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TPOLOGY AND THE PROMISED LAND IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY
INTER-AMERICAN LITERATURE AND FILM

A Dissertation in

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by

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Abstract

This study addresses the role of typology in twentieth-century works of literature and film from the Americas, in Spanish, English, French, and Portuguese, that deal with the meaning of America and of American history. Existing scholarship has focused on typological thought in colonial Latin America and Puritan New England, but rarely on other periods. This project, however, explores religious and secular concepts of America by examining how twentieth-century works employ imagery, structures, and themes that can be read as typological. The works analyzed in this study have been selected based on their contributions to the larger conversation about the typologically derived concept of the Americas as a providential New World. Many of the works foreground typological representations of a new covenant between God and America; some employ types in hybridized forms that can be read through the lens of typology as tools to resist oppression.

This study examines the use of typology and hybridized types in utopian and dystopian representations of American Edens, Afro-Caribbean messianic figures, Native American counternarratives, and engagements with the concept of the posthuman. Literary texts from Brazil, Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, Peru, and the United States, written by Euclides da Cunha, Margaret Atwood, Reinaldo Arenas, José Enrique Méndez Díaz, Jacques Roumain, René Depestre, José María Arguedas, Mario Vargas Llosa, Tony Kushner, Toni Morrison, Leslie Marmon Silko, and Gerald Vizenor, are analyzed in addition to films from Canada, Mexico, and Brazil by David Cronenberg, Guillermo del Toro, and Glauber Rocha. The uses of typology and related interpretive strategies in these works provide a significant focal point from which to examine the persistence and development of religiously inflected conversations on the history and meaning of the Americas.

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Introduction—Typology and the Americas

Twentieth-century literature and film from the Americas reveal an extended engagement with typological worldviews and the ways these worldviews have been employed to shape the meaning of America and American history. Typology is an interpretive method derived from Judeo-Christian exegetical practices that identify a supernatural correspondence between a type, or prefiguration, and an antitype, or its fulfillment. Christian typology retroactively identifies the Hebrew Bible as the Old Testament or type that prefigured or foreshadowed the Christian New Testament as its more spiritually significant fulfillment or antitype. This method of interpretation was explicitly employed by European explorers and colonizers who saw the Western Hemisphere as an antitype that would fulfill the promise of Europe. The frequent identification of America as a biblical promised land or a providential New World is rooted in a typological understanding of history as the progressive revelation of a divine plan.¹ The importance of typological thought in the early modern European construction and conception of America as the

¹ Christopher Columbus himself identified South America as the location of the earthly Paradise in his account of his third voyage: “creo que alli es el Paraiso terrenal adonde no puede llegar nadie, salvo por voluntad Divina; y creo que esta tierra que agora mandaron descubrir vuestras Altezas sea grandisima y haya otras muchas en el Austro de que jamas se hobo noticia. Yo no tomo quel Paraiso terrenal sea en forma de montaña aspera como el escrebir dello nos amuestra, salvo quel sea en el colmo alli donde dije la figura del pezon de la pera” (Columbus 137; “I am convinced that it is the spot of the earthly paradise, whither no one can go but by God's permission; but this land which your Highnesses have now sent me to explore, is very extensive, and I think there are many other countries in the south, of which the world has never had any knowledge. I do not suppose that the earthly paradise is in the form of a rugged mountain, as the descriptions of it have made it appear, but that it is on the summit of the spot, which I have described as being in the form of the stalk of a pear” Major 137).

New World has been established.² However, the majority of scholarly contributions to the study of typology in the Americas have focused on Puritan uses of typology. While existing scholarship demonstrates the impact of typological thought in the contexts of colonial Latin America and Puritan New England, the continued significance of typology in twentieth-century American cultural production has not been sufficiently analyzed. This study expands on previous scholarship by examining the twentieth-century literary and filmic legacies of the typological construction of America throughout North America, South America, and the Caribbean. This work furthers the conversation on the interaction of religious and secular concepts of America by examining some ways in which twentieth-century literature and film employ typology.

Typological or figural interpretation characteristically authorizes a correspondence between two or more events, people, places, or things based on the coordinates of a divine plan. The premise of such a supernaturally created or sanctioned correspondence draws on the logic of divine election, whether based on a specific religious faith, or framed along the lines of national, ethnic, or other group identity markers that take on attributes of conviction. Assertions of divine election as a source of authority, identity, and destiny are frequently demonstrated through such typological correspondence and are a key component in narratives concerning the meaning of America and American history, whether these narratives ultimately embrace, question, or criticize such assertions.

² On the typological construction of America as inspired by the ideas of Joachim de Fiore and his followers, see Phelan and Kadir, *Columbus*.

Typology as an exegetical practice is often associated with early Christian, medieval, and Puritan traditions of interpretation.³ However, typology is also significantly employed in the works of writers of literature and film-makers from throughout the Americas. While typology as an interpretive tool is often used to reinforce, challenge, and satirize the concept of the Americas as a providential New World, there is also a hybridized appropriation of typology that is employed as a tool of resistance to oppression. While the literary uses of religious typology that were developed by the Puritans in New England have been the subject of much discussion, relatively little work has been done on the use of typology at other times and in other locations within the Americas. This study contributes to the field of Inter-American Studies by addressing the general scholarly neglect of typology in twentieth-century inter-American literature and film, by countering the misconception that the origins and persistence of American typology are a uniquely Puritan legacy, and by proposing a framework for comparing the uses of typology across the hemisphere. Additionally, while my examination of the literary and filmic applications of typology as a theological concept provides an invitation for further investigation in the fields of literature and religion as well as film and religion, my analyses also demonstrate the broad range of artists' aesthetic and political engagements with typology as a rhetorical device.

The scope of this work, then, widens the historical, geographic, and linguistic boundaries of earlier studies concerning typological hermeneutics in order to put forward a comparative examination of typology in literature and film as an intercultural hermeneutic device. I argue

³ In the mid-twentieth century Auerbach highlighted the use of figural or typological meaning in medieval European literature and Perry Miller acknowledged the presence of typology in Puritan traditions. Subsequently, Puritan typology and its legacies have been extensively investigated by Brumm and Bercovitch, among others. In 1981, the importance of typology in biblical exegesis was reaffirmed by Frye.

that typology not only has broader applications—both geographically and temporally—than those previously identified, but also that a more sustained consideration of these applications is crucial to our understanding of the Americas both as a historical and as a metaphorical construct. The presence of typological rhetoric, imagery, and narrative structures that suffuse twentieth-century cultural production is both an extension of and a response to earlier narratives defining America as the New World. The use of typology in twentieth-century literature and film in the Americas, I contend, contributes to the cultural construction of a hemispheric American identity by appealing to concepts of divine election and, in contrast, by challenging the intellectual legacy of medieval and early modern European narratives of America as the fulfillment of a biblically inspired promise.

In the field of American Studies, the legacy of typologically derived meanings of America as the product of divine election presents itself under the often ostensibly secular guise of U.S. exceptionalism. The academic study of typology has traditionally functioned to strengthen the bulwarks of U.S. exceptionalism in two ways. First, typology has been studied as a distinctively Puritan method of interpreting American realities as fulfillments of scriptural prophecy, thus marginalizing or discounting the impact of other typological traditions. Additionally, the project of defining America as a coherent narrative has been approached typologically as an attempt to more satisfactorily fulfill the promise latent in earlier projects of American exceptionalism. While I recognize the important role of typology in bolstering U.S. exceptionalism, I argue that the influence of typology on cultural production in the Americas outweighs the current generally restrictive considerations of its impact as a particularly Puritan or U.S.-centered rhetorical mode.

Scripting the New World: An Introduction to Typological Exegesis

After providing a brief history of typology as a hermeneutical tool, including a discussion of its relation to other relevant methods of interpretation, I will trace its presence in discussions about the history and nature of America and analyze its uses in selected texts engaged in the project of “inventing the Americas,” both in the sense employed by Edmundo O’Gorman as an America invented in the likeness of Europe, as well as in the later usage by Enrique Dussel as a modernity that brought with it in 1492 an irrational violence that marginalizes and excludes the non-European.⁴

Historically, typology as a rhetorical mode can be traced from the Hebrew Bible and the Midrashic tradition of non-literal rabbinic commentary on the Hebrew scriptures (Korshin). David Damrosch emphasizes the connection between the presence of emblematic thinking in Genesis and the subsequent development of the typological mode:

The theme of separation links the Eden and flood stories, and so too does their emblematic treatment of character and event. Over the course of time, this emblematic way of thinking evolved into the formal typological patterns emphasized in the New Testament, but already in Genesis's reworking of the old Mesopotamian creation-flood epic it is possible to see the emblematic function of character (Damrosch 142-143).

The foundations for typological interpretation, consequently, were already present within the Hebrew scriptures. As Herbert Marks has noted, the Hebrew prophets “were consciously looking for a new David, a new exodus, a new covenant, and a new city of God” (79). David Berger further argues for the significance of messianic typology in early Jewish messianism, asserting that it was much greater than has been generally recognized (Berger).

⁴ See O’Gorman and Dussel.

However, the use of typology as an interpretive tool becomes more prevalent and systematic in Christian biblical exegesis, in part as a way of connecting the Hebrew scriptures to the Christian covenant. Traditionally, Christian typologists deploy the structure of type-antitype to the relationship between the two main divisions of the scriptures. This method of interpretation presents the Hebrew Bible as the Old Testament (the type), which prefigures the New Testament (the antitype). In fact, this method of interpretation is present within the text of the Christian New Testament itself. The passages 1 Corinthians 10:1-11 and Romans 5:14 include the Greek word *tupos* used in the sense of “warning” or “prefiguration” rather than the more common sense of “strike” from the verb *tuptein* “to strike.” Based on this specialized use of the word *tupos* Paul is frequently identified as the source of prophetic typology.

According to Ursula Brumm, “Paul was the first to conceive of it as a model in the temporal sense of its being a prefiguration of subsequent persons and events” (22). However, Brumm suggests that “[i]t was Tertullian who first employed the concept *figura* or *typus* to signify prophecy” (25) in his reading of Joshua, who led the people of Israel to the promised land, as a type of Jesus who later led the Christians to redemption.⁵ With Tertullian (ca.155-230 CE), typology became a systematic method of interpreting Old Testament scripture in light of the New Testament as evidence of the prophetic nature of history as a divine plan for human redemption.

Augustine of Hippo (354-430 CE), influenced by Philo of Alexandria’s allegoresis, further developed the typological method of biblical exegesis in support of his influential doctrine of signs. Augustine’s famous formula, “in the Old Testament the New is concealed, and

⁵ On Tertullian also see Auerbach, “Typological Symbolism.”

in the New the Old is revealed,” posits the relationship between testaments as fundamentally and structurally typological. In Chapter 27 of *On the Spirit and the Letter* Augustine explained the typological connection between the testaments as follows: “This grace hid itself under a veil in the Old Testament, but it has been revealed in the New Testament *according to the most perfectly ordered dispensation of the ages*” (emphasis mine). The concept of a gradual revelation that corresponds to a divinely arranged temporal order is consistent with eschatological models of history. Such models often find support in typological interpretation by indicating God’s use of types and antitypes as signposts marking the process of providential fulfillment leading towards the end of human history.

In the medieval period, typology was a well-established element of biblical interpretation, often subsumed under the categories of allegorical or anagogical interpretation. While allegory can refer to any figurative representation, anagogy describes a specifically spiritual or mystical figurative representation. A Jewish tradition of typology coexisted with Christian exegetical practice in this period as the typological readings of the Hebrew Bible by Rabbi Moshe ben Nahman Gerondi (1194-c.1270), also known as Nahmanides or Ramban, demonstrate.⁶ Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) argued in his *Summa Theologica* that “the very hiding of truth in figures is useful for the exercise of thoughtful minds” (118). Aquinas and other medieval exegetes, like the Early Church Fathers before them, applied typological interpretation only to scripture.

Inter-testamental typology provided a ready source of narrative and visual correspondence for early and medieval Christian writers and artists. The visual arts, particularly sculpture, architecture, and illuminated manuscripts, frequently employed images of Old

⁶ In addition to Funkenstein see also Caputo and Saperstein.

Testament characters and events typologically to illustrate Christian soteriology.⁷ In fact, visual typology is one of the most common ways of presenting inter-testamental typology and its legacies in twentieth-century film from the Americas will be explored in chapter five of this study.

Established typological tradition, however, is not limited to the study of Hebrew prophetic tradition or to parallels between the Old and New Testaments. Indeed, in what some scholars have designated “correlative typology” (Korshin 31) and in what can also be termed anagogic reading, contemporary history is read as the antitype of Old and New Testament history. Thus, for correlative typologists, the partial revelation in the scriptures finds its fulfillment in contemporary history. Perhaps the most influential proponent of this kind of exegesis was the Italian monk Joachim de Fiore (c.1135-1202). Fiore "argued that the history of Israel offered a complete prefiguration of Christian history [...] It was a method which derived from St Augustine, but which broke with the African Saint by its application to contemporary events and the immediate future" (Brading 23). Fiore employed a typological reading of *The Book of Revelation* in his prophecy of a new kingdom that would supersede the current age. Fiore taught that there were three states of the world corresponding to the three parts of the Holy Trinity. While the Old Testament was the age of the Father and the New Testament was the age of the Son, he foretold a third age of the Spirit, to begin in the year 1260, that would transcend and supersede the previous age. Although his beliefs were posthumously declared heretical, he was heralded as a prophet by many and a millenarian sect of Franciscans, known as Joachimites, adopted and further developed his ideas. The Joachimite influence on European understandings

⁷ On visual typology see Tkacz.

of the New World was already present in the ideas of Christopher Columbus, as his references to Fiore demonstrate in the *Libro de las profecías* (Book of Prophecies).⁸ In the sixteenth century, according to John Leddy Phelan, the mysticism of the Spanish Franciscan historiographer of New Spain, Gerónimo de Mendieta, was “permeated with a Joachimite spirit” even though he did not cite Fiore directly (15).⁹

Examples of communities that practice correlative typology in the Americas include not only the Puritans, who “dealt with their history as if it were a third Testament, fulfilling the promises of both the Old and New Testaments and approaching the end of secular history” (Conn 30), but also many other faith groups, including the *liboristas* of the Palma Sola movement in the Dominican Republic (examined in chapter two of this study) and the Saints, or the members of The Church of Latter Day Saints, also known as Mormons (discussed briefly in chapter one). The millenarian expectation present in numerous faiths is reinforced in the doctrine of The Church of Latter Day Saints by the presence of a living prophet: “Through a living prophet and continuing revelation, Mormonism is prepared to respond to change without succumbing to desacralization” (Underwood 140). As we shall see in subsequent chapters, correlative typology is the most prevalent kind of extended typology employed in recent literature and film. This kind of correlative typology in literature and film often combines the urgent prophetic warnings about the future characteristic of the jeremiad with the figurative descriptions also typical in allegory.

⁸ On Columbus’s intellectual debt to the convergence of Joachimite ideas and Franciscan Spiritualism see Milhou199-230 and Kadir, *Columbus*.

⁹ Another of Fiore’s admirers was Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) who placed him as a character in heaven in his *Divina Commedia*. Dante himself employed typology extensively in his literary

Figurative Language and the Anticipatory Logic of Types

The key differences between typology and other kinds of figurative language are the anticipatory logic of types and their historicity. Types are prophetic figures that are fulfilled, superseded, or abrogated with the advent of a spiritually more significant antitype. A type is not merely a symbol, metaphor, or allegory for something else, because a type must exist independently of its function as a partial revelation of a later or more significant antitype. Some typologists extend the practice of reading types as prefigurations or shadows of more significant antitypes to the natural world. Thus, in addition to temporal anticipation of a future event, natural phenomena can be read as earthly types of spiritual antitypes. The antitype does not cancel the historical or natural significance of the type. Such natural typology, like the more traditional historical typology, nevertheless adheres to the basic logic of fulfillment and supercession: whether the type appears in human history or the natural world, it finds its more significant fulfillment in its antitype.

In a typological worldview the relationship between the type and the antitype, and by extension between the past and the present or between the present and the future, necessitates a belief in providential history. Types are assumed to be part of divine providence and therefore the origin of a type must be divine creation rather than human inspiration. Therefore, while people, historical events, natural phenomena, and other objects can be types, fictional characters, events, and objects generally cannot be types. The use of typology to understand divine providence as progressive revelation lends a teleological urgency to this kind of figurative language.

work, as Auerbach has demonstrated, and was the first great theorist to expound the secular applications of such interpretation for literature rather than scripture.

Related Philosophical and Theological Concepts

As a theory of correspondence and an interpretive method for perceiving what is taken to be timeless truth, typology shares certain characteristics with other philosophical and theological principles of knowledge and revelation. A brief introduction to the concepts of *anamnesis*, the accommodation or condescension principle, covenantal theology and replacement theology, as well as inculturation will be useful for understanding how typology works in contrast to and at times concurrently with these related principles. A basic familiarity with these concepts will prove useful in distinguishing the boundaries of typology and its applications in literature and film.

Anamnesis

The Platonic theory of *anamnesis* as expounded in the *Phaedo* asserts that genuine knowledge must be remembered rather than acquired. Plato maintains that eternal truths are forgotten in the ordeal of birth and therefore must be recollected through reason and the cleansing of the body. Northrop Frye suggests a possible connection between typology and *anamnesis*: “The backward movement reminds us of, and is not impossibly connected with, Plato's view of knowledge as *anamnesis* or recollection, the recognizing of the new as something identifiable with the old” (81). Both *anamnesis* and typology locate eternal truths that can be recovered by looking to an earlier stage of human development. The revelation of genuine knowledge is not an inevitable progression for Plato, but it is always possible given that knowledge is eternal and accessible through recollection. In contrast, while typology also offers a method for reaching knowledge, this knowledge is revealed progressively at the historical rather than individual level and as part of a divine plan rather than as a function of human memory.

Accommodation

While typological hermeneutics were systematically developed in the early Christian period, the use of typology to retrospectively justify supercessionary practices supports the medieval principle of accommodation, also known as condescension, according to which *Scriptura humane loquitur* (Scripture speaks the language of humans): “Medieval Jewish and Christian exegesis shared the hermeneutical principle of accommodation: the assumption that the Scriptures are adjusted to the capacity of mankind to receive and perceive them” (Funkenstein 213). This principle was “fundamental to the medieval reflections on God and mankind, nature and history” (213) because accommodation, like typology, assumes partial revelation to be part of the divine plan for communicating eternal spiritual truth to humans.¹⁰ This exegetic principle was later secularized by Baruch Spinoza (1632- 1677) who proposed that while scripture does indeed speak the language of man, it does so because scripture is a historical document written by humans in their own language.¹¹ Similarly, twentieth-century writers and directors who explore the typological construction of America as the legacy of European colonization projects point to these colonial modes of thought rather than to the universal or the divine as the sources for typological narratives.

Covenant Theology

Covenant theology, sometimes also referred to as replacement theology, affirms the existence of a covenant of works, a covenant of grace, and a covenant of redemption as the implicit organizing structure of scripture. Explicitly formulated by John Calvin (1509-1564) during the Protestant Reformation, covenant theology is a central organizing principle in several

¹⁰ For a history of this principle see Benin.

Protestant denominations and particularly in the Reformed tradition. It proposes that the covenant of works between God and Abraham was superseded by the covenant of grace after the Fall, and that the covenant of redemption is an eternal rather than a temporal covenant and therefore supersedes the others in ultimate spiritual significance. While recognizing both continuity and change in the relation between the covenants, covenant theology, which Brumm identifies as “basically a typological idea” (32-33), connects old to new through the logic of abrogation, in which one covenant takes the place of another and one group of Chosen people supplants another.

In New England, the Congregational preacher and theologian Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) became an outspoken proponent of Covenant theology and sought to document the history of God’s covenant of redemption in part through the use of natural typology in his unfinished project, *A History of the Work of Redemption*. Edwards “hoped to write an enduring testament for the third and final portion of time. As he envisioned it, his project would be both comparable to and a supplement to the Old and New Testaments’ representation of the first and second large segments of history” (Scheick 12). The ambitious nature of such a project is clear in Edward’s plan to definitively document the covenant of redemption and thereby reveal in a New England context what had remained implicit and obscured in the biblical contexts. Covenant theology and Joachimite prophecy share a common dependence on correlative typology and these parallel traditions greatly impacted the development of typological tradition in the Americas.

Inculturation Theology

While scholars of colonial U.S. history have shown the close connections between typology and covenant theology in American Protestant thought, the connections between

¹¹ See Funkenstein on Spinoza’s secularization of the accommodation principle (219-221).

typology and inculturation theology have not yet been adequately traced. Unlike covenant theology, the focus of inculturation theology is generally on the evangelical message attributed to the existence of partial revelation (diachronic or synchronic) in non-Christian cultures as evidence of ecumenical or universal truth. Inculturation theology, as the recognition of the “*semina verbi*” (*Ad Gentes*, Article 1, No. 11), or seeds of God’s word in non-Christian cultures, was explicitly introduced at the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).

While the idea that the seed of understanding perceived in some pre-Christian cultures also exists in other non-Christian cultures was formally introduced in the 1960s, the concept clearly predates the Second Vatican Council. This doctrine can be read as an extension of the Church Fathers’ recognition that the work of certain classical authors demonstrated what they saw as a partial revelation of God’s word. Medieval exegetes also applied this idea in their reading of classical authors such as Homer and Virgil. Perhaps the best known example of this is the popular medieval interpretation of Virgil’s fourth eclogue as a prefiguration of Christ. This reading of Virgil’s fourth eclogue, clearly dependent on a typological system of thought, also corresponds to what will later become known as the inculturation of Christian faith.

More closely examining the concept of inculturation theology will allow us to understand commonly overlooked affinities between certain traditional Calvinist and Catholic exegetical practices. In addition, the comparison between the two practices sheds light on late twentieth and twenty-first century trends in Charismatic Catholic and Pentecostal Protestant movements that will facilitate the discussion of typology’s presence in twentieth-century literature. While inculturation is currently studied as a post-colonial phenomenon with roots in the Second Vatican Council, when the concept is studied more closely, it becomes clear that the basic ideas were present not only in patristic and medieval times, but in colonial Latin America as well. The

existence of these ideas in the works of canonical authors commonly associated with the development of a properly American discourse demonstrates that what scholars have labeled theological innovation is not particularly original at all.

Although the term inculturation (like the word fundamentalism) was coined in the twentieth century, the concept, as just noted, is not a novel one. The term has recently gained currency in discussions of contemporary uses of religious rhetoric in Latin America (and in Asia and Africa) as a growing number of religious movements adopt the concept. While the majority of recent studies on inculturation in Latin America emphasize examples from Pentecostal or Charismatic Catholic traditions, there is increasing interest among a range of Evangelical Protestant groups, perhaps aided by what Robert Mosher sees as Pentecostalism's example in leading other Protestant groups toward inculturation theology through its success in facilitating the meeting between culture and the gospel. Regardless of the future of inculturation theology, however, it seems clear that the recent attention afforded to this concept is, in fact, an extension of earlier trends in Christian thought rather than a theological innovation.

Typology and the Invention of the Americas: The New World and/in Typology

Despite the historical and cultural differences among the cultures of the Americas, the region shares a typological heritage that has not been sufficiently explored.¹² As Northrop Frye asserts, “the Protestant Reformation was an intensifying of the original revolutionary impulse in Biblical religion, and a renewed emphasis on the typological importance of the Old Testament was one of the results” (86). However, historians of Latin America have shown that “Catholics

¹² Cañizares-Esguerra argues that “although the Reformation and the rise of dynastic centralizing states introduced significant national and confessional differences, centuries of a shared medieval culture conferred uniformity onto most early modern European colonial experiences” (34).

were every bit as interested in developing typological readings of colonization as were the Calvinists” (Cañizares-Esguerra 83). In fact, the basic structure of typological correspondence is not restricted to Judeo-Christian tradition. As we shall see in chapters one and four, varieties of typological thinking also have a significant presence in several Native American traditions. One example is Moctezuma’s typological interpretation of Cortés’ arrival in Mexico as the historical and spiritual fulfillment of the Aztec prophecy of Quetzalcoatl’s return.

Thus while adequate scholarship explicating and analyzing Puritan uses of typology exists, the exceptionality attributed to typology in Puritan and later U.S. thought does a disservice to our understanding of how this interpretive mode functions throughout the Americas. The self-fulfilling nature of typological correspondence not only serves to connect the Old and New Testaments, but also allows for an elaborately conceived theological unity that becomes more meaningful than any of its individual components. In the Americas, typological arguments for the justification of conquest, colonization, and territorial expansion reverberate in subsequent literary interpretations of the meaning of America and the proper course of history. In the context of the European conquest and colonization of the Americas, a coherent typological narrative of the hemisphere, or a particular region of the hemisphere, has been promulgated in numerous literary representations of America as a New World either in terms of a heavenly fulfillment or a demonic perversion of the Old World. In both cases, the Americas are interpreted as a mirror, albeit a spiritually significant one, for Europe. Such interpretations, we will see, were not unique or original to Puritan thought. In fact, it is possible that Franciscan narratives about Mexico influenced Puritan and other Protestant interpretations of New England: “the inverted typological readings of the history of Mexico migrated into the writings of Puritan mainstream theologians” (Cañizares-Esguerra 104).

As Edmundo O’Gorman has affirmed, a European concept of America as the fulfillment of a biblical prophecy of a new heaven and a new earth predates Columbus’ arrival in the hemisphere later named America. This epistemological invention of America as a European concept is further developed by intellectuals working in the Eurocentric tradition of reading the Americas as a mirror for Europe. Drawing on a shared medieval tradition, early modern discourses about the meaning of America demonstrate typological significance in the colonizers’ tendency to view themselves as God’s chosen people, as spiritual antitypes and historical successors to the people of Israel. Frequent sightings of the devil’s hand at work in the American landscape and the demonization of the lands’ inhabitants as earthly types of the devil’s spiritual presence in America were used by both Puritans and Spaniards as a means of justifying their own cruelty and greed as part of a larger ideology in which “eschatology, providential-national election, and holy landscapes worked together to justify expansion and colonization” (Cañizares-Esguerra 30).

