MANUEL GONZÁLEZ PRADA AND TWO TRENDS IN

PERUVIAN POETRY

by

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ABSTRACT

While González Prada was mainly a prose writer and ideologist, he did write poetry throughout his life, beginning perhaps even before he began to write prose. Although his poetry itself had little influence on other poets, the ideas which lie behind it did. The purpose of this paper is to show that there are two incipient trends of Peruvian poetry in Prada's poems: Modernism and indigenism.

Prada's tendency towards Modernism is found to be mainly theoretical and ideological, as his adoption of modernist style occurs when Modernism has already been established by Rubén Darío, and disappears after the publication of Exóticas in 1911.

Chocano serves as a counterpoint to Prada in showing the extent to which the latter had any real influence on the development of a particular modernist poet, and to which the full development of Modernism differed from the innovations which Prada had envisioned.

The incipient indigenism in Prada's poetry is represented in Baladas peruanas, although the point in which Prada anticipates twentieth century writers is that of the use of poetry as a vehicle for ideas, and as such is also
evident in Libertarias and Presbiterianas.

The nature of Prada's indigenism is compared to that of Chocano in order to show the extent of the modernists' failure to develop the trends which Prada had foreshadowed.
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INTRODUCTION

Manuel González Prada has been regarded by most critics as a thinker and a polemicist who expressed himself mainly in prose. His first definitive published work was Páginas libres, 1894. Most of the articles in that book were written in the mid 1880's and reveal the ideas which characterize Prada's later work. In the "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo" he attacks the clergy and politics which are not based on ideals. In "Conferencia en el Ateneo de Lima" he attacks academic culture and proclaims, as he does in many other articles, "el Arte libre" based on "lo único infalible, la Ciencia; lo único inviolable, la verdad." In "Instrucción Católica" he attacks Christianity and Catholicism. In the "Discurso en el Politeama" he attacks "la ignorancia de los gobernados" in which he includes not only the government itself, but the Army, the Church, and the entire social order which condones their actions. In Páginas libres he includes articles on three men whom he looked to as precedents: Victor Hugo, Renan and Vigil.

The essay dealing with Heine reveals the extent of Prada's acquaintance with germanic culture. He mentions Goethe, Schiller, Tieck, Ruckert, Uhland, Wilhelm Muller and Wilhelm Schlegel as well as Schopenhauer and Kant. In "Renan" he
shows that he is acquainted with Spencer, Darwin and Comte. In the essay on Valera he mentions Kropotkin. Thus by the last few years of the 1880's Prada was familiar with the positivists and materialists as well as with at least one anarchist.

Prada's anticlerical and antipolitical orientation had been declared even earlier, in 1879. It is the tendency to be against the established order which characterizes Prada's thought. He never attempted to define in a systematic manner the new order which he visualized, a fact which is reflected in his ultimate espousal of Anarchism. Indeed at the moment when he had an opportunity to actively try to influence the course of events in Peru, Prada chose rather to absent himself in Europe where he remained for seven years and where he published Páginas libres.

In 1871 Prada published a number of poems in Cortés' Parnaso peruano. Later while he was living in the country he began to write some of the ballads which are included in Baladas peruanas. Through the Chilean occupation Prada voluntarily imprisoned himself and spent a great deal of time writing satirical pieces as well as poems. It was at this time that most of his experimentation in verse form
began. Thus Prada began writing poetry before his polemical prose and continued to do so as his prose developed. The poems written before 1880, that is all those mentioned above, reveal little of the influence of Prada's developing ideology. The first book of Prada's poetry was published in 1901, not of his own volition, but by his wife. It is not on the whole, polemic or propagandistic, although a few of the poems do reflect the ideas Prada was at the time expressing in prose. The same might be said of *Exóticas*, 1911. Although there is some evidence of the influence of the modernists in *Minúsculas*, it becomes more pronounced in *Exóticas*. *Presbiterianas*, however, published in 1909, represents Prada's development of verse as a vehicle for his ideas, as do *Libertarias*, *Grafitos*, and *Trozos de Vida* all published in the 1930's. The relationship of these two trends in Prada's poetry can best be seen at two points, as they come together in their plenitude in *Minúsculas* and *Exóticas* and when they appear together in incipient form in *Baladas peruanas*. 
INTRODUCTION


3 ibid., p. 27.


5 Prada, "Discurso en el Politeama", Páginas libres, p. 66.


7 Prada, "Renan", Páginas libres, p. 196.

8 Prada, "Valera", Páginas libres, p. 215.

9 Mérida (Aureliano Villarán), Cuartos de hora (Lima, 1879).

10 José Galindo Cortés, Parnaso peruano, (Valparaíso, 1871.)
CHAPTER I

Critics considered Manuel González Prada a precursor of Modernism. The title of an article by Luis Alberto Sánchez designates Prada as an "olvidado precursor del Modernismo": forgotten, not in the sense of unrecognized, but in the sense of neglected. Max Henríquez Ureña in his Breve historia del Modernismo devotes two pages to Prada, calling him "un modernista 'avant la lettre'" on the basis of his "prosa ágil y recia" and his various innovations in poetic form, but mainly because:

Si González Prada significó en el manejo de la prosa y del verso una revolución, precursora del modernismo y después coexistente con ese movimiento, más honda fue la que encarnó en el orden de las ideas, a partir del famoso discurso que pronunció en el Teatro Politeama en 1886.

Pedro Henríquez Ureña in Literary Currents in Hispanic America also mentions Prada's innovations in poetry and his forceful prose. He says "The transition from romanticism to 'modernismo' began with writers like González Prada ..." Sánchez, who proposes to reaffirm Prada's position as a precursor of modernism, bases his argument on Prada's style in prose and poetry. Although much has been written about Prada's ideological influence, in particular, Chang-Rodríguez's study of Prada, Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre, the relationship of his ideology to his poetry, the extent to which his poetry embodies the spirit of
modernism, and the extent to which he may have influenced José Santos Chocano, whom Max Henríquez Ureña calls the "modernista auténtico" of Peru, has been ignored.

The desire for change of all kinds which is evident in the modernist movement as a whole is apparent very early in Prada's prose writings. In Páginas libres, in particular in the "Conferencia en el Ateneo de Lima" which Prada gave in 1886, he expressed a desire for innovation and renovation with respect to literature. He often attacked formalism in language, as he does in the following lines:

Los idiomas se vigorizan i retemplan en la fuente popular, más que en las reglas muertas de los gramáticos i en las exhumaciones pre-históricas de los eruditos. De las canciones, refranes i dichos del vulgo brotan las palabras originales, las frases gráficas, las construcciones atrevidas.

Even the spelling changes he uses correspond to his desire to reform the use of language, so that it is not concerned so much with the purities of form, but with the purities of the idea, and with the exact expression of the idea:

Inútil resultaría la emancipación política, si en la forma nos limitáramos al exajerado purismo de Madrid ... Despojándonos de la tendencia que nos induce a preferir el follaje de las palabras al fruto de las ideas, i el repiqueteo del consonante a la música del ritmo, pensemos con la independencia jermánica ...
Prada expresses in the following lines the same attitude to language, insisting that language must express the idea in the context of its own time:

Verdad en estilo y lenguaje vale tanto como verdad en el fondo. Hablar hoi con idiotismo i vocablos de otros siglos, significa mentir, falsificar el idioma. Como las palabras expresan ideas, tienen su medio propio en que nacen i viven; injerir en un escrito moderno una frase anticuada, equivale a incrustar en la frente de un vivo el ojo cristalizado de una momia. 10

He also expressed the eclecticism typical of the modernists in his prose. He points out that Valera need feel no obligation to export "el espiritu moderno" to South America because: "le recibimos directamente de Alemania, Inglaterra i Francia ..." 11

About "Escuelas literarias" Prada says the following:

Sobre las fórmulas pasajeras y variables, sobre las clasificaciones arbitrarias de géneros y escuelas, sobre los prejuicios de nacionalidad y secta, se eleva el arte supremo y humano que practica dos principios: la verdad en la idea, la claridad en la expresión. 12

He declares an eclecticism which implies individualism in the following lines:

Debemos conservar y defender nuestra individualidad, marchar siempre libres y solos, sin afiliarnos a ninguna escuela ni someternos a ninguna reglamentación. Nada de caporalismos literarios. 13
Several arguments have been made by Luis Alberto Sánchez, and others can be made, to support the thesis that Prada was a precursor of Modernism.

Sánchez argues that, chronologically, González Prada is one of the first precursors of modernism:

Si tomamos a Rubén como punto de referencia, tendremos que González-Prada fue 19 años mayor que él; Martí y Díaz Mirón, 14; Gutiérrez-Nájera, 8; Casal y Vargas Vila, 4; Silva, 2. Prácticamente, los tres últimos son pues sus contemporáneos.

González-Prada se inicia poéticamente entre 1868 y 1871. ... José Martí comienza entre 1870 y 1873; Díaz Mirón, entre 1870 y 1873, también; Nájera hacia 1877 - 80; Silva, después de 1880; Casal hacia 1881; Dario entre 1884 y 1886.

Thus Prada began to write poetry earlier than any of the other accepted precursors of modernism. Indeed when Prada began writing in 1868, Rubén was barely one year old.

Sánchez cites Prada's "plenitud" as occurring between 1886 and 1889, referring specifically to the "Discurso del Ateneo", "del Teatro Olimpo", and to the formation of the "Círculo literario". One must note, however, that this is his ideological "plenitud". His "plenitud" with respect to his poetic production is more difficult to identify with such precision. Most of the poems which I will show to be of a modernist nature were published in 1901 in Minúsculas and in 1911 in Exóticas, although the
poems themselves are undated. Judging from the fact that Minúsculas was edited without Prada’s knowledge for his birthday in January 1901, we can assume that the poems in that volume were written at least by the end of 1900. At least one of the poems, "Aves de paso" was written by 1885, when Sánchez notes that Prada read it in the "Club literario". The "Conferencia en el Ateneo de Lima", which took place in 1886 deals mainly with poetry, so it is obvious that Prada was divulging his poetry and his ideas about poetry in the mid 1880's. Azul, Rubén's first really modernist work, was published in 1888, when Prada was forty years old and had been expressing a modernist attitude to literature for several years.

Sánchez points out as indicative of modernism the technical innovations which appear in Minusculas:

Las novedades métricas que aporta González Prada entre 1871 y 1901 son Rondeles, Triolos, Balatas, Pántums, Rispettos, Espenserinas, Estornelos, Ritmos sin rimas, un ensayo de ritmo alkmánico; un romance que combina versos de 12 y 8 y en otros casos de 10 y 12; además un rondel-romance ... Después de 1901, González-Prada añade a sus innovaciones formales los Laudes, Villanelas, Gacelas, Polirritmos ... y Cuartetos Persas. Además, ensaya un endecasílabo con acentuación en la 3 a y 7a ...

Sánchez mentions other facts to support the argument that Prada is an "olvidado percursor del Modernismo". He cites
the poets whom Prada paraphrases in *Minúsculas*: Gautier, Van Hasselt, Shelley, Heine, Herbert Spencer, Catulle Mendès, Th. de Banville, Maurice Rollinat, Leopardi, and mentions translations of Goethe, Schiller, Ruckert, Von Chamisso, Klopstock, Heine, Omar Khayyam, and Kipling which Prada had made.  

Sánchez writes:

... imitará al sagitario Quevedo y escuchará a Gracián. Dirá el elogio de Cervantes. Deñetestará a Bécquer, elogiará en cierto modo a Núñez de Arce y Campoamor; denostará a Castelar; rendirá pleito homenaje a Hugo y a Renán, a Louis Ménard y a Michelet, casi todo antes de 1894; conocerá a Verlaine, de leídas y en persona, desde luego, antes de esa misma fecha.

Sánchez gives none of the evidence which exists in Prada's work to support these statements. "La divina podre" in *Exóticas* 22, seems very close to the spirit of Quevedo. It is quite false, however, to say that Prada detested Bécquer. He detested Bécquer's imitators, but praised Bécquer in the following lines:

Imita sin perder la individualidad; su obra no consiste en traducir con infiel maestría versos de poetas jermánicos, sino en dar al estilo la sencillez, la ingenuidad, la trasparencia, la delicada ironía, en una palabra, todo el sabor del 'lied' alemán.

while he found fault with Bécquer's imitators:
While Rubén rejected most Spanish authors once he became familiar with the post-romantic French schools, before this time, before *Azul*, he imitated Becquer in his *Rimas*, as Henríquez Ureña points out:

Sus *Rimas* ... se inspiran en Bécquer, pues fueron escritas para un certamen en el que se ofrecía premiar "composiciones poéticas del género sugestivo e insinuante de que es tipo el poeta español Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer." 25

Campoamor, who Sánchez says Prada praises in a certain fashion, also influenced Rubén's early work, in particular *Abrojos* which, "es, según confesión propia, un remedo de las *Humoradas* de Campoamor". 26 Campoamor, however, unlike Bécquer, did not ultimately find a place in the modernist's models.

The "cierto modo" in which Sánchez finds Prada praising Núñez de Arce must be a very obscure one indeed. Prada writes of "Los Fragmentos de Luzbel": "Abundan fraseologías, prosaísmos i revoques usados por malos versificadores para resanar grietas del edificio." 27
Ruben wrote in "Palabras liminares" to Prosas profanas:

¿Y la cuestión métrica? ¿Y el ritmo?
Como cada palabra tiene un alma, hay en cada verso, además de la harmonía verbal, una melodía ideal. La música es sólo de la idea, muchas veces. 34

Contact with the French schools since romanticism, and the influence of one or several of them, must be seen as essential for the consideration of an author as a modernist. Mapes cites the influence of the Goncourt brothers, Catulle Mendès, and Théophile Gautier amongst others in Rubén's Azul, 28 while Max Henríquez Ureña cites the possible influence of Mallarmé in the title of the book. 29 In Grafitos, Prada shows his affection for Théophile Gautier:

Veme al pie de tu sepulcro,
O maestro del decir, ...

