opposed to Sarmiento who pinpointed the gaucho as being barbaric:

Es tenaz en su barbarie,	He's set fast in his brutish ways–
No esperen verlo cambiar;	Don't hope to see him change;
El deseo de mejorar	It doesn't enter his thick head
En su rudeza no cabe:	To want a better life–
El bárbaro sólo sabe	All a savage knows how to do
Emborrarcharse y peliar.	Is how to get drunk and fight.[607]

Finally, as already mentioned, Hernández makes a clear distinction between Christians and non-Christians and argues that the true binary opposition between civilization and barbarism was between Christians (citizens) and non-Christians (the indigenes population):

Es para él como juguete	For him, it would be just a game
escupir un crucifijo	To spit on a crucifix.
pienso que Dios los maldijo	I believed God cursed them, and this I
y ansima el ñudo desato	show I solved the mystery–
el indio, el cerdo y el gato,	It's only Indians, and pigs and cats
redaman sangre del hijo.	Who'll spill the blood of their own children.[608]

As Fierro continues with his story throughout chapters 6, 7 and 8, he describes Cruz's eventual death from the plague. Before Cruz succumbs to his illness, he asks Fierro to take care of his son:

Se le pasmó la virgüela,	He took a turn for the worse,
Y el pobre estaba en un grito;	Poor man, he cried out with the pain.
Me recomendó un hijito	He entrusted a young son to me
Que en su pago había dejado.	That he'd left back at home–
"Ha quedado abandonado,	"He's been left all on his own,
"me dijo, aquel pobrecito".	poor boy," he said to me.[609]

Cruz's death and his request of Fierro gives the gaucho motivation to return to civilization. Once Fierro burries Cruz, he wanders through La Pampa in a depressed

[607] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 565-570.
[608] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 727-732.
[609] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 906-911.

state. He eventually comes across a crying white woman with an Indian man bearing a whip in his hand. Fierro finds out that the other Indian women, jealous of this captive white woman, accused her of using witchcraft (actually prayer) to bring misfortune on them. The Indian man in charge of her demands that she confesses. When the woman insists that she is a good, Christian woman the Indian man kills her child:

Que le gritó muy furioso:	And he shouted at her, raging,
<<*Confechando no querés*>>	"*You no want confess!*"
la dio vuelta de un revés	he knocked her down with a backhand blow
y, por calma su amargura,	and to complete her agony
a su tierna critura	he cut the throat of her little child
se la degolló a los pies.	there, at her feet.[610]

Fierro fights and kills the man. His act of heroism concluded, Fierro calls forth his horse and rides into 'civilization':

Áhi mesmo me despedí	Right there, I said goodbye
De mi infeliz compañera.	To my sad companion.
"Me voy–le dije–ande quiera.	I told her, "I'm off, it's no matter
Aunque me agaree el gobierno,	where,
Pues infierno por infierno,	Even though the Government gets me–
Prefiero el de la frontera.	Taking hell for hell, I'd rather have
	The one at the frontier.[611]

Once returned to civilization he finds out that the judge who had decreed for his capture had died, that his wife had also died, and he finds two of his three sons:

Pero al fin tuve suerte	However, in the end I had the luck
De hallar un amigo viejo,	To meet an old friend
Que de todo me informó,	Who could inform me about everything–
Y por él supe al momento	And the first thing I learned from him
Que el juez que me perseguía	Was that the Judge who used to persecute me
Hacía tiempo que era muerto:	had been dead for quite some time.
Por culpa suya ha pasado	On his account, I've spent
Diez años de sufrimiento,	Ten years of suffering–
Y no son pocos deiz anos para quien ya	And ten years is a lot
llega a viejo.	For a man who's already getting old.
Y los he pasado ansí	And this I show I've spent them,
Si en mi cuenta no me yerro:	If I'm not adding up wrong:
Tres años en la frontera,	Three years at the frontier,
Dos como gaucho matrero,	Two living as an outlaw,
Y cinco alla entre los indios	And five out there among the Indians–
Hacen los diez que yo cuento.	That makes up the ten I reckon.[612]

[610] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1099-1104.
[611] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1545-1550.
[612] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1577-1592.

In the above extract, which can be found in Chapter 11 of La Vuelta, Hernández broke with his previous form of stanza, and instead provides a running summary of Fierro's *canto* or song. In it, he summarises El Gaucho and provides an interlude for the reader (audience) that acts as a preparation for a change in voice. In La Vuelta Hernández expands Fierro's universe and allows other characters to sing their own song in their own voice. Chapter 12 is sung from the point of view of Fierro's eldest son who reveals having lived a hard life:

Dichoso aquel que no sabe	It's a happy man who doesn't know
Lo que es vivir sin amparo;	What it means to live unprotects:
Yo con verdá les declaro,	I can tell you truthfully
Aunque es por demás sabido:	Though everyone knows it well–
Dende chiquito he vivido	Ever since I was a child I've lived
En el mayor desamparo.	With no one to protect me at all.[613]

At a young age, he was falsely accused of a crime and sentenced to prison:

Y con esto me despido;	And with that I'll take my leave–
Todos han de perdonar;	You must make allowance for me.
Ninguno debe olvidar	The story of an unfortunate man
La historia de un desgraciado;	Is something no one should forget;
Quien ha vivido encerrado	If you've lived your life in a prison
Poco tiene que contar.	You haven't got much to tell.[614]

Chapter 13 is sung from the point of view of Martin Fierro's second son, who went to live with his aunt. When she died, she left him some money to live on. But as he was young, a judge stepped in and said he would help him administer the estate. Soon, however, the judge left him penniless and under the tutelage of an old man. This man deprived him of food and of a warm bed, making him sleep outside even though he barely had any clothes to cover him (chapter 14). The second son endured as many misfortunes as his father and eldest brother. He concludes his song by

[613] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 1719-1724.
[614] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 2079-2084.

stating that although he is still poor, he has learnt the lessons bestowed on him (see verse 2900).

In Chapter 20, Hernández allows the listener (reader) emotional respite as Fierro celebrates being together with his sons. It is here that a new *cantor*, called Picardía, takes to the guitar. Picardía (a colloquial Spanish word for mischief) lives up to his name and gets himself into trouble. Of particular interest is when he is sent to jail because he does not vote for whom he is meant to vote. This is one more critique that Hernández adds to the making of the new nation, suggesting that the democratic tradition is still in need of development:

Me dio vergüenza de verme	I thought it was an insult
Tratado de esa manera;	Being treated like that,
Y como si uno se altera	And it's not easy to give way
Ya no es fácil de que abrande,	Once you've lost your temper,
Le dije: "mande el que mande	I told hom, "I don't care who orders–
"yo he de votar por quien quiera."	I'll vote for whoever I like.
"En las carpetas de juego	"If it's at a gambling table
"y en la mesa electoral,	or an election stand,
a todo hombre soy igual;	I'm equal with everybody–
"respeto al que me respeta	I respect those who respect me,
"pero el naipe y la boleta	But no one's going to interfere
"naides me lo ha de tocar."	With my voting papero r my cards."
Áhi no más ya me cayó	Right away, the police force
A sable la policía;	Fell on me with their swords drawn.
Aunque era una picardía	And though it was a dirty trick
Me decidí a soportar,	I decided to give in,
Y no los quise peliar	And I didn't resist them, because that day
Por no perderme, ese día.	Would have meant the end of me.[615]

Through song it comes to light that Picardía is Cruz's son. Picardía's own song follows the same theme of hardship:

Y digo, aunque no me cuadre,	And I'll say, though it's not my place to say
decir lo que naides dijo:	What nobody else has said,
La Provincia es una madre	That our Province is a mother
que no defiende a sus hijos	Who does not look after her sons.
Mueren en alguna loma	They die out in the hills somewhere
en defense de la ley,	In service of the law–
o andan lo mesmo que el güey,	Or else they live like oxen,
arando pa que otros coman.	And plough so that others can eat.

[615] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 3361-3378

Y he de decir ansí mismo,	And while I'm at it, I'll say also,
porque de adentro me brota	Because it springs from my heart–
que no tiene patriotism	That if you don't take care of your countrymen
quien no cuida el compatriot.	You're not a true patriot.[616]

So the element of protest is still present in the second half of the poem, though it is not as biting as in the first part of the gaucho poem.

In chapter 31, a new character, El Moreno (The Negro) begins his song. The new character challenges the listener (reader) to listen to his song without prejudice:

Bajo la frente más negra	Beneath even the blackest forehead
Hay pensamientos y hay vida;	There are thoughts and there is life;
La escuché tranquila,	listen quietly to me, people,
No me haga ningún reproche:	don't reproach me for anything–
También es negra la noche	the night is black, also,
Y tienen estrellas q' brillan.	and it has stars that shine.[617]

El Moreno requests that he be given an opportunity for self-expression and the next few stanzas reveal a back and forth in the *canto* between El Moreno and Fierro. It soon comes to light that El Moreno is the brother of the man Fierro killed in <u>El Gaucho</u>:

Y si otra ocasión payamos	And if we sing against each other again
Para que esto se complete,	To make an end of this–
Por mucho que lo respete	For all that I respect you,
Cantaremos, si le gusta,	If you agree, we'll sing
Sobre las muertes injustas	On the subject of the unjust deaths
Que algunos hombres cometen	That certain people bring about.
Y aquí, pues señores míos,	
Diré, como en despedida,	And so at this point, your Honors,
Que todavía andan con vida	By way of parting I'll say
Los hermanos del dijunto,	That the brothers of the dead man
Que recuerdan este asunto	Are still very much alive–
Y aquella muerte no olvidan.	They have not forgotten that murder
	And they're keeping all this in mind.[618]

Fierro responds in kind, acknowledging El Moreno's words:

Mas cada uno ha de tirar	But each one of us has to haul

[616] Hernández <u>Martín Fierro</u>, Bilingual Edition: line 3713-3724.
[617] Hernández <u>Martín Fierro</u>, Bilingual Edition: line 4043-4048.
[618] Hernández <u>Martín Fierro</u>, Bilingual Edition: line 4451-4462.

En el yugo en que se vea;	In the yoke he finds himself in.
Yo ya no busco peleas,	I don't go looking for fights these days–
Las contiendas no me gustan;	I've no pleasure in arguments–
Pero ni sombras me asustan	But dark shadows don't frighten me
Ni bultos que se menean.	Nor shapes that come looming up.
La créia ya desollada,	I thought I'd finished skinning the carcass
Mas todavía falta el rabo,	But there's still the tail left to do,
Y por lo visto no acabo	And it looks as though I'm not done yet
De salir de esta jarana;	With this happy gathering–
Pues esto es lo que se llama	Because this is what they call
Remachárselé a uno el clavo.	Carrying the thing too far.[619]

It is only the bystanders[620] that stop the *canto* from seguing into a fight. El Moreno sought revenge but those listening stop this turn of events from escalating and Fierro is allowed to go with his sons. In writing this, Hernández signals forgiveness by the public (represented by the bystanders) which allows Fierro to be identified as more than the *gaucho malo*. To accompany this, Fierro expresses remorse:

El hombre no mate al hombre	Man does not kill man, nor fight
Ni peleé por fantasía;	Just to satisfy a whim.
Tiene en la desgracia mía	You have, in my misfortunes,
Un espejo en que mirarse:	A glass to see yourselves in–
Saber el hombre giardarse	The greatest wisdom a man can have
En la gran sabiduría.	Is to know how to control himself.
La sangre que se redama	Blood that is spilt will never
No se olvida hasta la muerte;	Be forgotten till the day you die.
La impresión es de tal suerte,	It makes so deep an impression–
Que a mi pesar, no lo niego,	In spite of myself, I can't deny it–
Cai como gotas de fuego	That it falls like drops of fire
En la alma del que la vierte.	Into the soul of him who shed it.[621]

In the final chapters, Martín Fierro spends time as a *cantor* giving advice about life to his sons and Cruz's son which, in turn, is advice for the listeners (readers). It is through Martín Fierro that Jose Hernández positions himself as an artist in the literary field and explains his ideological choices (which will be further explored in this chapter):

Procurren, si son cantores,	If singing is your profession
El cantar con sentimiento,	Make sure to sing from the heart;

[619] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 4511-4522.
[620] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 4525.
[621] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 4738-4744.

No tiemplen el estrumento
Por solo el gusto de hablar,
Y acostúmnrense a canta
En cosas de jundamento.

Don't tune your instrument
Just for love of your own voice,
And make habit of singing
About things of consequence.[622]

In the final chapter, through Martín Fierro, Hernández expresses the need to sacralise the sacrifice the gaucho has made for the nation:

Vive el águilaen su nido,
El tigre vive en la selva,
El zorro en la cueva agena,
Y, en su destino inconstante,
Sólo el gaucho vive errante
Donde la suerte lo lleva.

Es el pobre en su orfandá
De la fortune el desecho,
Porque naides toma a pechos
El defender a su raza;
Debe el gaucho tener casa,
Escuela, iglesia y derechos.

Y han de concluir algún día
Estos enriedos malditos;
La obra no la facilito
Porque aumentan el fandango
Los que están, como el chimango,
Sobre el cuero y dando gritos.

An eagle makes its home in a nest
And a tiger in the whild forest;
A fox in the lair of another beast–
And with his fickle destiny
Only a gaucho lives wandering
Wherever chance may lead him.

He's a poor orphan, and he's the one
Who gets crushed by fortune;
Because no one takes the responsibility
Of standing up for his kind–
But the gauchos ought to have houses
And a school and a church and their rights.

And some day this accursed mess
Will be brought to an end;
I don't see if as an easy jon,
Because the racket's made worse
By the poeple who ast like carrion birds
And stand over the carcass and scream.[62]

The narrator and the voice of Fierro becomes one, as evidenced strongly in the last few stanzas:

Pues son mis dichas desdichas,
Las de todos mis hermanos;
Ellos guardarán ufanos
En su corazón mi historia;
Me tendrán en su memoria
Para siempre mis paisanos.

En la memoria un gran don,
Calidá muy meritoria;
Y aquellos que es esta historia
Sospechan que les doy palo,
Sepan que olvidar lo malo
También es tener memoria.

Mas naides se crea ofendido,
Pues a ninguno incomodo;
Y si canto de este modo

Because the sorros I've told are those
Of all my brothers too;
And they will hold my story
Proudly, within their hearts;
My countrymen will keep me
Forever in their memories.

Memory is a great gift
And a very find quality;
Those who suspect in this story,
That it's them I'm getting at–
Better learn that forgetting evil
Is a way of remembering, too.

But no one need feel ofended,
As I don't trouble anyone.
And if I sing in this fashion

[622] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 4763-4768.
[623] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 4817-4834.

Por encontrarlo oportuno,	Because I think it's right that I should–
NO ES PARA MAL DE NINGUNO	*It's not to do anyone evil*
SINO PARA BIEN DE TODOS.	*But to do everyone good.*[624]

The last stanzas soften Hernández's poem of protest.

The thematic choices that Hernández made positioned his poem in the field. In the first part of the poem, where the theme is of protest, Martín Fierro walks off into the La Pampa after losing against the authorities and against El Moreno (who represents Rosas' African Argentineans). Fierro is a man who has lost everything – his job, his wife, his sons, and his peaceful existence – due to the injustices of the government and the unfair treatment he receives at the hand of the indigenous natives and the Afro-Argentineans. In the second poem, Fierro returns to civilization and becomes part of society again. He deals with his own actions and advises his sons to be good people. The Fierro that returns is less angry, less revolutionary and more eager to accept a Christian God and the rules of society and government into his life. Hernández's first version of Fierro – angry, marginalized and vulnerable – creates a thematic positioning that puts him in direct opposition to other contemporary versions of the gaucho: Facundo's gaucho malo, Ascasubi's foolish gaucho, Del Campo's backward gaucho and Hidalgo's patriotic gaucho. Hernández's second version of Fierro in La Vuelta is a gaucho ready to return into the fold of society and to be a contributing member (much like Hernández's return from exile and new-found political success). Hernández positions his second gaucho as the everyman – el gaucho bueno (the good gaucho).

[624] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 4877=4894.

5.4 STYLISTIC CHOICES MADE BY THE AUTHOR

Hernández chose a particular form and language in which to write his gaucho story, a choice he made from the available options in the literary field. The text of the first part of the poem is written in thirteen 'cantos' (songs that stand for chapters) and 2316 verses set in sestet stanza forms. It is written in a closed form with a particular rhyming scheme known as the sestina (though it does not enslave itself to the form as there are some exceptions to this). The first line is usually free with the second, third and sixth rhyming and the fourth and fifth line rhyming together (for example, with a pattern that could be identified as, for example xaabba). Sometimes this changes to a rhyming second, fourth and sixth line and then the third and fifth line (with a pattern that could be identified as xababa).[625] The metonymies used are intented to evoke the popular gaucho mode of oral expression. Hernández also elected to use the rural pronunciation and phonetic spelling to highlight the gaucho's mode of speaking, though he did not do this to excess. Élida Lois in "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" described her experience viewing the original manuscript of Martín Fierro. She noted that Hernández judiciously chose when to utilize the regional gaucho spelling and when to use the standard Spanish spelling. For example, instead of using the gaucho spelling for crying, 'yorona', Hernández selected to use the urban spelling of crying, 'llorona' because by the time he wrote the manuscript, the whole region of the Rio de la Plata had adopted the same

[625] For an extensive study of the poetic devices found in the poem, see Jose Hernandez, Libresa Ed 1994. Estudio Preliminar Dra Nila Velazquez Coello. Catolica Santiago de Guayaquil. P 21. See also Clemente Dumranf Ficcion Poetica y realidad historica de Martín Fierro p41.

phonetics for the pronunciation of this word (see verse 178). In fact, Hernández's fine balance between evoking the rural form of speech and just stopping short of it being wholly regional contributed to the success of the poem. He created a mirror image of the gaucho world in a way that was accessible for readers outside of the region[626]; Hernández struck the right balance between regional and national language in his poem. Tables 8 and 9 illustrate where Hernández elected the more regional, gaucho option of the word and where he chose the more accepted urban spelling, which he also changed between the manuscript and the first edition:

Table 8: Word-choice comparison btw. original ms. and the first ed. I[627]

Verse	*Manuscript – National Sp.*	*English Translation*	*First Edition – Regional Sp.*
261	mismo	the same	mesmo
545	golpeándose	hitting themself	golpiándose
602	averigüé	I found out	avirigüé
677	verdad	truth	verda
769	comandante	commandment	comendante
1233	huesos	bones	güesos

Table 8 and 9 illustrate that Hernández navigated these grammatical identifiers with precision. This fine balance allowed the gaucho Martín Fierro to be fully embodied in the imagination of the reader/audience. The portrait of Martín Fierro is a long distance from the caricature of the gaucho seen in literary offerings like Del Campo's Fausto.

[626] Hernández Martín Fierro. Edición Crítica (2001): XLI.
[627] Lois, Élida. : Estudio Filológico Preliminar" in Hernández, José. Martín Fierro. Edición Crítica. Ed. Nuñez, Élida Lois y Ángel. Primera edición ed. Madrid: Colección Archivos, 2001: XLIV.

Table 9: Word-choice comparison btw. original ms. and the first ed. II[628]

Verse	*Manuscript – Regional Sp.*	*English Translation*	*First Edition – National Sp.*
30	tamién	also	también
666	comigo	with me	conmigo
761	hi visto	I've seen	he visto
1590	más jueno	better	más güeno
446	lorden	the order	la orden
1173	loscuro	the dark	lo escuro
972	mi visto	I have seen myself	me he visto
1103	mi criao	I have been brought up	me ha criao
1237	pal carnero	for the butchers	pa el carnero

In her study of the original manuscripts, Élida Lois noted that there was a regular change of urban terms into rural ones, sometimes in a forced manner[629]. In addition, the type of punctuation used by Hernández was not a typical one: he had minimal punctuation and relied on the natural flow its octosylabolic form afforded[630]. There is no doubt that Hernández shaped the poem to suit the origins of the gaucho's *canto*[631]. Hernández also utilized punctuation to mimic moments of breathing. The author of the gaucho poem constructed the *payada* or oral gaucho song in the space of the written word[632]. This is what Ostria-González refers to as the "double process

[628] Lois, Élida. : Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XLIV.
[629] Lois, Élida. : Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XLIII.
[630] Lois, Élida. : Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XLVII.
[631] Lois, Élida. : Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XLVII.
[632] Ostria González, Mauricio. "Literatura Oral, Oralidad Ficticia." Estudios filológicos.36 (2001): 71.

of fictionalization", where the oral tradition is fictionalized in the written word and the gaucho language is fictionalized in an accessible manner[633].

Josefina Ludmer presents a similar view in her seminal text, El Género Gauchesco. In it, Ludmer argues that the voice of the gaucho is filtered through an 'institutional discipline' that transforms it into a literary representation from its original oral existence[634]. But it is this link between regional/rural and city, agricultural and intellectual classes and unitarians and federalists where opposites are given a chance to identify with the other[635]. These choices by the author allow him to position a poem of protest in a national landscape in a way that is accessible to the different groupings emerging in the new nation. It is, in fact, the equivalent of political micro-targeting.

The second part of the poem, published seven years later, has a similar form in terms of word choice and rhyming scheme. However, it is much longer: it contains thirty-three 'cantos', a number the author correlates with the age of Jesus Christ when he died and then rose (4863),[636] and 4896 verses. And, as already discussed, the tone of La Vuelta is different from the one evident in El Gaucho. Where part one of the poem seethes with protest, the second part has a melancholy and mollifying tone.

The next section will review the ideological choices the author makes that also contributed to the positioning of the poem.

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[633] Ostria González 79.
[634] Ludmer, Josefina, and Antônio Carlos Santos: Un Tratado Sobre La Patria. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana Buenos Aires, 1988): 7.
[635] Ludmer . El Género Gauchesco 141.
[636] Hernández Martín Fierro, Bilingual Edition: line 4863.

5.5 IDEOLOGICAL CHOICES MADE BY THE AUTHOR

When creating a literary text, authors will make a number of ideological choices (whether consciously or not), which will position them in their literary field. Hernández made a number of ideological choices when writing the original gaucho poem that demonstrate his awareness of literary positioning – he is by no means a naïve author.