The violence that characterizes this theologically driven justification of marginalization, exclusion, and annihilation of non-European people and ideas is also characteristic of what Enrique Dussel has called “the myth of modernity.” The European discovery of America, even in its apparently secular, modern aspect, is also bound to typological thinking in that it claims to uncover or reveal a truth available to those who understand and promote the larger meaning of history as the expansion of European power. As Dussel explains, “Europe never discovered (*descubierto*) this Other as Other but covered over (*encubierto*) the Other as part of the Same: i.e., Europe. Modernity dawned in 1492 and with it the myth of a special kind of sacrificial violence which eventually eclipsed whatever was non-European” (12). Just as Christian typology reads the Hebrew bible as part of the Christian history of redemption, Eurocentric modernity reads

America as part of its own history and destiny. Both a biblical as well as an ostensibly secular, modern typology appear in literary representations of America as either the fulfillment or satanic inversion of a New Jerusalem, or the antitype of Europe in a Eurocentric script of history.

Christopher Columbus's *Libro de las profecías*

The *Libro de las profecías* by Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) demonstrates the weight he gave to biblical prophecies and their relevance to his project of discovery. Compiled between 1502 and 1504 but not published during his lifetime, the book along, with his personal correspondence and *postillae*, clearly exhibit a providential view of his role in world history. In a letter to Doña Juana de la Torre, Columbus writes: “Del nuevo cielo y tierra que dezía Nuestro Senor por San Juan en el Apocalipsi, después de dicho por boca de Isaías, me hizo mensajero y amostró aquella parte” (Varela 243; “Of the New Heaven and Earth which Our Lord has made, and as St. John writes in the Apocalypse, after he had told of it by the mouth of Isaiah, He made me the messenger for it and showed me where to find it” (West 60). While Columbus did not propose a typical role for himself beyond that of messenger, he did see himself as “a servant to the new David whom he believed to be King Ferdinand” (West 61) in accordance with the Spanish apocalyptic tradition of the period. Columbus's notebook of prophecies itself was intended as source material for an apocalyptic poem which was never written.

While many of the entries contained in the folios of the *Libro de las profecías* are passages in Latin from the Old Testament, it is significant that Columbus begins his compilation with a series of excerpts from various authorities, including Thomas Aquinas on how to interpret the Bible through the fourfold method of interpretation. The mention of figural interpretation is specific in Columbus' citation of Nicolas of Lyra's comments: “events that happened in the Old

Testament are figurative descriptions of things that will take place in the New Testament” (West 103). Here we can see that Columbus’ typology is primarily ahistorical, concerned with providence rather than progress.¹³ His apparent belief in Joachim de Fiore’s three-part division of history, however, allows him to suggest that his own role as divine messenger of the New Heaven and the New Earth was much more than an echo or repetition of previous discoveries and was in fact a central event in the unfolding providential plan.

Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga’s *La Araucana*

The epic poem *La Araucana*, published in three parts (1569, 1578, 1589) by the Spanish soldier Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-1595), draws on typological elements from the genre of the satanic epic in its description of the Spanish conquest of Chile. *La Araucana* is one of the earliest European works of literature written about the American hemisphere. Its author Ercilla y Zúñiga was an active participant in the battles he describes between the Spaniards and the Araucanos. While drawing broadly on literary references to Greek and Roman mythology in his treatment of the Araucanos and their leaders Lautaro and Caupolicán, Ercilla y Zúñiga establishes an inverted-mirror relationship between Christian Europe and non-Christian America, while also describing the historical Caupolicán as a Christ-figure for his people. Although it appears contradictory for a Christ-figure to emerge in a satanic mirror image of Christian history, the typological relationship between the two cultures as described by Ercilla y Zúñiga allows both meanings to coexist simultaneously: Caupolicán prefigures the coming knowledge of Christ among his people. The legend of Caupolicán suggests that while the Araucanos are still in thrall

¹³For a discussion of Columbus’ providentialism, see Djelal Kadir’s *Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe’s Prophetic Rhetoric as Conquering Ideology*.

to the devil, they will ultimately reject their temporary, false beliefs for the eternal truth offered to them, albeit at the end of a sword, by the Spanish colonizers.

Ercilla y Zúñiga asserts that the Araucanos worship the devil rather than God and that they believe their future depends on the devil's prophecies:

Gente es sin Dios ni ley, aunque respeta/ aquel que fue del cielo derribado, / que como a poderoso y gran profeta/ es siempre en sus cantares celebrado: / invocan su favor con falsa se[c]ta/ y a todos sus negocios es llamado, / teniendo cuanto dice por seguro/ del próspero suceso o mal futuro (21).

[They are people without God or law, although they respect the one who was thrown down from heaven, the one who is always celebrated in their chants as a great and powerful prophet: they invoke his favor with a false cult and he is called upon in all their dealings since they take all he says as assurance of prosperous events or bad future.]¹⁴

The diabolical rhetoric of the Arauco preachers is just as convincing to the Araucanos as the Christian scripture is to the Spaniards: “Algunos destos son predicadores/tenidos en sagrada reverencia, / que sólo se mantienen de loores, / y guardan vida estrecha y abstinencia: / éstos son los que ponen en errores/ al liviano común con su elocuencia, teniendo por tan cierta su locura, / como nos la Evangélica Escritura” (22; “Some of these are preachers held in holy reverence who support themselves only through praises and keep an ascetic and abstinent life: these are the ones who lead the common, frivolous people to error with their eloquence since they are as sure of their madness as we are of the Gospels”). The Christian scriptures are understood as a source of strength for the Spaniards, while the Arauco preachers are viewed as a source of insanity for the Araucanos. The Spaniards have been divinely chosen to colonize America because of their spiritual and physical strength. Ercilla recounts the conquistador Don García's words to his soldiers in which he stresses the Spaniards' unique claim to America as a new world:

¹⁴Translations are mine unless otherwise attributed.

Nación a cuyos pechos invencibles/ no pudieron poner impedimentos/ [...] que rompiendo por todo habéis llegado, / al término del orbe limitado: / veis otro nuevo mundo, que encubierto/ los cielos hasta agora le han tenido el difícil camino y paso abierto, / a sólo vuestros brazos concedido [...] pues en dos largos mundos no cabiendo, / veís a conquistar otro tercero, / donde podrán mejor sin estrecharse/ vuestros ánimos grandes ensancharse (481-482).

[Nation upon whose invincible breasts no impediments could be placed [...] that, breaking with everything, has arrived at the end of the limited orb: you see another new world, and though covered, the heavens have maintained the difficult way and step open for you, conceded to your arms only [...] for unable to fit in two large worlds, you go to conquer a third, where you can widen your great spirits without narrowing.]

While Don García proclaims it is the destiny of the Spanish to expand and colonize the New World of America, Ercilla demonstrates through the legend of Caupolicán that the fulfillment of Christian history depends not only on Spanish colonization, but also on the Araucano acceptance of Christianity. Ercilla's description of Caupolicán as a "bárbaro sagaz" (37; "wise barbarian") corresponds not only to the concept of the noble savage but also to the notion that earthly wisdom held by non-Christian people may be read as a type or prefiguration of eternal Christian knowledge. In the epic poem, Caupolicán is recognized as the chosen leader of the Araucos after holding up a heavy tree trunk for three days and nights. After this extraordinary feat he is received almost as if he were a king and those who doubted his leadership submit to his authority. The three-day duration of Caupolicán's test recalls the time Christ was said to have spent in the grave before he was resurrected and his power over life and death demonstrated. Instead of eternal life, however, Caupolicán's feat of physical strength is a declaration of his ability to serve as the earthly leader of his people.

After numerous battles, Caupolicán's tenure as leader of the Araucanos concludes with his willing submission to the Spanish colonizers. He offers to establish Christian law and obedience to the Spanish monarchy among his people: "haré yo establecer la ley de Cristo, / y

que, sueltas las armas, te prometo /vendrá toda la tierra en mi presencia/ a dar al rey Felipe la obediencia” (471; “I will apply Christ’s law and, weapons dropped, I promise the whole land will come to pay obedience to King Philip in my presence”). Although his offer is rejected and Caupolicán is sentenced to death, he requests baptism as a Christian, thus suggesting that his offer to facilitate the imposition of Christianity among his people was not motivated by fear for his own life or physical coercion. Caupolicán is savagely impaled on a wooden stake, an act that the author reviles: “si yo a la sazón allí estuviera, / la cruda ejecución se suspendiera” (474; “If I were there the crude execution would have been suspended”). The cruel and unfitting death of Caupolicán after his conversion to Christianity again suggests his role as a Christ-figure who knowingly sacrifices himself for his people.

The penultimate stanza of *La Araucana* reaffirms Ercilla’s faith that God (and by extension the Spanish monarchy) will forgive his offenses and remember his service: “sé bien que en todo tiempo y toda parte/ para volverse a Dios jamás es tarde; que nunca su clemencia usó de arte. / y así el gran pecador no se acobarde, / pues tiene un Dios tan bueno, cuyo oficio es olvidar la ofensa y no el servicio” (513; “I know well that in all times and places it is never too late to return to God who never used his clemency for art. And thus the great sinner should not become cowardly, for he has such a good God whose undertaking it is to forget the offense but not the service”). Similarly, the relation described between the Araucanos as the satanic image of the Christian colonizers is not eternal. Both Araucanos as well as Spaniards can be redeemed, as demonstrated by the legend of Caupolicán who accepted Christianity and died “con esperanza ya de mejor vida” (472; “with final hope for a better life”).

El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales*

El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616) was born in Cuzco, Peru and later moved to Córdoba, Spain where he died. Published in 1609, the first part of his *Comentarios reales* narrates the discovery of the Americas by Europeans, the encounter between Europeans and the indigenous world of Peru, and life under imperial Incan rule. El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's typological interpretation of the relationship between the Incan and Spanish empires, as well as his extensive use of biblical and classical allusions, find their most direct intellectual roots in the humanist thought of the Renaissance.¹⁵ The connection between humanist influences on Latin American intellectual thought and the typological interpretation of inculturated revelation can be observed in the works of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, as well as in the work of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, which will be discussed later.

The tradition of Christian tolerance and the emphasis on rhetoric as an evangelizing tool were introduced into Latin America in great measure through the ideas of Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). The impact of Erasmism in Spain, unforeseen by Erasmus himself, fostered the desire to evangelize the Americas: “Del erasmismo español se derivó hacia América una corriente animada por la esperanza de fundar con la gente nueva de tierras nuevamente descubiertas una renovada cristiandad. Corriente cuya existencia no llegó a imaginar Erasmo” (Bataillon 443; “From Spanish Erasmism a trend moved to America animated by the hope of founding a renewed Christianity with the new people of the newly discovered lands. A trend whose existence Erasmus never imagined”). According to Marcel Bataillon, many were attracted to “un Erasmo evangelista, transparente y actual en sus paráfrasis de los libros sagrados,

¹⁵ Franklin Pease suggests that “Garcilaso undoubtedly felt most comfortable within the biblical and Greco-Roman contexts” (35).

entusiasta pregonero de la cristianización universal del género humano” (452; “an evangelical Erasmus, transparent and timely in his paraphrasing of the holy books, enthusiastic promoter of the universal Christianization of humanity”). Bataillon’s comprehensive study on Erasmus demonstrates that, contrary to prior scholarly opinion, Erasmus’ influence on Latin America was anything but fleeting:

el evangelismo radical, utópico [inspirado por Erasmo], no fue mera ilusión del primer momento, lo demuestran las cartas de Mendieta, llegado a la Nueva España treinta años después de los Doce [frailes franciscanos], y como ellos convencido de que estaba en disposición la más de los indios para ser la mejor y más sana cristiandad y policía del universo mundo (453).

[the radical, utopian evangelism [inspired by Erasmus] was not a mere first-minute illusion, as shown by the letters of Mendieta who arrived in New Spain thirty years after the Twelve [Franciscan Friars] and like them was convinced that the majority of the Indians were disposed to be the best and healthiest Christendom and police of the whole world.]

The popularity of the idea of a utopian evangelism based on a humanist defense of tolerance draws on the theory of inculturation. The renewed importance of rhetoric in humanist thought emphasized the art of conversion through persuasion. While Gary Remer notes that “the humanists emphasized persuasion over force as a means to resolve religious disagreements [...and] emphasized ethics, which they believed to be the core of Christianity, over dogma” (3), nevertheless, the humanists believed in divinely revealed truths and thus tolerance of customs and traditions did not extend to a tolerance of different concepts of truth.

It is important to note that while some scholars (including Enrique Pupo-Walker, Margarita Zamora, and José Duran) have studied El Inca as a renaissance writer, others (Susana Jakfalvi-Leiva, Raysa Amador, and José Rabasa) see him as a writer who deployed renaissance rhetoric as a disguise. In fact, the *Comentarios reales* reveal the existence of a double discourse, which both critiques and affirms renaissance presuppositions about the New World. One

example of this double discourse is the comparison of the Incan world to the Christian world. With respect to the work of evangelization, the Inca explicitly states his understanding of the relationship between the Incan and Spanish empires as follows: “por experiencia muy clara se ha notado cuanto más prontos y ágiles estaban para recibir el Evangelio los indios que los Reyes Incas sujetaron, gobernaron y enseñaron, que no las demás naciones comarcanas donde aun no había llegado la enseñanza de los Incas” (28; “through very clear experience it has been noted how much more ready and agile the Indians who were subjected, governed, and taught by the Incan Kings were than the other neighboring nations where the teachings of the Incas had not yet arrived”). As well as serving as an example for the Spaniards, Incan rule is valued for having prepared the way for evangelization. El Inca suggests that the groups who received the “teaching” of the Incas were better prepared for the full revelation of the Christian “message” as communicated by the Spaniards than were those groups who were not dominated by the Incas.

The connection drawn between the two empires is not strictly one of imperial power. El Inca describes several typological “signs” to show that the Incan Empire was in close contact with the Christian God’s plan. He describes the Incan Empire as tending toward monotheism and points to the mysterious existence of a white cross (51-3), suggesting that the Incas benefited from a partial revelation of Christianity that other indigenous groups could receive only through Incan teaching. He also underscores the connections between Christian and Incaic worlds in the drinking of royal blood and the sacrifice of a lamb in an Incan ceremony (249-51). The goal of such comparisons between Christendom and the Incan empire (whose Quechua name, Tahuantinsuyu, means the Four Regions) appears obvious for the scholar Aldo Albónico: “Es evidente que en los *Comentarios Reales* hay el intento de reordenar la compleja religión del Tahuantinsuyu con el fin de ensalzar la tarea incaica de reducción de las idolatrías y, de esta

manera, su participación en el plan providencial del verdadero Dios” (Albónico 60; “It is evident that in the *Comentarios Reales* there is an attempt to reorder the complex religion of Tahuantinsuyu with the goal of extolling the Incan work of reducing idolatries and, in this manner, the Incan participation in the providential plan of the true God”). According to this reading of the *Comentarios reales*, Incan civilization was part of God’s plan in that it prepared the way for the Spaniards.

Friar Juan de Torquemada’s *Monarchia Indiana*

The Franciscan Friar Juan de Torquemada (ca. 1562-1624) was a historian as well as a missionary who left Spain for colonial Mexico as a child. His 1615 history of Mexico, *Los Veinte y Un Rituales y Monarchia Indiana* (1615), commonly referred to simply as *Monarchia Indiana*, draws on the ideas of numerous sixteenth-century historians including the Franciscan Friar Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604) and the Jesuit José de Acosta (1540-1600). Torquemada incorporated sections of Mendieta’s history of New Spain, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana*, into his own work including Mendieta’s evaluation of Hernán Cortés as “the Moses of the New World” (Phelan 108).¹⁶ Acosta, whose *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590) popularized the image of the Aztecs as Satan’s elect, also heavily influenced Torquemada.¹⁷

In the prologue of the second volume of *Monarchia Indiana*, Torquemada situates himself and his fellow Christians as God’s chosen people and heirs to the people of Israel:

Aquí podemos traer aquel blasón, que en otro tiempo tuvieron los del Pueblo de Israel, que por serlo escogido de Dios, decían: No hay Nación tan grande, ni de tanta estimación, que tan propicios, y cercanos tenga sus Dioses, como nosotros los Cristianos tenemos a

¹⁶ Mendieta’s *Historia eclesiástica indiana* was completed in 1596 but it was not published until 1870. Torquemada had access to Mendieta’s manuscript (García Icazbalceta; Moreno Toscano; León-Portilla “New Light”).

¹⁷ On José de Acosta’s view of the Aztecs see Cañizares-Esguerra 103.

Nuestro Señor, y Verdadero Dios; porque este es el Verdadero, y todos los demás son falsos, y fingidos (unpaginated prologue).

[Here we can bring that crest, which in another time was that of the people of Israel, who because they were chosen by God, used to say: There is no Nation so great, nor so esteemed, that has its Gods so favorable, so close, likewise we Christians have Our Lord and True God, because this is the True One and all the others are false and feigned.]

Torquemada presents his history of New Spain in the framework of the satanic epic by placing his objects of study squarely in thrall to the devil. The Indians, like other non-Christian nations, Torquemada argues, have the same names for their idols, thereby showing their supposedly common diabolical provenance:

los adoraron, con los mismos nombres (aunque diferenciados en la pronunciación de las Lenguas, por no ser una misma la de todos) y conócese en esto el intento del Demonio, que fue uno mismo, en los unos, y en los otros; es a saber, querer ser adorado de todos, en aquel ministerio, y prerrogativa, que atribuyó a cada cual de los Idolos, que con diferentes nombres introdujo en el Mundo, entre los ciegos, y engañados Hombres, que le siguieron en estos disparatados engaños (unpaginated prologue).

[they worshipped them with the same names (although differentiated in the pronunciation of the languages since it is not the same for all) and the work of the Demon, which was one and the same in these people and in the others, is recognized in this; to wit wanting to be adored by all in that ministry and prerogative that he attributed to each of the Idols introduced into the world with different names among the sick and deceived men who followed him in these absurd deceptions.]

Torquemada deftly reduces the cultural complexity of non-Christian cultures to an expeditious proof of the devil's influence. The parenthetical admission that the pronunciation of the names of divinities varies between groups suggests that Torquemada's perceived unity of nomenclature is most likely a direct result of a dualist attitude toward religion rather than any genuine linguistic observation.

Torquemada closes his history with an example of a natural type of General Resurrection. He witnesses the hibernation of a small Mexican bird that appears to die in October and

resuscitate in April:

Entre las Maravillas de Dios, se cuenta por muy singular, y rara, la Naturaleza, que puso en un Pajarito, que hay, en estas Tierras de la Nueva España, llamado Huitzitsilin [...] este dicho Pajarillo Huizitzilin busca lugar acomodado, según el instinto, que Dios le dio, donde pueda estar escondido [...] como pudiera estarlo muerto, y allí se trasporta, y está sin actos vitales, y como muerto, hasta el Mes de Abril, que con las primeras Aguas, y Truenos revive, y despierta de aquel misterioso sueño [...] Si Dios así conserva unos Pajaritos, y después los resucita, y cada Año, en esta Tierra se ven estas maravillas, quien dudara, sino que los Cuerpos Humanos, que son sepultados corruptibles, que no los resucitara Dios incorruptibles (622-623).

[Among God's marvels is the very singular and strange Nature that put a little bird, that exists in these lands of New Spain, named Huitzitsilin [...] this birdie Huizitzilin looks for a comfortable place, according to the instinct that God gave it, where it can be hidden [...] as if it were dead, and there it transports itself, and is without vital signs, and like dead until the month of April, when with the first rains and thunder it revives and awakens from that mysterious sleep [...] If God preserves some little birds this way and then resuscitates them, and each year in this earth marvels are seen, who would doubt that human bodies that are buried corruptible could not be resuscitated incorruptible by God.]

Torquemada relates that as he preached the concept of General Resurrection through the example of the bird, it flew overhead, drawing attention to itself. Here the bird functions not only as a natural type but also as living proof of Torquemada's own chosen status as messenger of God and as able interpreter of the signs or types that reveal the pattern of God's plan.

Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María*

Miguel Sánchez (1594-1674) of New Spain is the author of *Imagen de la Virgen María* (1648), the first known narrative of the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe. In his recounting of the apparition, angels "using that sacred mountain [Tepeyac] as a stage" (131) called to the Indian Juan Diego by name and alerted him to the presence of the Virgin Mary, who revealed herself to Juan Diego as the mother of God and instructed him to go to the bishop in Mexico City and to ask him to build a temple for her on the site where she appeared. Juan "humbly

worshipped and adored her and obediently hastened and hurried off, for true obedience neither replies in curiosity nor delays in negligence” (Sánchez 132). The bishop, Juan de Zumárraga, is not convinced by Juan Diego’s story and Juan Diego returns to the Virgin multiple times to receive further instructions. On the Virgin’s request, he fills his *tilma* (cloak) with flowers; after taking the flowers and giving them back to Juan Diego, the Virgin instructs him to return to the bishop. Upon his opening the cloak, the flowers fall leaving the image of the Virgin painted on the cloak and finally convincing the bishop.

Sánchez’s text popularized this apparition narrative and cemented the Virgin of Guadalupe’s role as a symbol of Mexico’s divine election and earthly distinction. While there is no historical evidence of Juan Diego, “[i]n the same way that Mary is the type of the Church, so Juan Diego is the type, the symbolic, representative figure, of all the Indians whose devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe brought them into the Mexican Church” (Brading 368). Sánchez affirms the special relationship between Mexico and the Virgin and extends his argument to the apparition of the Virgin of Los Remedios as well:

In the beginnings of the conversion of this New World, our Lady the Virgin Mary took special pains to lavish favors on the Indians, to gain their enthusiasm, instruct them, and attract them to the Catholic faith and to the shelter of her intercession, for we see that she delivered and revealed the two miraculous images which today we enjoy within view of Mexico City to two Indians, this one in the sanctuary of Guadalupe, and the other in that of Los Remedios (Sánchez 143).

Through the apparition narratives Sánchez presents an argument for the exceptional relationship between Mexico and the mother of God: “the discovery of the New World marked a new stage not merely in the institutional life of the Catholic Church, but also in its spiritual development, since the apparition of the Guadalupe image signified that the peoples of Mexico, not to say America, had been chosen for her protection” (Brading 75). Sánchez’s *Imagen de la Virgen*

María inspired later typological readings of the Virgin of Guadalupe, some of which will be discussed in chapter one of this study.

The national significance of the Virgin's special attention to Mexico was highlighted in subsequent practices and events as well: "It was in recognition of that unique distinction that it later became common to inscribe copies of the image with an epigraph taken from Psalm 147, 'Non fecit taliter omni nationi', 'It was not done thus to all nations'" (Brading 75). The importance of the Virgin of Guadalupe and Juan Diego for Mexican religious and national identity has flourished since the publication of Sánchez' text. The Virgin was used as a symbol in the campaign for Mexican independence in the nineteenth century and her image appeared on the banners of Father Miguel Hidalgo's independence movement in 1810. In 1999 John Paul II named the Virgin of Guadalupe the patron saint of the Americas and in 2002 he canonized Juan Diego, in this way recognizing the popular apparition narrative as official Catholic history.

António Vieira's *História do futuro* (1718)

The Jesuit missionary and Portuguese diplomat António Vieira (1608-1697) was born in Lisbon and moved to Bahia, Brazil with his family when he was 6 years old. As a member of the Society of Jesus, which was established in Brazil in 1549, Vieira drew on the intellectual tradition of the prominent Portuguese Jesuits Manuel da Nóbrega (1517-1570) and José de Anchieta (1534-1597). However, Vieira differed from previous missionaries in his understanding and typological justification of Portugal's role in history. In his sermons and other writings Vieira prophesied a central role for Portugal in Christian world history in the form of a Fifth Empire, a new Portuguese Empire.

Influenced by the ideas of Joachim de Fiore, Vieira wrote a typological history of the future in which he placed Portugal at the center. In his posthumously published *História do futuro* (1718), Vieira affirms that his book is a copy which appears before the original, in the same way that Abel, Isaac, Joseph, and David were images of Christ before he was born as a man.¹⁸ In his *História do futuro* Vieira emphatically announces a unique, providential position for Portugal and the Portuguese in the unfolding drama of divine history:

a melhor parte dos venturosos futuros, que se esperaõ, & a mais gloriosa delles será não só propria da nação Portugueza, senão única, & singularmente sua. Portugal será o assumpto, Portugal o centro, Portugal o theatro, Portugal o principio, & fim destas maravilhas, & os instrumentos prodigiosos dellas os Portuguezes (23).

The majority of fortunate futures that await and the most glorious of them will not only belong to the nation of Portugal, they will be uniquely and singularly hers. Portugal will be the subject, Portugal the center, Portugal the theater, Portugal the beginning and end of these marvels and the prodigious instruments of these marvels will be the Portuguese people.

Vieira justifies the lack of previous knowledge about Portugal's divine mission through a typological apology for the necessity of progressive revelation: "como podia ser, que contra verdade infallivel da profecia soubessem os antigos deste segredo, antes de chegar o tempo, em que Deos tinha determinado de o revelar?" (338; "How could the ancients have known of this secret against the infallible truth of prophecy before the time arrived in which God had determined to reveal it?"). Like Augustine, Vieira uses typology to explain that revelation is gradual. As we have seen in the works of other typologists in the colonial Americas, Vieira's

¹⁸ "Impossivel pintura parece antes dos originaes retratar as copias, mas isto he o que fará o pincel da nossa historia. Assim forão retratos de Christo Abel, Isac, Joseph, David antes do Verbo ser homem" (Vieira 9; "Impossible painting appears before the originals to depict the copies, but this is what the paintbrush of our history will do. In this way Abel, Isaac, Joseph, and David were depictions of Christ before the Word was man").

understanding of typology provides him with a tool for understanding not only the future of Europe but also the place of America in what is understood as a still-unfolding divine plan.