No te ofrezco yo las flores
De un efímero jardín:
Sólo murmuro tus versos,
Condoliéndome de tí.

and for the Goncourts:

Coloristas del vocablo;
Después de Homero y Virgilio,
Apreciaron como nadie
El valor de un adjetivo. 30

Rubén included an article on Verlaine in Los Raros published in 1896, and Verlaine's influence is evident in Prosas profanas. 31 Sánchez states that Prada knew Verlaine in
person and through his works before 1894. Prada was in Europe between 1892 and 1898, while Darío was there for short periods in 1892-93 and again in 1900. Many of Prada's poetic experiments were attempts to free poetry from the imprisonment of rhyme:

Sueño con ritmos domados al yugo rígido acento,

Libres del rudo carcan de la rima;

Ritmos sedosos que efloren la idea, cual plumas de un cisne

Rozan el agua tranquila de un lago.

Verlaine's "Art poetique" expresses a similar possibility:

Tu feras bien, en train d'energie,
De rendre un peu la Rime assagie.
Si l'on n'y veille, elle ira jusqu'ou?

O qui dira les torts de la Rime?
Quel enfant sourd ou quel nègre fou
Nous a forgé ce bijou d'un sou
Qui sonne creux et faux sous la lime?

De la musique encore et toujours!

Prada also praised Verlaine's poetry in Grafitos:

En sus versos amalgama
La ceniza con la llama,
Lo bestial con lo divino,
La salud con la gangrena,
El cantar de la sirena
Con el gruñir del gorrino.

Sánchez attributes the origin of Prada's rondels and triolets to Banville's divulgation of them in 1870.
Although it is also possible that the ballads are influenced by Verlaine's, the rather decadent romantic tone of Prada's early poetry lends credence to the influence of Banville.

While Rubén's Azul may have taken its title from Mallarmé, it is equally possible that there is an echo of Hugo in it. It is perhaps in his fondness for Hugo that Prada is most typical as a precursor with regard to the literary figures admitted by modernists. In the poem "Víctor Hugo y la tumba" dated 1885, Hugo's influence on Rubén is most patent:

```
eso que así camina, con la lira en la diestra,  
la armonía en los labios, la fé en el corazón,  
eso ha vertido la ánfora del bien y de la vida  
con que cura sus úlceras la Humanidad caída;  
eso profeta es aguila, y es alondra y es león.  
```

The influence of Hugo on Rubén can be seen even in Azul, as Mapes points out, and Rubén himself cites him as a precedent in Prosas profanas. As I will discuss Hugo's influence on Chocano, I will only point out here that Prada's essay on Hugo is also dated 1885. Hugo's influence is evident even in later modernists such as Lugones, in particular in Las montañas del oro published in 1897.
Lugones only arrived in Buenos Aires in 1896 and therefore entered the modernist movement when it had already begun to establish itself with Rubén as its head.

It is clear that Prada's poetic preferences, running the gamut from Bécquer, through Hugo, to the post-romantic French schools, in particular the symbolists, not only reflect, but actually forerun those of the modernists in general and of Rubén in particular.

The most evident modernist exoticism in Prada's work occurs in poems which deal with Greek literature or mythology. His prose writings often express the same ideas as his poetry. For instance, the basis of his appreciation of Greek culture as expressed in "Memoranda" is similar to that expressed in several of his poems referring to Greek literature. In "Memoranda", Prada writes: "Con el advenimiento del Cristianismo, la literatura, el Arte, perdieron el germén libre y positivo de Grecia". and

> Como las decadencias artísticas y literarias de Occidente se corrigieron siempre con un regreso a las fuentes del Helenismo, así la decadencia del espíritu humano se corrige con la sabia y moderada inoculación del espíritu pagano.
Prada describes the "espíritu pagano" as "Paganismo inmortal" in the poem "Prelusión" which serves as a prelude to Exóticas. Prada describes Greek literature as an eternal inspiration for poets:

Dura el poeta, si en crisol antiguo
Acendera el 'oro-broza' de sus cantos.
En el jardín poético de Grecia
Es todo grande, todo perfumado,
Desde la encina patriarcal de Homero
A la efímera rosa de Meleagro. 46

In Prada's description of Pan as eternally renewing, Pan represents the spirit of the "jardín poético de Grecia":

Eternamente joven y fecundo,
Recorre Pan los mares y los llanos
Vertiendo vida en el oscuro fondo
De las saladas ondas, despertando
En los fértiles surcos de la gleba
Al perezoso, entumecido grano. 47

Rubén described Pan in a very similar way:

¡Oh, la selva sagrada! ...
.......................... ¡Oh, la fecunda
fuente cuya virtud vence al destino!
.......................... Bosque ideal que lo real complica,
..........................
Allí va el dios en celo tras la hembra
Y la caña de Pan se alza del lodo:
la eterna vida sus semillas siembra. 48

Both poets begin with an image of water which evolves into a image of land, both connected with renewed life:

Prada: Vertiendo vida en el oscuro fondo
De las saladas ondas.

Rubén: Oh, la fecunda
fuente cuya virtud vence al destino.
Prada: despertando
En los fértiles surcos de la gleba
Al perezoso, entumecido grano.

Rubén: y la caña de Pan se alza del lodo:
la eterna vida sus semillas sembra.

In Prada's poem there is a rigid system of correlation originating in the elements "mares" and "llanos" and continuing in "el oscuro fondo", "los fértiles surcos", and "de las saladas ondas", "de la gleba". The verbal forms "vertiendo vida" and "despertando" are also parallelistic if one omits the last line which itself gains impetus from the fact that it falls outside the correlative structure and contains the ultimate object of both verbal ideas. Prada still, however, preserves the sensation of duality by using two adjectives to modify "grano". Such correlative structures are very frequent in Prada's poetry and in fact could be called typical of it. It seems obvious from the similarities in Rubén's and Prada's poem that one must be an echo of the other. Rubén's poem is dated 1904 while Prada's, like most of his, is not dated. It was published in 1911, and since it was not included in Minúsculas must be dated between 1901 and 1911. The fact that there are two poems in Minúsculas, "Ritmo sin rima" and "Rondel" 49, which deal with a similar theme, must be seen as evidence that even if the images of "Prelusión"
are a reminiscence of Rubén, the idea of Greek culture as a source of inspiration is not. Thus the images may be Rubén's influence on Prada but the theme has its basis in Prada's own ideas.

While Prada venerated Greek poetry, Rubén once described his own poetry as "un renovar de notas del Pan griego" and wrote:

Amo más que la Grecia de los griegos
la Grecia de la Francia, ...

and as if to prove it called Verlaine "¡Panida! ¡Pan tú mismo ...!" Prada must have felt the same way, both that his poetry was a renewal of the Greek spirit and that the French interpretation of Greece was most desirable, as he chose to precede his poem with two lines from Sainte-Beuve:

Paganisme inmortel, es-tu mort? on le dit;
Mais Pan Tout bas s'en moque, et la Sirène en rit.

Prada recognizes the effectiveness of the rhetorical question and uses it throughout the poem.

There are several other instances where the significance Prada gives Greek figures corresponds to that which Ruben gives them. Prada describes the effect of Greek art as exemplified in a statue of Venus whom he calls "Diosa de las diosas":


Todos quedan sepultados  
En divino arrobamiento  
Nadie siente en sus entrañas  
El aguijón de un deseo.  54

Rubén attributes the same effect to art in general in a more personal reference:

Y si hubo áspera hiel en mi existencia  
melificó toda acritud el Arte.  55

Rubén agrees that the absence of "el aguijón de un deseo" is one of the advantages of Pan's "bosque ideal":

Bosque ideal que lo real complica,  
allí el cuerpo arde y vive y Psiquís vuela;  
mientras abajo el sátiro fornica,  56

Prada often describes Greek figures in terms of human beauty:

Siempre á mis ojos, vestida de gracia, desnuda del péplum,  
Reine la griega beldad  
..........................  
Casta blancura lilial, desnudez impecable y divina,  
Siempre á mis ojos lucid.  57

Conversely he attributes the beauty of Greek goddesses to humans:

¿A dónde vas tan hermosa  
Con beldad tan sobrehumana,  
Que pareces una diosa?  
..........................  
Con pie que vuela y no posa  
Igualándote con Diana  
¿A dónde vas tan hermosa?  58

He places the beauty of Greek mythology above that of other exotic places:
Fuera alabanza injuriosa  
Llamarte reina ó sultana  
Que pareces una diosa.

The erotic theme so basic in Rubén's poetry also exists in Prada's:

En tí confiado y entusiasta creo,
Forma tangible:

Te acaricio con mis manos, te veo con mis ojos.  
De tí no dudo, cándida belleza femenina,

Aspiro el ámbar en tu aliento, sorbo el néctar en tus labios  
Gozo el placer en tus ardientes, vibradoras carnes

Vosotros sois mi fe, vosotros mi verdad.

Ruben in "Carne, celeste carne ..." refers to women in general through mythological figures. As Prada uses the form "tú" to refer to personal woman in the lines above, Rubén uses it to refer to women in general:

Eva y Cipris concentran el misterio del corazón del mundo.

Pues en tí existe Primavera para el triste, labor gozosa para el fuerte, néctar, ánfora, dulzura amable,
¡Porque en tí existe el placer de vivir ...

There are certain similarities of language in the two poems. "Néctar" is common to them with the corresponding "ánfora" in Rubén and "ambar" in Prada, both beginning in "a", having a similar sound and meaning. Rubén uses
"gozoso", Prada, "gozo". Both use "el placer", Rubén saying "en tí existe", Prada saying "en tus ardientes, vibradoras carnes". Rubén though calls his poem "Carne, celeste carne", so that "en tí" takes on the significance of "en tu carne". The similarity in meaning is obvious.

Rubén in the same poem writes:

En ella está la lira
en ella está la rosa

thus associating women with art and beauty, as Prada does in a rather more diffuse manner than Rubén:

El rítmico vuelo de la estrofa alada
y el rayo de ardiente, pasional mirada,
Encierran lo bello, lo mejor del mundo.
¡Amor! ¡Poesía! .... Lo restante ¡nada!

En los artísticos seres
De la forma enamorados,
Valen tal vez las miradas
Lo que valen los abrazos.

In the final two lines of the following passage, Prada expresses the same idea as Rubén in "En ella está la rosa".

The rest of the verse is quoted merely to show another instance of Prada's use of language similar to that of "Carne, celeste carne:"

Amor, suprema dulzura;
Miel. no existe más sabrosa;
No hay bien igual á tus bienes
Ni gloria igual á tus glorias.
Sólo el que ama y es amado
Sabe el precio de las rosas.
All of Rubén's poems quoted are from *Cantos de vida y esperanza, los cisnes y otros poemas* published in 1905. Prada's are from *Exóticas*, 1911, and thus admit the possibility of some influence by Rubén. This influence is obvious in the images and the language. The theme of Greek culture appears in the "Conferencia en el Ateneo de Lima" in 1886. The theme as it is transformed by modernist style, however, is barely recognizable as Prada's. The erotic theme is the main note of "Adoración", the last poem of which was written in 1885. Thus, again, the basic conception is Prada's, but the lexicon and images are influenced by Rubén.

It is evident in *Minúsculas* that Prada was aware of a need to renovate Spanish poetry, and, furthermore, that his attempts to do so were in harmony with those of the modernist movement.

In "Ritmo soñado", subtitled "Reproducción bárbara del metro alkmánico", Prada expresses a preference for rhythmic unrhymed forms:

Sueño con ritmos domados al yugo rígido acento,
Libres del rudo carcán de la rima
Ritmos sedosos que efloren la idea, cual plumas
de un cisne
Rozan el agua tranquila de un lago. 68
Considering the mention of Rubén's emblem the swan, and the idea of finding a form adequate to the idea, these lines can hardly be considered anything but modernist in orientation. Another poem, "Ritmo sin rima", leads one to a similar conclusion. Prada demonstrates a technique which is prevalent throughout his poetry, the use of the rhetorical question for emphasis:

¿Son inviolables doncellas los léxicos?
¿Son las palabras sagrados cadáveres,
Momias de reyes, en pétreos sarcófagos?

Son las palabras libélulas vivas:
Yo, las atrapo, si rasan mis sienes;
Yo, palpitantes, las clavo en mis versos.

Vengas de Londres, de Roma o París,
Sé bienvenida, oh exótica voz
Si amplio reguero derramas de luz. 69

Some of the exotic lexicon which occurs in Minúsculas are the following expressions: "el rebaño de Panurgo, la rosa, seráficas notas, el hada en oriental región, La boreal aurora/ Del frío Septentrión, cisne, griego crisol, la purpura de tu alma, rojo piélago, nubes de ámbar y ópalo, Libo néctar y miel, arrojan néctar y ambrosía, crisantemo, mirto, laurel, rosa, Gacela hermosa carmín y rosa, lóbrega laguna, Fénix, El trébol místico profana/ Al mirto griego y al acanto". 70

Prada expresses very succinctly the aim to which his experimentation in form and lexicon was directed: "El
escritor no debe decirse: Yo voy a ser espiritualista o materialista; clásico o romántico; simbolista o positivista', sino 'Yo voy a ser yo: dar libre rienda a su personalidad."  