The first part was treated differently from the second part of the poem by the author. El Gaucho Martín Fierro (later on known as La Ida del Martín Fierro) went through 12 editions during 11 years, with each edition containing editorial changes by the author while La Vuelta del Martín Fierro went through five edits in 2 years without significant changes made to the text[637].

Élida Lois provides an essential account of her study of the original manuscripts in which she notes the difference in the handwriting between one poem and the other. The first part of the poem was written in a small notebook (A5) while the second part of the poem was written in normal-sized notebooks (A4). The first part was written in a hurried and nervous script while the second part is written in a neat way with capital letters almost traced artistically[638].

The way Hernández has gone about the corrections and modifications in these manuscripts is also revealing. In the first part, there are hurried corrections in which, in some instances, versions of a phrases are crossed out once, twice and even three times in the margins,[639] while in the second part, corrections are made neatly

[637] Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XXXIII.
[638] Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XXXVII.
[639] Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XXXVIII

between lines, something, Lois assumes is the product of a full re-reading by the author[640].

A further illustration of this is evident in the front matter that appeared before the poem in 1872. The pamphlet-long form gaucho poem contained a few documents in the prologue as well as at the end of the poem. These included a letter/prologue written by Hernández to Zoilo Miguens, a friend who was the owner of a ranch and a justice of the peace; an extract of a speech made by Nicasio Oroño in the national senate on the 8 October of 1869; an article from the newspaper La Nación from 14 November 1872; and an article previously published by Hernández in Rosario titled "El Camino Trasandino"[641]. The last of the inclusions was a citation of the poem Celiar written by the Uruguayan poet Alejando Magariños Cervantes. These pieces were carefully selected by Hernández to build a case for the gaucho's dignity and right to be heard as if the author were preparing his main character for a political fight. Whereas the previous stylistic choices indicated that Hernández was aware of how his choices positioned him in the literary field, the ideological choices, borne from the author's habitus, reveals the author's political positioning. These front-matter attachments are not aimed at the rural worker reader/listener but at the intellectual who understood the link between the artistic and the political[642]. It is with these readers that Hernández wanted to make his appeal for sympathy for the gaucho.

In fact, the author outlines this appeal in the prologue/letter. The author asks that those reading his poem should understand the plight of the poor gaucho who is

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[640] Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XXXVIII
[641] Gil, Joaquin. Martín Fierro De José Hernández. (Buenos Aires: Editores Seguros "El Commercio" S.A., 1974): 35.
[642] Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" XLIV.

in need of protection because of the all the abuses and injustices this disinherited class has suffered[643]. He also challenges the reader by stating that only the person who is familiar with the gaucho and his traditions will be able to judge whether or not his representation of the gaucho is accurate or not[644].

Each addition to the front matter has been made to create a background for Hernández's poem of protest. The political speech by Nicasio Oroño mentioned the incompetencies and injustices suffered by servicemen fighting on the frontier lines[645]. The newspaper article from 14 November 1872 that appeared with the first print version of the gaucho poem draws the readers attention to the many complaints made the soldier stationed in the frontier. Magariños Cervantes' poem Celiar introduced the reader/listener to the idea of 'el payador' or the wandering minstrel. In essence, Hernández poses the political and literary problem in this front matter where in the poem he reserves his right of reply.

This leads to the ideological choice evident within the gaucho poem that answers the literary and political problem posed through voice. The manner in which Hernández presents Martín Fierro's voice is critical. It demonstrates that Hernández is well aware of the problem existing in the literary field which he identifies in the front-matter, and this awareness and correct identification allows the author to create a voice that corresponds with the literary problematic which in turn also differentiates Hernández from his contemporaries and competitors.

Hernández wrote this first part of his gaucho poem while he was in exile, imbuing the text with his own angst, political dissent and isolation as the author

[643] Gill Martín Fierro De José Hernández 39.
[644] Gill Martín Fierro De José Hernández 39.
[645] Gill Martín Fierro De José Hernández 39.

experienced it. It is in his political positioning that Hernández found his literary positioning. He used the literary devices of the local gauchos that had evolved for 200 years from the La Plata region and by transforming these same devices that were used to sing the glories of an new independent nation, the suffering of one of its main contributors – the everyman that every listener (reader) could identify with. It is in this identification with the common suffering as felt and sung by the gaucho that the listener (reader) feels and in doing so becomes Argentinean.

Perhaps the main point of difference between Jose Hernández and his predecessors and contemporaries is that he puts forward a very sympathetic view of the gaucho. Hernández is critical of those who have made jokes about the ignorance of the gaucho and describes Del Campo's work, Fausto, as too simplistic. Hernández wants to be loyal to the gaucho and his ways[646].

Identifying these ideological choices is key in understanding how Hernández positioned his poem from its inception. This positioning changes in the second part of the poem. It is important to note that Hernández wrote the second instalment of his poem when he was both a well-known and celebrated author and a well-respected and influential senator in the Argentine congress. His political agenda had changed, and this is reflected in the literary choices he made for La Vuelta. Although he maintained his defence of the gaucho, Hernández moved away from a theme of defiance and rebellion to one of integration to the new nation and of advice on how citizens should conduct themselves for the good of the nation.

The 1879 prologue of La Vuelta called "Cuatro palabras de Conversación con los Lectores" (Four Words of Conversation with the Readers) gives credence to

[646] Gill Martín Fierro De José Hernández 39.

this view. Hernández is now a successful author and senator and his tone in the letter to the readers is confident. He no longer needs to defend the experience and voice of the gaucho. Instead, Hernández reserves his defence for the gaucho language that he employs throughout his poem. Hernández argues that the gaucho poem should endeavour to meet its readers culturally and linguistically even if there are errors in language[647].

Hernández also argues for instilling citizenship and love of country and liberty in the populace through his gaucho poem, especially when the populace has limited notions[648]. This re-positions the poem from protest (barbarism) to conciliation (civilization).

The next section goes on to discuss how proactive Hernández was in promoting his poem and how this had an impact on how the poem was received not only by not only general readers, but by the intellectual, political and cultural groups of the nation.

[647] Hernández, José. La Vuelta De Martín Fierro. (Buenos Aires: Librería del Plata, 1879): 4.
[648] Hernández La Vuelta De Martín Fierro: 5.

5.6 DISSEMINATION CHOICES MADE BY THE AUTHOR

As I have already established, Hernández was not a naïve writer when he went about writing both El Gaucho and La Vuelta. He understood where the sensitivities in the body politic resided and unable to respond politically to this due to exile, he channeled these through a literary response after carefully considering and understanding the contemporary literary field of his time. Hernández also had a great capacity for self-promotion and a clear understanding of the publishing conditions of his time, something he understood thanks to his politically-motivated journalistic career also motivated by a political agenda.

As Rivera notes, Hernandez was quite strategic in how he promoted Martin Fierro and inserted it into the literary field[649]. He aimed for both popular reception of his poem amongst the literate and non-literate, and for recognition from the literary, philosophical and political elites of the nation.

Élida Lois provides a good summary of the advertising that appeared in regional and daily newspapers. The scholar notes that in 1873, several newspapers in circulation in Buenos Aires, Rosario and Montevideo (such as La Pampa, La Nación, La Democracia, El Mercurio and La Voz del Saldallilo) published close to 130 ads promoting the poem[650]. Lois also notes was that when samples of the poem were published, there was an absence of promotion of other (read competing) literary texts. The social capital that Hernández had accrued in the political sphere and in the media gave him the 'credit' (in the Bourdieuian sense) to be able to

[649] Rivera, Jorge B. "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina". Martín Fierro. Primera edición ed. (Madrid: Colección Archivos, José Hernández, Edición Crítica. 2001): 545.
[650] Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" LVI.

promote his poem in these far-reaching outlets. However, Hernández was clear about courting two types of audences (readers): rural audiences who would consume his poem through the gaucho oral tradition and the intellectual classes who would consume his poem textually[651].

Hernandez chose a different format from competitors such as Ascasubi (in, for example, Santos Vega), who chose the conventional book for his novel. In contrast, Martín Fierro was not published in book form until 1910. Hernández published the 78 pages of his work in pamphlet form first. By doing this, he connected his poem with the local publishing tradition in the Rio de la Plata region and in doing so he attracted less conventional sellers, modes of circulation and distribution and readers than he would have using a more European/traditional mode of publishing[652]. This is because the people from rural communities were familiar with the pamphlet and handled it with ease because they associated it with the numerous journalistic publications of the region[653]. By using this mode of publication, Hernández strategically chose a type of publication that was associated with the gaucho genre and the politics of the gaucho[654]. The pamphlet was the mode appropriated by the rural public: a moderately priced pamphlet would have different distribution channels and a much wider circulation than books, which were only found in the few bookshops available. Furthermore, Hernández did not believe that the pamphet was a less literary medium than the book form. He believed that the

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[651] Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" LVII.
[652] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 545.
[653] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 546.
[654] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 547.

pamphlet, much like the periodicals and newspapers where he had been published before as a journalist, was an auxialliary civilizing tool that would assist in bettering those sectors of the society that needed it[655].

Hernández engaged in this strategy at a time when the rate of literacy was also rapidly increasing. In the 1869 census only 22.1% of the total population was literate, but this had increased to 46.5% in 1895, which meant an increased market of potential readers[656]. It is no coincidence that during this time Hernández published 10 editions of his famous poem. As previously mentioned, the population increased rapidly during this time due to the high levels of immigration. Between 1871 and 1890, it is estimated that 1.2 million Europeans migrated to Argentina[657]. Hernández benefitted greatly from this process because for many migrants the reading of Martin Fierro became a process of becoming Argentinian.

Hernández submitted the original manuscript in October 1872 to the headquarters of the La Pampa newspaper publishing press[658]. The popularity of the poem can be attested by the fact that 15 editions (and many illegal copies) of the poem appeared between 1873 and 1894. Sixty-four thousand copies had been sold by the time that the fifteenth edition was published in 1894[659]. The owner of La

[655] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 546.
[656] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 548.
[657] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 548.
[658] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 549.
[659] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 549.

Nueva Mansilla Bookshop remarked that the ability of this text to outsell itself continuously was without commercial precedent[660].

From the beginning, Martín Fierro was not only published in pamphlet form but in the form of serials in newspapers. Between 1873-1874, El Gaucho Martín Fierro, was printed in La Prensa and La República, both dailies in Buenos Aires, La Época and El Mercurio (Rosario) El Noticiero (Corrientes) La Libertad (Concordia), La Tribuna and La Democracia (Montevideo) and La Constitución and La Tribuna Oriental, which circulated in Paysandú. These same newspapers were the ones where Hernández found his voice as a journalist from 1853 until his exile to Montevideo[661].

The pamphlet version sold for 10 pesos at a time when newspapers cost 3 pesos and a ticket to the popular theatre cost 25 pesos[662]. It should be noted that between 1870 and 1875, the wage of a permanent farm hand was between 150 and 300 pesos a month. La Vuelta de Martín Fierro was self-published by the author.

What Hernández achieved was to show an alternative view of civilization, one that had been negated in the push towards nation formation. Because Fierro abhors being on the run and what he wants more than anything is a home for his family and himself and a right to live to his own standard of happiness and not what is prescribed by the political elites.

Hernández's experience with political journalism and party-political propaganda made him an astute self-promoter. As Élida Lois noted, in 1873 many

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[660] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 549.
[661] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 550.
[662] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 550.

ads appeared in political newspapers, pamphlets and newsletters. These included 18 ads in La Pampa, 30 ads in La Nación, 28 ads in La Prensa, 15 ads in La Democracia, a daily circulated in Montevideo, 15 ads in El Mercurio, the newspaper in Rosario, and 3 ads in La Voz del Saladillo, a political newspaper with circulation in the province of Buenos Aires. And as Lois notes, there were no competing ads for other books[663].

This promotion campaign assisted with the immense popularity the poem achieved in its immediate release. Because forty-one per cent of the Argentine population was illiterate[664], many journalists at the time, like Juan María Torres (of Uruguayan descent), noticed that there were gatherings with the purpose of hearing someone read the verses or listen to someone who had committed them to memory.

In the eighth edition, Hernández began including positive critiques of his text in the back of his printed books. This had the effect of launching the poem into the literary landscape, as Hernández encouraged literary critique of his work[665].

Even though Jose Hernández did much to identify with the literary rural and gaucho movements of the *rioplatense* region, the intellectual group that resided in the region did not accept or understand the premise of the poem, and nor did they identify it as an authentic expression of the area[666]. For them, Martín Fierro was separate from the Romantic Movement and different to what had been produced by the region up until then[667].

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663 Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" LVI.

664 Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" LVII.

665 Lois, Élida "Estudio Filológico Preliminar" LVII.

666 Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 554.

667 Clemente, José Eduardo. Martín Fierro: Un Siglo. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Xerox Argentina, 1972): 175.

The second part of the poem, La vuelta del Martín Fierro, sold more than 64,000 copies. In a stock order book found in a delicatessen at the time, it ordered 12 copies of La Vuelta together with 100 cans of sardines, 12 boxes of thick matches, and a keg of beer (from a prologue written by Victoria Pueyrredon)[668]. This is a very poignant example of how Fierro became a staple of the products consumed by the rural public.

The dissemination choices made by Hernández ensured that the poem was given its best chance at being a popular seller amongst the rural clasess. However, as already mentioned, this was not the only audience Hernández aspired to reach. In the next section, the reception of the work by the nation's intellectuals will be discussed.

[668] Gammalsson 8.

5.7 FIRST RESPONSES TO THE AUTHOR'S POSITIONING OF MARTÍN FIERRO

Upon its release, eminent reviewers and well-known figures in the nation's public sphere profiled the poem extensively, mainly because Hernández sent El Gaucho to them months before it was published. As part of this strategy, Hernández sent copies to many writers who had already been established in the literary field. Some wrote back to him, some didn't. Early reviews in El Mercantil of Buenos Aires, La Tribuna of Montevideo and El Mercurio of Rosario were favorable, to the point that they are reproduced in the twelfth printed edition of the poem.

For example, in Juan María Torres' review in La Patria of Montevideo, published in 1874, Torres states that it is the best example of its genre and written beautifully[669]. Torres is effusive in his support of the poem, and he congratulated Hernández on producing a text that was so original[670].

Bartolomé Mitre was also was one of the poem's first reviewers and this was at the request of Hernández. Hernández sent Mitre a copy, letting Mitre know that he had been part of the cohort of soldiers who were adversaries of Mitre. He added that few would refer to this matter when writing to him to ask for a review/recommendation. Mitre responded that the poem had a definite Argentine quality to it but that it abused the naturalist literary tradition and exaggerated the local color. He was critical of the way Hernández favoured barbarism over the civilizing force of the Government. He stated that he disagreed with the author's 'social philosophy' where the protagonist is left beaten and bitter in the end. Mitre

[669] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 560.
[670] Clemente 223.

advised Hernández that a demonstration of social solidarity would have improved the poem. He thought that Hernández highlighted the imperfections of social and political modes of being and forgot to include instances of community and solidarity[671].

Mitre, however, is generous enough to concede that the gaucho poem has attained its right to be part of the literary tradition in Argentina[672]. For Hernández, it was a windfall to have one of the more celebrated founding fathers of the nation write that the poem has moments of aesthetic beauty[673]. And, criticisms aside, Mitre was the first to lift Hernández up and compare him to Hidalgo, Del Campo and Ascasubi, Hernández's other contemporaries in the new literary landscape[674]. Incidentally, it could be argued that Hernández took on Mitre's criticisms and applied them to La Vuelta.

Miguel Cané, an intellectual of the time, provided his review of the poem in March of 1879, in El Nacional in Buenos Aires. Cané insisted that although the poem demonstrated depth and literary beauty there were structural issues present. He stated that Hernández's triump was elevating the language of the gaucho while still being loyal to its style and form[675]. Cané's also compared Hernández and Ascasubi, which was favourable, for he highlighted that that although Ascasubi wrote to make the intellectual laugh at the expense of the gaucho, Hernández wrote with a compassionate touch about the gaucho's conditions of being and moments of

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[671] Rivera "Ingreso, diffusion e instalación modelar del Martín Fierro en el context de la cultural argentina" 560.
[672] Clemente 187.
[673] Clemente 187.
[674] Clemente 187.
[675] Clemente 177-185.

suffering and of hope[676]. Cané also admired the accessible language that Hernández used[677].

Mariano Pelliza, a reviewer who sent a letter to Hernández dated 27 March 1873, commented on the stylistic elements he used. He noted that Hernández's genius is demonstrated by his use of the sestina and how he adapted it to communicate the gaucho's 'canto'[678].

In a review that appeared in El Mercurio and published in Rosario on 13 December in 1873, the critic declared Martín Fierro *the* example of Argentine literature. This enthusiastic unknown reviewer was critical of the publications that had not reviewed the poem[679].

These reviews contributed to the success of Martín Fierro and its staggered yet quick acceptance into the literary field and the political field. It is interesting that in the eighth edition of the El Gaucho Martin Fierro, Hernández thanked those newspapers that had published a review. He also responded to the criticism he had received that his poem was too critical of the nation and that it revealed a less than flattering side of the nation. Hernández highlighted the importance of treating the gaucho as a citizen and not a pariah and in improving his social conditions[680].

Hernández followed much the same routine when publishing La Vuelta de Martin Fierro. In a review that appeared in La America del Sur on 9 March in 1879, the critic stated that Martín Fierro had cemented its reputation of being the example par excellence of the Argentine gaucho literary tradition and praised Hernández for

[676] Clemente 185.
[677] Clemente 185.
[678] Clemente 178.
[679] Clemente 234.
[680] Clemente 244.

being authentic in his representation of the gaucho even if that meant breaking a few literary expectations[681].

This early reception of the work positioned the gaucho poem in such a way that it gained favour among the rural classes and those whose interests aligned with the federales rapidly. Its positioning with the intellectual classes was not fully realised. The poem sat uncomfortably with those whose interests aligned with the unitarians. It would take three decades for this political alignment to disipate enough for the poem to be elevated to the centre of the Argentine literary field. As such, Hernández's positioning of his gaucho poem was extremely successful.

[681] Clemente 204.

5.8 FIRST INTERNATIONAL RESPONSES TO THE AUTHOR'S POSITIONING OF MARTÍN FIERRO

Hernández's efforts to secure literary acknowledgement during his lifetime were somewhat successful. Although the intellectual and artistic classes aligned with the unitarian party could not give his gaucho poem literary recognition and only admitted its popular success, some critics outside the country did identify it as having literary merit. For example, the popularity of the gaucho poem among the rural classes attracted the attention of the Correo of Ultramar, a Spanish journal published in Paris that published the whole text of the poem in 1873.

Another example is that of Pablo Subieta, a Bolivian writer and literary critic, who wrote a review published in Las Provincias, a regional periodical supporting the federalist movement. Published in October 1881, Subieta compared the gaucho poem's ability to encapsulate morality as equal to that of La Rochefoucauld, and that it had the acerbic tone of Rabalais, the wit of Cervantes, and the cynicism of Goethe. However, this early positive literary assessment of the gaucho poem, came from a foreign writer and critic, and it would take a few decades for local intellectuals and artists from Buenos Aires to elevate the poem to its current status of being part of the Argentine literary canon[682] (this will be further explored in the chapter 6).

One of the first literary critics to discover Hernández's poem in a manner that was palatable to the Argentine intellectual classes was Miguel de Unamuno, who in 1894 published a review of Martín Fierro in the Spanish magazine La Revista Española. He expressed surprise that the poem had been relatively unknown in Spain

[682] Subieta 1.

given its popularity in Argentina, and said that it would be accessible to the Spanish language reader, who would only need a brief glossary to understand the terms particular to the region. Unamuno described the poem as the flower in the *gauchesca* genre, and as the poem that separated the Argentine experience from the mother country[683]. This review by the well-regarded Spanish author was to be re-purposed by Leopoldo Lugones, whose significant contribution to the myth-making process involved in Martín Fierro will be discussed in the next section.

Paradoxically, it took a Spanish author to give Argentine writers the key to creating their own independent Argentine literary myth, a myth that would assist them in creating a protective barrier (and national identity) against what wealthy Argentinians thought of as the migrant onslaught. This need local wealthy landowners had to protect their interests greatly influenced the direction of the Argentine literary field which, although existent, was still far from being autonomous from the field of power. Here is where the needs of the upper classes intersected with the establishment of a local literary field, something which will be explored further in the next chapter.

Other international critics to categorise the gaucho poem as literary included the Spanish literary critic Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, who declared that the poem was the best example of its genre[684] in "Antología de Poetas Hispano-Americanos" (1895), and Martianiano Leguizamón who in "De Cepa Criollo" in 1908 praised the author's authenticity and romantic vision of the gaucho[685]. It is

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[683] Isaacson 56.

[684] Carricaburo, Norma, and Luis Martínez Cuitiño. "El Martín Fierro En España". Anales de literatura hispanoamericana.2 (1973): 277.

[685] Leguizamón expresses this appreciation for the authenticity of Martín Fierro quite enthusiastically: Leguizamón, Martiniano. De Cepa Criolla. J. Sesé, (1908): 26.

these international authors, who lacked the proximity to the themes or conversations evident in the national social space (such as unitarianism versus federalism, and civilization versus barbarism) who were able to be the first critics to evaluate the poem purely on its language and form. The next chapter will explore how local critics disconnected the poem from these themes in order to consecrate the gaucho poem.

5.9 RAFAEL HERNÁNDEZ – JOSÉ HERNÁNDEZ'S FIRST CONSECRATOR

Rafael Hernández ignored the local polemic regarding the gaucho poem and took his cues from the international literary critics. Rafael Hernández was José Hernández's brother, and on José's death in 1886, the Municipal Committee of La Plata commissioned Rafael to write an essay to commemorate him. Rafael was on the Municipal Committee and, although he abstained from voting on the commissioning of this essay in honor of his brother, it is no coincidence that one of the first biographies of the gaucho poet was written by him.