Vieira interprets *The Book of Daniel* in terms of Portuguese imperial destiny, claiming that “The Portuguese are to be the successors to the biblical Israelites” (Cohen 152). He argued that the full meaning of certain Old Testament prophecies had been obscured and that he was uniquely positioned to interpret them correctly by way of his knowledge of the Maranhão region of Brazil: “instead of rendering traditional exegesis irrelevant to the Amerindian framework, Vieira applied it, with the conviction that the Amazon backlands were the place God had chosen to reveal the mysteries of the Hebrew prophets” (Cohen 164). Like the Spanish Franciscan Torquemada, Vieira read divine revelation in the American landscape as proof of his own role as divinely elected revelator.

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’s *Loa for El divino Narciso*

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648?-1695), like El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, benefitted from a wide knowledge of renaissance rhetoric. However, while El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega wrote his *Comentarios reales* in Spain, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz wrote all of her work in México. Following the baroque tradition of Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561-1627), she wrote *loas*, short dramatic works which served as introductions to larger works of drama. In fact, current literary criticism recognizes her *loas* as among the most perfect examples of the genre. Of the many *loas* that she wrote, the one that precedes the sacramental play “El divino Narciso” (1689) is of most interest here for the correspondence it draws between the Aztec rite of the Seed God and the Christian Eucharist.

In this short allegorical drama, the European couple “La Religión y El Celo” (Religion and Zeal) discuss Christian and indigenous forms of worship with an indigenous couple “La América y El Occidente” (America and Occident). Through the correspondences between the two forms of worship, Religion interests America and Occident in learning more about the Christian God. Religion tells Occident that Occident already knows the Christian God, who is the true God of seeds. In the final scene of the *loa*, Religion explains to Zeal that the auto to follow will dramatize the predicament of America and Occident by using a classical example:

De un Auto en la alegoría,/ quiero mostrarlos visible,/ para que quede instruida/ ella, y todo el Occidente,/ de lo que ya solicita/ saber. [...] *Divino Narciso*, porque/ si aquesta infeliz tenía/ un Idolo, que adoraba,/ de tan extrañas divisas,/ en quien pretendió el demonio,/ de la Sacra Eucaristía/ fingir el alto Misterio,/ sepa que también había/ entre otros Gentiles, señas/ de tan alta Maravilla (389).

[An auto will make visible through allegory images of what America must learn and Occident implores to know about the questions that now burn within him so... Divine Narcissus, let it be, because if that unhappy maid adored an idol which disguised in such strange symbols the attempt the demon made to counterfeit the great and lofty mystery of the most Blessed Eucharist, then there were also, I surmise, among more ancient pagans hints of such high marvels symbolized (33).]

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz here, like El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, portrays indigenous religions as particularly fertile ground for the acceptance of Christianity through the identification of inculturated signs or types that can be fulfilled with Christian antitypes.

Typology in New England

In New England, American Calvinists also employed typology in their belief that the existence of shadows or types prefiguring Christian redemptive history belonged to the providential design that began with Genesis. While some Puritan typologists, such as Samuel Mather (1683/4-1725), author of *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1705), applied

typology strictly to inter-testamental interpretations of the Bible, others, including Cotton Mather (1663-1728), applied it more broadly. This can be demonstrated in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, in which chapter four casts John Winthrop as an American Moses leading the chosen people into the wilderness: "Accordingly when the noble design of carrying a colony of chosen people into an American wilderness, was by some eminent persons undertaken, this eminent person was, by the consent of all, chosen for the Moses, who must be the leader of so great an undertaking" (4). In Mather's formulation, the separation between the general population and the elect or chosen people is highlighted and the covenantal relationship between God and God's new elect maintained.

In the eighteenth century the most influential proponent of natural typology in New England was Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758). For Edwards, author of "A History of the Work of Redemption" (1739), the goal of all of creation was the communication of divine knowledge. Edwards understood types broadly as "a certain sort of language" (150), which, while not completely transparent, can be learned with the help of God: "God hasn't explained all but enough to teach us the language" (151). He interprets natural as well as historical phenomena as types. Edwards sees natural laws such as gravity as types of spiritual laws, the sun as a type of Christ, the moon as a type of the Church. This kind of natural typology depends on a vertical correspondence between earthly types and their spiritual antitypes. Edwards also saw winter as a type of the apocalypse (136), the invention of telescopes as a type of increased spiritual knowledge (146), and the growing economic power of New England as a type of the coming spiritual power of America: "the world shall be supplied with spiritual treasures from America" (101).

In the nineteenth century the symbolist tendency in U.S. Romanticism shows certain legacies of typological thinking. Ursula Brumm has argued that Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Poe and other nineteenth-century American writers inherited their use of symbolism from their Puritan ancestors' Calvinism:

Categories of thought derived from Calvinism or even older religious movements were being applied unconsciously to new secular situations. People ceased to believe in regeneration or depravity in the strict Calvinist sense, yet they continued to regard natural phenomena as expressions of a supernatural volition. More specifically, they regarded such phenomena as *types*, or repeat performances of previously given models (18).

E. Miller Budick identifies “typological affinities” (206) in the work of U.S. writers including Charles Brockden Brown, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Hermann Melville, but concludes that they did not see American history as the antitype of Christian history.

Twentieth-Century Legacies of Supersessionary Thought and Exceptionalism

Although the history of typological narratives in the Americas has a distinctly theological foundation, it is my contention that typological arguments also reverberate in twentieth-century secular cultural production in the Americas dealing with diverse religious faiths, as well as scientific, political, and cultural traditions such as Positivism, Marxism, Negritude, and Neoliberalism. Earl Miner, a major figure in the study of biblical typology, claims in *Literary Uses of Typology from the Late Middle Ages to the Present* that modern literary uses of typology are “no more than a sometimes lively and mocking, if hollow, form of what once had been religious vitality” (385). Miner’s statement suggests that typology no longer has an important presence in modern literature. My own research into contemporary literatures of the Americas reveals the contrary.

The continued use of typology reflects its expedient flexibility both as a convenient mode of retroactive justification and as an agent of narrative coherence. Regina Schwartz distills the self-fulfilling potential of typology: “Governed by the logic of similitude, but with no laws to legislate what constitutes ‘the similar,’ typological thinking can, with enough ingenuity, make anything fit anything else. What is fulfilled need not be precisely what was promised, for the promise itself can be reconfigured, retrospectively, to make it prefigurative” (Schwartz 115). While this mode has been occasionally recognized in twentieth-century U.S. literature, its importance is generally, though I argue misleadingly, attributed to a uniquely U.S. experience.

Even those scholars such as Werner Sollors who have written about typology in modern and contemporary literature have refrained from examining it in an inter-American context. In fact, Sollors himself identifies typology as particularly relevant to the literatures of the United States and has argued that the literatures of other countries in the Americas have not developed comparable traditions of typological imagery. In *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*, Sollors posits:

if the experience of migrating alone were the decisive factor, might we not expect that migrants to all countries would have developed typological imagery and jeremiadic exhortations? Yet the United States seems much more strongly affected by such concepts than other new countries, even ones as close by as Canada, Mexico, and Brazil (55).

Although much of the existing scholarship on typology in the Americas does indeed take U.S. literature as its subject, I suggest that this has more to do with the influence of Sacvan Bercovitch’s seminal study of Puritan typology than with a true scarcity of typological modes of thought in other regions of the Americas.

Emory Elliott appears to confirm the common conclusion that Puritan typology was exceptional when he states in his essay “From Father to Son: The Evolution of Typology in

Puritan New England” that “what makes the function of typology in early American thought and writing unusual, if not unique, is [...] that the special experiences of the New England Puritans seem to have provided a remarkable continuous analogy of biblical events [...] a basis for shaping a powerful cultural vision” (204-5). Sollors suggests that the prevalence of typological imagery in the United States is linked to a distinctive experience of migration, examining typology as “a flexible and suggestive way of looking at migration” (55) developed by the Puritans and adapted by subsequent groups, particularly in the United States, to bolster a cohesive group identity.

While typology provides a common framework within a recognizable hermeneutic tradition, writers and directors deploy typological imagery, rhetoric, and structures with a variety of results. Melanie Wright has argued that biblical traditions take on distinctive forms in the United States: “More consciously public and political than their sibling traditions elsewhere, they have adapted in response to their development in a society characterized by the interaction of biblical and secular energies” (11). She gives the example of Martin Luther King’s strategic linkage of the biblical and the political. However, these attributions of typology as exceptional to the U.S. notwithstanding, an assessment of other literatures of the Americas also reveals complex and powerful typological worldviews. In twentieth-century Latin America, as we will see in the following chapters, the biblical and the political are also combined in a variety of movements and traditions, including Liberation Theology and politicized millenarian groups.

The twentieth-century author whose work has drawn the most attention for its engagement with typology is William Faulkner. Sollors locates Faulkner as “the most important American writer who apotheosized and transcended the typological tradition. His novels amount to a comprehensive literary counterstatement to America as a promised land and to Christic

ethnicity, while remaining firmly within that tradition, too” (Sollors 53-54). Brumm reads Faulkner’s *A Fable* as a modern example of typological thinking. This may at first appear to contradict the logic of the type-antitype structure in which the latter must be more spiritually significant than the former. However, the character of Faulkner’s corporal “opposes not only the church and its rulers but also the ultimate basis of power, God Himself, by Whom he must necessarily be defeated” (Brumm 215). This is a notable revision in the already radical tradition of typological thinking, as the drama of fulfillment is once again extended beyond the biblically inspired structure of the Creation, the Fall, and Redemption. Indeed Brumm argues that “the age of Calvinism had to pass before Christ, to whom all types were originally connected, could himself become a type who is ‘fulfilled’ by a man who merges with him” (Brumm 212). We will see parallel uses of typology in the work of writers and directors from Mexico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Peru, Cuba, and Canada in the course of this study.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 1, “American Edens: Prophesying Paradise and the Politics of Performativity,” examines the typological implications of the search for an earthly paradise. The first section of the chapter analyses the construction of a new heaven on earth through apparition narratives concerning the Virgin of Guadalupe in the work of Rodolfo Usigli and the angel representing the continental principality of America in the work of Tony Kushner. The second section analyzes dystopian configurations of American Edens in Reinaldo Arenas’ *El mundo alucinante*, Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*, and Toni Morrison’s *Paradise*.

In Chapter 2, “From Papa Toussaint to Palma Sola: Messianism and Revolutionary Typology in Hispaniola,” I analyze typological prophecy and christological figures in literary

texts from and about Haiti and the Dominican Republic. After an examination of Toussaint Louverture and Liborio Mateo as New World messiah figures in the literatures of Hispaniola, I analyze the uses of typology to confer authority on literary traditions. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the political power of typology in literary representations of dictatorship and the legacy of slavery in twentieth-century Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

Chapter 3, “Redemption in the Backlands: Typology and the Promise of History,” demonstrates that representations of the Canudos campaign in Northeastern Brazil in the work of the Brazilian Euclides da Cunha, as well as in the work of Brazilian filmmaker Glauber Rocha and Peruvian author Mario Vargas Llosa, employ typological philosophies of history, while also critiquing them. Despite condemning the messianic character of the Canudos community, the three works redeploy in the ostensibly secular contexts of positivism, Marxism, and neoliberalism the typological method of historical interpretation that they disparage in a theological context.

Chapter 4, “Through a Glass Darkly: Rewriting Biblical Types in Fourth-World Typologies,” examines the uses of typology in literary representations of indigenous communities with a focus on Anishinaabe, Quechua, and Laguna-Puebla histories and cosmologies in the literary works of Gerald Vizenor, José María Arguedas, and Leslie Marmon Silko. These works employ intercultural typologies and liberation theologies as counternarratives to contest the application of supersessionary biblical typology as a justification for human exploitation and environmental degradation.

Chapter 5, “Visceral Types and Posthuman Futures: Alchemies of the New Flesh,” examines the use of typological narrative strategies, visual imagery and biblical references in film in David Cronenberg’s *Videodrome* and Guillermo del Toro’s *Cronos*, in which the

imagined space of the posthuman acts as an inverted type of the biblical Kingdom. The physical body and its transformations are presented as the necessary preparations for reaching this other-worldly territory of the posthuman, where both national and species identities are redefined.

Chapter 1—American Edens: Prophesying Paradise and the Politics of Performativity

The concepts of America as an antitype of Eden and the New World as an antitype of an Old World run throughout literary narratives of the meaning of America from European colonization to the present. What make the continued engagements of these concepts in twentieth-century American literatures particularly striking are the simultaneous debates about the secularization thesis and postmodernism. In the twentieth century the secularization thesis and Robert Bellah's development of the concept of civil religion contributed to the widespread assumption that modern ideas of nation were inevitably replacing premodern religious belief systems. However, the oversimplified premises and mistaken conclusions of the secularization thesis became clear amid resurgences of religious expression and more nuanced understandings of the ways secular and religious belief systems imbricate and interpenetrate each other.

Literary American Edens, then, become narratives of the overlapping secular and religious concerns of identity formation. Both utopian and dystopian constructions of America are well-represented in twentieth-century literature exploring the idea of America as an antitype or fulfillment of both spiritual and earthly history. The texts I have chosen to analyze in this chapter, whether utopian or dystopian, are representative of broad trends in twentieth-century literary engagements with the concept of America in that they both draw on the history of typological readings of America and simultaneously enact America as a performance. These enactments of America contain both *performatives* in J.L. Austin's sense of "language that acts, that brings about the very reality it announces" (Taylor 1417) and *animatives* in Diana Taylor's usage referring to "actions taking place on the ground, as it were, in the messy and often less structured interactions among individuals" (1417). These texts participate in the performance of

America while drawing our attention to the presence of typological narrative structures and unequal power relations underlying that performance. I begin my analysis by comparing the ways Rodolfo Usigli's and Tony Kushner's dramatic enactments of apparition narratives in *Corona de luz* and *Angels in America* present satiric, yet ultimately utopian constructions of American identity. In the second section, I analyze Reinaldo Arenas' *El mundo alucinante*, Toni Morrison's *Paradise*, and Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* as dystopic novels highlighting the powerful conjunction of civil religion and covenant theology in American identity formation.

Utopian Constructions of America and the (Re)enactment of Miraculous Apparitions

Narratives of divine apparition have contributed to identity formation in the Western Hemisphere since before the arrival of European colonizers. In several Native American cultures, rulers and priests were deified and succeeding generations were greeted as returning deities. In the Andean region Incan royalty were also representatives of divinity. In Mesoamerica the legend of Quetzacoatl, the Plumed Serpent god of the Toltecs who was later incorporated into the Aztec civilization, prophesied the return of the deity. This prediction according to the Aztec calendar coincided with the arrival of Hernán Cortés in Mesoamerica in 1519, leading the Aztec ruler Moctezuma to welcome Cortés as the returned Quetzacoatl. However, because the legend of Quetzacoatl has been understood through post-conquest accounts, it is possible that the events of the conquest retroactively altered the legend.¹⁹ Regardless of the legend's original contours,

¹⁹ According to Frank Graziano's analysis of the Quetzacoatl myth, it is "difficult to determine what predated conquest, what was generated by the invasion itself as its incomprehensibility was mythopoetically processed, and what was revised syncretically in retrospect to bestow upon European-American history a measure of meaning, coherence, closure, and adaptation to the new guiding paradigms" (182).

the equation of Cortés with a returned Quetzacoatl carried great performative power in ultimately establishing the relations of conqueror and conquered.

The widespread power of apparition narratives to enact or reenact religious, political, and cultural identity in America reaches its maximum expression in the numerous American iterations of the Virgin Mary. These apparitions in the Americas, beginning with the Mexican apparition of the Virgin Mary to Juan Diego in 1519 have continued throughout the twentieth century and into the current century with sightings in numerous locations from Argentina to Canada. The Catholic Church has officially sanctioned three of these appearances: that of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico in 1519; of the Virgin of Good Success in Ecuador in 1594; and of the Virgin of Cuapa in Nicaragua in 1980.²⁰ While the vast majority of the American Marian appearances have not received official church approval, their popular influence remains strong.

Other miraculous apparitions in the Americas include sighting of angels, apostles, Jesus, UFOs, and space aliens. One such apparition narrative describes the arrival of St. Thomas the apostle in the New World. This narrative, popularized and elaborated by the Jesuits, retroactively concluded that St. Thomas must have evangelized the New World because he was sent by Jesus to spread the Christian gospel throughout the world.²¹ Perhaps the most prominent narrative of an angelic visitation in the Americas is Joseph Smith's narrative of the Angel Moroni in

²⁰ For a recent literary treatment of the Nicaraguan apparition of the Virgin of Cuapa, also disparagingly called the Virgin of the Contrás for her supposed counsel to burn Marxist books, see Sirias.

²¹ For example, the Peruvian Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya (1585–1652), gave a specific account of St. Thomas's American adventure: "He began in Brazil—either reaching it by natural means on Roman ships, which some maintain were in communication with America from the coast of Africa, or else, as may be thought closer to the truth, being transported there by God miraculously. He passed to Paraguay, and from there to the Peruvians" (79).

nineteenth-century New York state. According to Smith (1805-1844), founder and prophet of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, Jesus himself also appeared in America on several occasions.

My analysis of literary narratives of miraculous apparitions demonstrates that whether these apparitions are sanctioned by an ecclesiastical authority, an organized religious community or neither, writers engage with these narratives both as *animatives*, or on-the-ground individual and group experiences, and as *performatives*, language that shapes reality, often through highly codified enactments of power relations. Rodolfo Usigli's *Corona de Luz* (1963) and Tony Kushner's *Angels in America* (1995) are both comedic plays about faith and nationality. Both take a satiric approach to the claims of institutionalized religion and its politicization, but are ultimately very serious about the power of faith and the shaping of identity through religious experience. The miraculous apparitions that occur in each play do not follow their respective observers' expected scripts. They fail to conform to the expectations their observers share, but nevertheless—and perhaps precisely because of their unanticipated features—the encounters between the miraculous and the mundane produce and cultivate faith in nation, life, and the possibility of change.

Rodolfo Usigli's *Corona de Luz* reenacts the story of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The play belongs to Usigli's anti-historical Corona trilogy which revisits events in Mexican history. Set in sixteenth-century Spain and New Spain, the play dramatizes the events leading up to and immediately following the apparitions of the Virgin in Tepeyac. The play proposes that the apparition was both a royal project responding to Spanish colonial opportunism and evangelical fervor and a miracle of faith. Usigli presents a colonial atmosphere of bald political machination while never definitively crediting the Spanish colonial machine with the creation of the apparition. The miracle is ultimately a miracle that occurs in spite of, rather than as a result of,

the apparition's elaborate scripting. In fact, the miracle has nothing to do with the apparition itself, but with the faith it creates.

Act I of the play opens in 1529 in Extremadura, Spain, where King Carlos V explains to his attendants that America is nothing more than New Spain. He therefore assumes that he himself rather than Columbus or Vespucci is its creator:

¿Qué es América? Eso no existe [...] ¡América! Disparate. No existe más que el Nuevo Mundo, que no es más que la Nueva España, pese a ese charlatán de Vespucio [...] Después de todo, es obra mía" (168); "Colón? Descubrir un continente es poco: lo difícil es administrarlo. ¿Qué sería del Nuevo Continente sin mis capitanes Cortés y Pizarro y Alvarado, y sin mis justicias, adelantados y obispos? (169).

[What is America? It doesn't exist [...] America! Nonsense. There exists only the New World which is no more than New Spain, despite that charlatan Vespuccio [...] After all, it's my own creation [...] Columbus? To discover a new continent is a small matter. To administer it is the difficulty. What would the New Continent be without my Captains Cortés and Pizarro and Alvarado, and without my magistrates and governors and bishops? (Bledsoe 10-11).]

Carlos' minister warns him that Spaniards in New Spain attribute divine stature to themselves:

"El español mismo, una vez allá, parece sufrir un cambio, cobrar una idea excesiva de su propia importancia, conferirse un rango divino, y trata de reinar sobre el indio, a juzgar por los informes" (170; "The Spaniard himself, once he's there—in America—seems to undergo a change. To judge from the information we receive, he acquires an exaggerated idea of his own importance. He confers on himself a divine Rank, as it were, and so is determined to rule over the Indian" 14). In the case of Cortés, the royal emissary reports, he sees himself as a new Adam and is engaged in the project of creating a new Paradise: "[T]engo noticias de que Cortés se siente Adán, señor rey, y se unió a esa india, la Malinche o doña Marina, lengua y Eva de Tabasco, como para fundar un nuevo paraíso" (171; "I have information to the effect that Cortés feels he's Adam sire, and that he got together with that Indian, the Malinche or Doña Marina, his

interpreter—whom he thinks of as a sort of Eve of Tabasco—so as to found a new Paradise” 14). The image of America as a land where a Spanish Adam, as an antitype of the first man in biblical tradition, and a Native American Eve can found a new Paradise is threatening to the Spanish monarch in part because it suggests a surreptitious transferral of authority from the Spanish monarchy to the figure of Cortés, but also because it symbolizes the beginning of a new mestizo reality that includes a cultural separation from Europe.²²

While the cardinal warns that the devil is at work (171), his advisor suggests that the problem is purely political (171). Carlos’ minister and cardinal agree that they must save the indigenous inhabitants of New Spain (172) and his emissary proclaims that the native people were already conquered by their own gods’ prophecies: “estaba vencido de antemano [...] por las profecías mismas de sus dioses” (175; “they were conquered beforehand [...] by the very prophecies of their gods”), while Queen Isabel mentions her devotion for the Virgin of Guadalupe, “mi Virgen predilecta, que es la Guadalupe” (180; “my favorite Virgin, the Guadalupe” 33). While Carlos’ minister suggests sending a politician or minister to Mexico on his behalf, Isabel states that the only path is the path of a miracle: “El único camino es el camino de un milagro” (180; “The only road is that of a miracle” 33). This convergence of ideas introduces the seed of a plan to orchestrate an apparition.

²² The concept of an American Adam also resonates in the literature of the United States. R.W.B. Lewis demonstrates that in nineteenth-century U.S. intellectual history, the figure that best represented the American myth was that of Adam before the Fall. According to Lewis, “the American myth saw life and history as just beginning. It described the world as starting up again under fresh initiative, in a divinely granted second chance for the human race, after the first chance had been so disastrously fumbled in the darkening Old World” (5). Lewis identifies the Adamic models in the novels of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Hermann Melville, and Henry James as well as the Adamic ideal of innocence in the work of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman and others as evidence of the cultural importance of the American Adam, a controversial hero figure that encapsulated the U.S. “ideal of newborn innocence” (6).

The play's second act is set in Mexico in 1531 in the presence of the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities of Mexico City as they debate Carlos' plan to make the Virgin Mary appear to the native people of Mexico. Friar Juan Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, explains that Carlos wants him to make the virgin appear in a Mexican aspect: "Que me sustituya a Dios Nuestro Señor y que haga aparecerse a una virgen que tenga una apariencia mexicana" (190; "He commands me to take the place of Our Lord and contrive the apparition of a Virgin who's to look like a Mexican" 52)". Zumárraga, referred to as Fray Juan by Usigli, concludes that the plan is to deprive the native people of all hope so that they will definitively submit to Spanish power: "Para dar al fin al español el señorío definitivo, para privar a todas luces al indio de toda luz y de toda esperanza, para que el indio se someta si se lo deja libre de adorar a una virgen suya [...] El indio, tendrá a su virgen; el español tendrá a su Iglesia y a Cristo" (190; "So as at last to give definitive lordship to the Spaniard, and clearly deprive the Indian of all light and all hope so that he'll submit if he's free to worship a Virgin of his own [...] The Indian will have his Virgin, the Spaniard will have his Church and Christ" 52). Fray Juan foresees the reinforcement of Spanish power and the further marginalization of the native people from the Catholic church as the results of such a plan: "Para que, como yo lo veo, el español siga siendo un dios para el indio y lo aparta de nuestra iglesia" (191; "So that, as I see it, the Spaniard will continue being a god for the Indian and distance the Indian from our church").

However, Motolinia (the nickname of Fray Toribio de Benavente) sees the plan more benignly as a religious play that could be a useful tool for cultivating faith: "me apareció lo *que deciais como una suerte de auto o misterio sacramental que podría ser útil a la fe*" (192; "while you were speaking, it came to me that it might be about a kind of holy play that could be useful to the Faith" (54). Valencia agrees on the practical necessity of giving people a glimpse of

Paradise on earth: “Ya es hora de que tratemos de dar el paraíso al hombre en el mundo y no sólo en el más allá” (194; “It’s time for us to try to give man paradise here on earth—not just there in the beyond” 58). Sahagún concurs and asks what could be wrong with creating an idol for the purposes of leading people to God as long as its creators know that it is an idol: “¿Qué mal puede haber en un ídolo que lo lleve a Dios? Qué importa mientras la historia y nosotros sepamos que es un ídolo? (194; “What evil can there be in one that leads him to God? What does it matter while history and we ourselves know that it’s only an idol?” 59).

While evaluating the plan, the Franciscan priests’ understanding of America as the typological fulfillment of Europe and their desire to see America as the earthly Paradise lead them to favor the orchestration of a miracle as a way to hasten the divine destiny of America as the New Holy Land. The conflation of the land and its inhabitants as potentially paradisiacal further supports the priests’ spiritual justification for the king’s political manoeuvre. Pedro de Gante sees New Spain as the spiritual answer to the threat of Luther in Europe: “¿No sería entonces por modo natural esta bendita tierra de la Nueva España el sagrario o sede de nuestra Santa Madre la Iglesia, la Nueva Tierra Santa, la Nueva Roma?” (195; “Wouldn’t it be natural that this blessed land of New Spain should be the sanctuary or seat of our Holy Mother the Church—the New Holy Land, the New Rome? (60). Valencia, referring to calculations of the location of earthly Paradise, expresses his desire for the king’s plan to make New Spain the New Holy Land: “No se ha dicho que el Paraíso terrenal estuvo situado en estas latitudes? ¡Ah, si ésta pudiera ser la Nueva Casa del Señor por el medio que nos proponen!” (195; “Hasn’t it been suggested that the earthly Paradise may have been situated in these very latitudes? Ah, if only this could become the New House of the Lord through the means they’re proposing to us!” 60). This desired use of performance to shape reality is grounded in a providential view of history as

the unfolding of a divine plan. Las Casas, the Dominican friar and archbishop of Chiapas, explains that God created time and that God knows how much time people need to reach understanding: “Dios creó el tiempo, como todo, y sabe cuánto necesita a menudo el hombre para ver la luz” (196) “God created time, as all things, and He knows how much time man often needs to see the light” 62). Therefore, there is no contradiction between the human creation of an apparition that leads people to God and the inevitable spiritual revelation of God’s unfolding plan.