It is the same point which Rubén makes when he writes "Mi literatura es 'mía' en mí".  

Prada insists on the eclectic nature of literature:  

Un error común a todas las generaciones literarias es figurarse que descubren un nuevo mundo desconocido a las generaciones anteriores, cuando no hacen más que evolucionar en vez de revolucionar, verificar un viaje de regresión en lugar de ir adelante, alterar en vez de crear.  

The modernist movement is perhaps exemplary of a generation which regressed to many different points of literary history to alter contemporary forms and styles.  

The great preoccupation for form and style evident in Prada's own poetry and in that of the modernist movement as a whole, is described in the following terms:  

En Arte no conoce más moral que el respeto a la forma. Nada de leyes ni trabas, que el tiempo depurará las obras y concederá a lo bueno el lugar debido. La ley de selección es también una ley artística: lo bello en la forma y el fondo concluye por triunfar.  

The first poem of Minúsculas, subtitled "A manera de prólogo", and separated from the rest of the book by a different type, reveals Prada's feelings about poetry and its place
in society. The poem is preceded by two lines by A. de Belloy which are translated into Spanish to form the last quartet of the poem:

Cédons, puis qu'il le faut, soumettons-nous en prose
Mais protestons en vers pour le lis et la rose.

The feeling that poetry is not accepted or appreciated by the world at large preoccupies the poet throughout the poem:

¿Versos? Nadie los estima,
No cuadrando a gentes graves
Eso de ritmo y de rima.

¿Qué adelanto si el poeta
Cambiara liras y Musas
Por azadón y piqueta?

Si sóis brutal mayoría
¿Qué haremos hoy los amantes
De la hermosa Poesía?

Prada mentions el burgués, thinking perhaps along the lines of Rubén's 'El Rey burgués' which deals with a lack of sensitivity and interest in poetry. The use of "azucena" and "rosa" in the poem as emblems of the perfection of poetry is a distinctly modernist choice.

The extent to which the theme of this poem is the theme of Prada's poetry as a whole is debatable. It is applicable largely to Minúsculas and Exóticas but even in these books certain poems tend to reflect Prada's belief that a man of letters should contribute to an "obra de
regeneración social". Even in the poem I have been quoting, "Por la rosa", Prada does not refrain from taunting the superficial morality he so often attacked:

Es el beso acción impura
Sin el santo matrimonio,
Sin bendiciones del cura.

Prada tries to explain the apparent conflict between purely aesthetic ideals and social ideals with respect to poetry by linking the two: "El Parnaso de las Musas, como el Olimpo de los Dioses, se hallan en la Tierra; y el Pegaso, el símbolo de la poesía, tiene alas para volar a las nubes, cascos para trotar en el suelo." 81 His definition of the beauty of Art, although unfinished, suggests both aesthetic and social connotations: " ... el Arte realiza lo bello .... Pero, como nada existe más bello que las cosas verdaderas o las instituciones justas, el arte verdadero ...." 82

It appears from the following lines from Minúsculas that Prada held a basically aristocratic concept of the poet:

No arrastres, oh, poeta,
La púrpura de tu alma
En el lodo y las miserias
De las calles y las plazas:
No des tu noble corazón de pasto
Al pico de los buitres y los grajos.

No hagas papel de justo y mercenario;
Lengua de apostol, sangre de lacayo. 83
The poet in these lines is pictured in a manner similar to Rubén's in: "Torres de Dios, ¡Poetas!, Pararrayos celestes." However, Prada is not really contradicting his idea of the social obligation of the poet, as is evident in the following lines where he defines that obligation: "Déjese la bobería de llamar apóstoles o profetas a los escritores de buenos versos; pero no se olvide que el buen poeta sintetiza las ideas analíticas de su época, y sirve de intermediario entre el sabio abstruso y las multitudes incipientes." Thus the conflict in these two passages does not lie in aesthetic ideals as opposed to social ideals, but in political activity versus social ideals, the former being unworthy of the poet because he is capable of influencing society by the sheer force of his expression and the validity of his ideas. For Prada, the aristocratic nature of the poet lies in his being able to express his ideology in an enduring form of art. Victor Hugo, who is exemplary of Prada's admiration of a poet, on just this basis. He praises Hugo as being representative of his age:

Para estudiar el espíritu de nuestro siglo, necesitamos leer las páginas del gran poeta: conociendo a Víctor Hugo, sabemos lo que fuimos, lo que somos, lo que anhelamos ser. Más que el tipo de una raza, debe llamarse el hombre representativo de una época.

He also praises the social importance of Hugo's poetry:
lanzándola a la tribuna parlamentaria, al club jacobino i a la plaza pública, la hizo relampaguear como Mirabeau, tronar como Dantón i herir como las encolerizadas i justicieras muchedumbres del 93. La lectura de Víctor Hugo ... hace brotar ideas. 87

There are a number of poems in Exóticas which fall outside the region of modernist style. Aside from certain verses within otherwise modernist poems, like the one beginning "El culto a la belleza y a la gracia" which I have already quoted from "Prelusión", these poems are mainly based on the idea of determinism.

For instance in a poem called "Determinismo" Prada writes:

No es criminal el Milano
Al comerse las Palomas,
Ni culpable la serpiente
Al segregar su ponzoña.

.........................
No may malos dignos de mengua
Ni buenos dignos de gloria:
Existen sólo instrumentos
De las fuerzas creadoras. 88

The techniques which contribute largely to the effect of Prada's poetry in the modernist idiom are also noticeable in this poem. The first verse and the first two lines of the second verse quoted are based on repetition of a certain significance within a parallel structure. The first line of the second stanza repeats in the form of a general concept the significance of the two parallel parts of the previous stanza. The second line repeats the significance of the first in parallel but opposite terms.
Thus in this particular poem, Prada does not use the modernist idiom, but an almost epigrammatic style suitable to the concise expression of his ideas.

Prada repeats the technique of parallel constructions throughout "Determinismo", expanding with each new element the significance of the previous elements. For instance:

No abominemos las manos
Que desgarran ó destrozan
Ni maldigamos las fauces
Que de sangre vienen rojas. 89

which can be interpreted as an application of the theory of the survival of the fittest mentioned at the beginning of the poem to human life, and thus as an exhortation to violence in the interest of survival. Certainly this is not out of keeping with Prada's adoption of anarchy exemplified in Anarquía published posthumously in 1938. 90

In another poem in Exóticas, Prada is explicit about the relationship of violence to ideals:

Sangre que moja las manos viriles de heroicos rebeldes
Nunca salpica ni mancha la faz de la Idea. 91

Logical as he may have felt violence to be, Prada confined his own activities to propagating "la Idea".

Another theme which inspired Prada to abandon the modernist mode in Exóticas was that of anticlericalism. The first verse of the satirical poem "El Borrico" describes the
burro:

Mi hermano el burro (lo digo
Con franciscana humildad)
Mi hermano el burro camina,
Si arrastrarse es caminar.

The significance of "arrastrarse" is developed in the poem to deride Christianity:

La Cruz - el pérfido nuncio
De justicia y caridad,
El oprobioso instrumento
Del suplicio universal

La lleva el asno en sus lomos;
Y la llevan muchos más,
No por fuera, sí por dentro
Sin dejarlo sospechar.

In the first verse quoted Prada again uses a type of parallelism with contradictory meaning, in this case to an ironic end. The two elements of the third line of the second stanza are not only parallel and opposite in meaning, but each is related to one of the other parallel lines: "por fuera - el asno, por dentro - muchos más."

In "La Esperanza" Prada opposes the progressive influence of reason and science to the detrimental one of religion, an opposition which is evident in such prose works as "Instrucción católica". Again parallelism is the basis of the style:

La Ciencia triunfa, la Razón domina
Y el reino estéril de la Fe sucumbe.
While in the poems I have just mentioned Prada expresses his ideas in distinctly non-modernist terms, indeed in an almost prosaic language, in the poem "Le tour du propriétaire" he combines modernist elements with other elements, such as parallelism, typical of the style of all his ideological poems. Prada begins three of the stanzas with the following parallel lines:

Nada escucha el burgués:
Nada huele el burgués:
Nada mira el burgués:

The references and lexicon of the following stanza, however, are distinctly modernist in tone:

Naturaleza, en vano
Almíbaras tu almíbar, hermoseas tu hermosura,
Y como regio dón, ofreces a los hombres
Tu desnudez olímpica y gloriosa.
El burgués, el binario de Harpagon, y de Tartufo
No te comprende á tí, la madre sin hipócritas remilgos
Á tí, la pródiga divina;
Á tí, la gran pagana.

He echoes the modernist belief that poetry is valued only by a minority:

El gran señor no mira, no huele ni escucha
Que luz, amor, belleza y poesía
Nunca fueron productos cotizables en la bolsa.

Even in Minúsculas certain poems occur which fall outside the scope of modernist style. For instance, the following which again suggests the epigrammatic form used in Grafitos:
Para verme con los muertos,
Ya no voy al campo santo.
Busco plazas, no desiertos,
Para verme con los muertos.
¡Corazones hay tan yertos!
¡Almas hay que hieden tanto!

All these non-modernist poems occurring in modernist books have two things in common: their style and the fact that they are vehicles for the expression of ideas which Prada has already stated in prose. Their style is polemic, didactic and intellectual, just as Prada's prose style. The use of parallelism and repetition, for instance, is used as it is in prose, to repeat concepts, ideas, rather than images and emotional connotations.

Although, as I have shown, the ideas which inspired the modernist movement appeared in Prada's work before the modernist period really began, and thus permit Prada's designation as a precursor, the appearance of modernist style in Prada's poetry begins by 1900 and continues until 1911. Thus, as far as style is concerned, Prada is only a follower. Indeed, the occurrence of ideological poems in Exóticas and Minúsculas, and the publication of Presbiterianas in 1909, the ideas of which all find their origins in Prada's early work, and in the positivist orientation of his own generation, suggest that the appearance of poems in a modernist style presents a certain anomaly. Prada, quite naturally, clung to the basic ideas
which he had developed in his youth, and, although he made some effort to adjust to the next generation's orientation to modernism, it proved impossible. For Prada, the renovation which Modernism produced in literature was only a small token of the vast changes which he had envisioned, and although it had some basis in his ideas, it proved too limited to embody them all. In fact, Modernism as it became enclosed in its "torre de marfil", increasingly abandoned Prada's most previous ideal, that of literature as a weapon for social change.

The fact that Prada could have influenced a writer such as Chocano who represents the fullest realization of a trend which Prada himself had rejected is evidence of the enduring influence of Prada's work and of the fact that it embodied the essence of the literary developments of the next two generations in Peru.
CHAPTER I


3. ibid., p. 234.


5. ibid., p. 165.

6. Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, La literatura política de González Prada, Mariátegui y Haya de la Torre, (Mexico 1957).

7. Max Henríquez Ureña, p. 333.


16. loc. cit.


20 ibid., p. 232.
21 loc. cit.
22 Manuel González Prada, Exóticas (Lima, 1911), p. 77.
24 ibid., p. 18.
25 Max Henríquez Ureña, Breve historia, p. 91.
26 loc. cit.
29 Max Henríquez Ureña, Breve historia, p. 93.
31 Mapes, p. 72.
33 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 43.
36 Prada, Gráficos, p. 59.
37 Sánchez, "González Prada, olvidado precursor", p. 228.
38 Max Henríquez Ureña, Breve historia, p. 93.
39 Rubén Darío, p. 436.
40 Mapes, p. 41.
41 Rubén Darío, p. 613.
42 Prada, "Víctor Hugo", Páginas libres, p. 183.
43 Max Henríquez Ureña, Breve historia, p. 190.
44 Prada, "Memoranda", El Tonel de Diógenes, #140.
45 ibid., #1.
46 Prada, Exóticas, p. 6.
47 ibid., p. 5.
48 Rubén Darío, p. 707.
49 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 54.
50 Rubén Darío, p. 706.
51 Rubén Darío, p. 619.
52 Rubén Darío, p. 667.
53 Prada, Exóticas, p. 5.
54 ibid., p. 14.
55 Rubén Darío, p. 707.
56 loc. cit.
57 Prada, Exóticas, p. 104.
58 ibid., p. 19.
59 ibid., p. 20.
60 ibid., p. 114.
61 Rubén Darío, p. 756.
62 Rubén Darío, p. 755.
63 Prada, Exóticas, p. 29.
64 ibid., p. 37.
65 ibid., p. 57.
66 Prada, "Conferencia en el Ateneo de Lima", Páginas libres, p. 11-29.
67 Sánchez, "Noticia" in Minúsculas, p. 77.
68 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 43.
69 ibid., p. 51.
70 ibid., passim.
71 Prada, "Memoranda", El Tonel de Diógenes, #130.
72 Rubén Darío, p. 611.
73 Prada, "Escuelas literarias", El Tonel de Diógenes, p. 143.
74 ibid., # 49.
75 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 13.
76 ibid., p. 14.
77 ibid., p. 15.
78 Rubén Darío, "El Rey burgués", Azul (Buenos Aires, 1948), pp. 29-34.
79 Prada, "Propaganda; Ataque", Páginas libres, p. 166.
80 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 62.
81 Prada, "Memoranda", El Tonel de Diógenes, #154.
82 ibid., #155.
83 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 62.
84 Rubén Darío, Poesías, p. 721.
85 Prada, "Los Fragmentos de Luzbel", Páginas libres, p. 244.
86 Prada, "Víctor Hugo", Páginas libres, p. 177.
87 ibid., p. 179.
88 Prada, Exóticas, p. 60.
89 loc. cit.