There is no doubt that Rafael Hernández was both strategic and protective of his brother's image and intellectual property and that the family as a whole was also quite keen on protecting this legacy after José's death.

Rafael Hernández's text does much to elevate his brother's standing. He wrote that his brother was talented as a journalist, an author and a senator, that he was a man with a moral character of the highest order and a man who inspired brotherly love[686]. In his essay-cum-eulogy, Rafael described a man legendary among his peers and members of the public because of his poem. He wrote that José Hernández became Martín Fierro to the public and many called him by his character's name[687].

Rafael described his brother in idyllic terms. José had been a gifted child who could understand and assimilate complex ideas and hold them in his impressive memory. He had been drawn from a young age to the poetic arts during a time when

[686] Hernández, Rafael. "José Hernández". Historia (Revista-Libro Trimestral) 15 (1984): 135.
[687] Rafael Hernández 135.

his experiences of the rural landscape were happy ones[688]: it is here that Rafael began to mythologize the eventual author of the gaucho poem. Rafael outlined the historical pedigree of the family and he detailed the involvement the Hernández family had with the different military campaigns fought in order to secure the nation's independence. This familial involvement in the independence wars and the internal campaigns of the nation bolstered Rafael's narrative that José Hernández's credentials as a literary national hero were deserved[689].

Rafael emphasised Hernández's own military credentials, highlighting Hernández's presence at the Battle of Cepeda where he was noted as a soldier of great valor. He described Hernández's work as private secretary to General Juan E. Podernera and promotion to First Sergeant. He wrote proudly that his brother was a man of great courage; he fought for General Lopez Jordan and when the General lost, his brother was forced to exile to Brazil.

Rafael wrote that José Hernández was selfless: he made it a priority to always be involved in the community and always worked hard but took little enjoyment for himself[690]. Rafael's description of Hernández's love for the Argentine nation highlighted his patriotism[691]. To accentuate this point, Rafael stated that Hernández's last words were dedicated to the capital city 'Buenos Aires'[692]

Rafael also described his brother as having unquestionable integrity. When a national government agency offered Hernández a considerable payment and trip around the world to study the flora and fauna and the methods of agriculture in

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[688] Rafael Hernández 136.
[689] Rafael Hernández 136.
[690] *Rafael Hernández 137.*
[691] Rafael Hernández 139.
[692] Rafael Hernández 140.

Europe and Australia, Hernández declined so as to not burden the public purse. Instead, he wrote the report without receiving any benefit from the state[693]. For Rafael, this integrity was carried through to Hernández's literary output, which was authentic and noble in sentiment.

Rafael described his brother's faithfulness to the gaucho, not only as a poet but also as a soldier as he fought next to the gaucho during the military campaigns. It was in these experiences of battle that he experienced the true gaucho, his nature and his struggles, which Hernández reliably reproduced in his poem[694].

Returning to the original point of this section, in the concluding paragraphs of his essay, Rafael cited reviewers and one critic in his final elevation of his brother, the creator. Rafael wrote that most reviewers were positive about the poem. However, he mentions a review by Juan Antonio Argerich, a well-known doctor who came from a family of doctors from the upper classes, which labels Hernández's work as barely acceptable[695]. Rafael is critical of this estimation of his brother's work and counteracts this poor review with the one from the renowned Spanish poet Miguel de Unamuno. He quotes Unamuno's statement that Martín Fierro was the Spanish song transported to the Americas in order to advance civilization and to conquer La Pampa[696].

Rafael Hernández's elevation of his brother as divine creator is to be expected. Although Rafael was not a gatekeeper in the literary field, he was one of the first guardians of his brother's legacy.

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[693] Rafael Hernández 139.
[694] Rafael Hernández 140.
[695] Rafael Hernández 141.
[696] Rafael Hernández 141.

5.10 CONCLUSION

The discussion in this chapter has focussed on understanding the author's point of view entirely. In section 5.2, the biography of José Hernández was treated to a Bourdieunian analaysis through the lens of *habitus*. This provided a further understanding of the positioning Hernández later adopted as he published the first part of the gaucho poem. In the next sections, the thematic, stylistic, ideological and dissemination choices made by the author were considered in a effort to correctly pinpoint the positioning of the first part of the poem, and then of the second part of the poem. In sections 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9, the positioning by the literary field at the time was discussed. The next chapter will endeavour to explore how Martín Fierro came to occupy the centre of the literary field.

Chapter 6

Collective Misrecognition and *Illusio*: The Consecration and Centralization of Martín Fierro

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Literary works go through a manufacturing process of value creation before they are embedded into a nation's literary canon. Section 2.7 of this thesis detailed Bourdieu's account of this mechanism: of how each agent within the literary field accepts, rejects or repositions the literary work in order to respond to the pressures placed on them by the national social space if the literary field in its infancy, or by the autonomous forces of the literary field itself if it has aged. Literary scholars have habitually sifted through the literary production to find it's intrinsic 'literariness' and the author's biography for their *raison d'être* as an artist. A rigorous examination is rarely given as to why a literary field and its agents choose to elevate a particular text at any given time. The question of why the dominant and dominant-dominated intellectual and artistic classes elect a text to represent a nation and convince its population of this through the education system is rarely considered. It is these questions that yield a fundamental understanding of why certain texts are considered literary, why others remain lost in the lower hierarchies of the literary field, and why some texts remain forgotten only to be rediscovered when the field's literary conditions are at the right setting.

This chapter will look at the last piece of the Bourdieuian puzzle of literary analysis discussed in Chapter 2. The value of the literary work is constructed by

those recognized as having the power to endow or consecrate the text with such worth. This is not done by one person, but by many agents in the literary field who co-opt the wider society into the creation of this literary value. Bourdieu terms this the 'collective misrecognition', which is when the intellectual classes co-opt the wider community into an invisible collusion that binds them to the *illusio* where the gaze is directed:

> "towards the apparent producer – painter, composer, writer – and prevents us [from] asking who created this 'creator'"[697].

This chapter will not scrutinize every literary commentator or author who has contributed to the positioning of the gaucho poem at the centre of the Argentine literary field because these examples are too numerous for this thesis. Instead, the main literary value-creators who made substantial contributions to the production of the creator, José Hernández, and the creation, Martín Fierro, will be discussed. This chapter will concentrate on developing a thorough understanding of how phase 3 (unification), phase 4 (elevation), phase 5 (backlash) and phase 6 (repositioning) were involved in how the gaucho poem was framed and re-framed in the literary field (a summary of these phases can be found in Table 10). Martín Fierro was not instantly the Martín Fierro that is known today. Throughout the decades, it has slowly been coded by each successive generation, each of whom was motivated by their own individual habitus, the constraints and opportunities temporally available in their literary field and the wider external factors at play in the national social space. Uncovering the major turns, beats or phases where the poem was elevated or repositioned and the agents involved in the maneuvering of this text in the field is

[697] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 167.

crucial in demonstrating how the gaucho poem became such a fixture in the nation's literary canon.

As a first point, it is important to note that Hernández's poem was not considered part of the Argentine literary canon for the first three decades after its publication[698]. The well-regarded Argentine writer, Jorge Luis Borges, attests to this when he described his clandestine reading of the poem as a young boy (see section 6.4.2 of this chapter), which covers this period of time. Furthermore, the urban classes did not read the poem until Leopoldo Lugones 're-discovered' inhis well-publicized lecture series in 1910 (see section 6.2.1 of this chapter). From 1910, it is a brief decade and a half before the gaucho poem appears as part of the secondary school reading syllabus[699] and before it finds itself at the centre of a fully emerged Argentine literary field. Once this centering process was accomplished, new generations of writers were required to deal with the literary problem of Martín Fierro in order to reclaim or expand certain aspects of the literary field and their own positions within it. There is a clear connection between the conditions of the national social space and the literary field and how these external factors influenced literary gatekeepers to seek a work that they could endow with national literary value. This connection is the key to understanding the literary staying power of Martín Fierro.

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[698] In El "Martín Fierro". (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1983): 92 Borges and Margarita Guerrero attest that to begin with, the gaucho poem was popular because of its political arguments and not because of its aesthetic value. The author's political affiliation with federalism also tainted the aesthetic qualities of the poem and how its main thesis was regarded – federalism after all was considered morally and intellectually inferior by the elites in Buenos Aires. Borges and Guerrero write that during that time, the city of Buenos Aires was a small place where most people knew of each other and that Hernández failed to impress those from the upper classes.

[699] Alonso, Eloy Fernández. El Argentino: Libro De Lectura *(Aprobado Por El Consejo Nacional De Educadores)*. Sexta ed. (Buenos Aires: A. Kapeluz y Cia., 1924).

In this chapter, the evolution of the Argentine literary field towards autonomy will be traced by looking at the structural subordination endured by new generations of writers, who utilised the central position occupied by Martín Fierro in the political divide of federalists vs unitarians to create a rupture with the bourgeoisie who looked back to Europe when referencing good literary taste. Section 6.5 of this chapter will provide a brief comparison of the gaucho poem with two other gaucho literary works published in the same decade, which will enhance understanding the processes associated with the *illusio* and the collective misrecognition.

6.2 THE ELEVATION OF OF MARTÍN FIERRO

Throughout the decades, Martín Fierro has been 'read' from a number of perspectives. It has been read through the more traditional filter of Literary Reading Theories and from the more modern prism of Social Reading Theories. Scholars involved in the production of value of the gaucho poem were no doubt responding to the parameters of discussion set out by the author. As discussed in section 5.2, José Hernández was a conscious author who was aware of the literary game. He positioned his work in the literary field through stylistic (refer to section 5.4), ideological and dissemination choices (refer to sections 5.5 and 5.6) that echoed the element of protest in La Ida and the return to civilization and nationalism in La Vuelta. The social capital he gained through the publication of these was sufficient to convert it to political capital. Once Hernández died in 1886, the presentation of his gaucho poem went through subtle changes.

Because of the proliferation of the printed editions, locating all the editions of La Ida and La Vuelta is no easy task. Many editions have been lost, especially those published in the period from 1898 to 1910. An example of the difficulty of properly cataloguing all the editions is especially evident in the bibliographic project undertaken by the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Buenos Aires. The well-established library attempted to display the front covers of all the editions available: the gap in printed examples during the first decade of the twentieth century is telling (see www.fierro.bn.gov.ar/ediciones.php). What is known is that at some point in the early twentieth century, the poems were published together under the single title El Gaucho Martín Fierro. As many editions were reproduced, it is not known exactly when this occurred. It is estimated that it occurred between the fourteenth and

fifteenth edition of the poem published from 1894-1897[700]. The first re-edited edition to appear in the new century was published in 1910 by Editorial Vida Argentina and it combined both La Ida and La Vuelta under the title of El Gaucho Martín Fierro: Obra Completa (Ida y Vuelta)[701]. The different stylistic and ideological choices evident in both became blurred as they were fused together. This had the effect of dimming the author's original intent of serving up a sharp political protest disguised as literary sociology, but it made the poem somewhat more palatable for the intellectual classes. This amalgamation or new presentation of the poem then allowed for a rediscovery of the poem by the growing number of critics and reviewers during the first years of the twentieth century.

During this time, the poem also became the point of entry for many other artists jostling for position in the field. For example, in 1889, Elías Regules, a Uruguayan poet, adapted Martín Fierro for the circus. In 1916, the poem was turned into a screenplay for the film Nobleza Gaucha. The universe of the gaucho Martín Fierro was then expanded with the publication of La Mujer de Martín Fierro (The Wife of Martín Fierro) in 1916, Martín Fierro Resucitado (Martin Fierro Resuscitated) in 1922, El Hijo de Martín Fierro (The Son of Martín Fierro) and Un Ñieto de Martín Fierro (A Grandchild of Martín Fierro) both published in 1948. These are all examples of other authors adopting the original protagonist and transposing it into other literary and artistic mediums. In effect, Martín Fierro moves from the position of being a federalist, rural poem associated with the Rio de la Plata region and representing the provincial affairs of a select group of disenfranchised

[700] Albarracín-Sarmiento, Carlos. Estructura Del Martín Fierro. Vol. 9. (Buenos Aires: John Benjamins Publishing, 1982): 312.
[701] Albarracín-Sarmiento 313.

individuals to an example of Argentine literature and identity. This transition occurs at the hands of a select group of writers, reviewers and critics.

Initial recognition by the literary classes is evidenced by the early local review by Ernesto Quesada in 1902[702] as a result of the survey conducted by Revista Nosotros (one of the few literary and political magazines in Argentina) in 1913. This survey wasinstigated by Leopoldo Lugones' lecture series on Hernández and asked its readers about the importance of the poem to the national social space. Many answered that Martin Fierro was an intensely Argentine poem and that its main protagonist had all the virtues of a hero[703]. By 1924, the poem appeared in El Argentino, which was a reading guide for primary and secondary school children published by Kapeluz y Compañía and approved by the National Board of Education[704]. One of the chief agents responsible for lifting the gaucho poem from its regional (and partisan) locus to the national literary field was Leopoldo Lugones. How this occurred will be explored in the next section.

[702] Isaacson 175.
[703] Giusti, Alfredo A. Bianchi and Roberto F. "Nosotros." Revista Mensual de Letras (Arte, Historia, Filosofía y Ciencias Sociales) (1913): 74.
[704] Alonso 1924.

6.2.1 LEOPOLDO LUGONES

Leopoldo Lugones was not the first literary critic to elevate the poem or to label it as representative of a nation. Some literary reviewers had already begun the process of consecration (see section 5.7). However, Lugones was the first to use his review of the poem in a way that highlighted a repositioning of it for the governmental, intellectual, urban and artistic classes in Buenos Aires. Lugones was the first to organize these ideas about the poem and serve them up to the tastemakers of the nation in a palatable manner.

Lugones was born in Cordoba to a family with a modest income; one that lived with a legacy of having owned land but lost its wealth and stature during the 1890s depression. As a young man from a genteel family without means, he was forced to acquire a job in local government. During this time, he wrote prolifically and although he did not attend university, he was published locally. Together with another writer, Nicolas Gonzalez Lujan, he began publishing articles in El Pensamiento Libre in 1893 and he also published poetry under the pen name of Gil Paz[705]. During this decade, Lugones wrote essays and articles with a socialist and anarchist slant. Two articles in particular, "This Country's Politicians" and "The Holiday of the Proletariat" portray his views on socialism and politics. The first makes the point that all politicians are thieves who live off the good will of the Argentine nation and the second argues that the holiday for the proletariat will come once the revolution begins. Lugones was nationalistic and wrote enthusiasticsally

[705] Kirkpatrick, Gwen. The Dissonant Legacy of Modernismo: Lugones, Herrera Y Reissig, and the Voices of Modern Spanish American Poetry. Vol. 3: (California: Univ of California Press, 1989): XVII).

about the country's historic and military figures. In a speech made before the Duke of Savoy in 1894, Lugones identified two geniuses of the nation: Sarmiento and Rosas (who although he admits some would call tyrannical, he identifies as fair). This divided his socialist colleagues.

In 1897, he moved to Buenos Aires where he met socialist writers José Ingenieros and Roberto Payro and began publishing his articles in similarly aligned periodicals, La Vanguardia and La Tribuna. Here he also met the renowned poet Ruben Darío who connected him with the editors of La Nación and they hired him to write articles. His friendship with Darío would prove important as the Nicaraguan poet supported Lugones' entry and contribution to the Argentine literary field. When he reviewed Lugones' literary debut, an anthology of poems called Las Montañas de Otro (1898), Darío called him as a representative of the 'young America'[706].

Lugones also worked as a post officer, a school inspector and a library manager[707]. In 1909 he published Lunario Sentimental, a collection of modern poems. He was the first poet to experiment with free verse in Spanish and his irreverent language inspired many poets of his generation[708]. His experience of living in cosmopolitan Buenos Aires allowed him to survey and experience life with the growing number of migrant ranks who had come into the nation unchecked through the port of Buenos Aires. This experience increased his attachment to the nation and like many of his compatriots he was resistant to this influx of people who brought with them their own culture that challenged local mores and customs. As a

[706] Kirkpatrick XV.
[707] Kirkpatrick XVII.
[708] Kirkpatrick XVIII.

result, his concerns about the local literary scene became closely aligned to his concerns with national identity[709].

In 1905, Lugones published The Gaucho War where his ideas regarding the gauchesco literary genre began to emerge[710]. The book contained short stories about the gauchos in Salta. Lugones travelled to the province for the purposes of writing this book and his experience of the landscape emerges in the evocative passages he writes depicting the province[711]. The stories were set in the years after the declaration of independence in 1810 and were about the gaucho guerrillas under the command of Martín Güemes who fought against the Spanish soldiers. Lugones fascination with the nation's historical figures endured; in 1910 he wrote and published a biography about Sarmiento.

Lugones was also interested in and involved with the questions of education and the teaching of a national curriculum. He contributed to the industry journal El Monitor de la Educación Común and supported a curriculum that instructed children on the morals and cultural values of the Argentine nation in order to offset the values of greed and materialism that were associated with the migrant community[712].

He also travelled extensively. It was during his travels around Europe that he began working on his most importantwork, a non-fiction book on *gauchesco* poetry titled El Payador. According to the prologue (*Información Preliminar*), written by

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[709] Kirkpatrick XVI.
[710] Gramuglio, María Teresa. "Literatura Y Nacionalismo: Leopoldo Lugones Y La Construcción De Imágenes De Escritor." Hispamérica (1993): 15.
[711] Scari, Robert M. "La Naturaleza Y El Paisaje En" La Guerra Gaucha"." Anales de literatura hispanoamericana.1 (1972): 370.
[712] Lugones, Leopoldo. "Ciencia Y Moral Práctica." El Monitor de la Educación Comun XLII (1912): 187.

his son, also named Leopoldo Lugones, the author commenced this book in Paris, went on to write it in London and finishedit in Buenos Aires[713].

When Lugones returned to Buenos Aires in 1913, Faustino de la Rosa, a theatre owner and manager, encouraged Lugones to present a number of lectures on the topic of gauchesco poetry at the Odeon Theatre in the federal capital in May of that year. Tickets to the six lectures quickly sold out. The same theatre that had been used by such international luminaries as Anatole France (the French journalist and poet) and Georges Clemenceau (the French journalist and politician who later went on to become Prime Minister during World War I) was now to be used to make an announcement regarding the state of the literary field in Argentina[714]. Many people of note attended the lecture series, including the President of the nation, Roque Saenz Peña, and many other ministers and public officials[715] as well as members of the rural oligarchy who owned much of the land and who looked down on the rural working classes.

In the lecture series, Lugones argued that valuable people who had developed their own culture and lyrical form of poetry inhabited the birthplace of Martín Fierro in the vast lands of La Pampa and the Rio de la Plata region. He also convinced many of them that Martín Fierro was an epic poem[716] and that the gaucho was the hero and the great civilisor of the vast pampa[717].

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[713] Lugones, Leopoldo, and Guillermo Ara. El Payador Y Antología De Poesía Y Prosa. Vol. 54: (Buenos Aires: Fundacion Biblioteca Ayacuch, 1979): 7.
[714] Lugones El Payador 7.
[715] Lugones El Payador 7.
[716] There was a deliberate effort to align the gaucho poem with European literary markers such as the epic form because it was considered the international gold standard in which such things were measured.
[717] Lugones El Payador 8.

In his prologue, Lugones' son, makes the statement that it is very clear that El Payador is a complete analysis of the gaucho poem[718]. This claim become a major point of contention with writers like Martinez Estrada and Borges who push to break away from Lugones' interpretation (see section 6.4).

It is evident that in his Odeon Lectures, Lugones brought Martín Fierro to urban (and arguably sophisticated) audiences and convinced them of its literary merits. In doing this, Lugones demonstrated to the group of Argentineans who occupied the higher echelons of society that the nation already had an "authentic national literary tradition"[719]. For Lugones, in a land so vast and tyrannical, the Spanish failed to civilise whereas the gaucho, native to the land, suceeded[720]. It was an argument that rejected Spanish influence and elevated what had been considered native and inferior to the European standard.

Ortega argues that Lugones' great achievement in this lecture series was in marrying the virtues of the gaucho with the virtues of every Argentine. There is no doubt that Lugones produces literary value in his dissection and reconstruction of the literary poem. As Ortega states, Lugones "invents a nation through narration" where "national history is substituted for narrative Romantic epic poem"[721]. Borges, who has much to say about Lugones' role in consecrating the gaucho poem, agrees saying, "Lugones' nationalistic purpose was to exalt Martin Fierro"[722].

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[718] Lugones El Payador 11.
[719] Delaney, Jeane. "Making Sense of Modernity: Changing Attitudes toward the Immigrant and the Gaucho in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina". Comparative Studies in Society and History 38.03 (1996): 445.
[720] Lugones El Payador 36.
[721] González Ortega, Nelson. "Literary Nationalism and (Post) Colonialism in Latin America. A Show Case Study: Argentine, Martín Fierro, a Classical Epic?" Neohelicon 32.1 (2005): 199.
[722] Borges, Jorge Luis. *Discusión*. Vol. 6. (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 1957): 22.

Lugones clearly aimed to convince his audience that José Hernández's gaucho poem was an epic work of genius. He was very open about wanting to place Martín Fierro as a high-end literary commodity: it was an objective he stated in the lecture series and later in the printed version of the prologue in El Payador.[723]

For Lugones, a people capable of producing an author who wrote an epic poem was capable of greatness for only such a creation could express the virtue of its people[724]. Lugones hoped to convince his prestigious audience that a capital-L literature already existed in the newly formed nation. And it worked. Through Lugones' careful and crafted argument the audience in the theatre brought about the existence of a literary field already in full bloom.

Throughout the lecture series, Lugones built the myth of the gaucho by highlighting his stoic, his resilience and the strength borne from a difficult landscape. He romanticized the gaucho's stoicism by saying that he absorbed it from the quiet, peaceful surrounds of the land[725]. He maintained the mixing of the races of the local indigenous people and the Andalusian Arab gave the gaucho a love of the minimal which was found in their use of precise language: a characteristic of *gauchesco* poetry[726].