The third and final act is set on the 12th of December, 1531. Despite the incomplete plan to orchestrate the apparition, four different men named Juan (rather than one person as in Sánchez’s narrative) come to tell Fray Juan Zumárraga that they have seen a woman who looks like the Virgin Mary. The priests cannot verify that the sighting was part of their plan and ultimately have no explanation for the apparition. Fray Juan concludes that the conversion of the native people will have a negative effect in that it will reinforce the exploitative power dynamics and economic interests of the Spaniards: “Convertimos al indio [...] Para que vayan al fondo de las minas o a picar cantera” (214; “We converted the Indian [...] So that they will go to the bottom of the mines or dig the stone quarry”). However, when the image of the Virgin appears from the fourth Juan’s tilma and native people gather outside the church and begin to speak of “Tlamahuizolli” (218) or a miracle, Fray Juan sees another side to the story: “Dejaremos que España crea que inventó el milagro [...] Hay que ocultar la verdad a Carlos y a todos, hermano, porque a partir de este momento México deja de pertenecer a España. Para siempre. Y eso es un milagro de Dios” (218; “We’ll let Spain believe that she invented the miracle [...] The truth must be kept hidden from King Charles—from all of them—Brother, because from this very momento Mexico has ceased to belong to Spain—forever! And that is God’s miracle” 107). Fray Juan no

longer sees the apparition as primarily beneficial to Spanish interests: “Veo de pronto a este pueblo coronado de luz, de fe. Veo que la fe corre ya por todo México como un río sin riberas. Ése es el milagro, hermano” (219; “All at once I see these people crowned with light, with faith. I see faith already running through all Mexico like a river without banks. That is the miracle, Brother!” 107). Fray Juan, who previously recognized the apparition as the performative enactment of repressive power relations, now recognizes the animative aspect of the event as well. The “Tlamahuizolli” or miracle resides not in the apparition itself but in the creation of faith in an independent Mexican identity.

Tony Kushner’s *Angels in America*, like Usigli’s play, dramatizes the typological underpinnings of apparition narratives that result in an acquisition of faith that is national and cultural rather than strictly religious. While *Angels in America* focuses on the lives of Jewish, Protestant, and Mormon characters, the crisis that threatens to result in national apostasy and resignation is not one of religion but of faith in the nation and in the future. The principal exigence for the play is the national AIDS crisis that began in the 1980s in the United States. Part One, *Millennium Approaches*, which premiered in 1991, is set in 1985. Act one opens with the funeral of Louis’ grandmother, Sarah Ironson. Presiding over the funeral, Rabbi Chemelwitz calls her “not a person but a whole kind of person, the ones who crossed the ocean, who brought with us to America the villages of Russia and Lithuania—and how we struggled, and how we fought, for the family, for the Jewish home [...] Descendants of this immigrant woman, you do not grow up in America [...] You do not live in America. No such place exists. [...] she carried the old world on her back across the ocean” (16); “She was the last of the Mohicans this one was. Pretty soon...all the old will be dead” (17). The sense of loss created by the death of Sarah Ironson and her generation of immigrants is compounded by the news that Louis’ boyfriend,

Prior, has been diagnosed with Karposi's Syndrome: "the wine-dark kiss of the angel of death" (27).

Louis is unable to support Prior in his illness and draws a connection between his positivist view of history as progressive and his inability to be compassionate: "this person's sense of the world, that it will change for the better with struggle, maybe a person who has this neo-Hegelian positivist sense of constant historical progress towards happiness or perfection or something, who feels very powerful because he feels connected to these forces, moving uphill all the time...maybe that person can't, um, incorporate sickness into his sense of how things are supposed to go" (31). Louis leaves Prior because his sickness and the larger AIDS crisis are inconsistent with his desire to view his own life as well as national and world history as a progression.

Louis's desire is mirrored by those of his new lover, Joe, an unhappily married Mormon man whose personal ambitions draw from his political and religious beliefs in the "chosen" nature of America. He tells his wife Harper, "America has rediscovered itself. Its sacred position among nations. [...] I need to be part of that, I need something big to lift me up" (32). While the legal system offers him an avenue for participating in and furthering the divine fulfillment of America's sacred position, Joe sees his own struggles with sexuality and faith as a reiteration of Jacob's biblical struggle with the angel: "Jacob wrestles with the angel. [...] I'm....It's me. In that struggle. Fierce, and unfair. The angel is not human, and it holds nothing back, so how could any human win, what kind of a fight is that?" (55-56). For Joe, the script for national advancement is divinely sanctioned, and therefore eminently if not inevitably achievable, but the individual struggle for fulfillment seems almost impossible.

While Louis, Joe, and Harper struggle with their faith traditions and the trajectories of their lives, the Angel (which is later revealed to be the Angel of the Continental Prinicpality of America) appears to Prior.²³ The angelic voice that precedes the apparition is first heard in Act 2. The voice announces itself to Prior and clarifies that it is not death, but a messenger:

I am no nightbird. I am a messenger... [...] Soon I will return, I will reveal myself to you; I am glorious, glorious; my heart, my countenance and my message. You must prepare. [...] A marvelous work and a wonder we undertake, an edifice awry we sink plumb and straighten, a great Lie we abolish, a great error correct, with the rule, sword and broom of Truth! (68).

Prior, lying sick and abandoned in the hospital, assumes he is delusional. He is then visited by ancestors also named Prior from the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries: “We’ve been sent to declare her fabulous incipience. They love a well-paved entrance with lots of heralds” (93). Both died of plagues and the apparitions suggest that among the many Priors they were enlisted to announce the Angel “because of the mortal affinities” (93). Prior’s ancestors explain his position as a prophet to him: “We two come to strew rose petal and palm leaf before the triumphal procession. Prophet. Seer. Revelator. It’s a great honor for the family” (94). The preparations for the apparition and the attribution of honor to Prior’s family based on his role as prophet suggests that the Angel’s arrival will be a ceremonious event.

In Act 3 Louis expounds his theory that there are no angels in America because America is strictly a political nation:

Power is the object [...] the thing about America, I think, is that ultimately we’re different from every other nation on earth, in that, with people here of every race, we can’t...Ultimately what defines us isn’t race, but politics. [...] here there are so many small problems, it’s really just a collection of small problems, the monolith is missing.

²³ The name Prior, also the title of a monastery leader, shared by a line of the character’s ancestors, also suggests that he is situated before something or someone yet to come.

Oh, I mean, of course I suppose there's the monolith of White America. White Straight America (96).

Louis sees America as “a country where no indigenous spirits exist—only the Indians, I mean Native American spirits and we killed them off so now, there are no gods here, no ghosts and spirits in America, there are no angels in America, no spiritual past, no racial past, there's only the political” (98). Part one of the play ends with the Angel crashing through the ceiling of Prior's apartment and announcing itself: “Greetings, Prophet; The Great Work begins: The Messenger has arrived” (125). Therefore, while Louis rationalizes his view of the U.S. as political to the exclusion of the spiritual, Prior's lived experience of an angelic visitation that is both miraculous and campy, spiritual and Hollywoodesque, points to the absurdity of the mutual exclusivity Luis perceives between the spiritual and the American, in this case more specifically referring to the United States.

The title of the second part of the play, *Perestroika*, suggests both a reference to Mikhail Gorbachev's economic plan to restructure the Soviet Union initiated in 1985 and the approaching end of the Cold War, as well as a reference to the restructuring of American identity as exemplified in the lives of the play's characters. *Perestroika* begins with an epigraph from Ralph Waldo Emerson's “On Art” that establishes an intellectual genealogy for the play that can be traced back to a progressive vision of spiritual history and individual development: “Because the soul is progressive, it never quite repeats itself, but in every new act attempts the production of a new and fairer whole” (145). The *dramatis personae* of *Perestroika* describes the previously mysterious character of the Angel. Here we learn that the Angel is comprised of “four divine emanations, Fluor, Phosphor, Lumen and Candle; manifest in One: the Continental Principality

of America. She has magnificent gray steel wings” (137). The regional character of the Angel as well as her gender are now specified.

While part one explores the events leading up to the appearance of the Angel, part two focuses on Prior’s struggle with the Angel. The Angel announces itself as four emanations in one continental being and informs Prior that he has been chosen to become an American prophet:

III

Am the Bird of America, the Bald Eagle,
 Continental Principality,
 LUMEN PHOSPHOR FLUOR CANDLE!
 I unfold my leaves, Bright steel,
 [...]
 American Prophet tonight you become,
 American Eye that pierceth Dark,
 American Heart all Hot for Truth,
 The True Great Vocalist, the Knowing Mind,
 Tongue-of-the-Land, Seer-Head! (170).

While the Angel is a continental rather than a national being, the Angel’s equation of herself with the bald eagle as the bird of America suggests a North American rather than a hemispheric definition of America. The national bird of the United States, the bald eagle also inhabits northern Mexico and Canada but is not indigenous to Central or South America. The synecdoche of North America for all of America employed by Kushner is in keeping with synecdochical U.S. national self-definitions of America. In fact, when the Angel appears in New York City to tell Prior “Heaven here reaches down to disaster/ And in touching you touches all of Earth” (173),

New York City becomes the privileged site of divine intervention into a world-wide AIDS crisis that a narrowly defined American prophet has been chosen to address as a messenger for the world.

Upon learning his destiny from the Angel, Prior tells his friend Belize, “I’m a prophet [...] I’ve been given a prophecy. A book. Not a physical book, or there was one but they took it back, but somehow there’s still this book. In me. A prophecy. It...really happened, I’m...almost completely sure of it” (169). Prior’s description of the book that was taken back and his role as a modern prophet suggests a similarity to the experience narrated by Joseph Smith in the nineteenth century which in turn evokes John being shown the book in Revelation. Prior’s location in New York (albeit the city rather than upstate), his attempts to communicate his vision to a friend who goes by the name Belize, and most significantly the Angels instructions to dig up “Sacred Prophetic Implements” (171) parody Mormon narratives of the Angel Moroni, all the while suggesting that Prior’s vision may not be incompatible with Joseph Smith’s. All does not go according to plan, however, when the Angel realizes that Prior does not know how to find the implements and requires assistance. The Angel, exasperated by Prior’s ineptitude, does not hesitate to modify the script and duly notes: “Revision in the text: The Angel did help him” (172). The leather suitcase with bronze glasses, with rocks in place of lenses, that are used to read the book made of steel are comedic references to Joseph Smith’s seer stones which he used to read the golden plates of the book of Mormon.

The Angel describes heaven as “a city Much Like San Francisco” (176) that has fallen into disrepair because God left on the day of the Great San Francisco Earthquake of April 18, 1906 (177). The Angel announces that the restless movement of humans distracted God and caused him to leave heaven. Therefore the Angel invokes a supersession of old laws governing

the human: “we have written: STASIS! The END” (180). Prior believes he is witnessing the approaching end of his own life and is filled with the desire to flee when the Angel proclaims him the bearer of the new law: “FOR THIS AGE OF ANOMIE: A NEW LAW!” (182).

Language as proclamation is here used by the Angel in a performative sense to bring about a stasis that will supersede the chaotic but dynamic present. Prior, however, refuses to play his part in the performance and resists the divine script.

In Act four, Prior receives counsel on the meaning of the angelic visit while another performative use of language to shape reality is described as the lawyer Roy Cohn tells the legal clerk, Joe, that “Lawyers are ...the High Priests of America. We alone know the words that made America. Out of thin air. We alone know how to use The Words. The Law” (221). Kushner’s Cohn is based on the historical anti-communist zealot Roy Cohn who came to prominence during the McCarthy era after helping to secure a conviction against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in 1951. In fact, Kushner’s Cohn is visited by the apparition of Ethel Rosenberg who challenges Cohn’s view of his role in history. When Cohn proclaims to her: “I have *forced* my way into history. I aint’ never gonna die” (118) she responds, “[h]istory is about to crack wide open. Millennium approaches” (118). Prior is counseled in his interactions with the Angel by Joe’s mother Hannah who has come from Salt Lake City to find her son. Hannah initially tells Prior that God feeds disobedient prophets to whales (236), referring to the story of Jonah, but she subsequently elaborates that “An angel is just a belief, with wings and arms that can carry you. It’s naught to be afraid of. If it lets you down, reject it. Seek for something new” (237).

In Act 5 Prior rejects the book offered to him by the Angel and, while he ascends to heaven with the Angel, Prior, like Jacob, chooses to wrestle with it rather than obey it. In heaven Prior is described as looking like Charles Heston as Moses in the Hollywood film *The Ten*

Commandments and heaven itself does indeed look like San Francisco post 1906 (252). These allusions to U.S. cinematic culture and urban history reinforce the notion that heaven is an idea modeled after lived historical and cultural experience rather than an other-worldly reality that transcends the earthly. Prior begins to see heaven not as a divine antitype of a more perfect earth, but as a shadow that can only suggest the beauty of the earthly city: “Oh but the real San Francisco, on earth, is unspeakably beautiful” (254), he exclaims.

Despite the comedic effect caused by the inversion of the earthly city as the antitype and heaven as a mere type, Prior’s experience of heaven suggests that America itself is the true albeit imperfect heaven. In fact, “*Angels in America*—like *The Book of Mormon*—demonstrates that there are angels in America, that America is in essence a utopian and theological construction, a nation with a divine mission...Politics...is subordinated to utopian fantasies of harmony in diversity, of one nation under a derelict God” (Savran 31). The Angel, accompanied now by the angelic principalities of Asia, Africa, Europe, Oceania, Australia, and Antarctica, is bound by fear and uses its power to perform a constant state of emergency in heaven: “Permanent Emergency Council is now in Session” (260).

Prior, now acting as a representative of the earthly America, refuses his role as prophet of the divine project of stasis: “We’re not rocks—progress, migration, motion is...modernity. It’s animate, it’s what living things do. We desire” (263-4). The static nature of heaven is juxtaposed with the dynamic process of life on earth. As he leaves heaven, Prior, who comes from a long line of Protestants, is told by a Rabbi: “You should struggle with the Almighty [...] It’s the Jewish way” (269). This reaffirms Prior’s decision not to obey the orders of heaven and to seek fulfillment in life on earth. While Prior leaves heaven for earth, Harper, Joe’s estranged wife, leaves New York for San Francisco in an attempt to seek out her own American paradise: life as

a progressive evolution towards something better. On a plane to San Francisco she tells herself: “Nothing’s lost forever. In this world there is a kind of painful progress. Longing for what we’ve left behind, and dreaming ahead” (275).

The play concludes with an epilogue set in the early 1990s after the Cold War has ended around the Fountain of Bethesda in New York City’s Central Park. The characters share a prophecy of personal renewal that both draws on religious prophecies of the millennial kingdom and attempts to supersede them by placing them in the context of American political life:

Hannah: When the Millennium comes... Prior: Not the year two thousand, but the Capital M Millennium... Hannah: Right. The fountain of Bethesda will flow again. And I told him I would personally take him there to bathe. We will all bathe ourselves clean. Louis: Not literally in Jerusalem, I mean we don’t want this to have sort of Zionist implications, we... [...] Prior: I’m almost done. The fountain’s not flowing now, they turn it off in the winter, ice in the pipes. But in the summer it’s a sight to see. I want to be around to see it. I plan to be. I hope to be. [...] You are fabulous creatures, each and every one. And I bless you: More Life. The Great Work Begins (279-280).

The message of the American prophet, then, is one of life and movement rather than stasis. Prior, like Jacob, shows his strength and earns his blessing by resisting rather than obeying the Angel that appears to him. Similarly, the play suggests that America’s role as defined by U.S. culture is antitypical in its ability to perform itself progressively as an animative rather than as traditional performatives which serve to dictate reality through language. Like Usigli’s *Corona de luz*, Kushner’s *Angels in America* presents faith in the future of the nation, rather than in religion, as the miraculous result of performing America.

New Jerusalem to New Captivity: Civil Religion and the Secularization Thesis in New World

Dystopia

In contrast to the utopian projections of American promise in the dramatic works of Usigli and Kushner, the violently dystopic worlds portrayed in Reinaldo Arenas' *El mundo*

alucinante (1969), Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1988), and Toni Morrison's *Paradise* (1997) serve as chilling reminders of the dangers that theocratic regimes pose both for political dissidents and for nonconformists and otherwise marginalized subjects. These novels depict regime changes, historical and fictional, that exacerbate rather than alleviate the erosion of individual civil liberties. The progression from colony to independent nation in Mexico, hinted at in the conclusion of Usigli's *Corona de Luz* as originally inspired by a miracle of faith, in Arenas' novel is depicted as a purely political shift that does not entail a corresponding change in the status of the marginalized subject. The colonial subject becomes a citizen in name only. While Arenas' novel has been analyzed in terms of its anticolonialism (McClennen; Snauwaert), its relationship to the baroque picaresque novel (Abello; Willis), its use of postmodern parody (Herrero-Olaizola; Peguero Mills), and as an example of new trends in Latin American historical fiction (Barrientos), I analyze the use of religious rhetoric and themes in *El mundo alucinante* to highlight the parallels that the novel draws between theocratic governments and secular authoritarian regimes.

In Atwood's novel, the shift from a late twentieth-century capitalist state in the United States to the theocratic regime of Gilead results in the deportation of non-white people, feminists, and other "undesirables" to transient work camps known as "The Colonies." A rigid class scheme based on gender, age, marital status, and viability of the ovaries, is imposed on the inhabitants remaining within Gilead proper. In *Paradise* a community of former slaves travels west from Mississippi and Louisiana to Oklahoma to establish the town of Haven after encountering prejudice in both white and light-skinned black communities. The descendants of Haven, drawing on the stories of their ancestors' color-based exclusion and exodus and believing themselves divinely chosen, move further west within Oklahoma to found the town of Ruby. The

town authorities or “new fathers” see its mission as a divine mandate to remain a self-contained refuge of racial purity and tradition. However, the official history of the town is constantly rewritten to exclude those who break the unwritten rule against miscegenation. The apparently peaceful enclave, within whose boundaries God has supposedly willed that none should die, erupts in a violent confrontation with the women living in the nearby convent.

These novels draw parallels between the dystopic worlds they depict and twentieth-century social situations. Arenas sets his narrative in nineteenth-century Mexico to reflect on and critique his native Cuba of the 1960s. Atwood's novel imagines a Puritan-inspired authoritarian Christian government in the late 1990s as a response to the Reagan administration in the U.S. of the 1980s. Morrison's novel critiques community formation based on covenant theology and the use of race, gender, and other categories to exclude and harm others. As works that incorporate aspects of speculative fiction, these novels use what Madonne Miner has called, in reference to Atwood's novel, a “suggestive mixing of past and present [...] which most often generates other worlds as comment upon our own. Such fiction raises questions not only about what might happen, but also about what is happening” (Miner 150). These novels portray repressive uses of ecclesiastic authority and religious rhetoric not primarily to critique existing theocratic governments, but to highlight the dangers of authoritarianism and social control in general. The overtly theocratic settings of the novels serve to underscore the affinities between theocratic regimes and supposedly secular modern societies. The exploration of the convergence between political and religious authority in societies past, present, and future, in these texts provides a corrective lens through which to reconsider the dominant sociological narrative of secularization.

The secularization thesis, “often argued to be at the core of each major tradition of sociological theory” (Crippen 317), suggests that the modern world has witnessed not only an

increased separation of church and state, but also a general decrease in the social importance of religion. In the study of U.S. religious experience, Perry Miller and his followers “tell the story of community life in America as a series of 'breakdowns'- decline from an organic, religious golden age to an impersonal, secular, usually materialistic one” (Curtis 328). Other versions of this thesis, proposed by thinkers such as Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber, while varied, all depend to a degree on the modernization theory, which, according to Susan Curtis, “offered a way of charting human social development from primitive, religious, tightly knit communities with low levels of technology to complex, rational, impersonal societies marked by industrial activity and city life” (328). While the modernization theory has been largely discarded by contemporary scholars, the secularization thesis maintains a place in the study of religious experience in the New World. Alternatively, scholars such as Timothy Crippen have argued for a transformation rather than a diminution of the importance of religion.

The notion that in the United States the role of traditional religion was taken up by civil religion can be traced to Robert Bellah's article “Civil Religion in America” (1967). Bellah's hypothesis suggested that the use of religious symbolism and rhetoric should be taken seriously in national discourse and not discounted as rhetorical flourish. Bellah himself clarified that his concept of civil religion draws on a broad phenomenon of national and cultural self-understanding through religion not unique to the United States: “I conceive of the central tradition of the American civil religion not as a form of national self-worship but as the subordination of the nation to ethical principles that transcend it in terms of which it should be judged. I am convinced that every nation and every people come to some form or religious self-understanding whether the critics like it or not” (Bellah 1).

Nevertheless, scholars have read into Bellah's concept of an American civil religion a connection between U.S. exceptionalism and the use of religious themes and rhetoric: "For Robert Bellah, the theme of Israel *has* provided the United States a sense of continuity with a sacred past and unique identity as an exemplary *American* Israel. The theme of Israel and related themes of death, birth, sacrifice, and redemption together comprise a 'civil religion'" (Fenn 506). Besides providing an apparent theological grounding for American exceptionalism, this expanded or misconstrued concept of civil religion can also serve to dehumanize those on its periphery: "To the extent that a strong sense of the otherness of God is downplayed in the language of civil religion, a corresponding sense of the humanity of people who are not defined as citizens of the republic may also be lost, along with their rights, their property, and their lives" (Moseley 15). This analysis of civil religion echoes that of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who first introduced the concept in the 18th century as "a purely civil profession of faith, the articles of which are for the sovereign to establish...The sovereign can banish from the State anyone who does not believe them" (Rousseau 4.8).

The novels by Arenas, Atwood, and Morrison can be read simultaneously as warnings and history lessons pointing out the dangerous continuities between theocratic regimes and supposedly secular modern governments. By analyzing the ways in which they question the secularization thesis and highlight the dangers of civil religion, these texts characterize the shift from tradition to modernity as one marked by significant continuities in the ways in which power is wielded. The supposedly secular modern governments of the late twentieth-century U.S. and Cuba are the targets of biting satire in the novels of Atwood and Arenas. Arenas uses the baroque picaresque genre and Atwood uses the genre of speculative fiction to frame discussions of past and future societies, respectively, and their affinities with the contemporary societies in which

the authors were writing. Morrison uses the model of the New England separatists to imagine how a community of African Americans that formed after the Civil War to support each other after being excluded by others could ultimately base its identity on an exclusionary covenant theology. These novels highlight the practical impossibility of definitively distinguishing between the deployment of theocratic and secular political power in the Americas. The power structures described in these three novels appropriate all expedient modes of manipulation, recalling what Henry Goldschmidt has referred to in a different context as “the enduring significance of religion in the social and political life of the Americas, as well as the constitutive links between racial, national, and religious identities” (14).

In Reinaldo Arenas’s *El mundo alucinante* the novel’s protagonist, Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, serves as a type for Arenas himself. While Arenas pays particular attention to the historical Mier’s biography and writings, he also gives him new significance as a historical and spiritual precursor who sheds light on his own twentieth-century predicament. Arenas draws this identification explicitly in his introductory letter to Mier: “Lo más útil fue descubrir que tú y yo somos la misma persona” (23; “The most useful thing was to discover that you and I are the same person”). Arenas’ Mier, like his historical model, preaches that Saint Thomas the apostle appeared to the Native Americans. This is significant because the apparition of St. Thomas in the Americas before the arrival of Columbus invalidates the missionary colonial endeavor. If St. Thomas brought the gospel to the Americas, there is no religious justification for the colonizers’ actions. This blasphemous sermon earns Mier the ire of the ecclesiastic establishment. He is incarcerated and manages to escape multiple times, living the life of a fugitive much like Arenas himself.

The correspondence Arenas draws between himself and his character can best be described as typological rather than simply allegorical, because the story of Mier is more than the story of Arenas camouflaged. It is a revisitation of the history of the continent and of one of its victims and believers. Mier questions the European attribution of edenic qualities to the inhabitants of the Americas:

¿Hasta cuándo seremos considerados como seres paradisiacos y lujuriosos, criaturas de sol y agua?... ¿Hasta cuándo vamos a ser considerados como seres mágicos guiados por la pasión y el instinto...esos principios-. [...] ¿Hasta cuándo vamos a permanecer en perpetuo descubrimiento por ojos desconocidos?”(149).

[Until what far day will we always be seen as creatures of a lustful paradise, walking nude through our vast garden, creatures of sun and water? Until what far day will we forever be considered magical beings led by passion and base instinct? [...] Until what distant day are we to remain in perpetual discovery by perpetually unseeing eyes?... (Hurley 107).]

While Arenas' Mier is aware of the constructed nature of American identity, he continues to participate in that construction whenever possible by fighting against the hypocrisy and close-mindedness of political and ecclesiastical authorities. Mier's desire to reform the newly written Mexican constitution causes exasperation among his peers who jokingly exclaim: "This man would correct the Old Testament" (234). Although said in jest, correcting the Old Testament represents a human ability to improve a supposedly divine script and thus highlights Mier's iconoclastic desire for reform. The blasphemous attribution of such power to humanity over the divine suggests that for Arenas' Mier the typological script for the American fulfillment of a European promise of America must be rewritten.