91 Prada, Exóticas, p. 131.

92 ibid., p. 47.

93 ibid., p. 48.

94 ibid., p. 119.

95 ibid., p. 106.

96 ibid., p. 107.

97 loc. cit.

98 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 60.

99 Sánchez, "González Prada, olvidado precursor", p. 234.
CHAPTER II

The evidence of the existence of strong literary and personal contacts between Manuel González Prada and José Santos Chocano is considerable.

In 1899, Prada sat on a board of judges which awarded Chocano's "Epopeya del morro" the prize in the "Ateneo de Lima's" literary contest to commemorate the Peruvian Army's action at Arica in 1881. Later, in 1910, Prada wrote the prologue for Chocano's *Poesías completas*. Prada's personal esteem for Chocano is evident in his dedication of the 89th copy of *Minúsculas* to him in 1903. Aside from Unamuno, Chocano is the only very well-known literary figure among the dedications which Luis Alberto Sánchez has succeeded in identifying.

Chocano also held Prada in high esteem. Sánchez notes that he appeared at meetings of the "Club literario" of which Prada was a member, and where he read "Rondel". It is also possible that Chocano was present at Prada's speech in the Politeama. Sánchez cites some quotations which Chocano makes from Prada as being from that discourse. One of the quotations, however, is from the essay "Castelar" and the other is definitely not from the Politeama speech
in Sánchez' own edition of it. One might conclude from this that Chocano's knowledge of Prada's prose was fairly extensive. That he was familiar with the Politeama speech is evident in many phrases of his poetry which I will quote later.

One of the poems in Chocano's early collection, *Florilegio*, is entitled "A Manuel González Prada" and dated January 1891. He praises Prada's reason, antidespotism and anticlericalism:

¡Hasta morir, que tu razón ardiente  
Combata el yugo y el error combata!

¡Si aplastas la cabeza al venenoso  
Nauseabundo reptil del despotismo  
Sube al zenit tu nombre esplendoroso!

¡Y al atacar el clerical cinismo  
Tu genio es mar que azota borrascoso  
El minado peñón del fanatismo ...!

Significantly Prada and Chocano both praised in Vigil the same qualities which Chocano admitted in Prada. Chocano writes of Prada:

Y el genio de Vigil sobre tu frente  
Con toda su grandeza se retrata! ...

Prada, in extolling Vigil's refusal to mix in militant politics, his renunciation of Catholicism in favor of philosophy, and attributing to him the task of "propagandista i defensor del Estado contra la Iglesia" 8, obviously recognizes him as a precedent for his own attitudes.
Prada praised Chocano's poetry largely because of its social significance, comparing him to Montalvo:

Es la poesía de cóleras y odios, de imprecaciones y diatribas: Chocano la maneja como nadie en el Perú y muy pocos en América. Por sus furibundos ataques 'al tirano', hace pensar en Montalvo anatematizando a Rosas, en un "Montalvo poeta" clamando por la exterminación de García Morena ... tirar a la cara de un hombre una lluvia de buenos endecasílabos salpicados de maldiciones y denuestos, es algo como abofetearle con rosas mojadas en vitriolo.

The quality of style which Prada found lacking in Vigil ("las obras de Vijil ... jeneralmente pecan de indijestas, porque no poseen la majia del estilo").¹⁰ is not faulting in Chocano as the last lines of Prada's comment show. Prada is in fact praising Chocano's style and versatility:

... nunca le faltan vocablos ni giros para manifestar sus ideas y describir el mundo entero. Con tanta facilidad maneja el verso suelto, como el asonantado y el consonantado; y lo mismo cincele un soneto y una décima que una octava real o un terceto.

Ningún metro le arredra; y sale tan airoso del artístico endecasílabo, como del popular octasílabo ... A la variedad en las formas responde la diversidad en el estilo y la manera.¹¹

Prada also praises Chocano's prose:

Si de muchos hombres se ha dicho que vivieron en "estado de gracia", Chocano puede afirmarse que vive en "estado de poesía". Nació tan formado para cernérse en la esfera de la imaginación, y ha vivido tan consagrado a vaciar las ideas en el verso, que al descender a la prosa denuncia su idolo de poeta y merece que le apliquen el
citado verso de Le Mierre.
Même quand l'oiseau marche
On sent qu'il a des ailes.

Chocano says almost the reverse of Prada in 1930-1, stating that Prada only found his final mode of expression after the War of the Pacific:

Hasta los treinta y cinco años don Manuel González Prada es un cultor del verso en forma discreto, sin el vigor de la personalidad que se revela luego en él, teniendo que convenirse en que no fueron bastantes a imponer la gloria de tal nombre los rondeles y sonetos en que ensaya la pluma, ignorante entonces de su origen oculto bajo el ala del águila de Patmos. La producción de don Manuel González Prada antes de la Guerra, es la de un espíritu sofrenado, cohibido o desconocedor de sí mismo.

Después de la guerra ... don Manuel González Prada aparece en todo el vigor de su lirismo heroico.

No usa él para su poesía el verso, pero sí una suerte de versículo caracterizado por la concisión acerada o por la vibración nerviosa, ...

... el verbo nuevo de don Manuel González Prada sorprende al Perú entero, que reconoce al escucharle la voz de su conciencia. La verdad aparece dicha en forma de belleza y con una acentuación grandilocuente y profética.

Both in the above passage and in the following one it is obvious that it is not Prada's poetry which Chocano admires, but his prose,
Chocano obviously recognizes a certain community of spirit between himself and Prada based largely on their common formation in the Peru of the War of the Pacific and on their common revolutionary and libertarian ideals. Thus when Chocano says of Prada "el Perú entero ... reconoce al escucharle la voz de su conciencia", he must be including himself.

Chocano recognizes Prada as his precursor as far as the "tono mayor" of his poetry is concerned:

El ambiente festivo de Lima ya no ahogaba el lirismo; y, por el contrario, la voz profética de don Manuel González Prada había acostumbrado el oído público al tono mayor. El poeta no tenía por qué ya presentarse en actitud temerosa, ni menos dolido de su suerte: así se explica la arrogancia con que lance mi Selva Virgen, no solicitando, sino exigiendo el favor público.

La guerra del 79 había formado el ambiente de que surgió una prosa bíblica y luego una poesía viril, un profeta y luego un poeta, don Manuel González Prada y luego yo. 14

I have already quoted passages of Prada's prose and poetry which reveal his theoretical adhesion to the modernist movement, as well as one passage in which he praises Chocano's experimentation in form and style. Chocano himself declares the eclectic nature of his poetry in Fiat Lux of which he says:
Esta dividido en tres partes: "Poemas clásicos, Poemas románticos, Poemas modernistas." No creo en poesía anticuada ni futura, sino en poesía eterna .... Mi lema es invariable: en el Arte caben todas las escuelas como en un rayo de sol todos los colores.

Like Prada, Chocano refuses to be a part, or a leader, of any school, and, like both Rubén and Prada, he emphasizes the distinctly personal nature of his poetry:

Ni quiero ser la oveja, ni quiero ser el quía:
Mi verso es para todos, pero mi Musa es mía.

Chocano insists on maintaining his personality in his poetry, at the same time refuting the necessity for merely formal perfection:

Amala [musa] así, desnuda del ropaje
de un arte impropio, altiva en su franqueza;
déjala que se burle del encaje;
porqué no ignora que el primor del traje
será elegancia, pero no belleza
.................
Amo el arte cual tu, no cual la tropa
cautiva sólo de la forma fatua;

Chocano calls this poem "Arte sincero." Prada expresses a similar idea using the word sincerity in the following lines:

Quizá el arte de escribir se resume en: sinceridad en el fondo y claridad en la forma .... un espíritu libre, independiente y hasta huráño cuadra bien al artista .... Nada de caporalismos literarios.
A fairly early poem published in Cantos del Pacífico in 1904, shows certain similarities of thought to Prada's "Prelusión". Both poems suggest that Greek poetry will not die and that there will be someday a renewal of the spirit which engendered it:

Chocano

En la tricorde lira con que el griego habló a los brutos y encantó a las piedras, nunca la Gloria apagará su fuego.

Prada

O gloria de la Tierra y de los Cielos Paganismo inmortal ¿has muerto acaso?

In both selections the word "gloria" is applied to Greek culture and the implication exists, by means of a purely rhetorical question in Prada's verse, that Greek culture has not and will not die. Chocano's poem is fairly short and called "Fragmentos de un poema" thus giving the impression of being not quite finished whereas Prada's is longer and a finished work, revealing carefully thought out images and form. Chocano shows the influence of poetry on nature, as I have pointed out that Rubén and Prada both did through the image of Pan. Both Prada and Chocano mention not only poetry but also the "sabio", thus drawing Chocano's thought nearer to Prada's than to Rubén's. Chocano calls poetry:
cruz de sangre en la cota del guerrero,
nimbo de estrellas en la sien del sabio
y alas abiertas sobre el mundo entero. 20

Prada also mentions both the attributes of the "guerrero"
and of the "sabio" in a most prosaic verse:

El culto á la belleza y á la gracia,
La aspiración á los’ viril y sano,
El infalible método del sabio,
Bienes son por el viejo Paganismo
A la moderna Humanidad legados. 21

Both Chocano and Prada marvel at the ability of the "alma"
of Greece to survive the greatest disasters:

Chocano:
y así, triunfando sobre cada ruina,
morirá sólo cuando muera el alma! 22

Prada:
Pudo al empuje arrollador de Roma
Caer el Giego y arrastrarse esclavo,
Pudo la raza de Solón y Esquilo
Rendirse al férreo yugo de Bizancio;
Mas no sucumbe el alma de la Grecia,
No muere el noble espíritu pagano. 23

Both Chocano and Prada predict a rebirth:

Chocano:
Más vigorosa en el futuro día
ha de volar por las celestes salas
la larva de la vieja Poesía. 24

Prada:
Que si una Grecia vieron ya los siglos,
Segunda Grecia no verán acaso. 25

The reminiscence of Prada's "Rondel" which repeats the
phrase "Aves de paso" three times, in Chocano's "De Viaje"
dated 1895, must surely be more than a coincidence. Sánchez
says that Prada read the poem in the Club literario in 1885. It appeared in the *Anales del Círculo literario* in 1888. It later appeared in *Minúsculas* of which Chocano had a copy. It seems unlikely that Prada would have inscribed a copy of *Minúsculas* to a person who was not aware of and interested in his poetry.

Chocano modifies Prada's "Aves de paso" to "ave de paso" and uses the phrase only once, in the opening line, alone, to embody in one metaphor the significance of all the lines to follow. Prada's technique was precisely the opposite. His first mention of "Aves de paso" is in the first line, but occurs in a descriptive passage and thus has little metaphorical significance. The second and third mentions occur at the end, alone, of the second and third stanzas respectively and embody the significance of the preceding lines. Where Prada's final two lines read:

> ... eternos caminantes,
> Aves de paso.

Chocano's initial two read:

> Ave de paso
> Fugaz viajera desconocida.

The phrase "Ave de paso" is used for the same effect by both poets in conjunction with an image of travellers. This suggests that Chocano did remember Prada's poem.
The use in Chocano's poem of the phrase "la gloria del paganismo" which I have already related to Prada's poetry and of a line consisting of three substantives which is typical of Prada's style, and in fact appears in "Rondel", also indicate Prada's influence. Prada wrote: "Son el amor, la gloria y el contento", Chocano: "fué sólo un sueño, sólo un capricho, sólo un acaso;".

Thus the echoes of Prada's modernist poetry in Chocano are limited, understandably so, as Chocano's own statements indicate that he hardly considered Prada a poet. They do exist, nevertheless, in the theoretical proclamation of the modernist spirit, references to Greek culture as ideal and eternal, and at least one distinct reminiscence of language and style. Prada's influence must not, however, be underestimated, for Chocano himself attributes the "tono mayor" of his poetry to Prada. Indeed, it is the "tono mayor" which continues in and characterizes Chocano's poetry long after any distinct evidence of Prada's influence is present. Between 1892 and 1898 when Prada was in Europe and thus no longer a direct influence on Chocano's work, many of Chocano's modernist characteristics appear. It was before 1892, however, when Prada was in Peru that the "tono mayor" of Chocano's poetry originated.
It appears quite clear that Prada's was the main ideological influence on Chocano's early poetry. It is through his ideological influence that his influence on the tone of Chocano's poetry is evident. The poem entitled "A Manuel González Prada" is dated January 1891, while the first poem dedicated to Rubén, "El sermón de la montaña" occurs in Iras santas, 1893-95.

The poem in which Chocano first expresses his poetic ideals occurs in Notas (1890-91), the same book in which the poem "A Manuel González Prada" appears. Both in this poem, "Deseos" and in the composition of the collection as a whole, the influence of Prada's ideas, particularly those of Páginas libres, including the "Discurso en el Politeama" and the "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo" both given in 1888, is evident.

The three main ideas in "Deseos" can be traced to Prada. The poem begins with a rejection of the romantic attitude to poetry:

I

No quiero ser poeta, de aquellos quejumbrosos
Románticos que cantan las penas de su amor;
De aquellos infelices que llevan misteriosos
La vida que otros tiempos llevaba el trovador...