He denied the *gaucho malo* image arguing that the gaucho's *natural* state was not one of alcoholism and idleness but, since he lived in an environment with a temperate climate that provided abundant food and encouraged a healthy work ethic and since he had a sense of merriment, he was healthy and did not overindulge[727]. Furthermore, the gaucho was lyrical by nature, and for Lugones music was the

[723] Lugones El Payador 15.
[724] Lugones El Payador 18.
[725] Lugones El Payador 63.
[726] Lugones El Payador 63.
[727] Lugones El Payador 63.

highest manifestation of civilization: more so than literature. This combination meant that the gaucho was a civilizing presence in the pampa[728].

He compared Greek and *gauchesco* poetry and, as he stated in front of his well-heeled audience, both forms were of the same standard as they both attempted to express the essence of the soul[729]. Lugones extended this idea by arguing that if the gaucho were the great civilizer of the La Pampa, then gaucho poetry was the civilizer of the gaucho[730].

He was insistent on identifying Martín Fierro as an epic poem on a par with those of Europe. His motive in doing so was to prove to his audience that the Argentine literary field was equal to any European literary field. As Casanova states:

> "other civilizations were therefore just as legitimate-indeed, just as noble, since they had produced their own epics, an essential measure of accomplishments"[731]

The epic poem is to 'imagine a nation' and to 'construct a model for the intersection of the subject – political subject – and state" [732].

He made every effort to ensure that Hernández's work fit into the epic genre paradigm. In the section of El Payador titled "Martin Fierro is an epic poem" Lugones was critical of those before him who failed to appreciate the gaucho poem for its inherent genius and blamed the intellectual classes for their inability to see what was right before them[733]. In trying to crown Martín Fierro and position the work as a literary text worthy of being at the centre of this new nation's literary field, he called some of Hernandez's contemporaries' unworthy competitors,

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[728] Lugones El Payador 65.
[729] Lugones 69.
[730] Lugones El Payador 75.
[731] Casanova "Combatative Literatures" 127.
[732] Irena Nikolova, "The European Romantic Epic and the History of a Genre" in Romantic Poetry. Eds (Angela Esterhammer, Amsterdam, John Benjamin 2002): 164.
[733] Lugones El Payador 126.

focusing on the work of Hidalgo[734] (though Lugones maintained a level of respect for him), Ascasubi[735] and Del Campo[736] (whom he was particularly scathing about). In effect, Lugones endeavoured to destroy José Hernández's contemporaries and declare him the winner. For Lugones, Martín Fierro was the most important example of *castellano*, the Argentine language[737] and the poem's author had the status of Homer, Dante, Virgilio, and Lope and Calderon[738].

Lugones believed that the intellectual classes living in the city failed to see the epic and true literary quality of the poem focussed on the imperfect verses[739]. In response to this, heprovided a detailed stylistic defense of Hernandez's work: one part of which was that Hernández adopted the popular styles of the local *payadores*[740]. For Lugones, the highest purpose of art was to show soul and humanity and there was nothing more human or Argentine than Martín Fierro[741].

Finally, Lugones explained that the reason for his insistence that Martin Fierro was an epic poem was because it personified the heroic life of the Argentine citizen[742]. Although Lugones acknowledged that the gaucho Fierro might appear an antisocial rebel the poem was still about a heroic figure because the protagonist fought against an unjust society. According to Lugones, it is these heroic aspects that made it epic and not its exact adherence to the properties of an epic poem. In his concluding remarks, Lugones implored his audience to reject the monopoly of

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[734] Lugones El Payador 128.
[735] Lugones El Payador 126.
[736] Lugones El Payador 127-128.
[737] Lugones El Payador 130.
[738] Lugones El Payador 131.
[739] Lugones El Payador 135.
[740] Lugones El Payador 145.
[741] Lugones El Payador 146.
[742] Lugones El Payador 146.

foreign literature and accept that Argentine writers had told local stories that contained the literary ethos of truth and beauty[743].

The impact of Lugones' lecture series was widely felt. A month after the public presentation of his work in front of such influential guests, Lugones established the chair of Argentine literature at the University of Buenos Aires and Martín Fierro became an integral part of the literary program[744].

Lugones reading of the gaucho poem lasted decades and had a profound influence on 'suceeding writers and intellectuals. His own literary reputation, however, oscillated wildly, mainly because of his constantly fluctuating political beliefs. In what is known as the Ayacucho Address, Lugones supported the overthrow of the populist and democratically elected Yrigoyen Government by the military dictatorship of Uriburu in 1930. This marred Lugones' reputation amongst the intellectual and artistic classes[745], which was compounded by his support of Mussolini. Lugones' changing ideology was evident early in his career. Before he supported the anti-immigration movement, Lugones wrote articles in favour of immigration that supported the views of the landowners who urgently needed to import a working class in order to increase production of its exports. In one of his poems, "To the Cattle and the Harvests", Lugones praised the young European man who produced "a wealth of golden wheat" for the progress of the nation rested with the immigrant worker[746].

As Dorothy McMahon states in Leopoldo Lugones – A man in search of roots, many of his contemporaries thought him a fraud. In 1929, Rufino Blanco

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[743] Lugones El Payador 202.
[744] Delaney 198.
[745] Kirkpatrick XIV.
[746] Solberg 32.

Fonilona, an intellectual and academic, accused Lugones of being a charlatan because the author constantly changed political ideologies and literary beliefs[747]. On the other hand, Pedro Miguel Obligado, another writer, saw him as a "frustrated champion of noble causes"[748]. McMahon suggests that perhaps Lugones' environmental instability as a child and his parent's inability to find a community where the family could settle meant that Lugones looked for that belonging and stability in later life. As such, Lugones' search for identity, community and belonging throughout his public life pushed him towards positioning himself in a search for national identity which he did by proclaiming Martín Fierro as the example of Argentine literature[749].

In Literary Nationalism, Ortega discusses the romantic epic genre and argues that Lugones repurposes Martín Fierro to fit into the romantic epic. What originally captured the first readers of Martín Fierro, its elements of protest against harsh conditions sanctioned by the state, was broken down and repackaged by Lugones. Lugones kept some of the elements of protest present in the poem, particularly, the anti-government sentiment that correlated with the view held by Lugones'contemporaries who were against a Government that made favourable laws for foreigners in order encourage foreign investment and capital.

Through his emotive and insistent discourse, Lugones positioned Hernández's text right at the centre of the literary field. Lugones managed to disconnect Hernández's Martín Fierro from its political connection to the federalist

[747] McMahon, Dorothy. "Leopoldo Lugones: A Man in Search of Roots." *Modern Philology* 51.3 (1954): 196.
[748] McMahon 196.
[749] McMahon 203.

political discourse. Casanova describes this process as obscuring the "political truth in literature"[750]

Lugones' point of view was not the only one being put forward by literary critics, but it became the dominant one for many decades. For example, in 1914, the commercial *Editorial Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco* published both parts of the poem under the title El 'Martín Fierro' with an introduction by Emilio Alonso Criado, a professor of literature at the Colegio Nacional, one of the premier government secondary school in Buenos Aires. Criado provided a good summary of the literary criticism surrounding the gaucho poem[751]. He cited the Spanish literary critic Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo elevation of the text to the best example in the genre[752] in "Antología de Poetas Hispano-Americanos" (1895), Miguel de Unamuno's positive criticism as conveyed in his speech "La Literatura Gauchesca" (1899), and Martianiano Leguizamón in "De Cepa Criollo" in 1908 who praised the author's authenticity[753] to name a few. He completed his revision by citing Leopoldo Lugoones' six-part lecture series on the gaucho poem and Carlos Octavio Bunge's discussion "El Derecho en la Literatura Gauchesca" as well as Ricardo Rojas' contribution in setting up the Department of Literature and positioning the gaucho poem as the example of nation's literature.

In his introduction to the gaucho poem, Criado acknowledged the effect that the high influx of European migrants (he quotes four million) had on the population's apathy about identifying as Argentinean. He praised the Ministry of

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[750] Casanova, Pascale. The World Republic of Letters. trans. M. B. DeBevoise. (Massachusetts, Havard University Press, 2004): 321.
[751] Criado, Emilio Alonso. "Estudio Crítico" El Martín Fierro. (Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1914): 5-6.
[752] Isaacsson 225.
[753] Leguiszamón expresses this appreciation for the authenticity of Martín Fierro quite enthusiastically26.

Education for 'nationalising the child' through their primary and secondary education program[754]. He was critical of the migrant artists - who, in his opinion, could only think in English or, German or, Spanish or Italian but not in Argentinean[755]. For Criado, the nationalistic reaction in the literary field was necessary to overcome foreign literary voices[756]. In his treatment of the poem, Criado highlighted the suffering of the gaucho protagonist but was less interested in exploring the aspects of protest in the poem.

Despite this, Criado offers a different interpretation from Lugones: one that was lost until Ezequiel Martínez Estrada and Jorge Luis Borges endeavored to push back against the nationalistic interpretation of Hernández's poem. Criado's analysis argued that the gaucho poem was not historic because it depicted a fictional protagonist: was not nationalistic because it did not show any significant moment in the history of the nation and was not epic because Fierro did not act like a hero[757]. Criado was critical of Lugones' presentation of the gaucho poem as otherwise; that is, as historic, nationalistic and epic. He argued that it was easier to associate the divine to literature than see it in all its man-made errors[758]. Criado's introduction appears before the poem and Hernández's original front matter disappears. Although this 1914 assessment of the poem challenges the construction presented by Lugones, it was forgotten because so many scholars desperate to uphold Martín Fierro's new standing as a local literature of high merit continued to propagate this version or positioning in their own prologues.

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[754] Criado 6-7.
[755] Criado 8.
[756] Criado 9.
[757] Criado 40.
[758] Criado 40.

Lugones strategy with and manipulation of the perception of the gaucho poem is not unique to the Argentine context. In The World Republic of Letters, Casanova notes a similar approach in the Irish literary field during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[759] Casanova explains that during a process of elevation, agents will provide a "pure, dehistoricized interpretations of poetry" or a "rehistoricization" or "repoliticization" of literary works to suit anagenda that arises out of the internal pressures of a literary field and the external pressures of a national social space.[760] Literary works become, as Casanova explains, "literary solutions to the problem of domination" during these phases.[761] Casanova speaks of the 'Irish Revival', which reimagined the country culturally during the decades of 1890 and 1930. She explains that William Butler Yeats, Lady Augusta Gregory, Edward Martyn, George Moore and The Gaelic League (charged with weakening the English language stronghold in Ireland) inherited the task set by the Romantic Movement of excavating the nation's cultural and popular heritage in order to identify the national literature that would reveal the essence of the national social space.[762] They did this by cataloguing a "national literary corpus", by championing a "national language" and by pushing both through the national education curriculum.[763] The same impetus can be witnessed in the Argentine context and in particular with the literary agenda promoted by Lugones.

Like the Irish example, Lugones was not alone in driving this push towards literary national autonomy and recognition. Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3 will detail how other actors joined the push for literary nationalism as set out by Lugones and how

[759] Casanova The World Republic of Letters 303-23.
[760] Casanova The World Republic of Letters 323.
[761] Casanova The World Republic of Letters 320.
[762] Casanova The World Republic of Letters 305.
[763] Casanova The World Republic of Letters 306-7.

these were successful in drowning out divergent literary assessments like that of Criado.

6.2.2 CARLOS OCTAVIO BUNGE

Carlos Octavio Bunge, both a lawyer and academic, was part of the scholarly circle convening at the University of Buenos Aires that was ready to elevate the gaucho poem to higher literary levels. Bunge took up the idea floated by Lugones that Martín Fierro was not an antisocial gaucho (that is, not a *gaucho malo*), which he did by exploring the local justice systems available to the rural inhabitant[764].

He was very much a proponent of using the gaucho poem as a civilizing tool through the education system. In "La enseñanza de la tradicion y la leyenda"[765] he stated that although he supported a positivist education (that is,one based on facts) he understood the necessity for a literary fiction when teaching children patriotism, for without this civic instruction, the nation would be in danger of losing its independence.[766]

In terms of the gaucho, Bunge did not always uphold the same ideas as Lugones and Rojas (who will be reviewed in section 6.2.3). In 1903, he had identified the character of the local creole or *mestizo* negatively, describing him as inherently lazy and arrogant. However, by 1911, in "La enseñanza de la tradicion and la leyenda"[767] he highlighted the virtues of the gaucho as courageous, stoic and nationalistic to the core.

On 22 August 1913, three months after Lugones' lecture series, Bunge spoke at a public reception (the speech was later published) hosted by the Academy of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires. Present at the public

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[764] Lugones El Payador 137.
[765] Bunge, Carlos Octavio. "La Enseñanza De La Tradición Y La Leyenda". El Monitor de la Educación Comun 28 February 1911.
[766] Bunge "La Enseñanza De La Tradición Y La Leyenda".
[767] Bunge "La Enseñanza De La Tradición Y La Leyenda".

reception was the Minister of Justice and Public Instruction and the Dean of University. During the speech, Bunge discussed the rules of law present in gauchesco literature. Bunge built a positive and detailed picture of the gaucho whom he described as preferring to live a life of peace raising cattle and domesticating horses instead of participating in violent outbursts fuelled by idleness and alcoholism. Bunge noted that the idea of the drunken gaucho was incorrect, as alcohol was in short supply in the La Pampa region because it was quite expensive to acquire. Instead, the gaucho was a hard worker: focused on securing the national borders by forming rural self-contained townships with their own caudillo. Bunge was critical of the common notion, especially in literary texts, that gauchos were quick to duel. He argued that in reality the gaucho was not inclined to reach for the knife to settle disputes unless absolutely necessary. He did concede that settling disputes through knife fighting was the only avenue for justice as state-sanctioned judicial representatives and courts did not appear in such rural settings as they were too far away from the city centres. For Bunge the detail of duels between gauchos was a literary exaggeration. He argued that the gaucho did not kill anyone without a proper motive.

By arguing that the image of the gauchos dueling was an embellishment added by literary fiction to highlight drama and that this behavior was not typical of the gaucho, Bunge took the edge off the stereotype of the gaucho and refuted Sarmiento's *gaucho malo*. He supported Lugones' assertion and paved a way for other scholars such as Ricardo Rojas (who will be discussed in section 6.2.3) eager to continue Lugones' elevation of the gaucho poem. Where Lugones provided the literary reading (and arguments), Bunge provided the very light sociological reading (and arguments) to justify the literary exaltation of the gaucho by concealing the

gaucho's affiliation with the Federalist movement. According to Bunge's account, the gaucho was not politically motivated or aligned: he was simply a local rural inhabitant who had brought civilization to the vastness of the La Pampa.

Together with Lugones, Bunge's ensured that the *gaucho malo* created by Sarmiento was refuted, which allowed for the gaucho savior to take root in the national psyche and for the literary elevation of Hernández's gaucho poem as holding the essence of 'Argentinity'.

Bunge took every opportunity to communicate his version of the gaucho. In an introduction to the poem published in 1915, he retold the origin story of the gaucho. He identified this frontier hero as made by his environment while exercising the ethical ideals of the Andalusian imagination[768]. Bunge also explored how the history of the nation demanded much from the gaucho and lamented the changing conditions of the rural landscape that meant the disappearance of the gaucho[769]. In contrast to Criado, Bunge believed the gaucho poem represented a true history of the era[770]. He emphasised his argument that the idea of the violence gaucho was a poetic exaggeration[771] explaining that the Spanish honour system of dispute resolution the gauchos from La Pampa inherited was a key argument against this exaggeration[772]. It is interesting to note that in this edition, all the front matter and the prologue-letter Hernández had inserted before the beginning of his poem was discarded and instead Bunge's brief analysis of the literary poem and extensive sociological discussion of

[768] Bunge, Carlos Octavio. "La Literatura Gauchesca". Martín Fierro, La Vuelta De Martín Fierro, Santos Vega, Fausto. Ed. Hernández, José. Second ed. (Buenos Aires: La Cultura Argentina, 1915): 15.
[769] Bunge "La Literatura Gauchesca" 20.
[770] Bunge "La Literatura Gauchesca" 23.
[771] Bunge "La Literatura Gauchesca" 29-30.
[772] Bunge "La Literatura Gauchesca" 32.

the gaucho's rural justice system appears. This positions Martín Fierro differently from how the author originally positioned his protagonist and work.

Bunge played a supporting role to Lugones. As a lawyer and academic, he used the tools of history and jurisprudence to refashion the gaucho into a noble rural inhabitant, who had respect for the law and the government. This is interesting, especially when taking into account that in the beginning of his career, Bunge's view of the gaucho aligned more with Sarmiento than Lugones.

6.2.3 RICARDO ROJAS

In his body of work, and as discussed in section 2.5, Bourdieu discusses how literary/artistic value is produced through a labyrinth of credit transfers (favours and moments of recognition between agents taking up positions in the space of possibles). Many writers, academics, publishers and other literary gatekeepers made significant contributions to the process of creating literary value for Hernández's poem through its recognition and elevation in the literary field. Ricardo Rojas was a writer and academic who built on Lugones' and Bunge's work of elevating the gaucho poem for the consumption of the intellectual classes. From 1922-1926, Rojas was the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters and thereafter became the Vice Chancellor of the University of Buenos Aires from 1926 until 1930. Rojas was also responsible for founding the Institute of Argentine Literature and Folklore and was its initial Director[773]. He was instrumental in laying down the scholarly framework for the field with his lengthy volumes on the history of Argentine literature titled La Literatura Argentina. Where many believed that Argentina did not have a national literature, his many volumes were divided into the following sections: *gauchesco* tradition, the colonialists, the proscriptors or outlaws and the modern, showing that in fact the nation had a substantial body of literature[774].

Rojas had an extensive career as an academic, a writer, and a commentator on national identity, he was very prolific producing more than 30 books[775].

He began publishing his ideas on national identity in a series of articles in the broadsheet newspaper, La Nación. In this series of articles, he wrote about the

[773] Glauert, Earl T. "Ricardo Rojas and the Emergence of Argentine Cultural Nationalism." The Hispanic American Historical Review 43.1 (1963): 6.
[774] Glauert 6.
[775] Glauert 1.

necessity for a common Argentine culture and that the nation was more than a political identity: it was an ideal with a soul[776].

In 1909, Rojas published La Restauración Nacionalista in response to the high number of new migrants arriving to Argentina. In it, he argued that a fully formed and robust Argentine national identity was immediately necessary as this would allow the country to withstand the influx of foreign values and ideas that would inevitably challenge its identity and essence. This fealty to and safeguarding of the national identity could only be achieved through a rigorous national curriculum in the public primary and secondary school system that focused on national history, language, folkloric traditions, civic instruction and the teaching of local literature[777]. Migrants coming into the country should be forced to learn and adopt Argentine cultural values[778]. It is interesting to note that this research was paid for and supported by the Ministry of Education and that Rojas travelled to Europe in order to analyse their education systems and understand how they could be used to engender patriotism[779]. Some intellectuals and politicians suggested that the way to do this was through military service. However, the more popular sentiment was to instill these national cultural values through a national curriculum taught in primary and especially secondary education level. The national curriculum would ensure that patriotic customs were followed and adopted and that the myths and the

[776] Glauert 2.
[777] Glauert 2.
[778] Rojas Historia de la Literatura Argentina 469-471.
[779] Solberg 173.

legends of the nation would be taught from a young age in order to inculcate a love of country in its citizenry[780].

Some writers protested against La Restauracion Nationalista. In 1909, Eduaro Maglione (one of the writers we will encounter when discussing the Revista Martín Fierro in section 6.3.1) published an article arguing against Rojas' book stating that the Argentine national character also included viciousness and political lawlessness. He was quick to point out that foreign workers only threatened the rural oligarchy and not the Argentine national identity[781].

Roberto F. Giustu also provided much criticism of Rojas' ideas in La Restauracion Nationalista. He was the editor of Nosotros and in his criticism he pointed out that without migrants Argentina would be a terrible and lawless place[782].

By this time, many writers supported a patriotic national curriculum by starting to reverse their portrayal of local workers as being lazy to targetting foreign workers in the literary texts that they chose to list for study. So much so, that in Rojas' Blason de Plata, which was published in 1910, he highlighted the virtues imbued by the Spanish and Indian heritage[783]. This was quite a departure from a national literature that had depicted the Indian as a savage and retarding the nation's progress. He argued that the Argentine people were made by the earth (the local ecosystem), its indigenous customs and its Spanish tradition[784]. He maintained that this particular local setting had a profound effect on the character of its inhabitants[785]. Rojas argued that the nation was therefore strong enough to handle

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[780] Solberg 171.
[781] Maglione, Eduardo F. "Cosmopolitismo Y Espíritu Nacional". Renacimiento, *Year* 1: 320.
[782] Giusti, Roberto F. "La Restauración Nacionalista". Nosotros. 26 (1910): 145 and 154.
[783] Rojas Historia de la Literatura Argentina 104-105.
[784] Glauert 3.
[785] Glauert 3.

the large intake of European migrants because the country was a spiritual entity more than a political or ethnic one; thus anyone new or foreign who came into contact with it would soon be transformed into a local[786]. Adding to his argument, Rojas rejected Sarmiento's idea of the struggle between civilization and barbarism, and argued instead, that the conflict was between local and foreign[787].

In 1916, Rojas published La Argentinidad (a term coincidently first used by Miguel de Unamuno when he wrote his first review of Martín Fierro), where he argued that Argentine democracy was an instrument originally born in the interior of the nation[788].

Rojas' ideas on cultural nationalism and its conservation can be summarized as the following: a) the importance of nationalizing education through a robust nationalistic curriculum, b) the reengagement with Spanish and Indigenous heritages, c) the importance of studying Argentine folklore, d) the importance of the provinces e) the myth of the gaucho and f) the cult of the spirit of the May revolutions of independence[789].

ThenRojas' interests briefly turned political. During the 1930s dictatorship, Rojas joined the Radical Party, in which he was very active for 2 years. However, this stopped when he was arrested for conspiring against the government and he was left to defend these charges alone[790].