Margaret Atwood's *Handmaid's Tale* presents the repressive, theocratic society of Gilead as the result of the increasingly conservative social and political atmosphere of the 1980s in the United States. While Atwood presents the society as the logical extension of specific attitudes

and policies, Gilead sees itself as the divine fulfillment of a biblical injunction. The patriarchal leaders of Gilead use typological arguments to justify their authority as the completion of a divine project that those who do not understand have failed to interpret correctly. Offred, the novel's protagonist, and the other concubines, referred to as "handmaids," are told that divine law requires that they produce offspring for the wealthy, barren couples of Gilead who cannot reproduce due to environmental contamination. The tools of critical thinking are restricted in Gilead as women are "protected" (24) from information by a patriarchal hierarchy that forbids women from accessing reading material and associating freely with others. Outside information is filtered and it is only through her Commander's prideful desire to demonstrate his power that Offred briefly has access to such contraband as a Scrabble board game (138) and a Cuban radio broadcast called "Radio Free America" (209). The story of Gilead shows the use of typology to authorize the restriction of civil liberties and the imposition of a theocratic patriarchal authority. However, Offred's narrative is framed within the novel as the transcription of an audiotape found and preserved by historians. The novel ends with the proceedings of an academic conference of historians from a presumably secularized future analyzing the society of Gilead in retrospect.

In Toni Morrison's *Paradise* the residents of Ruby believe they have been chosen by God and that they will be immortal if they remain in their town: "they are real proud about that believing they are blessed and all because after 1953 anybody who died did it in Europe, or Korea or someplace outside this town" (199). Of course, 1953 was also the year Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed. However, instead of enjoying the fruits of their blessing and the labor they put into creating an earthly antitype of Eden, the townspeople violently attack the women living in the neighboring convent. The male inhabitants of Ruby, believing that they live in a New Jerusalem that will fulfill God's promises for his chosen people, see the women living in

the convent as “Bodacious black Eves unredeemed by Mary” (18) who threaten their community. The community, “defined only by the absence of the unsaved, the unworthy and the strange” (306), is ultimately unable to live up to its edenic ideal as they massacre the women of the convent with “God at their side” (18).

In all three novels the violent curtailment of civil liberties, physical and emotional abuse based on economic, political, racial, and gender hierarchies, are superficially justified by those in power through typological correspondence to biblical precedent. The non-conforming characters, Mier in Arenas’ novel, Offred in Atwood’s novel, and the women of the convent in Morrison’s novel, yearn for a different future. However, their yearning leads to escape and flight rather than change. The texts portray the creative nonconformist not as an antidote to authoritarianism, but as a fugitive. Unlike the plays by Usigli and Kushner, in which the unifying power of faith overshadows the corrupting influences of self-interest and political machination, these novels present specific attempts at the creation of American Edens as easily corruptible projects that promote the formation of identities based on violently exclusionary beliefs and practices. The following chapter compares instances of both such uses of typological discourse in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. While the sociological texts examined employ typological logic to bolster exceptionalist claims to a providentially sustained identity, the literary texts examined depart radically from this tradition by marshaling typological correspondences primarily to foster historical memory and promote future projects of social justice and revolutionary change rather than group identification based on the exclusion or vilification of others.

Chapter 2—From Papa Toussaint to Palma Sola: Messianism and Revolutionary Typology in Hispaniola

As a network of interconnected histories of colonization, genocide, slavery, revolution, capitalist development, and dictatorship, the Caribbean (the location of Christopher Columbus' first contact with the Western Hemisphere as well as the setting of the first mass genocide of indigenous people by Europeans) is an essential site for understanding twentieth-century narratives of America's history and meaning as a promised land and New World. Although Columbus believed he had reached Asia, the Caribbean eventually became the anteroom for the exploration and colonization of the American continent. While early European explorers and colonizers often described the Caribbean as an edenic locale, the significance of these lofty descriptions (along with the attendant accusations and suspicions of demonic presence) was tempered by the rapid shift in the colonial focus from the Caribbean to the American continent.

The Caribbean is thus both central and peripheral to the larger European project of remaking itself in the New World for the once privileged position of the Caribbean in the European colonial project as the seat of European power in the New World was quickly lost. In the case of the Spanish colonial project, the role of the Caribbean islands was quickly reduced to that of a stop-over for those Europeans en-route to the continent. As Pedro L. San Miguel notes, many Spaniards had already left the Caribbean for the American continent by the beginning of the seventeenth century: "los peninsulares [...] se lanzaban a "hacer la América", por lo que el Caribe en general perdió atractivos para ellos" ("the peninsulars [...] threw themselves into

“making America” for which the Caribbean in general lost attractiveness to them”; 30). The rapid rise and fall of the Caribbean as the center of Spanish colonial power in America and the Spanish shift from the islands to the mainland took place while other European powers strengthened their colonial endeavors in the Caribbean. Thus while the Devastations (Las Devastaciones) of 1605-1606 resulted in the departure of the powerful Spanish families from the island of Hispaniola, by the eighteenth century Hispaniola was the site of the most lucrative European colony in the Western Hemisphere: the French colony of Saint Domingue.

Contemporary Hispaniola, the site of both the first independent black republic and the first Spanish settlement in the Western Hemisphere, contains two nations often overlooked in literary studies of the Americas: Haiti and the Dominican Republic.²⁴ By examining twentieth-century literary narratives about Hispaniola by Haitian and Dominican writers and putting them into conversation with each other, I will show that typology is often used in imaginative works to focus on the hope for widespread social change and general societal improvement rather than nationalist projects of identity and exclusion. This new utopianism draws on the inter-American and trans-national intellectual legacies of liberation theology and the *négritude* movement. These literary applications of typology will also shed light on the typologically influenced conclusions of sociologists and politicians who explore providential signs, messianic expectations, and

²⁴ Comparative studies of the literatures of Hispaniola are only recently beginning to emerge: A study of diasporic Dominican and Haitian literature, Lucía Suárez’s *The Tears of Hispaniola* focuses on the works of authors who live and write in the United States. Rita de Maessner’s monograph on contemporary Dominican narrative, *Encuentro con la narrativa dominicana contemporánea*, includes significant discussions of works by authors who have written about the Dominican Republic regardless of their nationality including Haitian author René Philoctète and Haitian-American author Edwidge Danticat.

revolutionary typologies in Hispaniola as support for exclusionary, often violent, nation-bolstering projects steeped in the discourse of civilization and barbarism.

While literary studies that engage both nations of Hispaniola are rare, sociological studies of this linguistically and politically divided island abound. The popular twentieth century sociological treatments of the island's history by Jean Price-Mars (1876-1969) of Haiti and Joaquín Balaguer of the Dominican Republic depend in large measure on recursively prophetic declarations that continue to shape the current discourses of similitude and division that too often proscribe a more profoundly comparative study of Dominican and Haitian cultures and literatures. Jean Price-Mars's study of Haitian society and folklore in the first quarter of the twentieth century, *Ainsi Parla l'Oncle* (1928), is notable for its appreciation of social dynamism (which he derives from the work of Emile Durkheim) and for its analysis of Voodoo as "cultural rather than pathological" (Shannon xxiv). Price-Mars' work also represents a significant precursor to the subsequent development of broad academic interest in folk studies in the second half of the twentieth century. He aimed to bolster Haitian nationalism and racial pride through the appreciation of Haitian folklore: "he presented an original concept, that of a national folklore which would instill pride of cultural and racial achievement in Haitians" (Shannon xxiii). Yet he understood this very tradition as a "transitory form" (172) characterized by popular religious practices "closer to superstition than to any religion by their puerility" (171-172) and describes Haiti as a "still unsettled civilization" (186) that finds itself "in the full tide of evolution" (187) or "transformation" (187) from the primitive to the civilized.

While upholding the value of Haitian folklore and Haiti's African heritage for national identity construction, he warns gravely that popular syncretic tracts to invented saints such as the

prayer to Saint Boulversé (“Saint Turned-Around”) demonstrate “the unerring mark of the anarchy of beliefs” (171). The value of popular religion, folklore, and blended beliefs (171) for Price-Mars is primarily in their uniqueness and therefore in their potential to serve as a base for national and cultural unity. However, he ultimately relegates them to the level of “fossils” or “vestiges” that serve as evidence in detailing “[Haiti’s] process of transformation” (187) from the prehistoric to full acceptance of Western civilization (187). Price-Mars considers the religious beliefs of the Haitian peasant: “It will be interesting to discover [...] in what measure he made his concession to the new divinity which has been revealed to him” (187). While lamenting what he foresees as the inevitable disappearance of popular Haitian folklore and religion, he nevertheless reaffirms the concept that these cultural manifestations are significant in that they serve as signposts or “veracious evidences of [Haiti’s] aptitude to accomplish its destiny” (187). The exaltation of cultural dynamism in Haitian folklore as a visible sign of the stages of social transformation falls within a teleological framework. The existence of blended beliefs represents anarchy and these beliefs are valuable primarily for their unifying potential as an object of study or as types that will later be superseded by an organized national framework for cultural identity.

Unlike Price-Mars’ instrumentalized estimation of the value of folklore and popular religiosity as signs or types of future social and national unity, the Dominican intellectual and politician Joaquín Balaguer (1906-2002) located the unique identity of Dominican Republic in its antitypical relationship to the Old World and hence as the fulfillment of Spain’s spiritual and colonial endeavor in the New World. In a chapter from Balaguer’s treatise on Haitian-Dominican relations, *La isla al revés: Haiti y el destino dominicano* (1983) (The Inverted Island: Haiti and Dominican Destiny), entitled “Santo Domingo, El Pueblo más español de América” (“Santo Domingo, the Most Spanish Nation of America”), Balaguer describes what he considers the

providentially exceptional character of the Dominican Republic. He proclaims that in light of the proximity of the Dominican Republic to Haiti the “supervivencia [de la República Dominicana como nación española] es uno de esos milagros que sólo prueban la sabiduría y la bondad con que la Providencia gobierna los acontecimientos del mundo histórico” (63; “survival [of the Dominican Republic as a Spanish nation] is one of those miracles that only prove the wisdom and goodness with which Providence governs the historic world”). Haiti, which Balaguer describes as a “pavorosa ola de color” (63; “dreadful wave of color”), is interpreted here as the backward or inverted African type that both terrorizes and simultaneously serves to highlight its neighbor’s providential character as a European antitype in America.

Balaguer’s reading of the Dominican Republic as culturally and spiritually, rather than politically, “the most Spanish nation in America” situates the republic as the divine extension of Europe in America. A national confrontation with a Haitian threat to Dominican identity by way of “racial degeneration” through Africanization via contact with Haiti is thus considered a necessary cultural and political crusade—though for Balaguer never an openly military campaign—of a chosen people against the perversion and displacement of the nation’s divinely allocated role as Spain’s apostle in America. Balaguer was both one of the most prominent Dominican intellectuals of the twentieth-century and a former president of the nation for almost a quarter of a century (1960-62; 1966-78; 1986-96). During this period he developed and disseminated a vision of the Dominican Republic as the divine extension of Spain in America and of Haitian-Dominican relations as providentially (and therefore necessarily) racially adversarial. This nationally propagated vision is relevant for its enlistment of typological logic to authorize and empower virulently racist and xenophobic constructions of national and cultural identity.

Haiti won its independence from France in 1804 to become the second independent nation in the Western Hemisphere. In the nineteenth century the Haitian Revolution served as an inspiration for people seeking independence throughout the Americas. The Dominican Republic, in contrast, unlike the majority of American countries that perceive their national identity as, at least in part, the product of a political or cultural rupture with a European colonial power, celebrates its independence not from Spain but from Haiti. The narrative of an imperial Haitian nation expanding eastward and engulfing an isolated, defenseless Dominican people has become part of the national Dominican mythology (Sagás). Meanwhile, the comparative wealth of opportunity and natural resources in the eastern two thirds of Hispaniola has led many Haitians to seek their livelihood in the Dominican Republic, despite violently anti-Haitian political measures, including an attempted genocide carried out by the Trujillo regime in 1937. In order to better understand this difficult relationship, as well as the historical context of the texts studied in this chapter, a brief recapitulation of certain events in the history of the island of Hispaniola is in order.

The Caribbean island of Hispaniola, once inhabited by the Taíno people, was colonized by the Spanish and later divided into French and Spanish colonies. The Taínos, who were encountered by Columbus and later exploited and exterminated by Spanish colonizers, were often described by Columbus, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and other chroniclers as edenic or infantile.²⁵ According to Kathleen A. Deagan and José María Cruxent, “the utter newness of the Taínos to Europeans made it impossible for chroniclers to describe them except by analogy to

²⁵ Friar Ramón Pané, a Hieronymite who lived with the Taínos for four years, wrote about their religion and belief that all aspects of life were ruled by *zemis*, or spirit beings. The original manuscript has been lost, but a 1571 Italian translation exists and has been reconstructed by Juan José Arrom.

what they already knew, which led to their casting (and consequently obscuring) the initial characterizations of Taínos in European, biblical, and classical terms” (Deagan 24). The vocabularies of these ethnocentric analogies, which were used in defense of European superiority (whether for imperialist or humanist ends), were later adapted by writers from Hispaniola for very different purposes and no longer as analogies but as typological correspondences, suggesting that the unsuccessful Taíno rebellions prefigured later more successful rebellions led by people of African descent.

In the year 1495 massive enslavement of Taíno people began when Columbus “seize[d] more than fifteen hundred Indians and marched them to La Isabela, initiating the first open enslavement of Caribbean Indians” (Deagan 60). Many of the enslaved people were sent to Spain in February of the same year: “More than two hundred Indians died on the voyage and were thrown into the sea. The rest were sold as slaves in Seville” (61). The tribute system imposed by Columbus in 1495 along with disease and famine quickly decimated the Taíno population (62). Caonabo, the *cacique* (leader) of the Maguana region, built alliances with other caciques and marched on the Santo Tomás fort holding it under siege for a month. He was later captured and died in 1495 before reaching Spain as a prisoner. The figure of Caonabo has been used in both Haitian and Dominican literature as a type of future leaders who would be more successful in fulfilling the revolutionary promise of Caonabo’s rebellion against the Spaniards. Along with his wife, Anacaona, Caonabo and other indigenous leaders are key historical figures in the island’s shared history. Both nations have incorporated mythologized and highly romanticized legends of native traditions as foundational narratives. For example, in Haiti Jean Baptiste Dorismond published *Sur les traces de Caonabo et de Toussaint Louverture, poèmes caraïbes* (1953) (On the Trail of Caonabo and Toussaint Louverture, Caribbean Poems) under the pseudonym Félix

Desroussels. This book of poetry draws inspiration from a typological interpretation of the progressive fulfillment of the island's history through the correspondences between the lives of indigenous Taíno leaders, including Caonabo, and black leaders, including Toussaint Louverture, who participated in the Haitian Revolution.

While the French established a presence on Hispaniola in the seventeenth century, the Treaty of Aranjuez in 1777 officially divided the island between the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo on the eastern two thirds of the island and the French colony of Saint Domingue on the western third of the island. Although the French first abolished slavery in Saint Domingue in 1793, it was not until 1801 that Haitian leader Toussaint Louverture abolished slavery in Santo Domingo. In the twentieth century, literary representations of Louverture as a prophet and precursor of future liberation struggles are a compelling site of convergence in English, French, and Spanish literary production. In 1795, when Toussaint Louverture declared the island of Hispaniola “une et indivisible” (“one and indivisible”), after the motto “La République et une et indivisible” (“The Republic is one and indivisible”) taken from article 25 of the French Constitution of 1793, both parts of the island were united under French rule.²⁶ In 1801, however, when Louverture successfully abolished slavery in the former Spanish colony, he united Hispaniola under an abolitionist banner as much as a French colonial master. Despite the abolitionist aspirations of Louverture, his use of the motto “une et indivisible” is often invoked by Dominican nationalists as proof of a monolithic Haitian national discourse promoting a politically united Hispaniola under Haitian rule. Devoid of its original abolitionist context, the idea of an island united under the Haitian flag has long been promulgated as a serious concern

²⁶ On Louverture's use of the French motto see Howard.

for national security and identity by ideologues of a Hispanophile Dominican national identity based on a rejection of African and Haitian influences.

After Louverture was exiled and died in prison in France, slavery was reestablished under French rule in Hispaniola in Santo Domingo from 1795 to 1809 and in Haiti until the Haitian Revolution culminated in the declaration of Haitian Independence on January 1, 1804. Spain recovered political control of Santo Domingo in 1809 only to lose power again in 1821 to a small group of affluent Dominicans. After a five-week period, known in the Dominican Republic as the Ephemeral Independence, Haitian leader Jean Pierre Boyer took possession of Santo Domingo and abolished slavery. Subsequently, La Trinitaria (the independence movement organized by Juan Pablo Duarte, who is widely considered to be the founding father of the nation) led to Dominican independence on February 27, 1844. However, the Dominican General Pedro Santana returned the country to its former colonial status by reannexing it to Spain in 1861.

After the reannexation of the Dominican Republic to Spain, the Haitian government contributed weapons, food, and other support to the Dominican rebels in their fight to reestablish Dominican independence. This struggle, known as the Restoration War (1863-1865), was unique in that it marshaled support from a wide cross-section of Dominicans from all social sectors. Although the Restoration War restored political independence, it did not result in economic independence. From 1886-1899, under the government of dictator Ulises Heureaux (known as Lilís), the Dominican Republic became heavily indebted and in 1905 the United States assumed financial control of the country.

U.S. involvement in Hispaniola intensified when the U.S. military occupied Haiti from 1915-1934 and the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924. During the U.S. occupation, the

messianic Afro-Dominican spiritual leader Liborio Mateo was killed by U.S. Marines. After the departure of U.S. forces, General Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, who was trained by the U.S. Marines during the occupation, assumed military control of the country upholding totalitarian rule directly or through puppet presidents from 1930 to 1961. In 1937 thousands of Haitians and many black Dominicans were murdered when Trujillo ordered the ethnic cleansing of Haitians living in the border region of the Dominican Republic in an effort to whiten the Dominican Republic and rid it of African influences. While the international press was aware of the massacre, political repression in the forms of both censorship and intimidation under the Trujillo dictatorship prevented dependable information about the events from circulating within the Dominican Republic. The official version of the events disseminated by the regime declared that Dominican peasants had supposedly murdered Haitians in spontaneous acts of anger directed at Haitians for illegally entering Dominican territory. The Trujillo regime's racist campaign to whiten the nation and promote a Hispanic Dominican identity gave rise to the modern ideology of anti-Haitianism promoted by major Dominican intellectuals such as Joaquín Balaguer and Manuel Arturo Peña Batlle. While Trujillo reigned in the Dominican Republic, François Duvalier established a dictatorial regime in Haiti. Duvalier, known as "Papa Doc," ruled Haiti from 1957-1971 and was succeeded by his son, Jean Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, who ruled from 1971-1986.

After Trujillo was assassinated in 1961, the country's first democratic election in decades took place and Juan Bosch was elected president. In 1962, after the election but before Bosch took power, the defacto military government ordered the massacre of the followers of Liborio Mateo, who had regrouped after Liborio's assassination by the U.S. Marines in 1922. After Bosch took power in 1963, a coup organized by a coalition of Dominican elites forced him into

exile. A countercoup was organized, but the U.S. military occupied the island in 1965 and prevented Bosch from reassuming his position. Subsequently, the country was governed by President Joaquín Balaguer (whose typological reading of Dominican destiny was introduced at the beginning of this chapter) from 1966 to 1974, and then again from 1986 to 1996. In addition to his contribution to the development of anti-Haitian ideology, Balaguer was one of Trujillo's most trusted advisors and served as a puppet president under the Trujillo regime from 1960 to 1962.

After World War II, a number of Haitian writers published works that employ typology in literary narratives of the era of Toussaint Louverture, hero of the Haitian Revolution. Stephen Alexis (1899-1962) published the biography, *Toussaint Louverture, libérateur d'Haïti* (ca 1947) (*Black Liberator; the Life of Toussaint Louverture*), emphasizing Louverture's role as spiritual liberator of Haiti. The Haitian writer and politician Roger Dorsinville (1911-1992) published a novel about the life of Louverture entitled *De Fatras Bâton à Toussaint Louverture* (1983) (*From Little Stick to Toussaint Louverture*), in addition to a book-length essay on Louverture before returning to Haiti from exile in Africa in 1986.

Dorsinville's novel, like Alexis' biography, highlights the messianic aspects of Louverture's revolutionary legacy encapsulated in Louverture's legendary statement: "En me renversant, on n'a abattu a Saint Domingue que le tronc de l'arbre de la liberté des noirs; il poussera par les racines parce qu'elles sont profondes et nombreuses" ("In overthrowing me, you have only cut down the trunk of the tree of black people's liberty; it will spring up from the roots for they are deep and numerous"). Louverture's prophetic warning to the French colonial powers also served as a message of hope for the Haitian revolutionaries and was later adapted and appropriated by ousted president and former Catholic priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide. From exile

in Africa in 2004, Aristide aligned himself with the popular political tradition of Louverture and his messianic prophecy of a return to power: “Je déclare qu'en me renversant, on a abattu le tronc de l'arbre de la Paix, mais il repoussera car ses racines sont louverturiennes” (“I declare that in overthrowing me, you have cut down the trunk of the tree of Peace, but it will spring up again because its roots are ‘louverturian’” Aristide).

The messianic implications of the Haitian Revolution and its martyred heroes have been widely used in literary representations of the revolution since the nineteenth century.²⁷ Outside Hispaniola, the figure of the revolutionary leader Louverture has been particularly resonant in Martinican literature.²⁸ The Martinican poet Aimé Césaire (1913-), co-founder of the Négritude movement and former mayor of Fort-de-France, published several works dealing with Louverture. In addition to the essay *Toussaint Louverture: La révolution française et le problème colonial* (1960) (*Toussaint Louverture: The French Revolution and the Colonial Problem*) and selected poetry from his *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1960) (*Notebook of a Return to My Native Land*), Césaire also wrote a play dealing with the post-revolutionary history of one of Louverture's generals. The play, *La tragédie du roi Christophe* (1963) (*The Tragedy of King Christophe*), reenacts the story of the revolutionary hero Henri Christophe and his short reign as king of northern Haiti soon after the success of the revolution in 1804 and the overthrow of Jean-Jacques Dessalines in 1806.

²⁷ The English romantic poet William Wordsworth published an Ode to Louverture and the French romantic poet Alphonse de Lamartine wrote an abolitionist play in verse about him.

²⁸ For analyses of the figurative uses of the Haitian Revolution in Cuban author Alejo Carpentier's *El reino de este mundo* (1949), Trinidadian C.L.R. James' *The Black Jacobins* (1938;1989), and other Caribbean literature from beyond Hispaniola, see Kadir, *Other*; Aching; Nesbitt.

Among the numerous works of Martinican intellectual Édouard Glissant (b. 1928) is *Monsieur Toussaint* (1961), a play in 4 acts. The play is set in the Jura Mountains of France at the Fort de Joux, where Toussaint Louverture was held prisoner and eventually died after 8 months of imprisonment. Glissant clarifies in his preface to the first edition that “the present work is not politically inspired; rather it is linked to what I would call, paradoxically, *a prophetic vision of the past*. For those whose history has been reduced by others to darkness and despair, the recovery of the near or distant past is imperative” (Dash 15-16).

Louverture’s central role in providing hope for the future of the island is presented in the voodoo priestess Maman Dio’s comparison of Hispaniola to an avocado or a gourd: “The land is sliced in two like an avocado./ The French on one side, the Spanish on the other,/ Saint or Santo it’s the same calabash in the sea,/ And here we have awakened on the inside!/ The seed is you, O Papa Toussaint./ You can cut the avocado in two,/But who can cut the seed?/The God of Thunder can do it, Toussaint,/ But a man cannot” (31). The priestess acknowledges the human division of the island, brought about by European colonization, but states that only divine will could divide the indivisible seed that holds the island together in the figure of Louverture.

Glissant’s play posits the rebel Makandal as the prophet and type of Louverture whose revolutionary success will only ultimately be fulfilled by the future actions of the people rather than by any leader. After Louverture partakes in the Caiman Wood ceremony, “He drank the blood of the covenant in the Caiman Wood” (56), he assumes his role as martyr: “My eyes will never see my country again, my country needs me to be absent” (99). Glissant’s Louverture establishes his position as the new standard-bearer of the previously martyred rebel leader Makandal when he tells the ghost of Makandal, “O prophet! I was not born when you suffered the supreme sacrifice. There was Mackandal to announce the battle and the suffering of battle;

then there was Toussaint to take the victory and the suffering of victory” (119-120). However, Glissant’s *Louverture* is careful to distance himself from the actions of his political successor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines. He addresses Dessalines to inform him that he is not his spiritual heir, but rather “[t]he people are my successor” (79).

In addition to the literary uses of the figure of Louverture as a type or prophetic sign of future social change, writers have focused on the fulfillment of a revolutionary promise through the use of supersessionary logic to create typologies that move beyond narratives of martyrdom and sacrifice to posit a radical disruption and more equal realignment of unjust social and economic realities. The work of Jacques Roumain (1907-1944), a prominent Haitian writer, editor, political activist, and ethnographer, is a leading example of this kind of revolutionary typology in Haitian literature. During Roumain’s adolescence, which was marked by a period of U.S. military occupation in Haiti (1915-1934), his family sent him to study in Europe. Roumain returned to Haiti at age 20 in 1927 where he began writing for nationalist periodicals with overtly anti-occupation messages and was arrested and imprisoned several times for his contributions. Roumain, who founded the Haitian Communist Party in 1934, was arrested and imprisoned for subversion that same year. In 1936 he was released from prison and went into exile in Europe. During this period of exile in 1939 he briefly studied anthropology at Columbia University in New York City and became close friends with the poet Langston Hughes. In 1940 Roumain traveled to Havana where he met with the poet Nicolás Guillén. After returning to Haiti in 1941 he founded the Bureau of Ethnology and in 1943 was appointed to a diplomatic post at the Haitian embassy in Mexico. In Mexico he finished his poetry collection, *Bois d'ébène (Ebony Wood)* and his highly acclaimed novel about Haitian peasant life, *Gouverneurs de la rosée (Masters of the Dew)*, shortly before his death in August of 1944.