II

¡No quiero ser poeta, de aquellos tan galantes
Que sólo vierten versos y flores de salón,
Que adulan las mujeres con frases elegantes. 33

Prada, in the "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo" laments the lack of poets who will reject romanticism in favour of a poetry of ideas:

El Perú no cuenta hoy con un literato que por el caudal e atrevimiento de sus ideas se levante a l'altura de los escritores europeos, ni que en el estilo se liberte de la imitación seudo purista o del romanticismo trasnochado. Hai gala de arcaísmos, lujo de refranes e hasta choque de palabras grandilocuentes; pero; ¿dónde brotan las ideas? 34

Chocano links the break with romanticism to the embracing of a poetry of ideas based on science, or, as he says, reason:

¡Yo quiero ser poeta, de aquellos pensadores
Que por aureola ostentan la ley de la Razón,
Que mucho hablan de ideas, que poco hablan de amores,
Que otro cerebro tienen en vez del corazón ...!! 35

Similarly, Prada recommended as a basis for a program for the Círculo literario "la verdad en el estilo i la verdad en las ideas" 36 and exhorted "Empiece ya en nuestra literatura el reinado de la Ciencia." 37 In "Memoranda" Prada makes a statement similar to that in the last line of the verse quoted from Chocano: "El hombre no es el corazón, ese trozo de carne que recibe y arroja sangre,
The third idea present in "Deseos" is the following:

¡Yo quiero ser poeta, de aquellos vigorosos
Que azotan con sus versos, que matan con su voz,
Que rompen los grilletes tiránicos y odiosos,
Que al Pensamiento adoran como se adora a un Dios ...

There are really two points to be considered: the use of poetry as a weapon against tyranny and the idea of reason as naturally leading to liberty. Prada expressed the latter in the Politeama speech:

Si la ignorancia de los gobernantes i la servidumbre de los gobernados fueron nuestros vencedores, acudamos a la Ciencia, ese redentor que nos enseña a suavizar la tiranía de la Naturaleza, adoremos la Libertad, esa madre enjendradora de hombres fuertes

He suggests the political uses of literature in his speech in the Teatro Olimpo: "Una juventud, en fin, que se impacienta por suprimir obstáculos y abrirse camino para enarbolar la bandera roja en los desmantelados terreones de la literatura nacional."

Cuando llegue la hora oportuna ... el Perú contemplará una cruzada contra el espíritu decrepito de lo pasado, una guerra contra todo lo que implique retroceso en la Ciencia, en el Arte i en la Literatura.

Not only do Prada and Chocano express the same objectives
for literature, but both look to the French revolution and Hugo as exemplary, becoming most eloquent when referring to their merits. Prada's essay on Victor Hugo is dated 1885, Chocano's poem 1891. Sánchez claims that except for Hugo, French poetry hardly existed for Chocano. Prada wrote "La lectura de Víctor Hugo, como poderoso estimulante, hace brotar ideas; sus palabras actúan en el cerebro, como abono en la tierra". Chocano wrote:

¡Todo un mundo de luz siempre chispea,
En la canción que hace brotar tu mano
A los cálidos soplos de la idea ...

Both Prada and Chocano relate the influence of Hugo's writing to political action. Prada:

El quitó a la Poesía las inmaculadas alas de serafín, que Lamartine le había revestido, el la sacó de la ebúrnea torre donde Alfred de Vigny la quiso mantener encerrada, el l'alejó del palacio donde un tiempo se gozaba en murmurar monótonos cantos de servidumbre i lanzándola a la tribuna parlamentario, al club Mirabeau, tronar como Dantón i herir como las encolerizadas i justicieras muchedumbres del 93.

Chocano:

¡Ciencia es la espada que esgrime
Robespierre en la tribuna,
Cuando habla de la fortuna
Que a los derechos oprime;
Ciencia es la pluma sublime
Del inmortal Víctor Hugo,
Que al apostrofar el yugo
Del rey que lo estrecha todo
Va salpicando de lodo
La conciencia del verdugo!
Y ciencia es Dantón hablando
De la luz en el santuario
Cuando hiere al opresario
Y lo ultraja y lo desprecia ... 47

Thus both authors appear to consider the figures of the French revolution as symbolic of the spirit of emancipation. As Prada says: "el romanticismo francés ... se fue modificando con Víctor Hugo hasta significar emancipación del pensamiento, quiere decir, libertad en la Ciencia, en el Arte i en la Literatura." 48 It is as a function of emancipation in this broad sense that Prada, and Chocano in his initial works, interpreted literature and the poet.

I have already pointed out the lines in which Chocano praises Prada for his anticlericalism. Even before those lines were written in 1891 Chocano had declared his atheism:

La vida es un sistema de ecuaciones
Con incógnitas mil;
Cuántas menos incógnitas existan
Es más fácil vivir!

.................................
Por eso eliminé de mis creencias
A Dios, que es una incógnita de más ...! 49

He declares atheism to be a result of reason:

Eso nos manda el Dios que han fabricado
Los que quieren soñar,

¡Conformarse! ¡palabra sin sentido!
¡Nunca puede emanar de la razón ... 50
Prada usually directs his criticism not against God but against those who create and propagate the idea of his existence. His criticism also is based on the irrationality of belief: He calls clerics "los hombres del error, de la oscuridad i de la muerte." He also opposes science to religion: "muere la mentira con las lucubraciones metafísicas i teológicas, nace la verdad con la Ciencia positiva".

Chocano, nevertheless, uses "Dios" for poetic effect to embody any ideal in a way which Prada only uses the Greek gods. For instance, of Vigil Chocano writes:

¡Dios es Dios y Vigil es su profeta!
¡Los profetas de Dios se llaman sabios! ...

What Prada said of Vigil well describes Chocano's concept of God at this point: "Vigil, en su evolución religiosa, se despojó de las creencias católicas, para vivir confinado en una especie de cristianismo liberal o vago teísmo cristiano". A similar poetic use of the word "Dios" is found in "Injuria" with reference to Hugo:

En vano quiere el fraile con la injuria
A Víctor Hugo herir

¡Los seres grandes no se ofenden nunca!
¡Nunca se da por ofendido Dios!

Chocano evokes the same non-clerical "Dios" in relation to love:

Ahora, sí, creo en Dios; porque ya creo
En el bien, que lo encuentro en el amor.
¡En brazos del amor no hay hombre ateo!
¡El hombre que ama, rinde culto a Dios!
Prada expresses a similar idea but still does not resort to using the word "Dios":

Nunca pude vencer un imposible,
El imposible de creer en algo.
Mas yo de ti no dudo,

Vosotros sois mi fe, vosotros mi verdad.  

Chocano insists on the purely figurative significance of his "Dios" in the following lines:

Ese Dios se esconde incomprensible:
¡No existe en realidad!
El verdadero Dios es el Dios mío:
¡Que es la ley natural!

Pero a pesar de todo ...

¡Yo creeré en el Dios de los cristianos
mientras exista un ángel como tú!  

Chocano quite obviously is willing to put the interest of poetic effect ahead of ideology whereas Prada is not.

Even Prada's modernist poetry remained consistent with his ideology whereas Chocano's ideals are mainly evolved within his poetic expression as he himself admits:

A través de mi historia resonante y florida,
he de hacer yo del Arte mi mejor fe de vida,
y he de hacer de la vida mi mejor obra de Arte ...  

Chocano not only echoed many of Prada's ideas about poetry, but also a certain well-known phrase of his: "¡Los viejos a la tumba, los jóvenes a la obra!"  
In "Toque" from Notas, 1890-91, Chocano wrote:

¡Álzate juventud!

¡Jóvenes a luchar!
and in "Catilinaria" from *Iras santas*, 1893-95:

> Es de la juventud la gran tarea! ...
> Es de la juventud la misión noble
> de hacer triunfar la redentora idea. 62

In this poem Chocano relates the "gran tarea" to the fight in the name of "pensamiento" and "razón" against tyranny and cites Hugo as exemplary of it, just as I have shown that Prada does.

Although I have chosen to quote only poems which demonstrate a close similarity with Prada's thought, the many coincidences evident throughout the *Versos de adolescencia* and *Iras santas*, with the exception of some of the very early "Rimas", indicate that Prada's is the main ideological influence on Chocano's early poetry.

Certain reminiscences of Prada do occur later, but generally they are not significant. For instance in "Yunque" written in 1901 but published in 1904 one reads:

> Ya no canto el amor que late a solas,
> encarcelado en pechos de egoísmo;
> porque sé dialogar como las olas
> y no monologar como el abismo.

> La poesía cerebral, la idea,
> resalta sobre el fondo más obscuro,
> como la viva imagen que chispea
> con perfiles de fósforo en un muro ...  

> La vida empieza en sensación y acaba
> por ser idea; ... 63
The theme of youth as leaving the old behind is present in "Letitiae" from *Fiat Lux*, 1907:

¡Alégrate, juventud!

Sobre las tumbas de tus padres
deves pasar tu arado; ... 64

The paucity of echoes of Prada in Chocano's later poetry merely tends to emphasize the abundance of them in his earlier work. Undoubtedly, Prada's influence on Chocano was a major one, not only in its immediate effect, but also on the development of his later poetry. While Prada attempted to use prose and poetry as a vehicle for the expression of the social ideals which his polemic attitude led him to regard as a kind of poetic realization in themselves, Chocano adopted poetry as the prime vehicle for the realization of his combative temperament. It is the basic coincidence of temperament in the two authors which led Chocano to recognize something of himself in, and to be influenced by the tone and ideas of Prada's prose.
CHAPTER II

1 Luis Alberto Sánchez, Aladino o Vida y obra de José Santos Chocano (Mexico, 1960), p. 83.

2 José Santos Chocano, Poesías completas (Barcelona, 1910), I. 5-14.

3 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 10.

4 Sánchez, Don Manuel, p. 102.


6 Prada, "Castelar", Páginas libres, p. 228.

7 Chocano, Obras, p. 54.

8 Prada, "Vigil", Páginas libres, pp. 91-106.

9 Prada, "Prólogo" in Chocano, Poesías completas, I, 6.

10 Prada, "Vigil", Páginas libres, p. 106.


12 Chocano, Obras, p. 1466.

13 ibid., p. 1467.

14 ibid., p. 1468.

15 ibid., p. 482.

16 ibid., p. 484.

17 Prada, "Memoranda", El Tonel de Diógenes, #66.

18 Chocano, Obras, p. 308.

19 Prada, Exóticas, p. 5.

20 Chocano, Obras, p. 308.

21 Prada, Exóticas, p. 7.
22 Chocano, Obras, p.308.
23 Prada, Exóticas, p. 8.
24 Chocano, Obras, p. 308.
25 Prada, Exóticas, p. 7.
26 Sánchez, Don Manuel, p. 102.
27 Vicente García Calderon, Parnaso peruano (Barcelona), p. 132.
28 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 21.
29 Chocano, Obras, p. 194.
30 Prada, Minúsculas, p. 21.
31 Chocano, Obras, p. 194.
32 ibid., p. 81.
33 ibid., p. 57.
34 Prada, "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo", Páginas libres, p. 39.
35 Chocano, Obras, p. 57.
36 Prada, "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo", Páginas libres, p. 43.
37 ibid., p. 47.
38 Prada, "Memoranda", El Tonel de Diógenes, #60.
39 Chocano, Obras, p. 57.
40 Prada, "Discurso en el Politeama", Páginas libres, p. 66.
41 Prada, "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo", Páginas libres, p. 37.
42 ibid., p. 38.
43 Sánchez, Aladino, p. 544.
44 Prada, "Víctor Hugo", Páginas libres, p. 179.
45 Chocano, Obras, p. 54.

46 Prada, "Víctor Hugo", Páginas libres, p. 179.

47 Chocano, Obras, p. 50.


49 Chocano, Obras, p. 48.

50 ibid., p. 50.

51 Prada, "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo", Páginas libres, p. 43.

52 ibid., p. 46.

53 Chocano, Obras, p. 57.

54 Prada, "Vijil", Páginas libres, p. 102.

55 Chocano, Obras, p. 65.

56 ibid., p. 62.

57 Prada, Exóticas, p. 114.

58 Chocano, Obras, p. 60.

59 ibid., p. 657.

60 Prada, "Discurso en el Politeama", Páginas libres, p. 68.

61 Chocano, Obras, p. 68.

62 ibid., p. 76.

63 ibid., p. 305.

64 ibid., p. 494.
CHAPTER III

Just as Chocano said that he and all Peru recognized in Prada "la voz de su conciencia" after the War of the Pacific, so did the writers of the next generation, who, rejecting the aestheticism of Modernism, developed a poetry of social protest. They refer, of course, to Prada's prose, and in particular to his indigenous poetry. Nevertheless there are certain notes in Baladas peruanas which suggest the incipient modernist treatment of indigenous themes.

Some of Prada's Baladas peruanas represent his attempt to express social ideals and to attack social abuses in poetry. They have been recognized as such by twentieth century writers who have tried to use poetry for the same purpose as Aída Cometta Manzoni shows:

Aparecido en la última mitad del siglo XIX y perteneciente a la generación romántica de los postreros años, la influencia de González Prada, pasada la etapa modernista, va a tener una enorme repercusión en la escuela indigenista que aparece en el siglo XX con sólida base de reivindicación social. 1

They also, however, reveal the relationship which Prada had with his own generation and that preceding him. As Manzoni says, he belonged to the final years of the romantic generation. During these years Prada began to write.
In 1871 several of Prada's poems were collected in Cortés' Parnaso peruano. Juana Manuela Gorriti who had been born in 1818 and written La quena at the age of eighteen was still conducting "veladas literarias" in Lima in 1877, when Clorinda Matto de Turner was "coronada". Thus there is a distinct link between the romantic treatment of indigenous themes and the new social approach which Matto and Prada represented. It was mainly a personal link, however, and one which was broken in 1886 when the "Círculo literario" formed in opposition to the "Club literario".