What motivated Rojas was the idea that only artists and intellectuals, who were strengthened by their commitment to truth, beauty and aesthetic value, could resist the temptations of modernity. Those from the artistic and intellectual classes

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[786] Glauert 3.
[787] Glauert 3.
[788] Glauert 4.
[789] Glauert 4-5.
[790] Glauert 9.

became the heroes in this battle and their mission was to guard and defend the Argentine national identity. At a dinner where Rojas was the honored guest, he described the role of the writer as that of a soldier fighting against 'cosmopolitanism' and preserving the values and ideas of '*lo argentino*'[791].

Rojas' volumes on the history of Argentine literature do much to ensure the legacy of Martín Fierro. In the section of "Los Gauchescos", Rojas writes that Hernández introduces the gaucho Martín Fierro when gauchesco poetry had completed its stylistic evolution and when the gaucho began to disappear from the rural landscape due to sociological factors such as changes in industry[792].

Rojas, like Lugones, chose literary revisionism. He elevated the poem to universalism, because although the story of Martín Fierro is an individual story, Rojas argued it could easily be considered the schema of the social history of Argentina[793].

In his section of "Los Gauchescos", Rojas dedicates two chapters to Hernández and his famous poem. In the first, he describes the life of José Hernández. He notes that Hernandez's past led him to be the author of Martín Fierro – here the author is created, and his life is curated for genius.

Rojas argued that Martín Fierro was the example of the *gauchesco* because it allowed for the main protagonist's psychological state to be transmitted to the reader allowing her to experience compassion for and empathy with the gaucho and towards the nation. For Rojas, there is no question regarding the authenticity with

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[791] Delaney 440.
[792] "El Martín Fierro apareció en nuestra literatura el año 1872, cuando la poesía gauchesca había completado la formación de su técnica y cuando sus protagonistas iniciaban en la vida real el ciclo penoso de su decadencia" (Rojas Director xvii).
[793] Rojas, Ricardo. "Noticia Preliminar." Martín Fierro. (Buenos Aires: Librería La Facultad, 1942): XCI.

which the gaucho is depicted[794]. Rojas adds to the mythical quality by stating that the author was an everyman who was struck with a muse who gave him this gaucho protagonist[795]. In the second chapter, Rojas compared Martín Fierro to its European counterparts and undertook the same journey of elevating the poem to their level as Lugones but with more detail and more literary credibility. For example, Rojas states that Cervante's Don Quijote surpassed the tales of chivalry and knights by placing the chivalric themes in a contemporary landscape. Hernández does the same with the *gauchesco* by placing the gaucho in his contemporary context[796]. Rojas also compared the gaucho poem to El Mio Cid by explaining that it depicts the origins of the Spanish civilization just as Martín Fierro portrays the beginnings of the Argentine national consciousness[797]. This comparison was meant to meet what Casanova labels the "mechanisms of legitimation" where the literary classes look towards Europe, and in this case, Spain, for the threshold of what is considered 'literary'.[798]

Unlike Lugones, Rojas did refer to both La Ida and La Vuelta and admitted that there was an interruption in tone and theme[799]. Rojas also attempted to classify the gaucho poem as epic but did so differently differently to Lugones. Rojas argued that the poem did meet the essence of what was epic because it dealt with the history and identity of a nation – for Rojas, the poem's epic nature should be understood by it spirit and not its form[800].

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[794] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" XIX.
[795] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" XIX.
[796] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" L.
[797] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LI.
[798] Casanova The World Republic of Letter 117-18.
[799] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LII.
[800] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LXXXI

Ultimately, what Rojas argued was that Martín Fierro was a foundational text because the people of a new nation identified with it. He argued that although this idea may not be valid for literary scholars, what is true is that the vitality of a nation during a particular epoch resided within this poem. For him, it held the spirit of a nation[801].

Rojas, like Lugones, does much to contribute to the production of literary value of the gaucho poem. He sets out his arguments carefully and his texts are used to set up educational materials for the nation. As a result, each generation of school children is co-opted into this *illusio*. Where Lugones identified the site of literary struggle (or the literary problem that needed to be solved) and the need to bring into reality a literary existence that identified with local customs, Rojas advanced this project by further aligning the history of the poem with the history of a nation.

An example of how Rojas advanced Lugones' perspective on the gaucho poem is seen in the edition of Martín Fierro published in 1919 in which Rojas provides an introduction. By this time, Rojas was the Dean of the University of Buenos Aires and had set up a department specializing in Argentine literature. The University of Buenos Aires' publishing press, Librería La Facultad, printed the edition which gave a certain standing in the community. In the extensive introduction by Rojas (which also does away with the front matter Hernández had originally chosen to appear before his poem), the academic asserted that Hernández, as opposed to his contemporaries and competitors, was an authentic *payador* and because of this the literary text was assumed and owned by the collective[802]. Rojas identified the poem with the highest of literary aspirations and identified it as

[801] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LXXI.
[802] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" XVII.

aesthetically beautiful[803] – he finds what Jakobson would label 'literariness'. For Rojas, the poem had enjoyed great success because it found favour with every class in Argentine society[804]. This may be an overestimation of the poems reach during its first three decades as it was identified as propaganda for the Federalist side of politics and therefore rejected by any who felt Unitarian allegiance. However, Rojas ignored this dissent and declared the poem unanimously loved throughout the nation. Rojas repeated that the poem was epic because it was the story of man against nature. Rojas identified that environment as La Pampa, which he described as the central place in whichthe Argentine national identity resides. He classified the language of the poem as of the same caliber as the romantic Spanish poems of the fifteenth century but enriched with the local lexicon. For Rojas, the battle that gaucho had with La Pampa is a direct metaphor for the evolution of the nation[805]. Rojas also uses the reasoning of Aristotle and Hegel to label the poem as epic[806]. Although he conceded that the poem did not have the typical characteristics of an epic poem[807], this did not preclude the poem from being one. In effect, Rojas argued for an expansion of the meaning of literary epic to accommodate the gaucho poem. He did this first by linking social evolution as a prerequisite to literary evolution[808] and then by arguing that Martín Fierro appeared in the Argentine literary field once there had been a significant social evolution that invited a literary evolution as a consequence. This was how Rojas justified labeling Martín Fierro as epic. For him, the gaucho poem was the social history of a nation lived out in the individual

[803] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" XXII.
[804] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" XXVII.
[805] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LXX.
[806] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LXXIXX.
[807] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LXXX.
[808] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LXXIV.

character of the protagonist.[809] Rojas reassertion of Lugones' positioning is successful in drowning out the few voices like Criado that dissented this reading of Martín Fierro.

The success of Lugones, Bunge and Rojas in promoting an elevation of the gaucho regional poem to a national stage by making a case for its 'literariness' had a profound effect on the coming generations of writers in the field. The centralisation of the gaucho poem within the field meant it became a point of contention new generations of writers needed to consider. In the 1920s, when Rojas was legitimising the work undertaken by Lugones through his scholarly writing on Argentine literature at the University of Buenos Aires, up-and-coming writers opted for two main positions in the field as a response. Section 6.2.4 will revise a positive position-taking in the field while sections 6.3 and section 6.3.1 will concentrate on the opposite positions taken in the field.

[809] Rojas "Noticia Preliminar" LXXXVI.

6.2.4 DON SEGUNDO SOMBRA

In 1926, Hernandez's Fierro still had a strong influence on the literary field. Writers from different spaces in the literary field who were positioned publishing for either Revista Nosotros, Prisma, PROA, Inicial or Revista Martín Fierro were in direct competition with each other for cultural capital[810]. At the time, there was no question that Lugones and others inhabited the centre space of the national literary field together with Martín Fierro. The emerging writers had a literary field with positions already occupied, which left them with limited options. Where the writers of the Revista Martín Fierro (section 6.3.1) decided to challenge the centre, there were many writers who decided to defend it. At stake in the choice every writer made was their career and an audience for their work.

Of this group of new writers, Ricardo Güiraldes chose the Lugones positioning of Fierro and the ready-made audience nearly five decades in the making. Although Güiraldes was part of the same generation as those writing for the Revista Martín Fierro, he did not rebel against Lugones' literary vision[811]. Güiraldes began writing his interpretation of the myth of Martín Fierro, Don Segundo Sombra, in 1915 but did not finish and publish the novel until May 1926[812]. Before publishing Don Segundo Sombra, Güiraldes had been a profilic writer and been published before. When he published Don Segundo Sombra, he did not expect any publishing success. However, on 12 September 1926, one of the major dailies, La Nación, published a critial analysis of Güiraldes' novel written by Leopoldo

[810] Sarlo 42.
[811] Castagnino, Raúl H. "Güiraldes Y El Cincuentenario De Don Segundo Sombra". Chasqui 6.2 (1977): 25.
[812] Castagnino 24.

Lugones, who stated how the novel resonated with a national character which embodied hope and strength[813].

Don Segundo Sombra was so well received by both the popular and intellectual/artistic classes that, the author won the *Premio Nacional de Literatura* (the national prize for literarture)[814] which can be read as a revindication of the collective misrecognition created by the literary field.

The novel is written in a poetic style with a modernist prose[815]. There is evidence that Güiraldes was well aware of his literary field and the positioning of his work within it. For example, he dedicates his book to, amongst others, José Hernández and to the nation's inner gaucho[816]:

The novel itself was based on the real life gaucho, Don Segundo Ramirez, who was a native of San Antonio de Areco, a small town in the province of Buenos Aires. Güiraldes interviewed him but did not write his novel from the point of view of Don Segundo Ramirez. Instead, he wrote it from the point of view of a young boy named Fabio Caceres. The young protagonist lives with his two aunts who, although not abusive, ignore him most of the time. An older male, perhaps his father or his uncle (which is not clarified in the story), comes into to town to visit him every now and then. However, these visits stop once the young boy turns 11. Fabio spends his days dawdling around the town, being ignored by the townspeople. Until one day, he comes upon a gaucho, Don Segundo Sombra. Fabio decides to follow Don Segundo Sombra in his meanderings from town to town. Fabio works in the ranches his gaucho master works at and travels at his side. Slowly, through the tutelage of the

[813] Castagnino 26.
[814] Castagnino 26.
[815] Aguirre, JM. "Don Segundo Sombra: Una Interpretación Más". Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 17.1/2 (1963): 88.
[816] Castagnino 27.

gaucho, Fabio grows into a man. It is very interesting that Güiraldes adds Martin Fierro's missing sidekick which mimics the characters of Don Quijote de la Mancha. However, the novels are different in tone; where Cervantes is a realist writer because he notes the comedy and irony in the life of the *caballero* (knight), Güiraldes romanticizes the gaucho. He is after all a *sombra* (shadow) – a figment of the boy's imagination. This alludes to the idea of the gaucho as a myth created by Lugones[817].

Aguirre argues that Don Segundo Sombra is more than an idea; he is a symbol of what is ideal[818]. Aguirre notes that the gaucho presented in Don Segunda Sombra is the perfect gaucho ("the perfect knight of La Pampa")[819]. Güiraldes makes sure the reader understands that Don Segundo is the gaucho bueno who has never killed anyone even though he does have the skills to do so[820].

In this coming-of-age story, Güiraldes wrote the gaucho that Lugones created from Hernandez's gaucho poem. Don Segundo Sombra displays a highly massaged and perfected image of the gaucho. It makes a strong argument for the status quo in the literary field established by Lugones and others. The choices made by Güiraldes influence how his text was received.

It came a few decades after Fierro and was written in prose instead of using the language of gauchesco poetry. It is in effect, a gaucho that has been European-ised and reproduced to meet the needs of a nation, far removed from its partisan, regional beginnings.

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[817] Aguirre 88.
[818] Aguirre 88-89.
[819] Aguirre 89.
[820] Aguirre 89.

6.3 THE BACKLASH AGAINST THE ELEVATION OF THE GAUCHESCO

One of the key features in the Bourdieuian approach to literary analysis is the idea of progression; that is, that the literary field is undergoing a process of maturation. This is what makes it a site of struggle where agents endeavour to differentiate themselves from competitors through polar opposite position-taking. This creates a constant game of one-upmanship making the literary field quite dynamic and in a perpetual state of flux. As Speller explains, this means that any writers hoping to enter the literary field will need to be able to predict the future course of it. As positions become taken and over-utilised by existent agents in the field, new writers are forced to create or locate new positions in order to secure their survival and literary relevance.[821] Don Segundo Sombra marked the pinacle of an over-used position in the field, which was first manufactured in the early twentieth century and propagated by Lugones and other interested actors. New writers wishing to find their way into the field were forced to find a new position, one that differentiated them from those occupying the position of literary critics (Lugones, Rojes, Bunge) and novelist (Güiraldes). La Revista Martín Fierro, a literary magazine which was published in the same decade Rojas published his main criticism and Güiraldes published Don Segundo Sombra, provided a counterpoint to the well worn position that had ocupied the centre of the literary field. Although the editors of the literary magazine were still tethered to a consecrated Martín Fierro, the authors chose an opposing position. How they did this will be explored in the next section.

[821] Speller Bourdieu and Literature 61.

6.3.1 REVISTA MARTÍN FIERRO

The Revista Martín Fierro was a literary magazine produced in Buenos Aires during the early 1920s. The publication of the literary magazine coincided with the beginnings of what is considered historically as modern Argentina[822].

The Revista was very definite about its positioning in the literary field from the beginning, because the magazine was a place where new writers could very clearly show their ideas about artistic purpose and expression. It is no accident that such a cosmopolitan magazine, published in the busiest part of the capital city, was given the name of Hernandez's rural and disenfranchised gaucho. The editorial committee declared in its first volume that they chose the name of the great iconic gaucho because they wished to emulate the irreverent yet highly nationalistic nature of Hernández's gaucho. They identified the gaucho Martín Fierro as an example of 'Argentinidad' (Argentinity), which was a quality they wanted to bring to literature. However, using the name of the most popular and well-regarded gaucho who existed in the literary imagination of the nation was also a wayin which to contest the absolute space occupied by this literary myth.

This competition between different agents about the value associated with each position in the space of possibles created the impetus to find new avenues or spaces that would serve a new audience that craved literary renewal[823]. This desire for literary renewal became separated from the political and economic fields (whereas before it had not). This is the beginning of an autonomous literary field, which as Bourdieu notes, is always evident by its adherence to art for art's sake. The

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[822] Salas, Horacio, ed. Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927. Edición Facsimilar. (Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1995): IX.
[823] Baur, Sergio. "El Periódico Martín Fierro En Las Artes Y En Las Letras 1924-1927." *Secretaría de Cultura, Presidencia de la Nación*. Ed. (Museo Nacional de Bellas. Buenos Aires 2010).

Revista Martín Fierro was about remodeling the national identity and renewing a literary movement in Argentina that had become stifled and void of publication opportunities for new and emerging authors. For this new group of writers, if Martín Fierro was synonymous with Argentine Literature, then, they would take the name and make it mean something new.

The manifesto of the Revista was published in its first volume on 15 May 1924, and it clearly articulated the group's aspirations and purpose in publishing the magazine. They based their manifesto on the futurist's Filip Tommaso Matinetti's example. It began by unconsciously outlining the meta-field and literary field in which it found itself. For example, they were critical of intellectual and literary fields that took themselves too seriously and promoted the 'literary mummification' of text already consecrated. They were critical of the reactive need to link motherhood statements to works of art in an effort to inflate a sense of national identity. They claimed that these artifacts of 'critical simulation' deflated whenever any 'analytical incision' was made. The manifesto criticized the established literary field that put pressure on emerging writers to contemplate life and produce art once they had scaled the shelves of the national bookshelf; that is, that the gatekeepers would only allow new authors in if they gave tribute to the literary rhetoric of the past. For this emerging group of writers, the magazine would have a new sensibility and not one marked by old social spaces; this freedom would allow them to discover new means and forms of communication and expression. In the manifesto, the writers accepted the responsibility of their new sensibility and the reality of living in a world where the reception of foreign ideas and concepts was necessary for evolution. The editorial committee declared that they had faith in the abilities of new writers to digest and assimilate a modern aesthetic without transgressing against or

minimizing the Argentine literary voice or Argentine language. Most of all, the editors and writers of the Revista Martín Fierro promised to 'give each lover a new virginity': that is, the magazine vowed to retain its wonder and sense of magic about the world with each poem, short story or novel published. In a final reference to Lugones (who was known to change political ideology), they stated that the magazine was only appreciative of people who were authentic and had no interest in changing their political colours to suit their ambitions in the public sphere. The editors and the writers of the magazine were there for the 'art'.

In various issues, they printed small thought bubbles throughout the magazine inviting new contributors and readers with comments like -*if you think writing for the established dailies means that the writer has talent, don't read Revista Martín Fierro,* and *if you think that members of the senate and the congress are useful to the nation, don't read Revista Martín Fierro*. It is very evident from the ideas found in their manifesto that the editorial committee did not begin from a naïve point of view, but in fact, have what Bourdieu would call 'a feel for the game' or the right dispositions.

Even though the editors and contributors to the magazine wanted to project independence in order to confront the established literary dogma, they still had a reverence for the old guard. In their first issues, they sent out a survey to the representatives of the intellectual and literary community, including Lugones and Rojas, asking these select representatives their opinion on what characteristics made up the Argentine literary sensibility. As much as they wanted to, these new and

emerging writers could not escape their own feelings of respect for the forbearers of Argentine literary criticism[824].

However, the Revista did carve out its own legacy. For example, it made the necessary political and aesthetic arguments that justified the substitution ofthe informal 'you' of *tu* for the informal 'you' of *vos*, which was a significant *Argentinasization* of the Spanish language[825].

Of course, the writers of the magazine were not uniform in their literary ideas. The members of the editorial committee and the regular contributors were divided into two groups – the Florida group and the Boedo group, which were both different suburbs of Buenos Aires and much like the division between the Parisian left bank and right bank writers. The Florida group was composed of authors known as the *martinfierristas* and members of PROA Magazine (that promoted vanguard in art and literature) and the Boedo group were comprised of left-leaning argentine writers[826].

These two groups were reputed to clash and attract attention from the wider literary and intellectual classes. However, in subsequent decades interviews with the participants revealed that the literary stoushes were also an act of fiction. One of the main contributors, Ernesto Palacio (whose *nom de plume* was Hector Castillo) made a behind the scenes deal with Roberto Palacio to simulate a false literary clash between the two groups so as to stir the literary pot and cause rumblings in the existent structures. They agreed that the Florida group would represent the centre and the Boedo group would represent the proletariat[827].

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[824] Salas XI.
[825] Salas XII.
[826] Salas XII.
[827] Salas XIII.

Years later, Borges would state that he would have preferred to be in the Boedo group since his writings centered on the Barrio Norte, the northern suburbs of Buenos Aires. However, his fellow writers artificially placed him in the Florida group and he was informed that it was too late to switch sides. Borges laments that unfortunately, many serious literary and social academics took this artificial conflict seriously[828]. This engineering of literary differences shows an awareness of the workings of the literary fields. When writers arrive to the field with such awareness of the space of possibles, it points to a more autonomous field with its own internal workings and its own leaders and preferences for form and function.

The conflict between the two groups was fictionalized, but there was a real tension that existed between the writers from each. Although many of the writers identified with the Boedo group, the editorial committee was controlled by the Florida group. In their editorials titled “Epitafios”, the Florida group took the opportunity to cement their arguments and heavily criticize the Boedo group[829]. The Boedo group, identifying as coming from the working classes (which actually was not true – most were middle class) wanted to transform the whole Argentine society while the Florida group which identified with the upper Argentine echelons, were only interested in transforming literature[830]. This is an interesting tension, and one that Bourdieu has identified as existent in all literary fields. In fact, the majority of the writers were sons of European immigrants and only a couple were from the upper classes. As Córdova Iturburu (one of the original contributors) noted that they were all friends[831].

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[828] Salas XII.
[829] Salas XIII.
[830] Salas XIII.
[831] Salas XIII.

The magazine came to an end when many of the contributors wanted to use its literary capital to express political views and exercise political influence with the magazine's readers. With the coming presidential election, Borges wanted to publish articles supporting Yrigoyen. However, Evar Méndez, the main editor, was a friend of Alvear, another contender for the Argentine presidency. When Méndez saw this political division emerging within the group, he closed the magazine down[832]. This act of refusing the influence of the Field of Power, at least in such an overt fashion, is an indication of the beginnings of autonomy in the literary field.

At every turn, the editors made a point of ignoring the outside political world. For example, in the August-September issue published in 1924, the editorial committee referred toRoberto Mariani, a member of the far left, who criticized the magazine for quoting the literary opinions of Lugones, who was now identified with the extreme fascist political right in Argentina. In response, the editors declared that they did not have any political affiliations and that in fact their loyalty was with literature. Their argument was that they had no need to participate in any political discussion because their focus was literary. They were not interested in the political leanings of Lugones[833].

The magazine was also heavily criticized for its proclivity for a European aesthetic, particularly a French sensitivity to language and style. In response, the editors of the magazine declared that they were not interested in a *gauchesco* literary magazine. They were not interested in 'feeding' a 'semi-illiterate public' a talentless rewriting of a genre. They were extremely critical of the realistic or humanistic

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[832] Salas XV.
[833] Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927. Edición Facsimilar (Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1995): 56

novel that had tried to replicate the *gauchesco* and they argued that they respected their art too much to fabricate propaganda[834]. For them, the Revista Martín Fierro was a vehicle from which to spread their modern ideas of literature and to reflect on the nation's literary soul and they did not need permission to undertake this great work[835].

They also implored writers to forget about the gaucho created by Lugones and Rojas. In an article that appeared in the magazine on 5 October 1926[836], Leopoldo Marechal wrote that writers should stop writing about the myth of the gaucho (a reference to Ricardo Güiraldes' Don Segundo Sombra). He stated that these literary offerings would not be so offensive if they actually depicted the current rural farmer as he was – a man who gets into his Ford Ute and drives back home after a hard day working on the land. Marechal, however, was critical of the literary text that depicted the gaucho as a 'stoic, two-dimensional statue'. He encouraged writers to let go of this tired legend once and for all and to find new national myths instead.