Roumain's "Nouveau sermon nègre" ("New Black Sermon"), from the poetry anthology *Bois d'ébène*, exemplifies his use of typology as a tool to highlight the need for social and political resistance. The poem initially extols the example of Christ only to conclude that the rich have replaced this honorable "bleeding" Christ with a "bloodthirsty" God:

Ils ont craché sur Ta Face noire
 Seigneur, notre ami, notre camarade
 Toi qui écartas du visage de la prostituée
 Comme un rideau de roseaux ses longs cheveux sur la source de ses larmes
 Ils ont fait
 les riches les pharisiens les propriétaires fonciers les banquiers
 Ils ont fait de l'homme saignant le dieu sanglant
 Oh Judas ricane
 Oh Judas ricane:
 Christ entre deux voleurs comme une flamme déchirée au sommet du monde
 Allumait la révolte des esclaves

[They have spit on the blackness of Your Face,
 Lord, our friend, our comrade,
 You who parted the prostitute's locks from her face
 Like a curtain of reeds covering the spring of her tears
 They have made
 the rich the pharisees the landowners the bankers
 They have made of the bleeding man the bloodthirsty god
 Oh, Judas, laugh,
 Oh, Judas, laugh,
 Christ between two thieves like a torn flame at the height of the world
 Set fire to the slaves' revolt.]

The positive influence attributed to Christ in lighting the flame of the slave revolts is highlighted as is the black face of the spit-upon Christ. However, the appropriation of Christ by the powerful and deceitful has forced a rupture of identification. The promise represented by the bleeding Christ is fulfilled not in the realm of religion but in the directly political sphere. The bleeding Christ is represented not as an end in itself but as a type of the more effective agent for change, the "rouges drapeaux" (bloody flags) of the just. Likewise the despairing spiritual songs, here

nothing more than weak shadows of the desire for social change associated with an ineffectual Christianity, are superseded by politically conscious songs of solidarity.

According to Jacques Roumain' poem, Christ today no longer corresponds to the traditional messianic view of Christ as an antitypical fulfillment of a hopeful promise for the future. The meaning of Christ's outstretched arms has changed. Instead of a gesture of martyrdom and sacrifice, his arms, like the wings of a vulture, cast shadows in the cathedrals, bringing a darkness that creates a cover for people's wrongdoings:

Mais Christ aujourd'hui est dans la maison des voleurs
 Et ses bras déploient dans les cathédrales l'ombre étendue du vautour
 Et dans les caves des monastères le prêtre compte les intérêts des trente deniers
 Et les clochers des églises crachent la mort sur les multitudes affamées
 Nous ne leur pardonnerons pas, car ils savent ce qu'ils font
 Ils ont lynché John qui organisait le syndicat
 Ils l'ont chassé comme un loup hagaré avec des chiens à travers bois
 Ils l'ont pendu en riant au tronc du vieux sycomore

[But Christ is today in the house of the thieves
 And his arms spread out the extended shadow of the vulture in the cathedrals
 And the priest in the monastery's wine cellar counts the interest on thirty pieces of silver
 And the church steeples spit death onto the famished multitudes
 We will not pardon them, for they know what they do
 They have lynched John who organized the trade union
 They hunted him with dogs like a weary wolf in the woods
 Laughing they hung him from the old sycamore's trunk.]

Roumain calls for a new song and a new sign as a rallying cry for the fulfillment of revolutionary hope and action. The promise of the bloody Christ that, according to Roumain's poem, once ignited the slave revolts is reignited and carried forward in its more complete form not by contemporary Christian symbols, rites, and institutions but through popular revolt against oppression organized under the workers' symbols of a new song that is no longer a prayer or a lament and flags that are red with the blood of the just:

Non, frères, camarades
 Nous ne prions plus
 Notre révolte s'élève comme le cri de l'oiseau de tempête au-dessus du clapotement pourri des marécages
 Nous ne chanterons plus les tristes spirituals désespérés
 Un autre chant jaillit de nos gorges
 Nous déployons nos rouges drapeaux
 Tachés du sang de nos justes
 Sous ce signe nous marcherons
 Sous ce signe nous marchons
 Debout les damnés de la terre
 Debout les forçats de la faim.

[No, brothers, comrades,
 We will pray no more
 Our revolt rises up like the cry of the storm bird over the lapping waters of the stinking swamps
 We will no longer sing our despairing spirituals
 A different song springs from our mouth
 We will spread our red flags
 Stained with the blood of our just
 Under this banner we will march
 Under this banner we are marching
 Arise ye wretched of the earth
 Arise ye prisoners of starvation.]

The poem, titled "New Black Sermon," presents itself not as a complete rejection of the concept of a revolutionary Christianity. In fact, the poem draws an antitypical correspondence between a historically revolutionary Christianity and a contemporary revolutionary socialism. The poem appeals to its reader to recognize the revolutionary role of the old Christian sermons and beliefs in the next step of revolutionary fulfillment as demonstrated in the antitypical new songs and symbols. This new black sermon fulfills the revolutionary promise of the bleeding Christ that fanned the revolutionary fervor of the slave revolts. However, it does so not by returning to an earlier concept of Christ but by finding its fulfillment in a socialist campaign for social change through communal effort and revolt.

René Depestre (b. 1926), a key Haitian intellectual of the second half of the twentieth century and the present century, now living in France, also employed revolutionary typology in his early work. While the revolutionary typology distilled in Roumain's "New Black Sermon" proclaims a hopeful new narrative of social change as the antitypical fulfillment of the promise latent in the Christian narratives that helped to inspire slave revolts, Depestre's poetry collection, *Un arc-en-ciel pour L'occident chrétien: poème mystère vaudou* (1966; *A Rainbow for the Christian West: Voodoo Mystery Poem*), demonstrates an active use of hybrid typology as jeremiad. The text itself functions as a Haitian type of the rainbow sign sent to Noah by God. This rainbow, sent by God after the flood as a sign of covenant between God and all living things, is described in Genesis 9:13: "I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth." Depestre's voodoo mystery poem is a warning sign to the Christian West.

Published three years after James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* (1963), Depestre's title alludes to an African American spiritual song from which Baldwin took his epigraph.²⁹ The lyrics, "God gave Noah the rainbow sign, / No more water, the fire next time!", serve as a warning that instead of a flood the subsequent punishment that God will send to annihilate a disobedient humanity will be a fire. Baldwin's epistles denounce racism, exploitation, and hypocrisy in the United States while ultimately calling for people of all races to avert national disaster by working towards a just society. Depestre, whose work draws on the Négritude movement as well as French surrealism, employs poetry rather than epistolary to rail against the

²⁹James Baldwin and René Depestre (along with Jean Price-Mars, Aimé Césaire, Édouard Glissant, and a number of other black intellectuals from the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa) participated in the First Assembly of Black Writers and Artists held in Paris in September of 1956.

sins of white America. As God floods the world in Genesis, Depestre's speaker floods his own body in an act of cleansing and an assertion of his authority:

Le petit Christ qui souriait en moi
 Hier soir je l'ai noyé dans l'alcool
 De même j'ai noyé les Tables de la Loi
 De même j'ai noyé tous vos saints sacrements
 Ma collection de papillons ce sont les monstres
 Que vous avez lâchés sur me rêves d'homme noir
 [...] (13)

[The small Christ who smiled in me
 Last night I drowned him in alcohol
 Just like I drowned the Tablets of the Law
 Just like I drowned all your holy sacraments
 My collection of butterflies are the monsters
 That you have unleashed on my dreams of a black man]
 [...]

As in Roumain's poem, Depestre's speaker declares a new black identity that emerges after the symbols of Christian tradition are overcome. However, the poetic voice in Depestre's poem makes no attempt to recover the revolutionary tradition of Christianity in Hispaniola. The speaker assumes the role of a Vodoun practitioner who sends a ceremonial flood of alcohol rather than water through his own body. The alcohol, which traditionally serves as a necessary offering to a Vodoun deity, destroys the Christ and the laws associated with Christianity that formerly resided within the speaker.

Me voici un nègre tout neuf
 Je me sens enfin moi-même
 Dans ma nouvelle géographie solaire
 Moi-même dans la grande joie de dire adieu
 A vos dix commandements de Dieu
 [...] (13)

[Here I am an all new black man
 I finally feel like myself
 In my new solar geography

Myself in the great joy of saying goodbye
 To your commandments of God]
 [...]

The speaker, who has been cleansed of the laws of Christianity, obtains in their place the hybrid authority of “an all new black man” through the genre of the voodoo mystery poem. The speaker is now free to assume a prophetic voice that while drawing on the biblical genre of the jeremiad, also draws on African diasporic religious and historical traditions. The poetic voice warns white Americans against the destructive consequences of their racist constructions of the American family:

Une belle famille debout dans son écume !
 Une noble famille qui sait faire famille
 Pour en imposer au nègre ennemi de la famille
 Une famille bien américaine
 Participant à fond à tout ce qui
 Mène l'Amérique à la catastrophe
 Une famille debout dans sa chaux vive !
 [...] (17)

[A beautiful family upright in its foam]
 A noble family that knows how to make a family
 To impose on the black enemy of the family
 A very American family
 Participating fully in all that which
 Leads America to catastrophe
 A family upright in its quicklime!]
 [...]

The speaker criticizes the disjunction in the United States between the inclusive symbols of a national identity that is welcoming and merciful and the reality of racial violence and exclusion. The Statue of Liberty is anthropomorphized as a forgetful child of Abraham: “Et la Statue de la Liberté qui ne se souvient plus de rien pas même de ses beaux jours dans les bras d’un nommé Abraham” (18; “And the Statue of Liberty who no longer remembers anything. Not even its beautiful days in the arms of one named Abraham”).

Depestre's Abraham becomes a type of the "new black man," a hybrid antitype who is no longer subject to Judeo-Christian law. The poem suggests that this antitypical Abraham will carry through with the familial sacrifice. Abraham's axe is the type of the new black man's arm that threatens to joyously destroy the construction of white respectability. The U.S. southern white family becomes the target of the speaker's warning:

Et Abraham ce soir c'est moi !
 Abraham c'est la joie d'étaler sous vos yeux le faux trésor de vos délires !
 Abraham c'est la merveille de désintégrer l'atome de la famille !
 Abraham ce soir c'est l'ivresse de brûler des stères de respectabilité blanche !
 Sa hache de bûcheron c'est mon bras d'homme noir !
 Tremblez dans vos fruits et dans vos branches
 Famille blanche de l'Alabama!
 (18)

[And this evening Abraham is me!
 Abraham is the joy of swallowing the false treasure of your delirium under your eyes
 Abraham is the marvel of disintegrating the family atom!
 Abraham this evening is the drunkenness of burning the firewood of white respectability!
 His butcher's axe is my black man's arm!
 Tremble in your fruits and in your branches
 White family of Alabama!]

Depestre's Voudoun mystery poem uses hybrid types to reenact the stories from the Hebrew Bible of Noah and the flood and Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in an Afro-Caribbean context. While the God of Genesis sends a flood of water to cleanse the earth, Depestre's poem depicts the flood on an individual scale as a black man's self-cleansing through drowning everything in him related to Christianity in alcohol. The black man becomes the new Abraham without the authority of God to stay his hand. The biblical stories as retold after Christ has been drowned in alcohol in Depestre's Voudoun mystery poem become typological warnings against white U.S. hypocrisy and racial violence.

In the Dominican Republic, typology is employed both thematically and at times structurally when countenancing the specter of the governmental massacre at Palma Sola. In the early twentieth-century, Liborio Mateo (c.a. 1876-1922) developed a religio-political, anti-imperialist cult with strong millenarian themes in the region of the Dominican Republic known as La Maguana. Liborio Mateo, identified as Dios Liborio (God Liborio) by his followers, became a culture hero for his resistance to the U.S. occupation and his physical confrontations with the U.S. Marines.³⁰ After the U.S. military assassinated the messianic leader in 1922, the popular worship of Liborio as God, and not merely as his prophet, experienced a resurgence in the area of La Maguana known as Palma Sola. In 1962 the *liboristas* (believers in the divinity of Liborio) were massacred by the Dominican government that saw them as a conservative threat to the country in the newly post-Trujillo political landscape.³¹ The *liboristas* were variously portrayed as naïve practitioners of a harmful cult and martyrs of the noble, independent peasantry.³²

The members of the Palma Sola movement were participants in the *Convite* system of the southwest Dominican Republic in which land is communally harvested through cooperative labor (Martínez 165). Many of the movement's ideas were disseminated through anonymous, popular *salves*, or songs, which, like the *Convite* system, are part of traditional peasant life in the region. According to a member of the movement, these songs are “Evangelios que Cristo y el Espíritu Santo envían para la comunicación spiritual” (166; “Gospels that Christ and the Holy Spirit sends for the purpose of spiritual communication”). In these salves we find reference to

³⁰ For a sociological study of Olivorismo as a local religion, see Lundius.

³¹ For a history of the movement, see Martínez. For a bibliography of material published on the Palma Sola movement, see Méndez, *Palma Sola*.

³² For a recent novelistic account of the Palma Sola massacre, see Lizardi Lasocé.

both the typological significance of Liborio and the geographical significance of the region. In the following salve Liborio is the final figure who will complete a new holy trinity of Christ and the Virgin Mary to rule the world as president: “Viva Cristo, el rey mesía/ viva la madre piadosa, viva liborio,/ esto es todo lo que anhelo/ de aquí saldrá un presidente/ que domine el mundo entero” (176; “Long live Christ, the messiah king/ long live the pious mother, long live liborio mateo,/ this is all that I desire/ from here a president will emerge/ who will reign over the whole world”). The prophetic significance of the land and the location of Palma Sola in its relationship to divinity is emphasized in the following salve in which Palma Sola is described as the land from which the authorities of Jesus’ order will come: “Palma Sola es un terreno/ y un lugar muy exquisito,/ de donde saldrán los jefes/ de orden de Jesucristo” (176; Palma Sola is a wonderful land and a place from where the chiefs of Jesus Christ’s order will arise”). Again emphasizing the significance of the physical location of Liborio’s revelation for the group’s followers, a defiant note sounds in the verse: “No me voy para la montaña/ no me vuelvo a acantonar/ yo me voy para la Maguana/ que ahí está mi papá (173; I am not going to the mountains/ I will not restation/ I am going to Maguana/ because that is where my father is”).

The followers of Liborio refer to their religious movement and theological doctrines as *la Unión Cristiana Mundial* (Worldwide Christian Union). The group’s symbol, “La Santa Palma de la Libertad Mundial” (154; “The Holy Palm of Worldwide Freedom”), a solitary palm tree in the shape of a cross, resonates with the imagery of both the Christian crucifix and the red palm, the symbol of Trujillo’s dictatorial political apparatus, the *Partido Dominicano* (Dominican Party). Thus, the holy palm is a hybrid image that draws typological significance from the symbolic power of the official religion of the country, Roman Catholicism, and from the Dominican Party as the official political authority during Trujillo’s regime. The palm in the

shape of a cross serves as an antitype or fulfillment of the types of the crucifix and the red palm as symbols of the country's religious and political authorities. The palm cross in Liborista theology, however, like the human form itself, is also a reference to the shape of God. As explicated by Palma Sola member Ezequiel Lorenzo, the Worldwide Christian Union teaches that "Dios creó a los seres humanos con la forma física de la cruz porque ésta es su imagen y el secreto de su poder" (Martínez 192; "God created human beings in the physical form of the cross because this is his secret image and the secret of his power").

In "Contracanto a un dios de pobre" (Countersong to a God of the Poor) by Dominican writer José Enrique Méndez Díaz, the memory of Liborio and the Palma Sola movement is exalted. Like Roumain's "New Black Sermon," Méndez Díaz's poem employs references to both a liturgical and a revolutionary mode. The *tedeum*, as a hymn of joy and thanksgiving, is here offered not to the God of Christianity, but to the "irreducible God [Liborio]" who is neither humble nor docile. In fact, this hymn of thanks ends with the popular *liborista* refrain that expresses admiration for Dios Liborio who "a nadie le come pendejá," (doesn't take bull from anyone).

Tedeum negro a la memoria
de un Dios irreducible

Gorjeo gangoso

Ilusión auricular de dolor en el canto
quebrando interjecciones
penas en lírica mesiánica de luaces

[Black *tedeum* to the memory
Of an irreducible God

Nasal warble

Auricular illusion of pain in song
 Breaking interjections
 Sorrows in messianic lyric of loas.]

The God in whose memory the poem gives thanks is not the Christian God generally associated with the liturgical genre of the tedeum, but Liborio, peasant God and healer. Like the popular legends surrounding the historical Liborio, Méndez Díaz's poem places Liborio in divine rather than human history. The poem finds no contradiction in the juxtaposition of divine history with the social construction of holiness. The physical condition of Liborio's body being dragged through the street wrapped in yagua leaves frees him to assume a new ludic materiality where he continues to reign as God and as teacher for the earthly poor:

[...]

Contrapunto cómplice

Ritual semiótico inscrito en la memoria
 construcción de identidad y lucha
 solidaridad
 justicia
 la étnia cultural
 que afirma
 que el maestro de pobre es santo

porque ocurre que aun
 arrastrado en yaguas por las calles
 en su nueva lúdica materialidad va
 soberano en su mundo doméstico
 lleno de vida

donde a nadie le come pendejá

[Complicit counterpoint

Semiotic ritual inscribed in memory
 Construction of identity and struggle
 Solidarity
 Justice

Cultural ethnicity
 That affirms
 That the teacher of the poor is holy

Because it happens that even
 Dragged in yagua leafs through the streets
 In his new ludic materiality he continues
 Sovereign in his domestic world
 Full of life

Where he doesn't take any bull from anyone.]

This hymn of thanksgiving, like Roumain's "sermon," uses types from Christian theology to promote the concept of a more socially rooted, historically contextualized revelation particularly for black people and poor people against oppression and injustice. These poems emphasize the idea that the promises of heaven and divinity can be reached not through traditional prayers, but through the earthly fulfillment of the goals of solidarity, strength, and self-determination.

The cultural production of Méndez Díaz, Depestre, Roumain, and other twentieth-century literary figures who write about Hispaniola employ types not to reify or naturalize colonial and imperialistic power relations as part of a divine plan, but to warn against the existence of oppressive power structures. These writers draw on the logic of correspondence between types and antitypes to promote the possibility of a future that can draw on the shared history of the island without reinscribing the legacy of exploitation and unequal power relations. Unlike the popular sociological discourses on "the divided island," most extremely exemplified by the writings of Joaquín Balaguer, that describe the two nations as diametrically opposed, these literary narratives locate a common hope for a shared future in the uses of Toussaint Louverture and Dios Oliborio as New World messiahs, the "New Black Sermon" and the "tedium negro" as antitypical counterpoints to the imperfect types of previous Christian sermons and hymns.

The following chapter analyses the uses of another historical messianic leader in American cultural production, Antônio Mendes Maciel, *O Conselheiro* (The Counselor), of Northeastern Brazil. Like *Dios Liborio* in the Dominican Republic, *O Conselheiro* was variously considered a prophetic voice for both social change and a dangerous promoter of rural atavism. The discussion that follows analyzes the uses of typology in both *O Conselheiro*'s own prophecies and in the cultural production inspired by his millenarian *Monte Santo* (Holy Mount) settlement at Canudos in the works of Euclides da Cunha, Glauber Rocha, and Mario Vargas Llosa.

Chapter 3—Redemption in the Backlands: Typology and the Promise of History

Writers and directors who consistently use typological themes, imagery, and rhetoric in their literary works engage with the crucial question of the connection between typology and redemptive philosophies of history. My analysis of this engagement in three canonical American works dealing with the Brazilian backlands (*Os Sertões*, *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol*, and *La guerra del fin del mundo*) will highlight the ongoing, sometimes contentious conversation about typology and its relationship to redemptive philosophies of history. These three works will be discussed together both because they are major artistic milestones in their respective representations of the Brazilian backlands, and because they provide an excellent diachronic sample of twentieth-century theoretical concerns that, analyzed together, highlight the relation between typological thought and significant shifts starting from intellectual engagements with Positivism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to interest in Marxism in the 1960s and Neoliberalism in the 1980s. Consequently, through my analysis I will demonstrate that the frequent scholarly alignment of typological hermeneutics with explicitly and uniquely religious beliefs, values, and concerns is an overly narrow view that dangerously obfuscates the powerful presence of various secular “typologies,” which are equally vital for understanding typology’s continued significance in the Americas.

It bears repeating, however, that although typology is frequently employed in secular literature, its specific use as a method of historical interpretation (as I have noted in my

introduction) is often directly derived from Judeo-Christian exegetical traditions.³³ The expediently self-fulfilling nature of such retrospective prophecy not only serves to connect the Old and New Testaments, but also allows for an elaborately conceived theological unity that becomes more meaningful than any of its individual components. Such arguments for the existence of a self-justifying theological whole reverberate in subsequent literary interpretations of history's nature and proper course.³⁴

Although typological worldviews and the subsequent deployment of types and antitypes were once the particular domains of explicitly religious texts, the continued significance of typology in modern literary and filmic traditions depends to a large extent on the development of ostensibly secular, though nevertheless typologically derived, notions of history. The works under discussion, Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões : Campanha de Canudos (Rebellion in the Backlands)* (1902), Glauber Rocha's *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol (Black God, White Devil)* (1964), and Mario Vargas Llosa's *La guerra del fin del mundo (The War of the End of the World)* (1981), each present both religious and secular typologies, often in conflict with one another, providing a broad spectrum of typological themes, images, and rhetoric. Ultimately, I argue, the three works redeploy in distinct secular contexts the typological method of historical interpretation that they condemn in a theological context.

Os Sertões, by Euclides da Cunha (1866-1909), is a hybrid genre text of encyclopedic proportions. Da Cunha employs a tripartite structure to describe the land, the people, and the massacre of those involved in the Canudos rebellion in the *sertão* (the Northeastern Brazilian

³³ The numerous examples of secular texts that partake of just such a deliberate type and antitype relationship include Virgil's *Aeneid* in its relationship to Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey* as well as Luis de Camões' *As Lusíadas* in its relationship to Virgil's *Aeneid*.

³⁴ For a discussion of typology as radical historical revisionism see Kadir, *Columbus*.

backland) during the late nineteenth century. Da Cunha overtly indicts the military's actions and the ensuing massacre of *sertanejos* (backlanders) at Canudos. Often considered a foundational text for Brazilian nationalism, *Os Sertões* appeals to the promise of Brazilian republicanism as well as to the authority of nineteenth-century scientific interpretation. The text also assumes a testimonial nature through the use of the first-person singular narrative voice, although the veracity of much of da Cunha's testimony is disputed.³⁵ The writer presents himself as an eyewitness despite the fact that he gathered the majority of his material elsewhere and spent only a brief time at Canudos. Even during the time that da Cunha was present in the area from August 1897 to October of the same year, the nature of his direct knowledge of events was doubtless affected by the fact that he was embedded with the military as a reporter for a Brazilian newspaper and was not a free agent. In fact, according to Lori Madden, da Cunha's account of the events has served to increase the general confusion between legend and truth: "There is a lack of critical discernment as legends are passed on as facts, the biggest obstacle of which is the legacy of Euclides da Cunha" (Madden 17).

Glauber Rocha's film *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol*, released in English as *Black God, White Devil*, condenses the long history of millenarian movements, state and church suppression of rural peasantry and rampant banditry into a fictional account of life in the Brazilian backlands. One of the central films from the Brazilian Cinema Novo movement, it constitutes "an esthetic and ideological project that affirms popular forms of representation (as a focus of cultural

35 Adriana Johnson highlights the discrepancy between da Cunha's version of the community's total destruction after the last four survivors supposedly died on 5 October 1897 and "oral history undertaken since the 50s in the region of Canudos indicat[ing] that in fact there were many survivors, several hundred or so" (379-80).

resistance, and a logos where national identity is engendered) and striving for social transformation, on the basis of a dialectical vision of history” (Xavier 260). The film depicts the compulsory journey of Manoel and Rosa, a peasant couple who flee climatological, political, religious, and economic violence throughout the Brazilian backlands. Shot on location in the North Eastern region of Brazil, images of the physical geography of Canudos as it existed in the 1960s are explicitly incorporated into the film. Manoel becomes apprenticed to Sebastião, a millenarian leader who is modeled in part after the spiritual leader of Canudos. Sebastião’s prophecy, which is later taken up by others, becomes the refrain of the film leading to the final shot in which the prophecy is fulfilled. This prophecy that “o sertão vai virar mar e o mar virar sertão” (the backlands will become sea and the sea will become the backlands) is taken from the prophecies attributed to Canudos’ historical leader, Antônio Mendes Maciel, known as “O Conselheiro” (the Counselor).

La guerra del fin del mundo, by Mario Vargas Llosa (b.1936), is a work of historical fiction that treats the events surrounding the formation of the Canudos community and its subsequent destruction by the republican army. While Vargas Llosa explicitly dedicates his text to da Cunha, the novel’s unnamed myopic journalist, a character apparently modeled after da Cunha, puts that dedication into perspective. The myopic journalist’s lack of vision, coupled with his constant sneezing and stubborn obsessions, make him an ill-equipped witness and an object of ridicule among his peers: “ese periodista joven, flaco, desgarbado, cuyos espesos anteojos de miope, sus frecuentes estornudos y su manía de escribir con una pluma de ganso en vez de hacerlo con una de metal son motivo de bromas” (Vargas Llosa 129; “that young, skinny, ungainly, journalist whose thick spectacles for myopics, whose frequent sneezes and obsession for writing with a goose quill rather than with a metal pen are the subject of jokes”). Through the

character of the journalist, Mario Vargas Llosa “transforms the nearsighted precursor into a blind man destined to witness and report the historical events in Canudos, a seer who looks on but can only ‘see’ through the distorting fragments of his shattered spectacles” (Kadir 151). While Vargas Llosa borrows heavily from da Cunha's text and other historical accounts he also introduces fictional characters and situations recasting the story of Canudos as a novel in an attempt to narrate events from the perspectives of the many different people involved.