Ricardo Palma had been present at many of Juana Manuela Gorriti's veladas and evidently considered Clorinda Matto one of his followers as a result of such works as Tradiciones cuzqueñas, Leyendas, biografías y hojas sueltas. Clorinda Matto, however, joined the "Círculo literario" when it was formed in 1886, thus in effect allying herself with Prada who was to criticize Palma's legends in the 1888 speech in which he accepted the presidency of the "Círculo literario":

> en la prosa reina siempre la mala tradición, ese monstruo enjendrado por las falsificaciones agridulcetes de la historia i la caricatura microscópica de la novela.

Nevertheless, as Sánchez points out, one can see Palma's legends as a basis for Clorinda Matto's and Prada's writings on indigenous themes with the exception that the latter dwell on the least developed aspects of Palma's legends: the indigenous traditions, and the social
implications of the Indian's situation.

While Clorinda Matto de Turner is the most obvious precedent for the aspect of social protest in Prada's indigenous ballads, Rocca de Vergallo serves as a possible precedent in other respects. He was born in 1846 in Lima, but wrote mainly in French. In 1870, just when Prada was beginning to write poetry, he published *La mort d'Atahualpe* in Lima. In 1879 he published *Le Livre des Incas* in Paris. Supposedly it was between the years 1871 and 1879, during his stay at Mala that Prada wrote many of his *Baladas peruanas*. The possibility that Prada was aware of Rocca's work is an interesting one, for he also wrote a poetic manifesto "La Poetique Nouvelle" in which he proclaims innovation, individualism as opposed to imitation in poetry, as well as the need for the artist to be firmly attuned to his time, to observe the paths that Humanity is taking, to study what has passed and foresee what is to come. In his indigenous poems, Rocca de Vergallo has Pizarro and Atahualpa speak and sympathizes with the latter. Dialogue occurs in almost all of Prada's indigenous poems, and indeed, in a poem entitled "La cena de Atahualpa" Prada sympathizes with the latter's speech:

\[\text{Y, murmura en sí, volviendo} \\
\text{Afable rostro a Pizarro:}\]
The possibility of Prada's awareness of Rocca de Vergallo's techniques and indigenous poems must, therefore not be dismissed.

Although the ideas which Prada expressed in some of his indigenous poems are similar to Clorinda Matto's, many of his ballads have no ideological content, and thus appear closer to the poetry of perhaps Rocca de Vergallo or Prada's friend, Rossell. Rossell, however, also appeared in Juana Manuela Gorritti's veladas. Thus his poems, Palma's legends and Matto's early legends, any of which may have served as a precedent to Prada have a common element in their romantic origin. The social aspect, the attempt to use poetry as a sword is novel in Prada's ballads and in Matto's *Aves sin nido*.

The fact that the "Círculo literario" became in 1891 the nucleus of the radical "Partido unión nacional" is indicative of the orientation of that group from its origins. Clorinda Matto and Prada found in it the opportunity to develop a new kind of literature in Peru, a literature which they hoped would help to bring about broad social change. In 1889 Matto de Turner published *Aves sin nido* in which she revealed that she shared in the anticlericalism which Prada
had declared in 1879, and in which she pictured the Indian as abused by society. Prada followed her lead by publishing in *El peru ilustrado* his most famous indigenous ballad "El mitayo". The movement toward socially-oriented indigenous literature continued in an article by Emilio Gutiérrez de Quintanilla and in the second edition of *Aves sin nido* which was dedicated to Prada, as well as in Matto's novel *Indole* written in 1891. Clorinda Matto, however, was forced to leave Peru on Piérola's victory while Prada also left for Europe in 1891. Thus the movement towards social literature in Peru became insignificant as the modernist movement began to assert itself in all South America and in particular in Peru in the person of José Santos Chocano.

The poems in which Prada does show an element of social protest against the Indian's oppression are mainly those dealing with the encounter of Indian and Spaniard during the conquest.

"La cena de Atahualpa" and "Las flechas del Inca", both of which Prada published before 1900 are effective poetic expressions of the Indians' hatred of their conquerors. In both poems it is through the use of dialogue that Prada manages to express the Indians' feelings without
sounding dogmatic or propagandistic.

The first part of "La cena de Atahualpa" sets the scene through a description of the embattled land:

Suena el ronco clamoreo  
De enfurecidos soldados,  
Y restallan arcauces,  
Y retumban fieros tajos.

Bajo el filo de la espada,  
A los pies de los caballos,  
Agonizan y sucumben  
Niños, mujeres y ancianos. 17

Not until the last stanza of this first part does the poet pass any judgment on the combattants, and, even then, he does not definitely refer to Spaniards alone. He sets the tone for the dialogue which will follow:

No hay compasión en las almas,  
En el herir no hay descanso;  
Es el eco un ay de muerte. 17  
Cajamarca un rojo lago.

The first stanza of the second part which describes the more precise setting of the dialogue has a distinctly ironic effect in view of the meaning of the preceding verse:

Cual amigo con amigo  
Atahualpa con Pizarro,  
Departen, cenan y beben,  
Sorbo a sorbo, lado a lado. 18

The same verse serves as an ironic counterpoint to the dialogue which follows. The irony is maintained in the dialogue itself by the following verse which occurs between
Pizarro's speech and Atahualpa's speech:

Y, murmura en sí, volviendo
Afable rostro a Pizarro:

"Licor más puro y sabroso
Beberé muy pronto acaso:
La sangre vil de extranjeros
En la copa de tu cráneo." 18

Thus, in this poem, Prada not only describes the conquest but renders the Indians' reactions in a realistic manner through dialogue.

Speech and irony is used similarly in "Las flechas del Inca". The effect of this poem is based largely on repetition in conjunction with a series leading to a culmination. The first six lines of each eight-line verse are the same with the exception of the number which forms the series, "primera, segunda, tercera":

Tuvo tres flechas en la mano el Inca
Y, alegre, a la primera preguntó:
"Amiga fiel, envenenada flecha
Dílqué me pides hoy?"
"Fuerte guerrero de infalible pulso,
De bravo corazón, 19

The final two lines of the three stanzas are respectively:

Te pido sólo destrozar las alas
De cóndor volador".

Te pido sólo desgarrar el seno
De tigre acechador".

Te pido sólo atravesar el pecho
De vil conquistador". 19
The modifying effect of the structure of each stanza, on its final two lines is such that these lines also will be felt as repetitious and climactic in their significance. That is, each element to be destroyed will be seen as a vile and threatening natural enemy to the Indian, with the greatest vileness and threat being in the last element, the conqueror. Therefore, this poem gains all its effect from the use of poetic devices within the dialogue so that there is no possibility of Prada's voice as poet intervening to force his point.

Several poems in Baladas peruanas describe isolated relationships between Indian and Spaniard. The advantage of these anecdotal poems is, of course, that they allow the poet to protest not in general, but in particular. For instance in "El chasqui" a Spaniard abuses an Indian for the sake of his own pleasure:

"Desiertos, montes y ríos
De ti me apartan, oh Elisa;
Mas pisaré tu morada
Con la aurora vespertina.

Pronto, en marcha, imbécil Indio,
Sé mi chasqui, sé mi guía:
Vé delante a mi caballo;
Si cejas, ¡ay de tu vida!" 20

Prada again takes advantage of the possibility of dialogue to show the Spaniard's cruelty and juxtaposes it to one line of dialogue showing the Indian's helplessness:
"Piedad, piedad, Viracocha!" He repeats the Indian's plea at the beginning of the final stanza of each of the first four sections of the poem so that it gains impact as the poet describes the increasing difficulty of the trip he is forced to undertake. Each of the three middle parts describes a different part of the trip: desert, mountains and rivers. Each part has a similar structure for the description: first stanza, description of the setting, second stanza, insistence on the uninhabited and wild nature of each setting, third stanza, persistence of the Spaniard's horse in the face of grave difficulties. Thus there is a repetitive element in the structure of the poem. The third stanza of each of these sections, by showing how difficult it is for the horse to continue, serves to intensify the cruelty of the Spaniard when, in the stanza immediately following, he thrashes the Indian just as he spurs the horse on. The last section of the poem departs from the repetitive structure to depict the arrival of the group at the ranch. In the final stanzas the author pictures the Spaniard and his lady on one level and the chasqui and the horse on another to reveal the inhumanity of the Spaniard toward the Indian. The very harshness of this idea expressed in prose when it is compared to the lines of the poem itself shows the success of
Prada's technique:

En tierra salta el jinete,
Al Indio arroja la brida,
Un dulce nombre modula
Y la bella estancia pisa.

En la sombra estalla un beso
Y en el campo un ay expira,
Que delante del caballo
Exhala el chasqui la vida.

Some of Prada's ballads reveal the Spaniards' motivation by greed. Two such poems are "La cadena de Huascar" and "La India". The latter is again an anecdotal poem based on dialogue. The Spaniard says "Todo juro por mi amor" when the Indian asks whether he will keep silence if she shows him her vast treasure. He is supposed to remain blindfolded until he has entered the hiding place but tears the blindfold off in order to see the entrance. The poem ends as follows:

"Insensato, di ¿qué hiciste?"
"Ver la entrada ¡voto a bríos!"
"Pierdes mi amor, oh perjuro".
"Quiero el oro, no tu amor".

"Oro nó, la muerte!" exclama
La india, ciega de furor,
Y un puñal agudo clava
En el pecho al español. 24

Again, the conflict occurs in the context of the conquest and any judgment occurs within the action of the poem, not in comments or interpretation by the poet.
In "La cadena de Huascar" a judgment exists in the symbolic action of the poem. An Inca offers a Spanish Captain a chain of gold:

"Ven, avanza con denuedo,
Valeroso Capitán,
Y la cadena de Huascar
En tus manos cogerás".

Ya la planta mueve el Joven,
La cadena toca ya;
Mas se sumerge en las aguas,
Y en el viento suena un ay. 25

Other of the ballads are based on the Spaniards' abuse of the Indians by forcing them to work. In 'El cacique filicida" the Indian speaks for himself:

"Fui Señor de veinte pueblos,
Fui valido del Monarca:
Soy ya juguete y escarnio
De implacable y fuerte raza

Prole vil de viles senos,
¿Qué te queda, qué te aguarda?
La servidumbre, el trabajo,
La mina oscura y helada ..."

Se oye la queja de un niño,
Un sordo choque en las aguas,
El rumor de lentos pasos,
Y después, el eco, y nada. 26

"El mitayo" is one of the poems which Cometta Manzoni refers to as indicative of Prada's influence on indigenism. 27 "El mitayo", however, is a definite historical reference, in spite of the fact that Prada did protest in prose about the plight of the Indian in contemporary Peru, and compare it to the historical situation he recreates in the
Baladas peruanas:

El substráctum nacional o el Indio permanece como en tiempo de la dominación española: envuelto en la misma ignorancia i abatido por la misma servidumbre, pues si no siente la vara del Corregidor, jime bajo la féruela de l'autoridad o del hacendado' ... Hasta vamos haciendo el milagro de matar en el lo que rara vez muere en el hombre: la esperanza. 28

In "El cacique filicida" as well as in "El mitayo" and "Canción de la India", it is the possibility of hope which is vanquished.

In "El mitayo" the Indian speaks out and judges the white man's law as he has not done in other ballads:

-La injusta ley de los Blancos
Me arrebata del hogar:
Voy al trabajo y al hambre,
Voy a la mina fatal." 29

A lack of hope is evident in the expression "mina fatal" as well as in the last lines when the Indian promises to return when the white man is moved by compassion, but adds:

-Hijo, el pecho de los Blancos
No se conmueve jamás." 30

The climactic effect of the series of rhetorical questions and equally rhetorical answers is enhanced by the fact that each question is in fact a repetition of the previous answer. The effect of the final lines is due largely to the fact that they break the structural pattern of repetition.
An additional element which intensifies their significance is the repetition of the sense of impossibility inherent in the rhetorical answers, but in this case in concrete, non-rhetorical terms. Therefore, it is not only because of the theme that this poem has been pointed out as one of Prada's best, but also because in it one finds the fullest use made of his own particular style and techniques. The abundance of parallel structures and repetitions in the poems is indicative of Prada's intellectual rather than emotional approach to poetry. His main concern lies in the clear, forceful and objective expression of ideas rather than in the subjective evocation of emotions.

In "Canción de la India" the Indian again speaks out against injustice:

¡Ay pobre del Indio,
Sin leyes ni amparo
Muriendo en las garras
De inicuos tiranos! 31

This poem creates a particularly urgent tone by the use of lines of six syllables which give an impetuous sound to the speech. The use of rhetorical questions, series of lines like the following " ¡adios, oh mi choza!" 32 and the repetition of the refrain:

¡Maldita la guerra!
¡Malditos los Blancos! 32
at the end of each stanza contribute to the effect.

The poems in which Prada protests against the oppression of the Indian must then be considered from two points of view. On one hand, the protest is always in a historic context, and thus reveals the romantic origins of the poems in legends. On the other hand, the fact that the Baladas have been considered precedents for the twentieth century writers of social protest and Prada's own expressions in prose of the need for the author to use literature as a vehicle for his ideas, as well as his expressions of sympathy for the Indian and the publication of "El Mitayo" in relation to Clorinda Matto's novels, indicate the forward-looking innovations which they represent.