These points of contention reveal that the literary field had vastly changed between the turn of the twentieth century and the mid-1920s. The celebration of the centenary of the Mayo Revolution and the transformative influence of modernism, together with the new publishing opportunities available in the Revista Nosotros and later the Revista Martin Fierro demonstrate that there was a concerted momentum towards the professionalisation of the writer[837]. This concurs with Bourdieu's example of the autonomous literary field. From the 1900s until the 1920s, writers in

[834] Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927 56.
[835] Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927 87.
[836] Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927 258.
[837] Sarlo 40.

the Argentine literary field could self-identify as writers among the wider community through doing. Now, there was a process (or a sort of informal matriculation) that a writer needed to endure: the identification of the writer rested on the recognition of one's peers and it is in this process that the space became extremely fraught and very similar to the autonomous French literary field. Although short lived, the magazine gave expression to new voices and novel ways in which to present a national literature. This allowed the other writers to challenge the literary establishment as set by Lugones and others. This promoted a jostling to reposition and repurpose the gaucho literary myth once again, a process which will be explored in the next section.

6.4 REFRAMING AND RE-POSITIONING

Although the Revista Martín Fierro was successful in providing a counterpoint to the literary monolith that was the gaucho poem, Martín Fierro was still representative of the centre of the literary field and imbued with all the power of consecration. In the decades following the 1920s, the effort to reframe and reposition the gaucho poem gained momentum. The social misrecognition fabricated by Lugones underwent a transformation in the 1940s and 1950s. More than being challenged (like it had been by the Revista Martín Fierro in the 1920s), the gaucho poem would be stripped from its early twentieth century *illusio* and symbolically returned to its original author. Section 6.4.1 will explore how an eminent poet achieved this through producing one of the most exhaustive literary and social readings of the poem across two volumes published in the 1940s. Section 6.4.2 will detail how one of Argentina's most eminent writers returned the gaucho literary figure to the author's original choices with a repositioning and reframing of the gaucho poem and its accompanying social misrecognition.

6.4.1 EZEQUIEL MARTINEZ ESTRADA

Ezequiel Martinez Estrada wrote an extensive analysis of Hernandez's Martín Fierro titled Muerte y Transfiguración del Martín Fierro (translated as Death and Transfiguration of Martín Fierro), which was published in 1946. Before this, Martinez Estrada had already established himself as a celebrated and distinguished poet: he had been recognized with state-sanctioned literary prizes including a recommendation by the *Sociedad Argentina de Escritores* (the Argentine Society of Writers) for the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Before the publication of Muerte y Transfiguración, Martinez Estrada had already begun publishing commentary on Hernández's poem. In a "Prologue" to an edition of Martín Fierro printed in 1938, Martinez Estrada began his introduction by stating that the poem now existed in a literary genre that had deteriorated to the point that identifying the poem as *gauchesco* would take away from the excellence of the literary text[838]. Martinez Estrada stated that the genre began as a substitution for the real gaucho once the real gaucho had disappeared from the rural landscape[839]. In Martinez Estrada's estimation, Hernández followed the long line of Balzac, Tolstoy and Hudson, but Hernández had a literary quality that was original even compared to European literary contemporaries[840]. Here, he is attributing the role of ultimate creator to Hernández. However, he does separate the poem from Lugones' interpretation. Martinez Estrada was very committed to the idea that from the birth of the original Martín Fierro, the gaucho poem kept on resurrecting until it formed a

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[838] Speller Bourdieu and Literature 61.
[838] Salas, Horacio, ed. Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927. Edición Facsimilar. (Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Arte
s, 1995): IX.
[839] Baur, Serg
io. "El Periódico Martín F

bogus myth that fed a false national ideal[841]. For Martinez Estrada, Hernández was much like Cervantes in that both authors presented to their culture a truth about a main protagonist who turned out to be the ultimate antihero[842]. Martinez Estrada was extremely critical of writers such as Carlos Octavio Bunge who pretended to present a sociological study of the gaucho Martín Fierro without any detail or evidence[843]. He was also very critical of Lugones' analysis of Martín Fierro in El Payador. Martinez Estrada was adamant that previous critics of the gaucho poem failed to realize the poem was about a region (La Pampa) and not about its inhabitant (the gaucho).

Moving on to Muerte y Transfiguración del Martín Fierro, Martinez Estrada argued that Hernández's work as a soldier, journalist, politician and poet infused the literary text with an internal conflict between its various themes of political accusation, political defense and nonconformity[844], themes that were finally being recognized in a native poem. These touched on the difficulties acutely felt by the wider population, who responded to a gaucho poem in which these hardships were finally being acknowledged and reflected on. For Martinez Estrada, it was this phenomenon that resulted in José Hernández becoming the metaphorical incarnation of the gaucho Martín Fierro, and that in turn improved the poet's chances in the political field[845].

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as Letras 1924-1927." *Secret*
aría de Cultura, Presidenc
ia de la Nación. Ed. (Museo Nacional de Bellas. Buenos Aires 2010).
[844] Salas XI.
[844] Salas XII.
[844] Salas XII.
[844] Salas XIII.
[844] Salas XII.
[844] Sal
as XIII.
[845] Salas XIII.

Martinez Estrada was very positive in his review of La Ida del Martin Fierro, but he was very critical of Hernández's La Vuelta de Martín Fierro. He states that in La Vuelta, Martín Fierro the gaucho is not a *cantor* but a narrator, and all narrators are stand-ins for authors[846]. La Vuelta responded to the external needs of the audience whereas La Ida responded to the needs of the author and La Pampa[847]. Here Martinez Estrada divides the poem into two in order to allow a more thorough analysis, and by doing so defies the fusion of the two parts of the poem that had previously been encouraged in the early twentieth century.

In the La Ida, Martinez Estrada argued that the language of the poem was competently expressed but that so much literary analysis had been expended in raising the literary standard of the poem, that what many had missed was that the author used a language of abstraction which made Martín Fierro more like a dream[848].

For Martinez Estrada, the true value of La Ida was that it was a poem of protest against the injustices of a region committed by a local government with an inherited colonialist structure, which Martinez Estrada described as being like an inherited illness[849]. The author was extremely critical of Lugones, whose great mistake was to hide this element of protest and to substitute mythmaking on behalf of the state to use as tool for the inculcation of patriotism for real criticism [850]. For

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[845] Salas XIII.

[845] Salas XV.

[846] Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927. Edición Facsimilar (Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes, 1995): 56.

[849] Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927 56.

[849] Revista Martín Fierro 1924-1927 87.

[850] Re

him, Argentine history was strictly a political and military one and any attempts to state otherwise were obfuscation and mythmaking[851].

What interested Martinez Estrada was the play between the depiction of landscape and the gaucho's mannerisms, whifch he regarded as the true essence of Martín Fierro, but which had been hidden by generations of writers who were only interested in using the gaucho poem to achieve their ends[852].

Martinez Estrada's main point was how this literary poem was used to generate a fictitious national identity[853]. As Rodriguez Aman argues, Martinez Estrada felt his own marginalization from the official government, and this created in him an urgent desire to write a two-tome book that would clarify the position of the national identity. As such, Martinez Estrada aligned his work with that of Hernández in decrying the existence of mediocrity in the formulation of an ideal or a literary myth[854]. Martinez Estrada treated Lugones' and rojas' Martin Fierro much as Hernández treated Sarmiento's *gaucho malo*. He stated that what Hernández managed was to depict his gaucho with all the crudity and frankness necessary to show the history of Argentina, and that he did so with a truth that revealed the reality of the landscape of the La Pampa, the difficulty of the land, the loneliness it afforded its inhabitants, the poverty many experienced and the plain unfairness and injustice of the cultural environment as devised by governing bodies. For Martinez Estrada,

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vista Martín Fierro 1924-1927 258.
[851] Sar
lo 40.
ada Muerte y Transfiguración 439-440
[853] Rodríguez, Amán Rosales. "Literatura Y Realidad Histórica. Un Reencuentro Con Ezequiel Martínez Estrada Y Su Interpretación Del Martín Fierro". Studia Romanica Posnaniensia 37.1 (2010): 29.
[854] Rodríguez "Literatura Y Realidad Histórica" 31.

Hernández spoke of a truth that at the time had been hidden by all the fervor of creating a nation state and national identity[855].

Martinez Estrada's main argument was that those who contribute to the myth making of Hernández's gaucho contribute to the invisibility of the social reality of the national social space[856]. He even considers that Hernández was himself responsible for this act with the writing of the second volume; for Martinez Estrada La Vuelta betrayed La Ida[857].

Like his predecessors, Martinez Estrada did argue that Hernández's poem was epic but not in the traditional sense. For him, it was epic because its extensive popularity and the ability it had to capture the reading public's imagination at the time it was published was due to its realist representation of the Argentine gaucho[858].

Martinez Estrada's challenge to Lugones' positioning of Martín Fierro occurred during a time when the Argentine literary field was quite established (1940s). It is a different literary field from the one to was when Hernández first published his gaucho poem in the 1870s (when the field was emerging) and also a different one when Lugones, Rojas and Bunge positioned the poem at the centre between 1910 and 1925 (when the field was newly established). Martinez Estrada's work succeeds in being one of the definitive events in the field because his criticism analyses the first movement of literary criticism and sociological positioning made by Lugones, Rojas and Bunge. Martinez Estrada's Muerte y Transfiguración is the

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[855] Rodríguez "Literatura Y Realidad Histórica" 33.
[856] Bustos, Nora A. "Martín Fierro Filósofo: Carlos Astrada Y Ezequiel Martínez Estrada En El Anverso Y Reverso De La Interpretación Del Poema Nacional". Revista de Científica de UCES XIV.2 (2010): 37.
[857] Bustos 37.
[858] Bustos 43.

first time in the field that an agent within it criticizes the politics of what Lugones accomplished when originally positioning the poem in a manner that was politically convenient for the elites. He rejected Lugones' narrative that the gaucho was a civilizing force in the La Pampa and returns the gaucho to being the victim of circumstance originally intended by Hernández.

Muerte y Transfiguración became a very influential study companion to Hernández's poem and with time it came to be considered the sociological investigation of the gaucho myth and the poem that many literary theorists and critics would rely on. Martinez Estrada's lengthy tome was a substantial antidote to Lugones' creation. It is with the help of Muerte y Tranfiguración that many of the writers who first proposed an Argentine literature beyond the myth of the gaucho (through literary magazines such as La Revista Martín Fierro) were able to create further positions in the literary fields. And these positions were able to pull the gaucho poem away from the centre of the field and reduce its influence in deciding what was Argentine literature.

In section 4.3, the space of possibles according to Bourdieu was detailed. The theory behind this phenomenon was explained, but this particular example allows for a more applied explanation. In essence, Martinez Estrada was able to go beyond the contrary perspective of the Revista Martín Fierro and due to his *habitus* was in a position to explore the space of possibles in the Argentine literary field where he could be a critic critiquing the original literary critics in this field. This marks an important milestone in the Argentine literary field. To be able to move beyond the edified centre occupied by the gaucho poem, and the natural counterpoint that emerges in this particular space of possibles and zero in on the construction that made this centering possible demonstrates a maturation in the field which was made

possible by the field itself or space of possibles available and by the original disposition or habitus that Martinez Estrada had towards the field.

As Speller explains, in what Bourdieu called the "creator project", a writer's positioning is a "practical response" to the particular field and its current governing status quo: a status quo which is in constant movement as it responds, changes and aclimatises itself to internal and external pressures[859]. Martinez Estrada's talent as a poet and his feeling of being an outsider encountering a semi-established literary field that had already successfully consecrated its first author, fabricated a national literary identity and produced a younger generation of writers meant that he perceived that the field needed to create more possibilities for itself. He did so by providing a counterpoint to the original consecration. Martinez Estrada's criticism of the criticism put him in the unique position of increasing the Argentine literary field's autonomy. By challenging the fused nature of the poem and separating La Ida and La Vuelta once again, Martinez Estrada was able to reveal the fabrication of the gaucho myth Lugones and others. In Section 6.4.2, it will be explored how Jorge Luis Borges furthered this type of response to the literary field.

[859] Speller 63.

6.4.2 JORGE LUIS BORGES

Jorge Luis Borges is arguably Argentina's most renowned literary export. This section will focus on Borges' work as a mature writer, one who was already positioned as such in the literary field in the 1940s and 1950s. Although he is known as a philosophical and fantasy writer, his own literary career was inextricably linked to the *gauchesco* tradition and to Hernández's Martín Fierro. Borges made this connection with purpose: the author elevated his own literary output by involving himself in the literary struggles of his time and aligning with the literary struggles of the *gauchesco* tradition. Borges used his involvement with these struggles to enter the game of credit transfer and recognition already in play in the newly established Argentine literary field in order to ensure his own literary success.

As already mentioned, Borges was part of the Florida group of writers who made substantial contributions to the short-lived Revista Martín Fierro during the 1920s. Much like his contemporaries, he envisioned a literary environment that was modern and in touch with the new literary schools in Europe. Unlike his literary predecessors, he had no interest in gaining political capital but did harbor ambition for literary capital and his own professionalisation as a writer. His engagement with the *gauchesco*, Martín Fierro and later on Lugones' work supports this assessment. However, although it was evident that Borges wished to move away from the *gauchesco* tradition so *en vogue* during his time as a young writer, he did utilize the *gauchesco* literary tradition as an entry point. In his writings, Borges mentioned that his father knew the great author Hernández when he was young, thereby establishing

his own literary pedigree[860]. He continued building this pedigree by using his own work to engage in a literary conversation with his mentor Lugones.

In his twenties, Borges decried Lugones but as he got older he softened in his criticism[861]. He saw Lugones as the founder of the fantastical short story when he published Strange Forces in 1905[862].

He understood that the first readers of Martin Fierro identified the literary merits of the poem but refused to elevate or canonize it because its political issues of protest and federalists vs unitarians were still fresh in the public domain[863]. It is these ideas that placed Borges in direct opposition to his mentor, Lugones. Borges' treatment of Lugones is relevant here. Although Borges' view of Lugones' work was somewhat obscured by the friendship between the two writers and the fact that Borges considered Lugones a great mentor; Borges positioned himself in opposition to Lugones' consecration of the gaucho poem. Unlike Martinez Estrada, Borges did this in a softer and kinder manner. He dedicated his 1960 publication, El Hacedor, to Lugones, writing that he believed that Lugones had great affection for him and that he believed his mentor enjoyed his writings[864]. Borges characterized Lugones as a quintessential Argentine writer[865] and he placed Lugones on a literary pedestal[866].

As opposed to many of his contemporaries, who struggled to accept Lugones as one of the forefathers of the literary field and therefore were very critical of his

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[860] Alifano, Roberto, and Jorge Luis Borges. Conversaciones Con Borges. (Buenos Aires: Debate, 1986): 84.
[861] Borges El Martín Fierro 16.
[862] Olea, R. "Borges Y La Antología De La Literatura Fantástica". Variaciones Borges: Revista del Centro de Estudios y Documentación Jorge Luis Borges. 22 (2006): 271.
[863] Borges El Martín Fierro 90.
[864] Berti, Eduardo, and Edgardo Cozarinsky. Galaxia Borges: Vida Y Literatura De Jorge Luis Borges En Los Relatos De Leopoldo Lugones, Ricardo Güiraldes...*[Et Al.]*. (2007): 12.
[865] Berti 11.
[866] Borges, Jorge Luis, and Betina Edelberg. Leopoldo Lugones. (Buenos Aires: EMECE, 1998) 12.

abilities as a poet, Borges held Lugones' poetic abilities in high esteem[867]. Borges also wrote about forgiving Lugones' various ideological turns. He stated that Lugones'ideological changes were evidence of the same passion Lugones had for discovering the origins of the Argentine literary field[868]. But despite this affirmation of Lugones as a forefather of Argentine literature, Borges was still very critical of Lugones' mythic and epic interpretation of Martín Fierro.

In work published outside of literary magazines, Borges began his preoccupation with the literary myth of the gaucho in 1925 when he published Inquisiciones and discussed the work of Ascasubi. The following year, he published El Tamaño de mi Esperanza (1925) where he discussed the work of Estanislao del Campo. In 1931 he first wrote directly about Hernandez's poem in Discusión. As Monegal suggests, Borges approached Hernández's poem in a circular way, as though he needed to first discuss those writers that were politically aligned with his own family's political allegiance before he could tackle Hernández the federalist[869]. In 1945, Borges was invited to speak at a conference in Montevideo. The speech was then published in Aspectos de la literature gauchesca in 1950. Of particular interest is Borges' Poesía Gauchesca, published in 1955, which gathered together many of his views that had been scattered through different publications. In it, he reviewed the history of *gauchesco* poetry and included José Hernández's epic poem. Borges observed that the conclusion that the gaucho poem was not epic because it represented views that were extremely critical of the military. For Borges, the gaucho poem was one of protest and purposefully so[870]. But for Borges, epic poems

[867] Borges Leopoldo Lugones 51.
[868] Borges Leopoldo Lugones 84.
[869] Monegal 291.
[870] Borges El Martín Fierro 48.

required that the hero achieve military glory and of course this was not the case with Hernández's gaucho[871]. Borges was quite direct in this assessment of the gaucho poem. For him it was illusionary to project the history and identity of a nation onto a protagonist who was a knife wielding outcast living in 1870[872]. In his dismantling of the concept that Martín Fierro was an epic poem, Borges argued that the outlaw gaucho was too morally ambiguous to be a national hero[873]. He made the case that the gaucho Martín Fierro was not a hero because at the time the regiments in the frontier wars and the civil wars were made up of gauchos fighting for the same cause. Martín Fierro, on the other hand, was a deserter, a racist, and a *gaucho malo*[874]. Borges believed that epic stories were written to show human perfection, whereas novelsshowed human foibles. Hernández's gaucho was too complex and deeply flawed to exist in the literary realm of the epic[875].

When discussing the work of Hernández's competitors in the *gauchesco* genre, Borges asserted that Hidalgo was a mediocre poet,[876] unlike Ascasubi, whose literary genius was not recognized as it should be because he remained in Hernández's shadow. For Borges, Hidalgo, not Ascasubi or Del Campo, were precursors to Hernández's work. Borges agreed with Martinez Estrada's thesis that Lugones was the first to canonize Hernández. As a result, Borges argued that during his time (when Borges was a young man) the Martín Fierro that was read was Lugones' interpretation and not the version of the author[877].

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[871] Monegal 292.
[872] Borges, Jorge Luis. La Poesía Gauchesca. (Buenos Aires: Centro de Estudios Brasileiros, 1960): 65.
[873] Borges La Poesía Gauchesca 74-5
[874] Alifano 82.
[875] Borges El Martín Fierro 101.
[876] Alifano 81.
[877] Alifano 81.

Borges also made the point that *gauchesco* literature did not emanate from the gauchos but from writers educated in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, which explicitly challenged Rojas' assertion of the authenticity of *gauchesco* literature[878].

Similar to Martinez Estrada, Borges argued that the false elevation of the poem in an attempt to contribute to myth making for the sake of a cohesive national identity was unfortunate[879]. He believed that eliminating the myth-making aspect of the poem would rescue the elements that revealed the link between the text and the life of the Argentine people.

However, despite his critical appraisal of *gauchesco* literature and Hernández's poem, Borges'starting position is different from Martinez Estrada's approach to the epic poem. Borges does view the poem with an idealistic filter. Keenly aware that before El Payador, the gaucho was not considered a symbol of national identity (on the contrary, the reputation of the gaucho was confined to Sarmiento's description) Borges tells the story of how his family read Martín Fierro[880]. He described a situation where he had to bring a copy into his house hidden in his clothes because his mother (Doña Leonor) did not want him to read it because, as Monegal explains, she considered it 'political pornography' written for the ignorant masses[881]. His mother assumed that because Hernández was a federalist he was on the same political side as Rosas but as Borges explained, upon studying the author, he realized that although they belonged to the same group they were far from aligned[882]. The gaucho poem was also prohibited because many in the Borges

[878] Borges El Martín Fierro 12.
[879] Borges, Jorge Luis. "Leopoldo Lugones". Kodama, María. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1999). Vol. 20. 184.
[880] Monegal 289.
[881] Monegal 288.
[882] Monegal 289.

family were on the other side of the political spectrum from Hernández and his gaucho[883].

As already discussed, Borges does engage in literary criticism of the gaucho poem and the gauchesco movement and has a similar line of argument to that of Martinez Estrada. However, Borges not only provides this criticism of Lugones and Rojas from the outside (that is, in his non-fiction work) but also from the inside (in his fiction) where he re-imagined the gaucho Martín Fierro. In two short stories, Borges re-directed the discussion of Hernández's gaucho, something which elevated his literary engagement and value in the Argentine literary field.

In 1944, Borges published his collection of short stories, Ficciones. In one of the most definitive stories, aptly titled "El Fin" ("The End") Borges wrote a further ending, an epilogue, of the poem. The story begins by describing the setting of a *pulpería* from the point of view of a local, Recabarren, who observed the comings and goings within the local watering hole. He noticed that a man, identified as El Negro, had begun to make a regular appearance at the *pulpería*. Recabarren describes him as a black man who one day appeared in the *pulpería* with the notion that he could be a gaucho cantor[884].

Interestingly, El Negro was seen as asserting his rights as *cantor*; of being seen and of having a voice. The narrator noticed a sense of anticipation about El Negro as if he were waiting for someone. One day, Recabarren observed a glimmer or breaking in the endless landscape and a figure moving towards the *pulpería* as if it were borne from the horizon. He heard the man trot towards the building, stop and

[883] Monegal 289.
[884] Borges, Jorge Luis. "El Fin". Ficciones Ed. Kodama, María. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1995): 156.

tie his horse up before walking into the *pulpería*. Without lifting his head and gaze from the guitar, El Negro spoke to the man with a familiarity indicated that they knew each other. El Negro stated that he knew that he could count on the man to appear and the man responded likewise though he did admit that he has made El Negro wait for him for seven years[885].