These three thematically related works explore the dangers of messianism fueled by redemptive philosophies of history. Nevertheless, despite their narratological distance from blatantly theological concepts of history, their respective visions of progress inscribe a longing for unity and a redemptive philosophy of history onto their own artistic works. The narrative investments in a redemptive history of the nation and the text often have the unfortunate result of limiting the authors’ critiques of the *sertanejos’* messianism to an attack on their religiosity. Indeed, the basic visions of history presented in these three works, whether couched in Christian messianism, progressive republicanism, or a belief in liberal social unity are comparable to the extent that they all draw heavily on a typologically inspired philosophy. Thus, far from extricating themselves from the dangers they identify in the *sertanejos’* messianic vision, Euclides da Cunha, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Glauber Rocha employ similar typological methods of historical interpretation derived not from religious leaders or other-worldly convictions, but from their distinct, historically and politically grounded secular contexts.

Os Sertões relates the development, rise to prominence, and ultimate downfall of the anti-republican, messianic figure of Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel, known as “O Conselheiro” (the Counselor). However, while da Cunha’s account of the military conflict between the Brazilian Republic and “O Conselheiro” forms the main narrative thread of the story, the text begins with a

lengthy description and analysis of the larger context of the Northeastern region of Brazil rather than the immediate conflict. Euclides da Cunha's division of the text into sections entitled "A Terra" (The Land), "O Homem" (Man) and "A Luta" (The Struggle), frames his appraisal and attempted synthesis of the geological, anthropological, and military factors involved in the formation of the Belo Monte community in Brazil's Northeastern interior as well as its subsequent eradication by the fledgling Brazilian Republic.

The formation of the Belo Monte community was not unique--either in the history of Brazil, or in the history of the Americas in general--with regards to its organization around a popular messianic leader and its subsequent destruction by governmental forces.³⁶ To understand the monumental status imparted to da Cunha's text, therefore, we must look beyond its status as the most extensive documentation of this historical conflict and examine the text's place in the larger context of Brazilian literature and history.

Although *Os Sertões* is most directly a product of nineteenth-century nationalist and scientificist concerns, it must also be read in relation to Lusophone literary traditions. *Os Sertões* shares certain noteworthy characteristics with the Portuguese Pêro Vaz de Caminha's "A Carta." Written in 1500 and published in 1817, many scholars consider Vaz de Caminha's letter the foundational narrative or birth certificate of Brazilian literature. Charged with notifying the Portuguese King Dom Manuel that Pedro Álvares Cabral had arrived on the coast of what would later be Brazil, Vaz de Caminha painstakingly detailed his observations of the land and its inhabitants without reserving judgment or emotion. According to Massaud Moisés, Vaz de Caminha's letter, combining the traits of historical text with those of the personal diary, is the first in a long line of texts later classified as "literatura de informação da terra" (57; "literature of

information on the land”) which are characterized by a pronounced sentiment of “ufania” (57) or pride.

While *Os Sertões* clearly inserts itself within this literary tradition, it complicates the *ufanista* or “national breast-beating” attitude so intimately associated with the Brazilian canon of literature of the land.³⁷ Indeed, da Cunha attributes guilt not only to all those directly involved in the military campaign, but to himself as well: “tivemos na ação um papel singular de mercenários inconscientes” (66; “we played in this action the singular role of unconscious mercenaries” xxxii).³⁸ This inscription of blame as opposed to pride at the center of a national epic could point toward a critical appraisal of the nation-building project. However, as retrospective Jeremiad, da Cunha’s condemnation is a valuable tool for implementing a redemptive national project based around an instance of originary violence that has been subsequently scripted as inevitable. This violence becomes analogous to the concept of original sin for da Cunha’s construction of national identity. The destruction of Belo Monte, like the biblical Fall, is a foregone conclusion necessary for the subsequent flourishing of the nation as a postcolonial and, metaphorically, as a postlapsarian antitype that fulfills the promise of the formerly edenic but “backward” colonial Brazil. Da Cunha reads the appearance of The Counselor and messianic communities like Belo Monte in the modern era as atavistic backgrowths or reversions to an earlier type that must be physically eradicated and socially superseded for the logical historical process of fulfillment to take place. De Cunha explains that The Counselor was not an aberration in his community but rather its natural leader: “A multidão

³⁶ For a sociological study of Brazilian messianism in a global context, see Pereira de Queiroz.

³⁷ On *ufania* as national breast-beating see Santiago.

³⁸ All quotations of da Cunha’s text are taken from Bernucci’s edition of *Os Sertões*. English translations have been taken from Putnam.

aclamava-o representante natural das suas aspirações mais altas” (253; “The masses acclaimed him the natural representative of their highest aspirations”). Da Cunha asserts that there is something ethnic and atavistic in *The Counselor’s*, and therefore the community’s, madness: “Em seu desvio ideativo vibrou sempre, a bem dizer exclusiva, a nota étnica. Foi um documento raro de atavismo” (253; “In his mental disturbance there always, or exclusively, vibrated an ethnic note. He was a strange document of atavism”).

The acknowledgment of culpability as a necessary prerequisite for absolution and the logic of abrogation and historical supersession situate the text within the framework of a typologically informed redemptive philosophy of history. Such historical interpretation, clearly not restricted to Catholic tradition, also resonates in both Calvinist and Lutheran theology.³⁹ Like Jonathan Edwards' theological appeal to the potentially redeemed Puritan community of New England, da Cunha's text calls upon the citizens of the Brazilian Republic to fulfill its promise of modernization and national unity.⁴⁰ Da Cunha promotes a redemptive philosophy of history by upholding the Republic's privileged role in the creation of a national unity. In addition, the canonization of *Os Sertões* as a national epic sacralizes the nation's role as civilizer and redeemer. The seventeenth-century idea “that God predicted the defeat of evil before the conflagration” reverberates in the secular language of the Brazilian Republic's modernization campaign to the extent that it cast the defeat of any and all opposition to its cause as inevitable and predetermined (Tuveson 12).

³⁹ For a discussion on the significance of typology for both Calvin and Luther see Wilson.

⁴⁰ Intended as a summary theological statement by its author Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption* is a typological argument for recentering theology around God's redemption of the world. According to Wilson, “[h]is 'history' is addressed to a community which is

As a matter of accepted scientific fact as well as naturalized common sense for da Cunha, civilization was bound to triumph over barbarism and the destruction of anything that stood in civilization's path. This represented nothing more than "o curso normal da civilização" (501; "the normal course of civilization"). *Os Sertões*, however, as opposed to more triumphalist treatises on the struggle between civilization and barbarism, casts the inevitable salvation of the nation in a less than positive light: "Estamos condenados à civilização. Ou progredimos, ou desaparecemos" (157; "We are condemned to civilization. Either we shall progress or we shall perish"⁵⁴). Nevertheless, if civilization is inescapable and indeed inevitable for self-preservation, the project itself is necessarily absolved by means of its inscription within a discourse of redemption and retrospective prophecy.

Before traveling to Canudos, da Cunha published two articles in 1897 on the military campaigns in the Brazilian state of Bahia both entitled "A Nossa Vendéia." In these articles he compared the situation in Northeastern Brazil to the 1793 revolt against the French Republic staged by royalists and Catholics belonging to both the French aristocracy and the peasantry. On the strength of these two articles da Cunha was contracted by the newspaper *O São Paulo* as an on-site war correspondent. In this journalistic capacity da Cunha traveled to Canudos and witnessed part of the fourth and final military campaign against Canudos. While da Cunha refrained from publicly denouncing the military at the time, he continued to grapple with his experiences after leaving Canudos. He worked on the book manuscript for five years after the fall of Canudos, even as he was simultaneously engaged as an engineer in the reconstruction of the São José do Rio Pardo Bridge. While da Cunha financed the initial publication of his book,

potentially redeemed, as an exhortation to its members to be saved, to 'close with salvation'" (33).

its immediate success led him to great renown as a writer. Trained as an engineer and disciple of the staunch positivist Benjamin Constant, da Cunha had publicly renounced all affiliation with positivism in 1892 without relinquishing his attachment to scientificist theories of human evolution and abnormal psychology (Amory 670).

In *Os Sertões* da Cunha, clearly disturbed by the campaign, likens the soldiers to barbarians and denounces the massacre. However, he ultimately remains loyal to what Leopoldo Bernucci sees as “sua cega fidelidade ideológica ao republicanismo progressivo” (45; “his blind ideological fidelity to progressive republicanism”). Maintaining a dream of national unity and a belief in rigid biological determinism, this surveyor of frontiers, professor of logic, and military engineer was also a writer with a longing for perfection. Sousa de Andrade states that da Cunha was impelled by an “insopitável desejo de perfeição” (320; “insupportable desire for perfection”), and that later in life he referred to *Os Sertões* as a “livro bárbaro da minha mocidade...tão estranho à maneira tranqüila como considero hoje a vida, que a mim mesmo às vezes custa entendê-lo” (320-321; “barbarous book of my youth...so distant from the tranquil manner in which I now consider life that understanding it sometimes taxes even me”). Frederic Amory asserts that while the Canudos massacre shook da Cunha’s faith in progressivism and republicanism, before he died he became “a whole-hearted patriot in an unambiguous nativist sense” (669). While he was able to distance himself personally and politically from the critiques and ambiguous appraisals of the Republic contained in this “barbarous” book of his youth, his fame as a writer rests principally on the strength of *Os Sertões*, despite the fact that he continued to write until his death in 1909.

Lauded by its English translator Samuel Putnam as the book that marked Brazil’s intellectual coming of age (iii), *Os Sertões* is notoriously resistant to generic classification. A

mixture of personal testimony, scientific treatise, historical record and fiction, the published text's self-proclaimed objective, as outlined in the "Nota Preliminar," is not the original manuscript's purpose of recounting the historical events of the Canudos campaign, but rather an attempt to account for the formation of "doomed races" in Brazil's interior:

Intentamos esboçar, palidamente embora, ante o olhar de futuros historiadores, os traços atuais mais expressivos das sub-raças sertanejas do Brasil...destinadas a próximo desaparecimento ante as exigencies crescentes da civilização (65).

[It is our purpose to sketch in, however inadequately, for the gaze of future historians, the most significant present-day characteristics of the subraces to be found in the backlands of Brazil...destined soon to disappear before the growing exigencies of civilization (xxx).]

Da Cunha's fatalistic but otherwise not unsympathetic portrayal of the *sertanejos* is similar, in this respect, to nineteenth-century portrayals of Native Americans espoused by prominent critics of unbridled development such as Margaret Fuller in the U.S. As a champion of both women and Native Americans, Fuller nevertheless interprets the definitive disappearance of Native Americans in the wake of civilization as inevitable: "Amalgamation would afford the only true and profound means of civilization. But nature seems, like all else, to declare, that this race is fated to perish" (120). Da Cunha's critique of the Brazilian Republic's methods, like Fuller's indictment of the extinction of Native Americans, is thus mitigated by the conviction that the project of civilization and national unification is both unstoppable and necessarily genocidal. There is no doubt that social Darwinist and Enlightenment theories of racialist hierarchy and human progress influenced da Cunha's understanding of events, as is evident in his lengthy descriptions and speculations. However, his intellectual adherence to these theories does not eclipse a critical appraisal of the national government and a denunciation of the military's criminal actions. While da Cunha invokes the natural and social sciences as the keys to

understanding the “uncivilized” Brazilian interior, he fails to find decisive support for his conclusions among the ideas of the theorists he cites so abundantly.

He ends his text lamenting the absence of a theorist who could take into account national insanity and criminality the way English psychiatrist Henry Maudsley accounted for the psychological aberrations of individuals: “É que ainda não existe um Maudsley para as loucuras e os crimes das nacionalidades...”(781; “The trouble is that we do not have today a Maudsley for acts of madness and crimes on the part of nations...” 476). The adverb “ainda” (“yet”), elided in Putnam’s translation, suggests however that the lack of a proper diagnosis of the nation’s pathology, which would offer a scientific explanation for the events, is a temporary situation to be overcome in time, thus allowing da Cunha to place his confidence in science on the idea that its future achievements would retrospectively justify its current shortcomings and validate his call to “[l]et science have the last word” (476; “Que a ciência dissesse a última palavra” 780).

This confidence in scientific powers of interpretation is paralleled by a supreme self-assurance of the backlanders’ inability to correctly interpret their own world: “Está na fase religiosa de um monoteísmo incompreendido, eivado de misticismo extravagante, em que se rebate o fetichismo do índio e do africano” (238; “His religion is a monotheism which he does not understand, marred by an extravagant mysticism, with an incongruous admixture of the fetishism of the Indian and the African”110). Da Cunha couches his analysis in the racialist, evolutionist language of the nineteenth century. However, this ascription of ignorance and mental incapacity to the victims of crusades resurfaces frequently as Christianizing, modernizing, and democratizing operations participate in a long tradition of rationalization.

These analyses attempt to justify the motivations for such campaigns while expediently absolving their promulgators of misconduct.⁴¹

Similarly, in the sixteenth century, the Spanish friar Diego Durán came to the conclusion that the indigenous Americans he encountered were ignorant because their accounts of their history and religion failed to match his own: “the natives themselves are ignorant of their origins and beginnings, inasmuch as they always profess to have come from strange lands” (4). On occasions where the evangelizers’ messages continue to meet with failure after proper “instruction” they routinely employ accusations of weakness, stubborn pride, and atavism to justify further action. This description of the indigenous Americans as enervated is also apparent in the Spanish Franciscan friar Géronimo de Mendieta’s *Historia Ecclesiástica Indiana* (1596-1604):

para con estos indios gentílicos, que además de la ignorancia del camino de la Verdad, están ocasionados y dispuestos a caer, así en las cosas de la fe como en la guarda de los mandamientos de Dios, de pura flaqueza, por ser la gente más débil que se ha visto, no bastará la simple predicación del Evangelio” (28).

[For these Indian gentiles, who besides ignorance of the True path, have occasion and are disposed to fall away from those things associated with faith such as keeping God’s commandments out of pure weakness because they are the weakest people that have ever been seen, the simple preaching of the Gospels will not suffice.]

Similarly, although da Cunha attributes both physical resistance and strength to the backlanders, he, like the colonial clergyman before him, also associates his subjects with mental susceptibility to superstition and fetishism.

⁴¹ The Portuguese explorer Pêro Vaz de Caminha (author of “A Carta” mentioned above in connection to Brazilian literature of the land) asserted that the only obstacle preventing the native inhabitants of Brazil from converting to Christianity was their inability to understand their enlightened discoverers: “esta gente não lhes falece outra coisa para ser toda crisã senão

His attribution of atavism as one of the reasons for the backlanders' reticence and ultimate refusal to surrender resonates with the Portuguese Jesuit priest Manuel da Nóbrega's *Diálogo Sobre a Conversão do Gentio* (1556-1558). Nóbrega's dialogue presents the blacksmith Mateus Nogueira explaining to the clergyman Gonçalo Álvares that the proud and malicious are more difficult to convert than the simply ignorant: "Mais fácil é de converter um ignorante que um malicioso e soberbo... daqui manou a pertinácia dos judeus que, nem com serem convencidos por suas próprias Escrituras, nunca quiseram render à fé" (30; "It is easier to convert an ignorant man than a malicious and proud one...from here stems the pertinacity of the Jews who, even after having been convinced by their own Scriptures, never wanted to give in to the faith").

Nogueira's conviction that the Jewish people are particularly difficult to convert to Christianity not because they are ignorant, but because they are spitefully recalcitrant mirrors da Cunha's suggestion that the Belo Monte community represents an atavistic backflow of Christianity into its Judaic source: "Não haverá, com efeito, nisto, um traço superior do judaísmo? Não há encobri-lo. Ademais este voltar-se à idade de ouro dos apóstolos e sibilistas, revivendo vetustas ilusões, não é uma novidade. É o permanente refluxo do cristianismo para o seu berço judaico" (278; "Is there not, to tell the truth, a trace of higher Judaism in all this? There is no denying the fact. What is more, this return to an age of gold, favorite theme of apostles and sibylline prophets, this revival of age-old illusions, is no new thing but marks, rather, the permanent backflow of Christianity to its Jewish cradle" 136). While the Belo Monte community's own typologically inspired interpretation of itself as a new Jerusalem is presented

entender-nos" (17; "these people lack nothing other than the ability to understand us in order to be completely Christian").

in Llosa's text as well ([the Counselor] “explicó que Belo Monte podía ser, también, Jerusalén” (111; “The Counselor “explained that Belo Monte could also be Jerusalem” Lane 106), da Cunha's chronological displacement of the backlanders into history enables a convenient separation of societies in which the modern, civilized group assumes the responsibility for recuperating and integrating the lost tribe which has remained stubbornly in the past.

While upholding a division of humanity into opposing camps of civilization and barbarism, upon witnessing the military campaign's actions da Cunha proves unable to maintain a strict separation of spheres in which urban civilization supposedly competes with rural barbarism. Published in 1845, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's Argentine epic *Facundo o civilización y barbarie* describes an irremediably divided country containing “dos sociedades distintas, rivales e incompatibles, dos civilizaciones diversas: la una, española, europea, culta, y la otra, bárbara, americana, casi indígena” (Sarmiento 112; “two distinct rival and incompatible societies, two diverse civilizations: one Spanish, European, cultured and the other barbarous, American, almost indigenous”). In a similar vein, da Cunha chronicles the clash of two apparently separate cultures when he describes the soldiers' arrival to the interior:

Discordância absoluta e radical entre as cidades da costa e as malocas de telha do interior, que desequilibra tanto o ritmo de nosso desenvolvimento evolutivo e perturba deploravelmente a unidade nacional. Viam-se em terra estranha. Outros hábitos. Outros quadros. Outra gente. Outra língua mesmo, articulada em gíria original e pinturesca. Invadia-os o sentimento exato de seguirem para uma Guerra externa. Sentiam-se for a do Brasil. A separação completa dilatava a distância geográfica; criava a sensação nostálgica de longo afastamento da patria. (677)

[Here was an absolute and radical break between the coastal cities and the clay huts of the interior, one that so disturbed the rhythm of our evolutionary development and which was so deplorable a stumbling-block to national unity. They were in a strange country now, with other customs, other scenes, a different kind of people. Another language even, spoken with an original and picturesque drawl. They had, precisely, the feeling of going to war in another land. They felt that they were outside Brazil. A complete social

separation expanded the geographic distance, giving rise to the nostalgic sensation of being very far from home (405).]

However, in contradistinction to Sarmiento's text, the unproblematic division of urban and rural societies into opposed categories of civilization and barbarism breaks down repeatedly as da Cunha describes the violent and dishonorable crimes of the military: "Era uma inversão de papéis. Uma antinomia vergonhosa..." (732; "It was an inversion of roles, a shameful antinomy" 441). Even as da Cunha's text supports a linear philosophy of history as evolutionary through the counterpoint of the desirable progress of civilization and the undesirable backwardness of barbarism, it calls into question the "common sense" interpretation of backlanders as barbarism incarnate and urban republicans as necessarily civilized. Da Cunha classifies the soldiers' actions as more barbarous than those of the backlanders: "Apesar de três séculos de atraso os sertanejos não lhes levavam a palma no estadear idênticas barbaridades" (727; "Despite their three centuries of backward development, the sertanejos by no means carried off the palm from our troops when it came to deeds of barbarism" 439). Thus, while dividing people into the self-justifying categorizations of those who are civilized vs. those who are barbaric, da Cunha also turns these categories against those who would use them to preemptively absolve themselves of wrongdoing and justify violence against others.

Despite da Cunha's frequent reference to the backlanders as the enemy, the facile opposition of heroes and enemies is also called into question as da Cunha reflects on the nature of the conflict: "Fora até demasia de frase caracterizá-lo inimigo, termo extemporâneo, esquisito eufemismo suplantando o "bandido famigerado" da literatura marcial das ordens do dia. O sertanejo defendia o lar invadido, nada mais" (621; "He was not in any proper sense of the word an "enemy," which is an extemporized term, an strange euphemism, to take the place of

“notorious bandit” as he was called in that form of martial literature known as orders of the day. The sertanejo was merely defending his invaded home, that was all” 368). The description of the sertanejos as nothing more than people defending their homes rather than as barbarous enemies of the Republic entails more than a semi-sympathetic, picturesque portrait of the sertanejos as backward but dignified.

Da Cunha’s disregard for popular, urban interpretations of Canudos as an insidiously anti-republican political conspiracy becomes a contestational act in opposition to official explanations for the war. These official explanations inflated the monarchist character of the self-named Belo Monte community at Canudos for the political purpose of creating a rallying point around an imminent threat to the existence of the nation. However, historians such as Robert Levine judge the threat of Belo Monte to have been a primarily economic one affecting the established rural oligarchy’s control of docile labor (570). Da Cunha describes the Brazilian Republic’s mission to civilize the sertanejo as inherently connected to force and violence. The nation, states da Cunha, “procurava levá-lo para os deslumbramentos da nossa idade dentro de um quadrado de baionetas, mostrando-lhe o brilho da civilização através do clarão de descargas” (502; “sought to raise him [the backlander] to our own state of enlightenment at the point of a bayonet, revealing to him the brilliancy of our civilization in the blinding flash of cannons” 280). Nonetheless, da Cunha suggests that such crimes against humanity could indeed be redeemed through properly executed civilizing campaigns. The critically-minded denunciation of the campaign as a crime is mitigated by a lament for the misdirection of a project that nevertheless remains justified for da Cunha in its objective to civilize the “unruly” people of the Brazilian backlands.

Thus, while the Bakhtinian concept of dialogic discourse is easily applicable to Vargas Llosa's overtly polyglossic narrative, da Cunha's text can be read as a monologue that acquires an acutely dialogic structure.⁴² Above and beyond the pedantic criticisms of da Cunha's excessively obscure vocabulary, it is this "antithetical style of Euclides's *falar difícil*" (Amory 675) that contributes to the dialogic nature of the text. This counterpoint is sustained in his divergent conclusions on the legacy of the campaign. While asserting that the campaign offers a lesson to posterity, "Sob tal aspecto era antes de tudo, um ensinamento" (503; "So viewed, Canudos was, above all else, a lesson" 280), he posits that the events of the campaign will remain eternally indecipherable, "o enigmático da campanha se antolhava mais uma vez, destinando-se a ficar para sempre indecifrável" (559; "the enigma of this campaign, destined to remain forever indecipherable" 322). In this respect, *Os Sertões* functions as both a defense and a prosecution of the Republic's civilizing project. While the contrapuntal structure of the text prohibits da Cunha from unambiguously acquitting or convicting the project itself, I contend that da Cunha's work simultaneously presents readers with another project as well, that of upholding a redemptive philosophy of history through which the sins of the past may potentially be absolved by the fulfillment of the promise made to posterity. In da Cunha's text a reliance on the explanatory power of the religion of science replaces the religion of the Canudos community of believers.

This project can be seen clearly in the painstakingly encyclopedic attempt to compensate for the limited scope and sensationalist bias of the media coverage afforded to the historical events by newspapers and telegraph services. Generally considered the single most

⁴² For a discussion of *La guerra del fin del mundo* as a major contribution to the genre of the polyphonic novel and a comparison of Vargas Llosa's text to Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of

comprehensive, though not necessarily the most accurate, account of the Canudos campaign even today, *Os Sertões* is also the archival evidence of the fulfillment of an intellectual obligation, one which permitted da Cunha's entrance into the scholarly arena of the Brazilian Academy, and which perhaps also represents the payment of an ethical debt in order to reclaim a voice of conscience after the forced neutrality of his properly journalistic writings on the campaign.

The self-enfranchising project of da Cunha as an intellectual, while differing in scope and character from the messianic aspirations of the nascent Brazilian Republic and the millenarian vision of Belo Monte's religious community leader "O Conselheiro" (Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel), nevertheless resonates with the redemptive roles assumed by both. While memorializing events as recorded history, da Cunha authorizes a history that is contentious, as opposed to triumphalist, but which even so places himself at the center as both the adamant watchdog and the fervent promoter of the republican ideals of reason and progress.

A reading of the text as a project of recovery rather than denunciation is supported by appraisals of da Cunha's work as a monumental compendium of the world of Northeastern Brazil. Cultural historian Luís da Câmara Cascudo (1898-1986) suggestively points to da Cunha as a Noah figure engaged in a parodic salvation of the world through its textual incorporation: "O Noé arrebatado e maluco que salvou fauna e flora do mundo num só livro atormentador, ímpar, atrevido e soberbo" (Sousa Andrade 320; "The impetuous and mad Noah who saved the fauna and flora of the world in a sole tormenting, unequalled, bold, and formidable book"). Afrânio Peixoto (1876-1947), the successor to da Cunha's seat in the Brazilian Academy of Letters, claimed:

dialogic discourse see Bernucci, *Historia*.

(i)f the Book of Genesis may be said to be, in the symbolism that it holds for the faithful, a biography of earth, Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões* is a Genesis which in epic accents tells of the meeting of civilization and barbarism; it is a saga of the first flaming days of the earth and of man and of primal man's first direct contact with other men known as civilized, from other, supposedly cultured, lands that did not know how to bring civilization and, creating a slaughter-house of banditry, were able only to destroy. Like Genesis, *Os Sertões* has its moral (xxix).

On a less grandiose scale, contemporary critic Leopoldo Bernucci argues for a weighing of the book's positive and negative qualities in two columns by contemporary standards that, he suggests, provide an equation in which the gains not only outweigh the losses, but where the negative qualities are redeemed by the positive: "Como vemos, se compararmos as duas colunas, pensando nos ganhos e nas perdas do livro, notaremos que a segunda se redime pelos lucros notáveis encontrados na primeira" (14; "As we see, if we compare the two columns, taking into consideration the plusses and the minuses of the book, we will note that the second column redeems itself through the notable benefits found in the first"). This arithmetical approach to evaluating the merit of the work leaves much to be desired in that it reenacts on a mathematical rather than a spiritual level an abstract project of salvation or redemption.