As their romantic origins would indicate, however, Prada's Baladas do not only carry the seed for the development of the twentieth century indigenist school, but also for the modernist orientation to Americanism. This is not to say that his indigenous poems were a major influence on either development, but rather to point to Prada's position as a very advanced writer in a transitional period, through the existence of two potential poetic orientations in his poetry. In Peru, one of the trends developed first: modernist Americanism, and, once past the modernist interlude,
the other took root. Yet both existed in embryonic form in Prada's Baladas, themselves originating in Romanticism.

Thus it is impossible to accept the criterion of such critics as Manzoni and Mariátegui who seem to consider the forms of indigenism expressed by the romantics and modernists as inferior and totally unrelated to twentieth century indigenous poetry. The fact that in Prada these three trends found a common expression disproves this theory. It is in part the discovery and evaluation of the Indian past and culture which occurs through the exoticism of the romantic and modernist movements that contribute to the reconsideration of the Indians' social position. The distinct element in twentieth century indigenist poetry is its political intent. This originated in Prada, not only in his Baladas, but in his prose and other poems, as well as in his contemporaries such as Clorinda Matto.

Rubén expressed the poetic possibilities of American themes in the following words: "Si hay poesía en nuestra América, ella está en las cosas viejas; en Palenke y Utatlán, en el indio legionario, y el inca sensual y fino, y en el gran Moctezuma de la silla de oro." Rubén's idea is clearly an application of the modernist search
for exoticism to America, as Henríquez Ureña points out: "Un reflorecimiento del "americanismo literario" había ido suplantando otras tendencias entre los modernistas, empezando por el exotismo y la constante evocación de épocas pretéritas de otros pueblos y otras civilizaciones."  

To a limited extent Prada's _Baladas_ foreshadow this exotic orientation. For example, he chose to precede his book with several lines by André Chenier which describe Inca civilization in an exotic manner:

Sous ces bois étrangers que couronnent ces monts,  
Aux vallons de Cusco, dans ces antres profonds,  
Si chers á la fortune et plus chers au génie,  
Germent des mines d'or, de gloire et d'harmonie.  

As far as exoticism implies exhuberance of fauna and flora, however, as it did to Chocano, Prada's _Baladas_ show little evidence of it. Indeed in _Páginas libres_ Prada wrote:

I no tomemos por americanismo la prolija enumeración de nuestra fauna i de nuestra flora o la minuciosa pintura de nuestros fenómenos meteorológicos, en lenguaje saturado de provincialismos ociosos y rebuscados.  

Neither is Prada an exponent of the superiority of pre-Columbian culture: "no faltan "chauvins" que en los modernos españoles vengarían la degollación de Atahualpa ni lacrimosos literatos que con la pérdida de la poesía
incaica vivan tan inconsolables como Sancho con el robo
de alforjas i fiambre." 37 He does see indigenous culture
as a basic influence on the development of Peru:

Del español nos separan ya las influencias
del clima, los cruzamientos etnográficos, el
íntimo roce con los europeos, la educación
afrancesada i 64 anos de tempestuosa vida
republicana ... Vamos perdiendo ya el desapego a la vida, desapego
tan marcado en los antiguos españoles, i nos
contajiamos con la tristeza jemebunda que
distingue al indígena peruano. 38

In several ballads Prada attempts to express the Indians'
"tristeza jemebunda" through a symbol, for instance,
the "quena", and the "llora-muerto". There is an element
of exoticism in his treatment of these themes, just as
there is in Rubén's treatment of oriental themes. The
poet tries to incorporate a symbol peculiar to one
particular culture into his own poetic world by giving
it a universal significance.

In "Invención de la quena" Prada describes the wailing
sound of the quena in terms of its origin. The legend is
that the Inca cannot find expression for his anguish at
the death of his beloved and, in Prada's words:

Escarba el Inca la tumba;
Y, del fúnebre esqueleto,
A la incierta luz del rayo
Labra músico instrumento.
El Inca vierte su llanto;
Y, a las lágrimas de fuego,
Las duras rocas se ablandan
Y se diríten los hielos.

El Inca toca la Quena;
Y, a los lugubres acentos,
Lloran lágrimas los vivos
Y se estremecen los muertos. 39

In the second stanza the poet emphasizes the intensity of the Inca's emotion by attributing to it an influence over nature. In the final stanza he attributes to it an influence over other men.

In "El llora-muerto" the grief at the loss of a beloved is coupled with the belief in a fatalistic death omen. Indeed, it is the inability to express sufficient grief in life which brings about the appearance of the death omen. Thus it is the grief which causes death:

-"No cantes, oh Poeta:  
Voces lugubres quiero  
Que de pena y angustia  
Despedacen mi pecho." 40

The Inca's subjects offer to bring him the llora-muerto:

"Un pájaro siniestro:  
Su voz quebranta penas,  
Se llama el Llora-muerto." 40

The effect of the bird's laments on the Inca is described in the last three stanzas:

El pájaro se queja,
Y, a su primer acento,
Lanza el Rey de los Incas
Un grito lastimero.
El pájaro se queja,
Y, a su segundo acento,
Llora el Rey de los Incas
Dos lágrimas de fuego.

El pájaro se queja,
Y, a su tercer acento,
Queda el Rey de los Incas
Mudo, inmóvil y muerto. 41

The technique used is a simple and frequent one in Prada's poems. The repetition of the first line of each stanza is continued in the second line with the additional effect of a series, "primer, segundo, tercer", leading to a climax. The same two elements are present in the third line of each stanza; repetition in "el Rey de los Incas" and the series in "lanza, llora and queda". In the final lines of the first and second stanzas quoted, the system of repetition of grammatical structure is maintained, in that the elements of each line form the object of the Inca's actions. In the final stanza, however, the poet breaks the system for greater effect. In that stanza, there is no corresponding action or object. On the contrary, the lines describe complete inaction, which is rendered mainly through the use of three adjectives which reiterate the same significance: stillness and death. Within the three there is also a certain element of progression with "muerto" as its culmination. The Indians' social situation is irrelevant to the significance of both poems.
The element in which Prada's Baladas foreshadow the Peruvian development of modernist Americanism is in the heroism of their characters, in particular the Indian ones. Prada pictures, for instance, the heroism of Tupac-Amaru who continues to fight for the freedom of the Indians in spite of an oracle which indicates that he is doomed to fail. Prada describes an Inca king:

Vencedor, jamás vencido,
Lleno de triunfos y honores,
Llega el Rey al Apurímac.

There is even an element of heroism in the picture of the "Cacique filicida" who kills his son to save him the humiliation of slavery under the Spaniards.

In the last poem of Baladas, Prada attributes a distinct kind of heroism to each of the epochs of Peruvian history and tries to capture its significance by having the exemplary leader of each period express his ambition.

Manco: "Sembraré grandeza y dicha
Con mi poder y mis leyes."

Pizarro: "Es mi ley la ley del fuerte;
A mí la plata y el oro;
Tiembra, oh Perú, y obedece."

Bolívar: "..."América, juro
Tu libertad, o la muerte."

The element of heroism which Prada sees in the three epochs of Peruvian history is one in which he anticipates Chocano's modernist treatment of it.
CHAPTER III

1 Aída Cometta Manzoni, El Indio en la poesía de América Española (Buenos Aires, 1939), p. 220.

2 Luis Alberto Sánchez, La Literatura peruana, derrotero para una historia espiritual del Perú (Asunción, 1951), VI, 215.

3 Prada, "Discurso en el Teatro Olimpo", Páginas libres, p. 39.

4 Sánchez, Literatura peruana, VI, 215.

5 ibid., p. 222.

6 ibid., p. 223.

7 ibid., p. 225.

8 Sánchez, Don Manuel, p. 75.

9 Sánchez, Literatura peruana, VI, 233.

10 ibid., p. 230.

11 Manuel González Prada, Baladas peruanas (Santiago, Chile, 1935), p. 100.

12 Juana Manuela Gorriti, Veladas literarias de Lima 1876-1877 (Buenos Aires, 1892), I, passim.


14 Sánchez, Literatura peruana, IV, 167.

15 ibid., p. 216-217.

16 Cometta Manzoni, p. 220.

17 Prada, Baladas peruanas, p. 99.

18 ibid., p. 100.

19 ibid., p. 121.

20 ibid., p. 121-23.

21 ibid., p. 124.

22 ibid., p. 127.
23 ibid., p. 113.
24 ibid., p. 115.
25 ibid., p. 118.
26 ibid., p. 119.
27 Cometta Manzoni, p. 223.
28 Prada, "Propaganda i Ataque", Páginas libres, p. 164.
29 Prada, Baladas peruanas, p. 133.
30 ibid., p. 134.
31 ibid., p. 150.
32 ibid., p. 149.
33 Rubén Darío, Poesías, p. 612.
34 Max Henríquez Ureña, Breve historia, p. 32.
35 Prada, Baladas peruanas.
37 Prada, "Valera", Páginas libres, p. 219.
38 Prada, "Conferencia en el Ateneo de Lima", Páginas libres, p. 25.
39 Prada, Baladas peruanas, p. 63.
40 ibid., p. 67.
41 ibid., p. 68.
42 ibid., p. 145.
43 ibid., p. 79.
44 ibid., p. 119.
45 ibid., p. 153.
CHAPTER IV

José Santos Chocano's use of indigenist themes represents the modernist form of Americanism at its height. Max Henríquez Ureña refers to Chocano as one of the "otros poetas menores que fueron a abreviar su inspiración en los temas autóctonos." 1 Ureña points, as does Cometta Manzoni, to the link between modernist americanism and romantic americanism, in the following manner:

El americanismo literario no era, ciertamente, una novedad. Había recibido su impulso inicial durante la época romántica en el Río de la Plata y llegó a constituir un movimiento de alcance continental. 2

Thus, any romantic note in Chocano's indigenous poems is not out of keeping with the historical development of Americanism as I have shown it with reference to Prada.

On the other hand, to call Chocano an exponent of literary Americanism is by no means to deny that, as Sánchez maintains, he was the initiator of the mundonovista trend in Peruvian literature. 3 Indeed Henríquez Ureña sees various trends growing out of Americanism: "Además, del americanismo literario se derivaron orientaciones diversas que disfrutaron de larga boga, como el indigenismo ..." 4

Henríquez's statement that: "Pareció, por un momento, que con la preferencia concedida a lo exótico tendía a desterrar
la tendencia americanista, pero sucedió lo contrario: Fué el americanismo literario el que se infiltró en el movimiento modernista" indicates that it was because of the exotic nature of Americanism that it found a place within Modernism. As far as Chocano's Americanism is concerned, such is the case.

Henríquez Ureña suggests one possible influence on the development of Americanism within Modernism which may have some bearing on Chocano:

¿Influyó en ello la frase recogida por José Enrique Rodó:
"'No es el poeta de América!" al referirse a Rubén Darío, con motivo de la publicación de Prosas profanas? Quizá sí.  
Rodó's article is dated 1899.  Chocano had already criticized Los Raros in 1897 on the basis that it was too concerned with French schools and not enough with their American origins or with the development of a truly American poetry:

¿Qué fin artístico ha querido Rubén Darío en Los Raros? Si hacer de su obra un misal para la religión del nuevo arte americano, se equivoca; porque hay entre nosotros algunos lo bastante capaces para no encerrar en el cartabón francés, exclusivamente, sus producciones. Si hacer una exposición comentada de autores nuevos, para darlos a conocer, también se equivoca, porque Gómez Carrillo, en su Literatura Extranjera le aventaja, sin duda, desde el punto de vista crítico.
Pobre la literatura americana que resultase de la transfusión de esa sangre gastada en nuestras venas de juventud:

Rubén no repara en que todas esas ramificaciones de Baudelaire y todas esas cabriolas de la musa actual, tienen su raíz en las Américas, en un cerebro americano: él de Edgar Allan Poe. 7

El Modernismo puede y debe americanizarse entre nosotros; y a ello el prodigioso Rubén Darío tiene al fin que tender, porque el poeta y el artista no pueden ver con los ojos imposibles estas naturalezas formidables.

Rubén Darío nos debe otra obra en que sea menos francés y más americano. 8

The following declaration which Chocano wrote in 1906 and placed at the beginning of *Alma América* also suggests that he was aware of Rodó's phrase: "Mi poesía es objetiva; y, en tal sentido, sólo quiero ser Poeta de América." 9 The following lines by Rodó serve as a prelude to the book:

Reconocí en usted al poeta que, por raro y admirable consorcio, une la audacia altiva de la inspiración con la firmeza escultórica de la forma; y que, con generoso designio, se propone devolver a la poesía sus armas de combate y su misión civilizadora, acertando con el derrotero que, en mi sentir, será él de la poesía americana. 10

Chocano must, then, have had a distinct sense of being not a mere follower, but of opening new paths. He declared at once his modernist tendency and his determination to remain an individualist in poetry:

Aunque mis revistas sirven de órganos del "modernismo", conservo en todo momento mi independencia de criterio personal. 11

In his own words: "O encuentro camino, o me lo abro." 12
It is through American nature, that Chocano finds his poetic personality, and thus it happens that he exhals America's character just as he does his own. In "El primer viaje de Simbad" Chocano relates how he found himself and an undiscovered poetry in the selva.