The exchange between the man and El Negro is philosophical. They discuss the man's sons and the advice he gave them which was to avoid spilling another man's blood. El Negro agrees, adding that Fierro's sons shouldn't be similar to them. They both step outside and with knives in their hands begin to fight. When El Negro stabs the man, the man finally hears the hate in El Negro's voice. It is at this point in the story that the anonymous man is finally named as Martín Fierro. Once he is dead, El Negro stands up, cleans his blade against the grass, as Martín Fierro had done when he killed El Negro's brother, . Justice has been done. As El Negro walks away he disappears. Borges' last sentence suggests that El Negro now becomes an outlaw like Martín Fierro was before him[886].

As Monegal explains, by rewriting the ending Borges effectively changed both the ending of La Vuelta and the literary history of a nation. Borges returns the gaucho to his outlaw status which is quite telling. The gaucho is also returned to the reality of his suffering. This aligned with Martinez Estrada's argument in Muerte y Transfiguración. Borges reflected in his writings that many readers assumed he wrote this ending to dismiss Hernández's version but in fact he wrote it because he wanted to finish what Hernández had signposted in the poem[887]. By writing this

[885] Borges Ficciones 157.
[886] Borges Ficciones 159.
[887] Alifano 83.

ending, he signaled his opinion that Hernández's work was incomplete. Borges takes the literary opportunity to complete it, demonstrating how he could perfect what was considered the most excellent example of *gauchesco* literature.

Another story adding extensions to Hernández's gaucho poem was the "Biography of Tadeo Isidoro Cruz (1829-1874)", published in his collection of short stories El Aleph in 1949. The title of the short story has two pieces of information linking it to Hernández's Martín Fierro: one, the name of the character Cruz and the dates, which correlate with the period of the gaucho poem. Borges begins by explaining how Cruz came into this world but stops short of telling his life story, saying that he is only interested in one night of the many that make up Cruz's life[888]. His story, Borges explains, is one of adventure and contained elements that could be considered everything for everyone. Here, Borges alludes to how Martín Fierro has been used by many critics to promote their agenda. He states that those that have commented on Tadeo Isodoro Cruz's story, and he adds there had been many, surmise that the natural environment contributed to his formation as a person, but Borges pointed out that there were many like him (gauchos identical to him). Borges explains that Cruz ended up in the military base in the far north because one night, in one of the gaucho ranchos located in the province of Buenos Aires, he reacted to the drunk teasing of another by killing him. However, during his time up north, he managed to have a family and to become the police sergeant of a rural town[889]. Borges wrote that although Cruz should be happy, he was not. Towards the end of June 1870, Cruz receives orders to apprehend an outlaw who has killed two men. In

[888] Borges, Jorge Luis. "Biografía De Tadeo Isodoro Cruz: El Aleph". Borges: Obras Completas. Ed. Kodama, María. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1995): 222.
[889] Borges "Biografía De Tadeo Isodoro Cruz: El Aleph" 223.

the last paragraph, as Cruz and the other men are fighting against the bandit, Cruz understands that one's destiny was not to be above or better than another, but that every man must obey his nature. In that moment, Cruz understands that his wolf nature felt constrained in a police uniform and he screams that he will not be responsible for killing a valiant man. Borges wrote, as his last sentence, that Cruz then turned from the police and fought alongside the deserter Martín Fierro[890].

In extra, commentary material written by Borges in a North American publication of El Aleph, Borges stated that the reason he felt compelled to write this short story was to understand why Cruz would leave his job and become an outlaw. This always struck him as inauthentic[891]. In Monegal's reading of the short story, he stated that Borges took one of Hernández's seemingly weak characters and improved it by giving him a sense of destiny[892].

There are quite a few interesting points here. Oneis that Borges ignored the *gauchesco* tradition of poetry and wrote the short stories in his preferred style of prose. Borges had mentioned that he did this because he could not hope to imitate Hernández's voice. But by choosing prose he used his own voice more effectively. The action, though, of rewriting Hernández in two key scenes elevated his text to that of the author who had taken centre stage in the literary field for five to six decades. There is also a sense of literary conquest. By filling in the gap and providing another ending to the gaucho poem, Borges is communicating both that Hernández's story is somewhat lacking and Lugones' assessment of the gaucho poem is erroneous.

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[890] Borges "Biografía De Tadeo Isodoro Cruz: El Aleph" 223.
[891] Borges, Jorge Luis. "The Aleph and Other Stories, 1933–1969, Trans. NT di Giovanni. New York: EP Dutton (1970).
[892] Monegal 295.

Borges was aware of and ingenious enough to use the entire Argentine literary field as it existed for his own consecration as an author. He published his short stories after Martinez Estrada published Muerte and Transfiguración, letting the poet introduce the non-fiction criticism of the *gauchesco* and its standing in the literary community. He also challenged the previous generation already established in the literary field once his mentor, Lugones, passed away in 1938. Borges returns the gaucho to Hernández and provides a pointed criticism of the work as if he were a contemporary of the gaucho poem's author.

There is much that could be discussed about the centering of the gaucho and Martin Fierro in the literary field. Many commentators and writers have produced many words in service of such commentary. However, finishing with Borges is a sensible approach because it shows the first repositioning of the poem in an established literary field. This struggle in the Argentine literary field has been repeated many times since then.

By the time that Borges began giving his opinion on the gaucho poem, he had already accumulated much cultural capital. He used this capital not only to reposition Lugones but to reposition Hernández's Martín Fierro as well. It is evident from his commentary and his short stories that Borges was opposed to the centralizing and elevating of the gaucho poem. With his treatment, he moved the poem from its central and privileged position and relegated it back to being a minor piece. As a critic, Borges was adept at using high-level literary capital (European literary capital) to reposition the poem and return Fierro to being the *gaucho malo*. In response to whether Facundo (civilization) or Martín Fierro (barbarism) should be

the nation's most elevated literary production, Borges was decidedly in favour of Facundo[893].

The generation of writers that followed Borges were very critical of his work and his interpretations of Martín Fierro. Interestingly, this generation were called The Parricidas (the parricides) as they were known for being extremely critical of the 'sacred cows' of the generation of 1925 that included Martinez Estrada and Borges[894]. In fact, during a conference in 1951 titled The Argentine Writer and Tradition (El Escritor Argentino y la Tradición), which was later printed in the literary journal Sur (No. 232, 1955), Adolfo Prieto, one of the writers from the group of literary parricides, even questioned Borges' citizenship by asking whether the well-known author was born in Buenos Aires or in Africa. He did not consider Borges Argentinean, and instead considered his work, and any literary criticism he had written as European[895]. The epoch of the literary parricides aligns with Bourdieu's explanation of the literary field as being in a constant state of revolution as each successive generation questions and demotes the previous one in order to make space for themselves in the literary field. Their reaction to Borges and his interpretation of Martín Fierro demonstrates both a dynamic field constantly in flux and that by the 1950s, the Argentine literary field had many of the identifiers pertaining to an autonomous literary field.

The next section of this dissertation will move from the discovery of the literary field after the gaucho poem was canonized in 1913 and will provide a brief

[893] Gamerro 62-63.
[894] Rodrígue-Monegal, Emir. El Juicio de los Parricidas. (Buenos Aires: Deucalión, 1956): 3.
[895] Rodrígue-Monegal, Emir 61.

comparison between Martín Fierro and two similar texts that experienced different outcomes.

6.5 THREE AUTHORS, THREE POSITIONINGS, THREE RECEPTIONS

In the decade of the 1870s, three important literary texts were published which were considered to be part of the gauchesco canon. These included the much discussed La Ida and Vuelta del Martín Fierro (1872 and 1879), Hilario Ascasubi's Santos Vega o Los Mellizos de La Flor (1872) and Eduardo Gutiérez's Juan Moreira (1879). As discussed in section 4.2.3, the gauchesco movement was Argentina's unofficial literary movement and evolved during a state of nation formation. The local, lyrical mode of verbal story telling was usurped from the rural inhabitants of the Rio de la Plata region by educated actors involved in the declaration of independence and the moves the Argentine nation made towards sovereignity. But as the decades passed, Martín Fierro went on to occupy the centre of the literary field while Santos Vega and Juan Moreira continued as recognised satellite literary works connected to the cynosure. Figure 8 below provides an illustration of this phenomena. It shows Martín Fierro at the centre of the field and that other similar gaucho poems published during the same decade, although popular, as never achieving the status of becoming the battleground for the country's national identity.

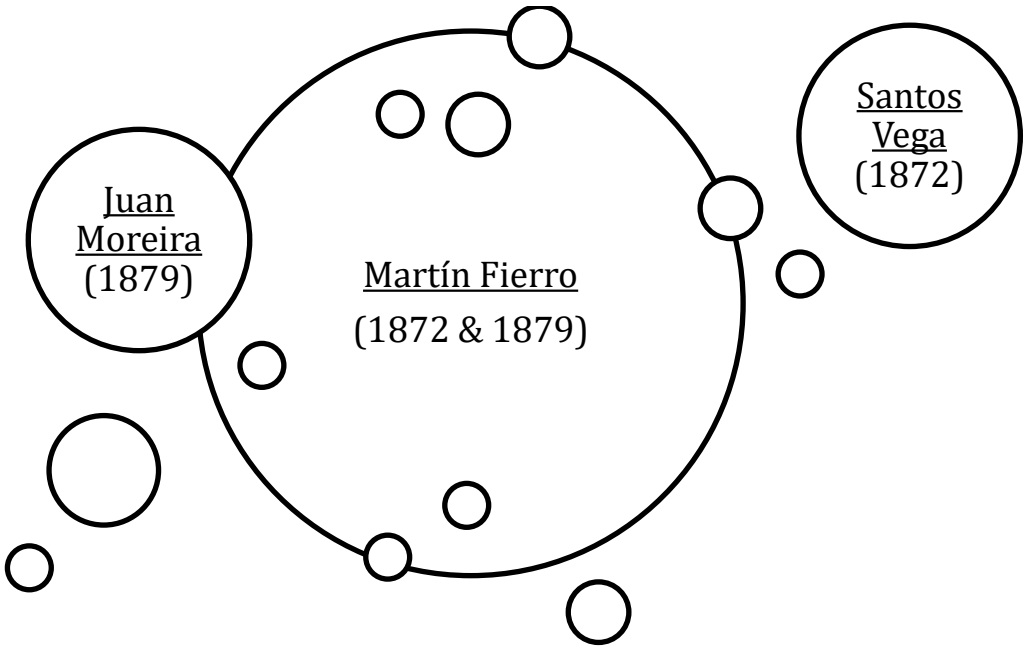

Figure 6: A representation of the positioning of three gaucho literary works in the Argentine literary field during the early twentieth century

In order to ascertain how this positioning occured, each of these texts will be considered in turn. Firstly, it is worth noticing that Hilario Ascasubi, the autor of Santos Vega o Los mellizos de La Flor, published in the same year as La Ida del Martín Fierro, already had literary cache with previous works published in the forms of the gauchesco while Martín Fierro was Hernández's first serious bid as a writer in the literary field.

The figure of Santos Vega was a legend based on the ultimate gaucho payador that had been referenced many times in the gauchesco tradition, with Bartolomé Mitre being the first to write about him, followed by Hilario Ascasubi and then Rafael Obligado. For the gauchos, Santos Vega was the man who could not be defeated in verse, who was capable of seducing women and defeating the most battle-ready of men[896]. Although Ascasubi gave his text with the gaucho's name,

[896] Rojas "Los 'Trovos' De Paulino Lucero" 490.

Santos Vega is not the narrator/main protagonist, only one of the characters. Incidentally, in a 1854 letter from Don Andrés Llama, who was located in Rio de Janeiro, Llama insisted Ascasubi should make Santos Vega the main character, something Rafael Obligado did in his version decades later and Ricardo Rojas in Historia de la Literatura Argentina criticised as a failure to capture the Argentine imagination.

It is interesting to note that Ascasubi and Hernández both endured political exile, the former due to Rosas and the latter due to Sarmiento. However, Ascasubi did not write Santos Vega when he was in political exile, but when he was living in Paris in his older years remembering Argentina through a prism of sentimentality[897] and ill health[898]. In his introduction, where he communicates with the reader directly, he states that although he is in Paris, his mind often travels to his country of birth. He says its nostalgic tone is unavoidable, because in the first sentences of his gaucho poem, he chooses to situate the story in the past, in a time when the lands of the south were still strange to the European world. The narrator is the autor, but he lets Santos Vega *cantar* (sing) in his own words. In his travels, he comes across another gaucho, Rufo Tolosa, who is there to hear the *payada* of the La Flor twins, Luis and Jacinto. These are a pampean Abel and Cain, where one turns out Christian, just and generous, and the other one is a *gaucho malo*. Unlike Hernández, who makes his gaucho the direct narrator and sets the narrative in the present, Ascasubi sets his gaucho poem in the colonial period.

[897] Fernández, Miguel. "The Capitalist Payador: Hilario Ascasubi's "Aniceto el Gallo"" Chasqui 31:1 (2002): 87.
[898] Larraya, Antonio. "Estudios: Santos Vega, mito de la pampa" Revista Iberoamericana 40 (1955): 220.

Unlike the situation with Hernández's Martín Fierro, Ascasubi was not Santos Vega's only literary keeper and, as Larraya suggests, much that appears in Ascasubi's gaucho poem is repeated and does little to add to the myth of the gaucho Santos Vega either through innovation or interpretation[899].

As such, Ascasubi's Santos Vega could not compete with a Martín Fierro that spoke directly to the reader and of contemporary injustices. It was decades later that Jorge Luis Borges rescues Ascasubi's gaucho poem. Borges' interest in Ascasubi's gaucho poem was cemented when the fifteen-year-old Borges moved to Geneva with his family and he took a copy of Santos Vega with him[900]. For Borges, Ascasubi was the most competitive of all of Hernández's contemporaries. Borges believed that if Hernández had not published his gaucho poem, Ascasubi would be at the centre of the Argentine literary field. Borges argued that Ascasubi's gaucho poem was superior because he found the text more concerned with the literary than the political. Borges thought Martín Fierro to be nationalistic: a theme he associated with Sarmiento's barbarism and that he experienced through Peronist populism of the 1940s. Finding refuge in Ascasubi was a way in which he challenged the peronist defence of Rosas[901]. Borges also accuses Lugones of sacrificing the poetry of Hidalgo and Ascasubi in favor of that of Hernández by reducing these to mere precursors of the author of Martín Fierro[902].

There is much that could be explored in examining the Bourdieuian trajectory of Ascasubi's Santos Vega which this dissertation does not have scope to entertain. However, this brief summation illustrates the different positioning of the

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[899] Larraya 213.
[900] Fernández 89.
[901] Fernández 90.
[902] Borges El Martín Fierro 16.

author due to a different *habitus* and a difference in literary choices and how the work was received and manufactured thereafter.

Moving on to Juan Moreira, its author, Eduardo Gutiérrez, was already writing newspaper articles by the time he was 15 and publishing them in his brothers' newspapers (La Nación Argentina and La Patria Argentina)[903]. Gutiérrez, like many of his contemporaries, served with the military in his twenties, when he fought in the frontier wars against the Indians in Blanca Corrales, Monte and Guanami[904]. Gutiérrez, a federalist, was vehemently opposed to making Buenos Aires the capital of the nation and was very much a supporter of the interests of the provinces.

He published Juan Moreira in serialized form in the form of a pamphlet placed in his brother's newspaper, La Patria Argentina from November 1879 to January 1880. Gutiérrez's pamphlets were distributed not only in the capital city but also in the provinces. If the ads that appeared in the pamplet are a guide to audience, as opposed to Martín Fierro Juan Moreira was targeted at a rural middle-class audience. These were sufficiently popular for Gutiérrez to be able to buy extensive property in San Juan de Florez[905] . Gutiérrez wrote many other serialized novels in the genres of crime, horror, military and comedy Borges is known to have said he read Gutiérrez's police novels as a guilty pleasure[906].

The main protagonist of the novel, Juan Moreira, was based on a real life person Gutiérrez interviewed in 1874. This is different from Hernández's Fierro who was not based on anyone in particular.

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[903] Hart, Stephen. "Public Execution and the Body Politic in the Work of the Argentine Folletinista Eduardo Gutiérrez". Bulletin of Hispanic Studies 76.5 (1999): 674.
[904] Hart 674.
[905] Hart 675.
[906] Hart 675.

Gutiérrez's gaucho follows the path of criminality and revenge. Originally, the gaucho is forced by the local Justice of the Peace to go and fight in the frontier wars while he steals Moreira's land, home and wife. Moreira is left his dog for company. In effect, Moreira is exiled from the social world and relegated to the animal kingdom[907]. The story also hints at the coming invasion by the influx of migrants coming into the country. For example, one of the first instances of the gaucho being hard done by is when Moreira lends Sardetti (an Italian migrant) 10,000 pesos and Sardetti tells the court Moreira never lent him the money. Moreira, a local, is betrayed by the system and by Sardetti, a migrant. Sardetti stabs Moreira 10 times, once for each of the 1000 pesos owed. In revenge, Moreira eventually murders Sardetti, and goes on to become a gaucho assassin. In the end, Moreira asks for death, which can be understood as metaphoric death and symbolically allowed the Argentine psyche to accept the death of the gaucho and allow for the new nation to continue with its progress[908].

Gutiérrez was a member of the upper classes while José Hernandez was not. This might be a clue to why Fierro received more attention than Moreira: Hernández targeted his poem at various audiences while Gitiérrez only aimed his text to at the upper classes. In addition, Moreira is too threatening, and although he is a victim, he became a killer himself, whereas Fierro remains a victim and then returns to civilization. For nation building, it is important to have a citizenship willing to participate in the progress of the nation.

When Eduardo Gutiérrez published his novel in 1879, it was not given as much attention as it had been published during the same year as the much

[907] Hart 682.
[908] Hart 686.

anticipated La Vuelta. However, both parts of Fierro created an extended audience that because of their experience with the gaucho poem was ready to consume texts from the gauchesco genre. As such, even though Juan Moreira was not as popular when it was first published, it became a text that was revisited several times and in other media. For example, in 1936, 1948 and 1973 subsequent returns to Juan Moreira were made via theatre and film.

It should be noted that the generation described as The Parricides (see the previous section for more information on this literary generation), endeavoured to elevate Santos Vega and Juan Moreira to the same status as Martín Fierro. They wanted rescue the gaucho from the criticisms made by Martinez Estrada and Borges who repositioned Martín Fierro as the ambiguous, if bad, gaucho in order to return the gaucho and these texts, to national esteem[909]. However, this purpose was not achieved and Martín Fierro continued and continues to be the text in which these literary wars are fought. Carlos Gamerro's Facundo o Martín Fierro, published in 2015, is a good example of this continued facination with the gaucho poem.

This has been a short analysis of how the choices of two authors writing in the same genre as Hernández elicited different reactions according to the *illusio* already present in the field and the social misrecognition that the agents within the field were willing to offer. This exercise deserves its own dissertation and the space afforded to it here means that the opportunity to provide a thorough analysis of this comparison is less than it merits. However, this quick comparison between author positioning and the how the field reacted further illustrates how beneficial a Bourdieuian approach to literary criticism can be considering that the essence of

[909] Prieto, Adolfo. El Discurso Criollista en la Formación de la Argentina Moderna. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1988): 92.

‘literariness’ is transformed when viewed through the prism of author position-taking in the space of possibles existent.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the conditions of the Argentine literary field and the actors causing and responding to internal factors of the field and the external factors of the national social space have been explored. This thorough examination has revealed how the *illusio* around Martín Fierro was built in order to secure a collective misrecognition. This misrecognition served the requirements of the national social space perceived as threatened by the local middle and upper classes once the legislative doors were opened to a large influx of European migrants in the early twentieth century. The elevation and consecration of Martín Fierro coincided with the need to identify and quickly fortify the national identity in order to educate and assimilate the large number of foreigners entering the country and to send a clear message that local productions (whether literary or other) were on a par, if not even better, than their European counterparts. The literary field was now moving towards establishing itself, although it was still open to direct influence by the demands of the national social space. However, this is not the end of the story.

A new generation of writers, hoping to find their own position in the field, was forced to expand the space of possibles from those already developed by Lugones, Bunge and Rojas. The most direct way to do this was to gravitate towards the opposite end. Hence the creation and publication of the Revista Martín Fierro, a literary magazine that took the name of the famous gaucho but moved the literary field towards a European aesthetic. This opening up of the space of possibles is important in the history of the nation. It marks a move towards autonomy as a new generation of writers hoped to secure their own careers outside of the narrow opportunities already available. This allowed Martinez Estrada and Borges to

challenge Lugones' work and to free the gaucho Martín Fierro from its rigid, consecrated positioning. In the 1940s, Martinez Estrada was able to provide a critique of the critics. It is the first time in the Argentine literary history where the field bends onto itself to review itself. This allows for further autonomy as the push to do this comes not from the dictates of the national social space, but from the needs of the field itself – the needs of a field that is autonomonous. In the 1950s, Borges furthers this internal cause of the literary field by reproducing Martinez Estrada's efforts in the literary, fictionalized world of the short story. Borges uses his mode of literary communication, the short story and prose, to rewrite and clarify certain parts of the myth of the gaucho Martín Fierro in a way that returned the famous gaucho to its original author.

Arguably, there have been six discernible turns or phases evident in the Argentine literary field between the publication of Martín Fierro and the time the fully emerged and established literary field is observed in the decades of the 1940s and the 1950s. In Chapter 4 and 5, the first, second and third phases were explored. This chapter has focused on unfolding phases 4, 5 and 6. Table 10 on the next page summarises these transitions.

Table 10: Positioning of Martín Fierro in the Literary Field and the National Social Space from 1872 until 1950s

	Phase	Time Period	Positioning	LF Factors	LF Actors	Framing/Re-framing tools	NSS Factors
1	Protest	1872-1879	Entry	Civilization or Barbarism; Unitarians vs Federalists	Hernández (Journalist. & Exile)	Literary	Aftermath of civil war between those from Buenos Aires and those from the provinces
2	Civilization	1879-1886	Return & Centering	La Vuelta del Martín Fierro	Hernández (Senator)	Literary	Inclusion of federalists into the narrative of nationhood
3	First international recognition	1886-1910	International recognition	Critical reviews	Unumuno and others	Nationally, the poem was still read politically, but internationally the poem was read literarily	Political institutions being devised and strengthened

4	Unification	1886-1910	Regional	Ida (protest) and Vuelta (Civilization) fused into one.	Rafael Hernández	Literary	Import of European working class through liberal migration policies
5	Elevation	1910-1923	National	The poem is consecrated as epic; Critics of this move (Criado) forgotten. New gauchistas themes exploited – Guiraldes.	Lugones, Rojas, Bunge	Literary, Sociological	Local resistance to foreign immigration, especially from the local middle and upper classes. Use poem to nationalize migrants and for political ends
6	Backlash	1923-1935	Rejection	Counter-reaction against the *gauchesco* form and theme.	Revista Martín Fierro	Literary	First generation of Argentine writers (from European migrant parents) fight to find their own voice
7	Re-positioning	1935-1950s	Reframing	Epic positioning rejected. Repositioning returns poem to Hernández's version, opening up the field to other voices, genres etc – reappropriation of MF for literary ends (in contrast to political ends)	Martinez Estrada, Borges	Literary, Sociological	National identity has been consolidated; autonomy of the literary field is established

From 1910 onwards, Martín Fierro occupied a central point from where expansion of the literary field occurred. The place of struggle is the myth of the gaucho as it emanated from Hernández's poem. There was a reversal from the gaucho = barbarism and the European = civilization to the nobility of the gaucho representing the identity of a nation. As the table on the previous page suggest, this shift was not accomplished by literary (literary criticism, fiction) means alone. This move also required a sociological effort; that is, a non-fiction narrative that would allow the gaucho to become noble and mythic, giving credence to the new literary understanding of the poem as offered by Lugones. The local intellectual and artistic classes appointed themselves the guardians of the Argentine literary identity in the face of the vast influx of foreigners. Writers such as Lugones, Rojas and Bunge who wished to establish themselves as the nation's scholars used this conflict to move beyond politics and towards literary identification: by aligning the gaucho poem with the national identity, they strengthened the existence of the emerging literary field by anchoring it.

This centralization of the gaucho poem meant that writers, critics and producers took many positions in the space of possibles of the newly established Argentine literary field, many of which were committed to the manufacture of the *gauchesco*. This includes Don Segundo Sombra, another version of the gaucho figure. This meant that the new generation's access to the positions in the field was limited. To open up new positions, it was important for the new generation of writers to challenge the existing paradigms of the field. In order to do this, they contested the established centrality of Hernández's poem and the link between the gaucho poem and national identity.

An example of this was the Revista Martín Fierro, which carved out the opposing territory in the space of possibles. Martinez Estrada and Borges further this challenge by stripping Hernández's gaucho from Lugones' interpretation of the poem. Much as Lugones had done to fabricate a meaning for the gaucho poem in the first place, they used both sociological and literary tools. It is in this process that the Argentine literary field transitioned from newly established, to established, to autonomous.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of a literary work removed from the literary structure from which the work emerged disproportionally emphasises the role of the author and the inherent genius of a text: that is, its literary innovation whether through form or content or both. It suppresses the forces of influence from the national social space and the literary field so that a text appears ahistorical, as if it is borne only of the writer's mind and not from what the writer possesses by birth, education, status and how these mingle with the author's personal, interpersonal and historical experiences to produce a literary work. There is no doubt that such a study of literary works would produce enough analysis to justify writing another dissertation. However, the brief analysis provided in this dissertation demonstrates that each of the works that exist in the same period of time and have been identified as examples of the gauchesco with their own literary merits have faired differently when exposed to the chorus of literary gatekeepers and critics participating in the creation of the *illusio*. The Bourdieuian method of literary analysis allows for a complete analysis of a literary text and author at not only the macro social, political, economic and literary levels but also at the inbtween spaces of how these intersect with the micro counterpoints.

This chapter will endeavour to provide a comprehensive conclusion to this dissertation. Section 7.2 will endeavour to provide a cohesive account of the Bourdieuian approach that this literary study has undertaken. Section 7.3 will then

allow for a response to the question posited in section 2.9 ‘How do you solve a literary problema like the Martín Fierro?’ This has been broken down into various components in order to provide a clear summary of each of the main areas of investigation. These include the understanding of how the Argentine literary field emerged into its heteronomous field; how Hernández inserted himself into this field; how it subsequently developed into an autonomous field; how the coming decades illustrated different reactions from literary gatekeepers and critics which conformed to an agenda that paralleled the state formation project creating a literary *illusio*; and how the establishment of this illusion and the subsequent social misrecognition gave rise to an autonomous Argentine literary field. Section 7.4 will then provide some comments regarding potential future work in this area of student and section 7.5 will provide an overall conclusion to this chapter.

7.2 THE STUDY OF LITERATURE THROUGH THE BOURDIEUIAN LENS

> "…Scientific analysis of the social conditions of the production and reception of a work of art, far from reducing it or destroying it, in fact intensifies the literary experience."[910]

The impetus of this dissertation has been to reveal what has been hidden through the passage of time, changing economic and political circumstances, social interactions altered by migration and the growth of industry, reoriented intellectual and artistic philosophies, and the accumulation of criticism that has re-designed the shape of the original literary text. The Bourdieuian tools to study literature permit this 'unveiling' of how and why a particularly literary product was created. In his 'Introduction' to Bourdieu and Literature, Speller highlights how the Bourdieuian perspective to literary analysis is often criticised for its reductionist approach. However, as this dissertation has demonstrated, this form of analysis has in fact opened up the scope of understanding. For example, literary texts have played a part in political and artistic independence as well as propagating the status quo[911]. This type of revealing is only posible when literary analysis goes beyond the divide between literary reading and social reading theories. When a text becomes part of the canon, it becomes increasingly difficult to reverse the process of consecration. It limits the appreciation of how a literary work and how a literary author are created and it hides whose purposes are being served during this process of manufacture. The purpose and the environment in which the literary work was produced are forgotten. This process of erosion of purpose and circumstance (*habitus*), positioning (field) and cultural zeitgeist (social misrecognition and *illusio*) from the literary work leaves the

[910] Bourdieu The Rules of Art XVII.
[911] Speller 13-14.

reader with no or few intellectual tools with which to correctly position the cultural artifact. It also leaves the reader blind to the process of curation a literary work and author go through in order to be selected as the (arguably) best example of its kind, or better yet, the example that most fits the needs of its time. Consecration inhibits the ability to critically evaluate a given cultural product fully. The Bourdieuian approach to literary criticism allows for a more indepth and clearer understanding of a complicated literary problem like Martín Fierro. As Gamerro writes, Borges intrinsically understood that Hernández's gaucho poem could be interpreted and read in many ways[912]. Bourdieu's approach allows for a complete survey of a literary phenomenon on a specific level or on a more global scale. His approach to literary criticism provides clarity.

[912] Gamerro 78.

7.3 HOW DO YOU SOLVE A LITERARY PROBLEM LIKE MARTÍN FIERRO?

This study has extrapolated from Bourdieu's study of the nineteenth century French literary field and used the framework to understand the Argentine nineteenth century and early twentieth century literary landscape. Where Bourdieu's analysis reveals the workings of an already established literary field, this thesis reveals the workings of an emerging literary field from a field of power still in its infancy. Although Bourdieu hints at the journey from emerging to established literary field through his explanation of the heteronomous principle (that is, the movement of a field towards autonomy), his particular case study does not demand a thorough exploration and explanation of this process. Thus, understanding how Martín Fierro became the literary juggernaut that it is today requires the further consideration of Bourdieu's heteronomous principle.

Both the autonomous and heteronomous principles explained by Bourdieu allow the literary scholar to test how influenced by the field of power a particular literary field is. Where there is no literary foundation, then movements and ideas of high culture are likely to be imported and are more likely to serve the direct interests of commerce and politics. Or, as Casanova has explained, "the difference between a minor and major literature is its obvious or hidden connection to politics"[913].

Indeed, Bourdieu's analysis of Flaubert's Sentimental Education points to a French literary field that was quite autonomous. One of the contributions of this dissertation is to replicate Bourdieu's study but with an emerging literary field; one that was heteronomous due the insistence by the local upper classes that the Argentine colony separate from Spain and then protect itself from the indigenous

[913] Casanova Combatative Literature 127.

peoples, the rural working classes, the ethnic groups such as the Afro-Argentinians and finally from the European working-class migrants. It is in this last mobilization that the literary field finally moves towards autonomy but always with Martín Fierro occupying its centre.

However, the reason why Martín Fierro is a literary problem to solve is because, although it was used by an emerging literary field to consolidate itself, it has never quite shaken off its initial political intent and as such, to this day, the gaucho poem is a political text that needs to be constantly repositioned in order to ultimately serve the needs of the Field of Power. Therefore, a simple textual analysis of the poem does not suffice. Nor does a simple social analysis of the poem. But the Bourdieuian tools are sufficiently sophisticated to accommodate difficult or problematic texts such as Martín Fierro.

7.3.1 THE ARGENTINE HETERONOMOUS FIELD

The Argentine literary field of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was clearly in its infancy. In the beginning, there was a push towards state formation both through securing borders in the frontier and by establishing central administration centres of government in the early nineteenth century. The process of state formation was difficult and bitterly fought. Soldiers and administrators fighting and working in the battlefield required both unifying codes of comportment and constant motivation to allegiance to the motherland in order to secure their continued engagement with the fight at the frontiers. During this time, the gauchesco oral tradition was being practiced in rural settings in the Rio de la Plata region. Some adopted this manner of storytelling to inspire and motivate the armed forces fighting for an independent and united Argentina. This practice soon led to the transformation of the orality of the gaucho mode of expression to the written form.

As the frontier wars came to an end and public discussion turned to the political organization of the newly physically formed nation, internal disputes erupted. Soon people were roughly divided into two groups: those in favour of power being secured in Buenos Aires (unitarians) and those opposed to such a centralist approach (federalists). The effect of power claimed first by one side and then by the other was that many political dissidents felt disenfranchised. At the same time, the large numbers of roving gauchos who went from working in the *estancias* to fighting in the frontier wars were left without purpose and, as they were no longer needed, were treated as troublemakers. Many suffered the trajectory of going from exploited worker, to exploited soldier, to vagabond. At the same time, in the fight for political power, the province of Buenos Aires elected a very successful gaucho as

governor, Juan Manuel Rosas, who became known as Argentina's first dictator. This dictatorship became a lighting rod for the intellectual and artistic classes located in Buenos Aires, who waged a ware of ideas against the military and economic force of Rosas. They identified Rosas as a gaucho and an impediment to progress and civilization. Many articles, poems, novels and nonfiction long form pieces were written in protest against Rosas. However, these cultural elites used the literary tools bestowed by Europe and once the figure of Rosas disappeared from the political landscape, these tools seemed to fit the push towards national identity poorly.

As Sarmiento rose to power, he put into practice the ideas he laid out in Facundo. The production of culture was very much geared towards satisfying the needs of the national social space. The value in literary texts could be changed into political credit easily, an exchange that demonstrates the lack of autonomy in a field.

Whether this lack of an heteronomous state of affairs in the literary field continues to this day is an issue for other scholars. However, what this dissertation indicates is that if Martín Fierro is still being debated today in terms of its inherent 'Argentinity' and 'literariness, then this is evidence that the literary field is yet to achieve autonomy. Casanova's work on world literatures[914] which cites the international literary standard and explains that the closer a literary field aligns itself with this and not its own Field of Power, the more it is autonomous may provide some clues here.

[914] Casanova, Literature as a World 72.

7.3.2 HERNÁNDEZ'S POSITIONING IN THE 'SPACE OF POSSIBLES'

As the struggle between ideas transformed the political landscape, many federalists were forced into exile. It is at this point that José Hernández began writing the first part of his gaucho poem in Uruguay, which is also part of the Rio de la Plata region that had given rise to the gauchesco. He would go on to mimic Sarmiento's trick of transferring literary credit into political credit. By writing Martín Fierro, he responds to Sarmiento's Facundo and changes the course of the emerging literary field. His poem was written in the style of the gaucho *payada*, which succeeded in giving a voice to the politically voiceless and, of course, to himself. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he allowed his gaucho protagonist to be the narrator and the driver of the story.

The success of Martín Fierro allowed Hernández to purchase political credit with the accumulation of cultural capital gained through his gaucho poem. Shortly after, Hernández became a senator and was able to participate legitimately in the political sphere. With his poem, he goes from political exile to politician. From the perspective of senator and wanting to interact with the already-made audience, he wrote the second part of the poem, La Vuelta del Martin Fierro. His perspective and motivations for writing the second part were different. Hernández wanted the marginalized gaucho to return to the nation and the poem became about accountability and being a good citizen, ironically moving the conversation towards civilization. Once the author died, the intellectual and artistic classes in Buenos Aires acknowledged the popular success of Martín Fierro but refused to recognize its literary worth. Ultimately, Hernández demonstrates a double positioning of his gaucho poem that are both informed by his own political ambitions. First, he

positions the text as a poem of protest and then, as it gains success and Hernández writes the second part, he positions the text as one promoting unification. However, these different aims are fused via two phenomena: the publishing process with successive editions and the differing interpretations given by literary critics with different political, economic and literary interests. As these aims fuse, the author's positioning becomes obscured. Bourdieu's tools of analysis are needed in this example to be able to separate the two texts and place them in their individual contexts. It is here that both texts can be surveyed from a 360-degree view and understood, thereby assisting in resolving the text as a literary problem.

7.3.3 MARTÍN FIERRO'S POSITIONING IN THE 'SPACE OF WORKS'

In the early twentieth century, the Argentine nation, in its drive towards modernity and economic growth, encouraged a European working class to immigrate in order to work in the new industries. During this time, the Argentine migrant population grew so significantly that local Argentineans felt threatened by this flood of foreigners, creating an urgency amongst the political and intellectual classes to define *'lo argentino'* (that is, what is Argentinean).

The first to react to this call for the hardening of the national identity was Leopoldo Lugones, who was a writer in search of literary roots. In his travels, he came upon the review of La Ida and Vuelta del Martin Fierro by the well-regarded Spanish author Miguel De Unamuno, who identified the poem as Argentina's answer to Spain's Don Quijote de la Mancha. This recognition by a European author and reviewer of repute was the beginning of the consecration of Hernández's poem by the intellectual classes in Buenos Aires. Lugones announced this consecration through the delivery of six lectures at the Odeon Theatre in Buenos Aires attended by the President of the nation as well as other eminent guests. In his lecture series, which he later compiled into a book called El Payador, Lugones repackaged the gaucho poem and declared it the ultimate representation of the Argentine nation.

The transition of the gaucho from Sarmiento's *gaucho malo* to Hernández's *gaucho víctima* (victim) to Lugones' *gaucho civilisador* (civilizer) was assisted by the publications of Ricardo Rojas's La Historia de la Literatura Argentina and Carlos Octavio Bunge's speech on the gaucho's customs and faithfulness to justice and fairness. Both Rojas and Bunge were high-level academics at the University of Buenos Aires during the decade from 1910 to 1920. Rojas, as Dean of the

University, wrote six volumes on the history of Argentine literature, reserving a particular section for Martín Fierro.

At this stage, the Argentine literary field had well and truly emerged, and its academics and intellectuals were in the business of creating literary value that would serve the interests of the dominant class. Martin Fierro became synonymous with Argentine literature – centralized and codified as such for future generations. This creation and increase of political value at the national level overflows and seeps into the literary field, creating literary value which allows for a close-circuited literary economy to enter into operation.

7.3.4 THE FABRICATION OF AN ILLUSIO FOR THE SAKE OF AN ARGENTINE NATIONAL IDENTITY

In the early 1920s, Argentina was fully committed to the project of modernisation, and the positions that had opened up in the institutions like universities, newspapers, governments positions that contributed to the literary field had been filled. The space of possibles was filled and new generations of writers encountered a fully occupied literary field. In order to make room from themselves, they created new avenues of publication. Unlike previous generations, writers were contained in the area of the literary field and credit transfers from other fields were difficult to execute[915].

The Revista Martín Fierro was a way for emerging writers to create a literary space for themselves and to make a call to arms regarding a new literary movement outside of the *gauchesco*. Their decision to call it after Hernández's canonized poem was a way to both recognize that the space that Martin Fierro occupied was the space of Argentine literature, *and* a way to reclaim this space in order to expand the meaning of Argentine Literature.

During this time, many other authors continued publishing in the area of the *gauchesco* and many books like Don Segundo Sombra were published as well as extensions to the Martín Fierro universe which included the publishing of La Mujer de Martin Fierro (the wife of Martin Fierro) and Los Hijos de Martin Fierro (the sons of Martin Fierro). However, the space opened up by the Revista Martín Fierro was unquestionable – it allowed for Argentine authors to break away from the *gauchesco* and to explore new movements in the literary field. That fact that the magazine, and its editor in particular, refused to draw capital from the political field

[915] Rama, Angel. The Lettered City Ed. And Trans John Charles Chasteen. (Durham: Duke UP, 1996).

(it shut down when the writers moved towards publishing political articles) is a testament to the fact that the emerging Argentine literary field had well and truly emerged and was now moving towards autonomy.

Martin Fierro's influence on the literary field meant that it continued to be taken up by different authors in an effort to redefine the space it inhabited. An excellent example of this was Ezequiel Martinez Estrada who in 1948 published the definitive and exhaustive sociological study of the gaucho myth, the author José Hernández and the poem Martín Fierro in two volumes titled La Muerte y Transfiguración de Martín Fierro (the death and transfiguration of Martin Fierro). Martinez Estrada was very clear in his intent – he wanted to preside over the death of Lugones' Martín Fierro and return it to Hernández.

Borges was gentler than Martinez Estrada in dismantling Lugones' elevation of the gaucho text. His personal relationship with Lugones meant that his criticism was tempered by his personal and literary esteem of him. Borges, who had amassed quite a bit of literary capital not only through his participation in the Revista Martin Fierro and Sur, but through his many other highly regarded works, used the repositioning of Fierro to serve his literary interests. The gaucho poem was returned to its original conversation of barbarism versus civilization. Borges in effect does not return the gaucho poem to Hernández but to Sarmiento. In doing so, he relegated the *gauchesco* to a minor literary tradition.

However, the generation following Borges, the Parricides, rejected Borges' estimation of the literary field and Martín Fierro, questioning Borges' own '*argentinidad*' and accusing him of representing European literary aesthetics. This pattern of movement and contra-movement is fought with each generation and

Martín Fierro is the battleground. The *illusio* is created and re-created with each generation.

7.3.5 THE ARGENTINE AUTONOMOUS FIELD

It is not until Martinez Estrada and Borges reposition Martín Fierro that the Argentine literary field moves steadily towards autonomy. Whereas before there was a building of the literary field (Lugones) and a rejection of this edification (Revista Martín Fierro), the 1940s and 1950s saw the field becoming circular and contained. Martinez Estrada and Borges provide a critique of the literary field using literary arguments and not those associated with political or economic arguments. The system of credit transfers has now been truly set in place and both Martinez Estrada and Borges take full advantage of this and borrow literary value through criticism of Lugones' literary arguments to augment their own literary cachet. The Parricidas continue this legacy.

This germination and growth of a literary field that endeavours to secure its borders against the external influences of the national social space as it transforms into a more autonomous field, as depicted and analysed in this dissertation, provides worthwhile insights. The political, military, economic, social and literary capital is a free currency that can be exchanged to gain capital or value in another field. This free exchange of value that crosses the borders of different fields is especially true when a literary field is in its genesis. This understanding of emerging literary fields is extremely useful, especially as it pertains to comparative literature. The Parisian literary meridian is one way to measure the evolution of a field, but so is the level of freedom in which capital can be exchanged from field to field.

7.4 A NOTE ON FUTURE WORK

In The Rules of Art, Bourdieu writes that he was not interested in supplying an instructional manual on how to analyse literature[916]. This dissertation has gone against this sentiment and has attempted to recreate a process for understanding literature using Bourdieu's approach to analysis. This an initial foray into this approach and as such, it remains for other scholars to test it more thoroughly by applying the Bourdieuian approach to other literary fields, authors and texts.

In terms of Latin American studies, there is scope to extend the analysis of Juan Moreira and Don Segundo Sombra and explore how the Bourdieuian approach to literary criticism explains their positioning in the field. This would also allow for a comparison between Uruguayan and Argentinean *gauchesco* streams.

Martín Fierro continues to be at the centre of the Argentine literary field. As mentioned before, in 2015 authors like Gamerro continue to debate whether the gaucho poem should be at the epicenter of the literary field. Future works could also extend the understanding of how Peronismo and the gaucho poem intersected.

Finally, the Bourdiuian approach to literary analysis is useful in marking a path towards creating a world literary space. In the English-speaking world, there would be much scope to compare the standing of English, Scottish, Irish, American, Canadian, Indian and Australian literatures. Researching how the literary fields emerged in these national social spaces would provide for a better understanding of world literatures.

[916] Bourdieu The Rules of Art 177.

7.5 CONCLUSION

This process of understanding literature using Bourdieuian concepts for a full literary analysis allows for a thorough response to the question of how to solve a literary problem like Martín Fierro. The gaucho poem exists as a canonical work because it was (and is) a site of struggle for the identity of a nation. This process has revealed the codes or social symptoms existent in the work that remains hidden when traditional methods of literary analysis are adopted to evaluate literature. Literariness is the creation of layered, generational and historic meaning. This process of analysis unveils why this particular example is considered 'literary'.

Returning to the initial example first explained in Chapter 1 of this thesis, dismantling or, as Bourdieu called it, unveiling reinforced narratives that service political, economic and cultural (and in this instance, literary) purposes is important. Without the ability to do so, those outside the political, economic and cultural fields find themselves unable to dismantle potent stories that can disguise intent. Martín Fierro may or may not have represented what it meant to be Argentinean when it was first published and subsequently throughout the ages. But perhaps today it does not represent this and may be occupying a space better suited to new narratives.

The poem of protest that became the poem of unification that became the poem of national identity that was stripped down to a poem of ambiguous representation and then rescued into the poem of national represention might just become the poem that can illuminate the interests that built a nation over two hundred years.

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