He also describes the sensations which the flora and fauna of the selva awoke in him:

This exuberance of nature is only one aspect of Chocano's Americanism, although an exhuberant tone pervades all his poetry. In Alma América there are several poems which describe nature in this manner, in particular "Las Selvas":

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El poeta en mí salió de la prisión y se marchó a la selva 13

El cultivo de café que me decidí a hacer el viaje, ya no me interesa. Me interesta el cultivo de la poesía que en el viaje he sentido. El primer viaje de mi vida hace que me encuentre a mí mismo. 14

La exuberancia de la vegetación me produce sucesivamente, asombro, entusiasmo, éxtasis y fatiga. 1458. 15

La flora multiplica, como en visión de encantamiento ... La vida animal hierve en la lente de la lámpara maravillosa y la selva se puebla de una fauna fantástica. 16

Mi sorpresa de limeno llega a saber, estremecida de una sublimidad penetrante, lo que es el trueno, lo que es el rayo, lo que es la lluvia. 17
Cada selva en su pompa de rumores, 
sobre la ostentación de los follajes, 
copia el frufrú de los sedosos trajes 
y en la seda después pinta sus flores.

Luce insectos de gasa brilladores, 
pájaros de vivísimos plumajes, 
fieras dignas de verse en los paisajes 
de una artística alfombra de colores. 18

This is the aspect of Chocano's Americanism which aroused
Marátegui's criticism:

José Santos Chocano pertenece, a mi juicio, al 
período colonial de nuestra literatura. Su poesía 
grandilocuва tiene todos sus orígenes en España.
Una crítica verbalista la presenta como una 
traducción del alma autóctona. Pero, éste es un 
concepto artificial, una ficción retórica. Su 
lógica, tan simplista como falsa, razona así: Chocano es 
exuberante, luego es autóctono.19

The criticism is valid as far as its reference to critics 
is concerned. To call Chocano autoctonous would be equivalent 
to calling Rubén French. Chocano merely interpreted America 
within the framework of his modernist orientation.

He expressed his desire to be "Poeta de América" in various 
poems of Alma América, in particular in "Troquel" where he 
describes the nature of his American poetry:

Mi culto no es el culto de la pasada gente, 
ni me es bastante el vuelo solemne del Pegaso: 
los trópicos avivan la flama en que me abraso; 
y en mis oídos suena la voz de un Continente.

Yo beberé en las aguas de caudalosos ríos, 
yo cruzaré otros bosques lozanos y bravíos, 
yo buscaré a otra Musa que asombre al Universo.
Yo de una rima frágil haré mi carabela;  
me sentaré en la popa; desataré la vela;  
y zarparé a las Indias, como un Colón del verso ... 20

In the first stanza he suggests that America is for him a  
cult and through the references to "pasada gente" and  
"Pegaso" that he is thinking in the exotic terms of  
Modernism. The reference to the "Musa que asombre al  
Universo" in the second stanza reinforces this effect.  
In the second stanza he reveals the essentially "Paisajista"  
nature of his Americanism. The third stanza gives substance  
to Mariátegui's claim that Chocano's Americanist poetry is  
basically colonial in outlook. Clearly, by calling himself  
a "Colón del verso" Chocano implies both discovery and  
colonialism.

Aside from the difference in motifs another basic difference  
in Chocano's and Prada's americanist poems is obvious in  
the above stanzas. Chocano speaks of America as he interprets  
it and he does so with his own voice. Prada speaks of  
America as Indian legend interprets it and, when not with an  
impersonal commentator's voice, he speaks with the Indian's  
voice. In spite of Prada's experimentation in form,  
exotic references, and declarations of individualism in  
literature, he never reveals the exalted personalistic tone  
in poetry that characterizes Chocano and other modernists to
such an extent.

Chocano's suggestion in the following stanza that he feels equally Indian and Spanish reveals at once the fact that it is the heroic and exotic nature of both which attract him and the fact that his interest bears no relation whatever to social problems.

Soy el cantor de América autóctono y salvaje;
La sangre es española e incaico es el latido; ¡y de no ser Poeta, quizás yo hubiese sido un blanco Aventurero o un indio Emperador! 21

Certainly this is very much in keeping with his early choice of heroes, Hugo, Danton and Robespierre. The identification of "Poeta" with "Aventurero" and "Emperador" throws a good deal of light on Chocano's idea of poetry. Poetry is a heroic task for the elite. Although Chocano tried to exemplify the heroic in his life, undoubtedly the limitations of politics made him see in the evocation of the past in poetry the only possible unbounded expression of heroism. It is only in the past where one sees heroism in life:

Velázquez suma aquella dinástica osadía
que encadenó a su trono dos mundos en un día,
que equilibró los astros, que redondeó el planeta
y en cada gran guerrero cristalizó un poeta. 22

In "Avatar" Chocano mentions the heroic nature of poetry in relation to his Spanish and Indian past:
¡Cuántas veces he nacido! ¡Cuántas veces me he encarnado!
Soy de América dos veces y dos veces español.
Si Poeta soy ahora, fui Virrey en el pasado,
Capitán por las conquistas y Monarca por el Sol.

Ya no soy aquel gran Inca, ni aquel épico Soldado,
ni el Virrey de aquel Alcázar con que sueles soñar tú ...
Pero, ahora, soy Poeta: soy divino, soy sagrado. 23

As one might expect, Chocano portrays the conquest as an epic struggle between two equally heroic peoples. Naturally, the episode which best exemplifies this interpretation is that of the lengthy resistance of the Araucanian Indians. Chocano describes the conflict:

Es la tribu araucana: ella a porfía resiste al español, que, siempre noble, se entusiasma ante aquella rebeldía.

Previó la muerte; y combatió sin miedo y sin reposo; y cuanto más bregó, se hizo más fuerte. 24

The main interest in Chocano's poem lies in an episode which increases the heroism attributed to the Indians, Lautaro's decision to place himself amongst the defeated. In this poem, as in "Cahuide" there is no element of protest against the cruelty of the conquest, or the abuse of the Indian, as there is in some of Prada's poems which deal with the conquest. "Cahuide" is particularly revealing of this difference in that it pictures a solitary Indian defending heroically his post. Yet the Indian does not speak out against his inevitable defeat as he might if the poem were
Prada's. Chocano's poem merely pictures a momentary situation. The poet characterizes the Indian as being inspired by the ideal of heroism, not by any attachment to his land or home:

Como un penón que corta las aguas de un torrente, 
se yergue en la osadía de su locura vana; 
y evoca, en los recuerdos de la virtud pagana, 
al héroe solitario que defendía un puente. 25

Certain of Chocano's poems dealing with Indian themes can be compared with Prada's. For instance, Chocano's "La ñusta" bears a similarity to Prada's "El árbol maldito". Prada's poem is shorter and less elaborate than Chocano's, but they deal with the same subject: an Indian girl kills her Spanish pretender: in Prada's poem, by telling him to wait for her under the shade of a certain tree, which has a fatal effect; in Chocano's poem by putting poison on her lips and then kissing him. In Chocano's poem there is an additional element in that the girl and her Indian lover also die. Aside from the theme, there is a similarity of technique. Both authors use dialogue, frequent in Prada, but not in Chocano. Both poems have an element of irony, Prada's of a more subtle nature. In his poem it lies in the contrast between his description of the Indian girl with the Spaniard where she reveals only good intentions and the final outcome of her action:
"¡Ves aquel erguido leño
Coronado de alta copa?
A su fresco abrigo espera,
Yo volveré con las sombras."

Así murmura la Indiana,
Entre esquiva y amorosa,
Sonriendo al Castellano
Que la bendice y la adora.

......................

No despierta más el Joven,
Pues el árbol de alta copa,
Es el árbol maldecido
Que da muerte con su sombra. 26

Chocano's irony is much more explicit:

En el día siguiente, fué Peralta enterrado
con magníficas pompas; y la india a su lado:
los hispanos quisieron el hacer de esa suerte
que, a través de los siglos, fuera suya en la
muerte, la que sólo en la vida se entregara un
momento ...

No hay un alma española que no logre su intento! 27

The idea involved in Chocano's irony occurs in another of
Prada's poems "La hija del Curaca" where the Indian who
kills his daughter because she loves a Spaniard justifies
his act in the following words:

"Hallo en medio de mi pena
Una gran consolación:
Si tu fuiste y no eres mía,
No serás del español." 28

Thus there is a certain coincidence in Chocano's and Prada's
treatment of the relationship of Indian girls to Spanish
men in that both suppose a conflict based on the loyalty of
the Indian to her own race.
Both Prada and Chocano wrote poems about the "quena". Prada, as I have already pointed out, bases his poem on a legend explaining the invention of the "quena" which accounts for the plaintive sound of the instrument. The feeling that the sound of the "quena" gives the listener is described only indirectly, through the description of the reactions of the legendary Inca and others to it. Chocano's poem, however, makes no reference to legend, but attempts to describe the sound and effect of the instrument:

Desgranando las perlas de su lloro,
a veces hunde el musical lamento
en el hueco de un cántaro sonoro;

y entonces finge, en la nocturna calma,
soplo del alma convertido en viento,
soplo del viento convertido en alma ...

The sound of the "quena" was one of the things that had impressed Chocano in his trip to the selva:

Cuando todo ha cesado, de lo profundo de la obscuridad ya tranquila, llega hasta mí en tal noche la lamentación musical de una quena que, al llorar en el hueco de un cántaro el dolor de la raza aborigen, me hace asomar a la ventana del cuarto del hotel en que me hospedo, levantando mis ojos hacia el cielo, otra vez estrellado, en donde el son dolorido que se alarga en la limpieza del ambiente, parece que rigiera, de las constelaciones.

Thus, once again, Chocano uses an Indian theme as poetic material, but interprets it in such a way that its indianism is of no consequence in the final poem.
While Chocano generally arrives at his description of the spirit of Spaniard and Indian through their manifestation in the past, he does attempt to describe the spirit of the Indian in the present in "Notas del alma indígena". These descriptions appear to correspond to Chocano's discovery of the spirit of the Indian through his visit to the selva:

Fortaleza y melancolía son las dos notas psíquicas del Ande.
Así es el alma indígena. 31

It is the element of "fortaleza" which comes out most strongly in "Notas". In "Quién sabe" the strength is revealed in indifference:

¡Oh, raza antigua y misteriosa
de impenetrable corazón,
que sin gozar ves la alegría
y sin sufrir ves el dolor:
eres augusta como el Ande,
el Grande Océano y el Sol!
Ese tu gesto que parece
como de vil resignación,
es de una sabia indiferencia
y de un orgullo sin rencor ... 32

"Así será" contains a similar expression of the Indian's strength:

¡Oh, raza firme como un árbol
que no se agobia al huracán,
que no se queja bajo el hacha
y que se impone al pedregal! 33

Chocano uses all the poems as a basis for a consideration of himself with respect to his Indian heritage, so he
certainly does not renounce his personal interpretation of the Indian. He does, however, give the impression that he is interpreting the Indian in his own way by having an imaginary Indian in his poem repeat certain phrases such as "otra vez será"; "Quién sabe, señor,""Ahí no más" and "Así será" which succinctly express the Indian spirit.

This technique is, similar to Prada's use of dialogue, and its use definitely adds to the authenticity of the expression of indigenism. Indeed, if as Mariátegui seems to imply, it is desirable to be "autoctono", the author must actually be an "indígena", or failing that, pretend to be, in order to speak with an indigenous voice. Prada did this in his Baladas peruanas, but Chocano did so only to the very limited extent I have shown in "Notas", because he did not care to abandon his own modernist voice and interpretation of the indigenous spirit. Thus Chocano is exemplary of the modernist who developed only the aesthetic aspect of Prada's embryonic treatment of indigenous themes.
CHAPTER IV

1 Max Henríquez Ureña, *Breve historia*, p. 32.

2 ibid., p. 33.


4 Max Henríquez Ureña, *Breve historia*, p. 33.

5 ibid., p. 32.


7 Chocano, *Obras*, p. 947.

8 ibid., p. 948.

9 ibid., p. 362.

10 ibid., p. 369.

11 ibid., p. 1453.

12 ibid., p. 363.

13 ibid., p. 1455.

14 ibid., p. 1459.

15 ibid., p. 1458.

16 ibid., p. 1459.

17 ibid., p. 1458.

18 ibid., p. 383.

19 José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Santiago, Chile, 1955), p. 201.


21 ibid., p. 381.

22 ibid., p. 384.

23 ibid., p. 399.

24 ibid., p. 407.
25 ibid., p. 425.

26 Prada, *Baladas peruanas*, p. 139.


30 ibid., p. 1458.

31 ibid., p. 1457.

32 ibid., p. 828.

33 ibid., p. 829.
CONCLUSIONS

Throughout his life Prada exhorted Peruvians to use literature as he did, as a vehicle for political and social ideals. While his poetry does not represent his major accomplishment, it does reflect his position with relation to his own, the preceding and the following generation. While his supposed precursorship of Modernism is based, in keeping with the nature of Prada as an ideologist, on his advanced ideas, paradoxically, these ideas have their origins in the positivist thought against which the Modernists reacted. The proof of this lies in the ideological nature of Prada's influence on Chocano and the latter's recognition of Vigil as a precedent to Prada.

Yet it is Chocano's poetry which, representing the height of the Modernist movement, reveals its development into the opposite of what Prada had seen as desirable. It was the "art for art's sake" attitude which is evident in particular in Chocano's poetry on indigenous themes in comparison to Prada's, which prevented the latter from adopting Modernist for more than a brief interlude.

Prada's use of poetry as a vehicle for his ideas also had its origins in the previous generation, but found no imitators
in the following one. Indeed, it appears that, as in Prada's own work, in Peru, Modernism was but an interlude after which writers undertook a new voyage of regression, back to Prada's writing, from where they began to evolve in the direction which he had indicated, but which Modernism had so drastically distorted.
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