Instead of defensively adding and subtracting the text's qualities and attempting to redeem or purchase the merit of some parts by counterbalancing them with others, I contend that the antithetical structure of da Cunha's *falar difícil* is largely what continues to make the text engaging to contemporary readers. Its continued sacralization, however, as signaled by Robert Levine, is a serious impediment to further inquiry surrounding the historical events and has left da Cunha's "interpretation of Canudos virtually untouchable" (526). This reenactment of the mystifying project of *Os Sertões* as a total history capitulates to the messianic logic of

exceptionalism and pre-emptive self-absolution that confers an unqualified self-sufficiency on the text.⁴³

The concept of *Os Sertões* as a book whose significance is frequently derived from its ability to be read as the presentation of a self-contained logic of a total history can be productively read as analogous to Vargas Llosa's concept of the *novela total* or "total novel" as applied to *La guerra del fin del mundo*. In fact, "Vargas Llosa's conception of the total or totalizing novel is in many respects most fully realized in *The War of the End of the World*, a work that its author has characterized as his attempt to write an "epic novel" (Moses 154) and his most ambitious project to date (Vargas Llosa, World). According to Vargas Llosa, great novels provide "el sentimiento de pertinencia que mantiene unido al todo social" (Corral 321; "the feeling of belonging that maintains the social whole united"). This aesthetic vision of literature relies heavily upon its promise of social unity.

Vargas Llosa's text is not only a rewriting of the historical events depicted in *Os Sertões*, but a rewriting of the story of creation, the fall, and consequent need for redemption in a literary rather than a historical framework. The radical notion that a literary work could not only rewrite, but actually improve upon the work of God is explicitly supported by Vargas Llosa's vision of what makes a literary work great: "Admiramos *El Quijote*, *La Regenta* o *Fortunata y Jacinta* porque compiten con la realidad de igual a igual, porque son novelas deicidas que quieren rehacer la obra de Dios" (Corral 321; "We admire *The Quixote*, *Regenta* or *Fortunata and Jacinta* because they compete with reality as equals, because they are deicidic novels that want to remake the work of God"). Vargas Llosa's text ultimately functions as an alternate,

⁴³ The counterpart to this project of mystification can be seen in rejections of da Cunha's text in the search for a pristinely "non-Euclidean" Canudos.

typologically generated universe; a literary antitype which seeks to remake and improve upon its historical and literary types.

Similarly, da Cunha's text, encyclopedic as it is, follows a typological structure which encourages us to read the events surrounding Canudos and the Republic as retrospectively prophetic of the biblical account of the world. Both texts are suggestively excessive. This intentional overabundance, however, may serve to obfuscate the underlying reassertion of "progress" as both possible and preferable to "retrograde" backlander religiosity and "chaos." The polyglossic nature of Vargas Llosa's text mitigates the possibility of any overtly totalizing ideological message and encourages readers to engage with a variety of perspectives. Nevertheless, in spite of the non-exclusive, non-authoritarian design of the narrative, Vargas Llosa's the novelistic structure of Vargas Llosa's text does not facilitate a conceptual shift away from the concept of history as linear and as potentially progressive.

While the high price of "modernization" is emphasized by both da Cunha and Vargas Llosa, their theories of history nevertheless imply a teleological promise of progress that is explicitly Hegelian in da Cunha's case and less so in Vargas Llosa's case. Nevertheless, in a wide sense, "Vargas Llosa can be classified within the Hegelian tradition, broadly conceived, insofar as he believes that a generally progressive movement of universal history is visible from the privileged vantage point of the present, and that it is necessary for underdeveloped nations to pursue the path of modernization" (Moses 150). Thus the violent confrontation between the republican army and the millenarian followers of Mendes Maciel provides the occasion for da Cunha and Vargas Llosa to critique messianic movements without discarding a redemptive philosophy of history.

The teleological conception that a model of history as progressive is both possible and preferable to the negatively valenced, but equally possible inherence of atavistic or regressive movements underlies their rewritings of the tragic clash between competing messianisms. Both works depict the fractious and competing political forces at work in Brazilian society at the end of the nineteenth century. The space of conflict between contending theories of history espoused by the Belo Monte community, whose millenarian faith coupled with the specific belief in Sebastianism⁴⁴ as a defense strategy was no match for the weaponry and manpower of the republican army, and the republicans whose positivist ideology interpreted religious beliefs as backward obstacles to be routed out of the nation in order to make way for progress and modernization, dissolves into a genocidal violence from which arises a consciousness or longing for rehabilitation in da Cunha's text and the opportunity for a renewed dedication to social unity in Vargas Llosa's novel.

The renewed sense of need for rehabilitation through social responsibility is seen clearly in da Cunha's appeal to a nascent national republican conscience. This appeal takes the form of an indictment that attempts to unite a nation in a shared sense of guilt. This totalizing guilt could then be interpreted as the original sin of the Brazilian Republic, whose rehabilitation can only be secured through the voluntary fulfillment of the promise of the republican ideology. The clash between the inherently incompatible messianisms professed by the Republican army and the Belo Monte community at Canudos is cast as inevitable in its ultimate outcome by both writers, despite their often sympathetic and nuanced portrayals of those involved. Similar to romantic portrayals of Native Americans and people of mixed race as doomed to disappear from the

⁴⁴ Sebastianism is the belief that the sixteenth-century Portuguese King Sebastian would miraculously resurrect and, in the case of the Mendes Maciel's teachings, return to earth to

Americas, da Cunha and Vargas Llosa through their totalizing epics show the bloody triumph of the Republic over the backlanders as criminal but not without certain potential for beneficial outcomes: the call for unification of a fractious society, even under the banner of shared guilt, is a bid to reintroduce the “backward” or “lost” members of society back into the flock or fold of the dominant society's design.⁴⁵

Ultimately, the promise of unity proffered by both writers depends upon a redemptive philosophy of history. While da Cunha indicts the actions of the republican army, his typological framework allows him to locate the promise of the Republic's redemption in the very act of its criminal downfall:

Toda aquela campanha seria um crime inútil e bárbaro, se não se aproveitassem os caminhos abertos à artilharia para uma propaganda tenaz, continua e persistente, visando trazer para o nosso tempo e incorporar à nossa existência aqueles rudes compatriotas retardatários (682).

[This entire campaign would be a crime, a futile and barbarous one, if we were not to take advantage of the paths opened by the artillery, by following up our cannon with a constant, stubborn, and persistent campaign of education, with the object of drawing these rude and backward fellow-countrymen of ours into the current of our times and our own national life (408).]

The promise of redeeming the crime of the nascent republic through national unification is analogous to Christ's redemption of humanity. Indeed, this lapse is as necessary to a coherent project of national redemption as original sin is necessary to the redemption of humankind in Christian theology; just as the existence of humanity's original sin and subsequent inability to glorify God presuppose and legitimize the need for redemption through Christ, the criminal lapse of those involved in the Canudos campaign retrospectively justifies the Brazilian Republic's self-conferred responsibility for national unification through campaigns of modernization and

defend Canudos.

civilization. Thus, in both cases, the human lapse is invoked as the originary moment which justifies the necessity for intervention by a higher power. Such interventions, whose justification is thus inevitably tautological, function not only to redeem the fallen, but also to restore the glory of the very power they exercise. Thus the glorification of God or nation achieved through the work of redemption ineluctably reinforces its own self-justification.

Vargas Llosa's negative depiction of messianism, based on either Christian teleology or republican progressivism, correlates with his rejection of an objective truth. In spite of this apparent logical preclusion of the possibility for a meaningful project of redemption, however, Vargas Llosa's attempt to achieve a sense of totality through the epic novel as microcosm presupposes an adherence to a typological construct, albeit a subjective one, in which an imperfect sense of worldly wholeness as type is read through the antitype of a literary rewriting of the world.

In Glauber Rocha's *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* (1964) from the Cinema Novo movement, Marxist teleology of revolution serves as the antitype of a flawed, but powerful Christian typology of the Second Coming as employed by the Brazilian backlanders. The violence of action prescribed in Rocha's own aesthetic of violence serves as a connective thread. This is made evident in his manifesto, "Eztetyka da Fome" (1965) ("Aesthetics of Hunger"), in which he states:

Do Cinema Novo: uma estética da violência antes de ser primitiva e revolucionária [...] O amor que esta violência encerra é tão brutal quanto a própria violência, porque não é um amor de complacência ou de contemplação mas um amor de ação e transformação (Rocha).

[From Cinema Novo it should be learned that an aesthetic of violence, before being primitive, is revolutionary. [...] The love that this violence encompasses is as brutal as

⁴⁵ On the textual integration of the backlanders, see Beebee.

the violence itself because it is not a love of complacency or contemplation but rather of action and transformation.]

The privileged role Rocha assigns to violence in the service of revolution and transformation is unmistakable: “a mais nobre manifestação cultural da fome é a violência” (Rocha; “the noblest cultural manifestation of hunger is violence”). Even on the level of the material production of *Black God, White Devil*, Rocha frames the meager material conditions of the film’s production as revolutionary rather than primitive: “In its refusal of the dominant industrial esthetic, *Black God, White Devil* affirms the basic principles of ‘the esthetic of hunger.’ The film attunes its style to its own conditions of production and thus marks its esthetic and ideological opposition to the colonizing discourse of the film industry” (Xavier 252).

The film’s final shot of the ocean suggests that the prophecy of transformation first popularized by Antônio Conselheiro, “O sertão vai virar mar, o mar virar sertão” (“the backland will become the sea and the sea will become the backland”), and shared by both the beatos and the cangaçeiros in the film will ultimately be fulfilled. It is rebellion and violence fueled by hunger, however, and not religion or divine order that is the catalyst for change. The violence of messianic Christianity and cangaço banditry serve as a historical prefiguration or “type” that will eventually be fulfilled through the antitype of Marxist revolution.

Thus, da Cunha's and Vargas Llosa's criticisms of the competing messianisms of the Conselheiristas and the fledgling Brazilian Republic continue to function within— rather than beyond— a teleological notion of creation as linear and purposeful. In both works, the promise of social rehabilitation and unity, rather than divine liberation, represents the fruit of history’s work of redemption. While the promise of unity is cast as a scientific and objective goal in da Cunha's work, it is necessarily subjective and literary in Vargas Llosa's work. The possibility that

even a subjective social whole could be derived from the unity achieved through the totalizing projects of science, republican progressivism, or the “total novel” thus relies upon a typological interpretation of history as a process of fulfillment, be it eschatological or endlessly directed towards the future.

The inherently messianic nature of such a view of history is not, then, substantially mitigated by the rejection of determinism. Against more heavily deterministic philosophies of history, both da Cunha and Vargas Llosa suggest that an evolutionary progress is desirable, but not absolutely inevitable. The notion that history *should* progress in a linear fashion begins to acquire meaning in light of the fact that the undesirable possibility of backward or retrograde motion does not threaten, but in fact reinforces the notion of linearity. While Vargas Llosa rejects eschatological notions of history as meaningful because of its end, his notion of history as an endless succession of subjective truths is nevertheless progressive and derived from a typological view of history as pointing toward future fulfillment. Thus, both Vargas Llosa and da Cunha promote worldviews dependent upon a typological understanding of the general direction in which history should proceed in order to fulfill the promise of historical progress. The texts examined in the following chapter challenge these kinds of typological understandings of history by positing alternate trajectories and histories that enter into dialogues with typological and covenantal constructions of identity.

Chapter 4—Through a Glass Darkly: Rewriting Biblical Types in Fourth-World Typologies

In the introduction to this study, I analyzed several literary examples of America presented to the reader as an antitypical fulfillment of Europe either as an idyllic Garden of Eden or as a satanic inversion of God's plan. While some of these examples were drawn from the works of Europeans writing about America, many examples came from the works of creole and mestizo writers who considered themselves products of America. In the previous chapters we have seen that twentieth-century American artists and intellectuals, from Euclides da Cunha at the turn of the century to Joaquín Balaguer near the end, continued to depend on the trope of America as an antitypical fulfillment. These writers provided coherent narratives in which Europe's colonial American projects and their legacies can be understood as part of a larger divine history of redemption. Narratives that frame Europe's relationship with America as a typological one inevitably contain an implicit justification of conquest and colonization even while the physical violence inherent in the project of "making America" is often recognized and condemned. In such narratives the relationship between Europe and America is not understood as the result of human actions but as the consequence of a covenantal history revealed through types. Covenantal history, like covenantal theology, recognizes the necessity of a progressive supersession of earlier covenants, or promises, and their replacement with newer covenants. Thus, by identifying the typological signposts of covenantal history, conquest and colonization can be both condemned and justified.

In contrast, this chapter examines texts that highlight the self-justificatory nature of covenantal history and typological discourse by exploring the use of types and covenants in the construction of identity and history in America. These texts refer to biblical types and the logic

of similitude in order to respond to and challenge Eurocentric narratives of colonization and exploitation as providential. In this chapter I analyze tactical misreadings of biblical types in fictions dealing with twentieth-century histories of Native American dislocation and environmental degradation. The work of writers José María Arguedas from Peru, Leslie Marmon Silko from the southwestern U.S., and Gerald Vizenor from the northern U.S. sheds light on the meeting of distinct cosmologies in works that explore the interaction of mixed-background communities with Laguna-Puebla, Quechua, and Anishinaabe cosmologies. These works actively contest dominant Eurocentric typological narratives of American history and the expedience of covenantal identity formation. In turn, these narratives contribute to competing theories about the nature of the Americas as a historical and cultural construct. These contestatory dialogues on the uses of typology and covenantal history in twentieth-century literature of the Americas reflect the divergent ways that five centuries of intercultural contact have affected understandings of the meaning of America and American history.

The biblical term covenant is employed frequently in the Tanakh, or Hebrew Bible to describe alliances between equal partners as well as between unequal partners. This common usage of the term elides power relations under the broad concept of agreement without distinguishing among the terms on which such agreements are reached. Thus, the histories and impacts of power relations are frequently elided through an appeal to a common concept of covenant that does not differentiate between consensual and coercive contracts. The effects of such a concept of covenant and the supersessionary logic of typology, which fail to account for power disparities, on group identity formation are critically examined by Gerald Vizenor in relation to the creation of the White Earth reservation by means of a government treaty in Gerald

Vizenor's story "Bad Breath," from the collection *Landfill Meditation: Crossblood Stories* (1991).⁴⁶

The dangers as well as the short-sightedness of typologically informed covenantal identity construction can be productively explored through a reading of "Bad Breath." Vizenor's story uses satire, postmodern irony, oral traditions and poststructuralist theories of language to suggest that "life begins with imagination" (96), whereas examples of rigid, covenantal identity construction in the story demonstrate a decided lack of imagination that can lead to violence. Vizenor's story narrates the life of Mildred Fairchild following a promise over her mother's grave to "serve the survivors" (68). These "survivors" are initially those of her nuclear family, her father, twin sisters, and brother. As she leaves the neatly categorized, fearful world of her father for the White Earth reservation, however, her promise to serve her family is transformed into a larger Christian mission, also described by Mildred as a promise, "to serve tribal children" (69).

The secret nature of her promise, which she shares only with her family, reveals that it functions as a sacrificial covenant with the self and the family rather than as a commitment to social change or personal growth. Mildred does not question the propriety of her secret mission or feel the need to justify it to others because she herself considers it "a proper sacrifice" (69) and thus beyond reproach. For Mildred, dialogue with others is irrelevant because the covenant is a compact with the self. Mildred's ostensibly confident attitude here belies a self-enclosure and a deep-seated fear evinced both in the omnipresent threat of bad breath and in the recurring use of

⁴⁶ In fact, even when coercion and consensus are nominally delineated, as in the work of Jürgen Habermas, whose theory of communicative action depends on the possibility of public consensus, Lyotard warns us that appeals to unity and consensus can be deployed to deactivate difference and instigate terror (39, 46).

Mildred's nickname, Dred. Although Mildred heads west, self-assured in her mission to help others, the story suggests that she is the one who learns both about herself and her relationship to the world through her interactions with it. As Vizenor tells us, Mildred's ironic preoccupation with cleanliness and good-grooming habits is finally complemented by true self-reflection only after moving to the reservation where she "searched her smile in a mirror" (68) for the first time.

Mildred's father, referred to only as "father" throughout the story, embodies a chauvinistic morality and a rigid enforcement of group identity through contrast effects. He warns Mildred not to trust Catholic priests and "savages" and appeals to group morality by pointedly reminding her: "You know how we feel about them" (69). Similarly, Richard Rorty states that "[a] person appeals to morality rather than prudence when she appeals to...those beliefs and desires and emotions which permit her to say 'WE do not do this sort of thing.' Morality is, as Wilfrid Sellars has said, a matter of 'we-intentions'" (326). Mildred's father employs such 'we-intentions' and depends on the inculcation of animosity toward others to fortify group identity. His use of the term "we" is left indeterminate. While "we" could refer to his family, Protestants, or any other number of self-identified groups, the pronoun's indefinite referent is significant in that it highlights the arbitrary nature and underlying absurdity of identity construction through a covenant with the self or contrast effects. While Rorty explicates the concept of 'we-intentions' and its formative relationship with morality, his theoretical premise that a society's "loyalty to itself is morality enough" (325) precludes a thorough analysis of the possible consequences of such a morality. Vizenor's acute wit, however, illuminates the concept of 'we-intentions' through the character of Mildred Fairchild's father and shows the dangers and absurdities of this kind of self-justifying moralism.

On the national level of group identity formation, Vizenor examines the U.S. government's attempt to unify Native Americans by enacting unilateral "treaties" to establish Indian reservations, such as White Earth. The appellation, "White Earth," while historical, suggests that the government saw the land as both an empty, uninhabited space or *tabula rasa* unstained by the violence of colonialism upon which it could impose its will and as land belonging to white people that was entrusted to Native Americans through the treaty process. The population unification process is a coercive unity, even when it may occasionally be consensual as well, for the attempt to consolidate Native Americans involves relocating or "removing" people to the artificially created reservations. The Indian office's "plan to unite the scattered tribes" (77) is anything but liberatory for the violent creation of pan-Native American identities through forced relocation reflects the government's desire to contain and control people and does little to foster a new community in which diverse groups could interact with each other as equals. The reservation, while nominally autonomous, quickly becomes a microcosm of the disparities and inequalities present in the nation as a whole. The reservation becomes a deforested wasteland after the introduction of land ownership leads to environmental exploitation and creates a hierarchy of wealth and power. The character of Father Laurence reflects on the history of the White Earth reservation and notes that "[n]ow we measure who we are from what we have done to the Indians" (78), suggesting that the government creation of reservations and pan-Native American identity has served to reinforce the process of identity formation through contrast effects. The exploitation and devastation of the reservation and its inhabitants is a measure of the success of those who became wealthy. The "treaty" is revealed as a one-sided agreement that bolsters covenantal identity formation and the supersessionary logic of the "vanishing Indian" as an integral part of twentieth-century American identity.

Nevertheless, through storytelling, the reservation exists as more than its colonial history. Indeed storytelling becomes a matter of cultural survival as A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff's discussion of Vizenor's fiction highlights: "Vizenor suggests that survival for Indians is possible through revival of oral tradition and through imagination" (15). In Vizenor's work it is through the arts that group identity is shaped and developed: the community of White Earth defines itself in relation to the trickster figure, Naanabozho. He or she is described by Father Laurence as "a sort of cultural hero who creates and contradicts classes, manners, and political authority" (78-79). The trickster, whose very gender is indeterminate, "upsets the balance" (79) and thus promotes alertness, survival, and healing according to Vizenor's story. Group identity and continued existence are not predicated on the inferiority of others, but on memory in a constant recollection reminiscent of *anamnesis* in which the past as well as the present are ever-changing: "White Earth might be one of those transitional places on the earth where the past is never the same in the memories of the people who lived here. This reservation is a collection of crossblood stories" (79). The reservation itself is defined as a collection of stories, highlighting its creative, imaginative power without limiting it to a single narrative.

Colonel Clement Hudon Beaulieu (a character named after one of Vizenor's ancestors who also shares the given name of Vizenor's biological father) tells Mildred that he has lived on the White Earth reservation "since the night it was invented" (81), alluding to the construction of the community both through the government's coercive force and through the power of imagination.⁴⁷ In fact, Colonel Beaulieu, a Catholic and "the elder of the crossblood families" (72), appears both in the narrative of the nineteenth-century history of the reservation and in that

⁴⁷ Brown Ruoff suggests that Vizenor often inserts himself into his stories through this historical ancestral figure (34).

of the twentieth-century present. Colonel Beaulieu, whose surname is French for “good place,” serves as a trickster figure himself by transgressing temporal boundaries between the past and the present and generic boundaries between historical and fictional. By favoring the trickster’s transgressive but never predetermined movements through time and memory, Vizenor rejects typological narratives of supersessionary time. Clement, whose name means mild or merciful, is anything but mild-mannered in his defense of his family’s newspaper against the Indian agent, T.J. Sheehan, nicknamed Tipi Milcho. After testifying at corruption hearings in Washington D.C., he succeeds in ridding the reservation of the agent. Thus, like Mildred, whose name means gentle strength, Clement makes use of his power through non-violent means. In fact, it may not be coincidental that when Mildred loses the fear symbolized in her nickname “Dred,” her name can be read as the Old English equivalent of the Latin *clemens*.

The crossbloods, or people of mixed heritage, like Clement Beaulieu, are the modern-day tricksters, according to Father Laurence. However, even this assertion is open to revision as Father Laurence himself proves to be a trickster figure as the story progresses. Clement Beaulieu explains to Mildred that “Priests and crossbloods are ritualists... We are the creatures folded in stories, better told, better remembered than morals and manners” (84). Thus, while Mildred’s father relies on morals, as witnessed through the ‘we-intentions’ he inculcates into his family, and Mildred herself has relied on manners and grooming, she is now confronted with the trickster figure as an alternative.

It is on the reservation that Mildred becomes aware of her own rituals and begins to hear and see herself for the first time: “She heard an echo in her voice; she watched her gestures from the inside, the rituals from word to hand” (89). Upon realizing that her self-understanding has been dependent on the “contrast-effects” created by her father’s hatred of Catholics, her mother’s

absence and her own fears, she loses “her place in the world” (89) and when she calls out her name for self-assurance, “her voice [is] lost in the thunder” (90). This disorienting experience allows Mildred to encounter the trickster figure in the form of the shamans, Imar Funday and his grandson, Little Baron. Greasie Bobolink coaches Mildred through her fear by telling her “you’ll just have to learn how to talk to a shaman at night and then you won’t be scared” (91). Greasie, who explains to Mildred that “some people wear out their names and get new ones from time to time” (87), symbolically removes the fear from Mildred by using her whole name rather than the nickname Dred. Thus, a rigid structure of progressive revelation is rejected in favor of an openness to change is not dependent on providential types or covenantal history. While Mildred is accustomed to stable signifiers, as emphasized by her statement that “Dred never wore out” (87), Greasie has had several names and does not anchor her identity on the labels that other people give her. Conversant with change, Greasie helps Mildred learn to accept the power of losing one’s balance without fear.

Similarly, Father Laurence tells her that “[t]here is nothing to fear on the reservation, not even the shaman” (94). Indeed, Father Laurence himself is a shamanic trickster figure whom Mildred learns not to fear or despise in spite of her memory of her father’s moralistic protestations. Eventually, Mildred ascends mount Saint Columban, the mount that was imagined rather than discovered by the trickster Naananbozho and named by the missionaries. The history of the mount represents the many intertwined layers of significance that coexist on the reservation: the historical Saint Columban was a seventh-century Irish saint, but the name also suggests peace through the etymological link to *columba*, or dove, as well as an ironic sainthood of Columbus as the “imager” rather than the discoverer of the New World. Names accrue meaning, accumulate, function as palimpsests, and are even sometimes worn out but no name,

and by extension no meaning is antitypical. Instead, names and meanings are in constant negotiation.

While on the mount with Father Laurence, Mildred “twirled like a child until she lost her balance and tumbled on her side into the clover” (95). Ultimately, Mildred’s purposeful loss of balance allows her to escape the rigid, covenantal identity construction that she has learned from her father and imagine herself in sexual communion with Father Laurence, whose “clean and sweet” breath offers her the fresh air for which she has been searching. Thus, Gerald Vizenor’s “Bad Breath” employs “gentle strength” in the form of the fictional character Mildred to show the cancerous logic or “bad breath” that lurks around such self-justificatory covenantal identity formation through “contrast effects” and “we intentions.”

Silko’s Ceremony

Leslie Marmon Silko’s 1977 novel *Ceremony* revolves around the experience of loss rather than fulfillment. *Ceremony* narrates the story of Tayo after he returns to the Laguna Pueblo community in the Southwestern United States after fighting with the U.S. Army in the Phillipines. Tayo’s cousin Rocky is killed in the war and his uncle Josiah dies while he is away. The inversion of biblical typology here, unlike the satanic inversion described by Torquemada, highlights the insufficient capacity of the new white names to definitively replace the older Native American names. As in the case of Vizenor’s “Bad Breadth,” names and meanings coexist and compete, just as Christian and Native American religious traditions coexist. However, instead of connecting histories and communities, here Christian typology supplants the familial and the maternal with the individual, offering Jesus as an antitype of the Mother (with a capital M) that many in the Laguna Pueblo community find inadequate:

the names of the rivers, the hills, the names of the animals and plants—all of creation suddenly had two names: an Indian name and a white name. Christianity separated the people from themselves; it tried to crush the single clan name, encouraging each person to stand alone, because Jesus Christ would save only the individual soul, Jesus Christ was not like the Mother who loved and cared for them as her children, as her family (68).

Silko's novel emphasizes the necessity of a dynamic relationship with tradition and the need for new ceremonies to enact spiritual and psychological recovery rather than a return to past or a mythical paradise. While fighting in the Phillipines, Tayo has a vision of Josiah's death when he identifies a dying Japanese soldier as his uncle. Tayo's vision in the Philippines follows him back to the United States where he is unable to reintegrate himself into society and appears to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (124). Tayo and other returned Native American soldiers return to a country that no longer appreciates them as fellow Americans after the war. Many of the former soldiers become dependent on the use alcohol in their attempts to conjure up "that old feeling, that feeling they belonged to America the way they felt during the war" (43). The medicine man Betanie explains to Tayo that there is no pre-existing formula for curing his sickness: "medicine didn't work that way, because the world didn't work that way. His sickness was only part of something larger, and his cure would be found only in something great and inclusive of everything" (125-6).

At the center of the novel is a prophetic poem that tells the story of whites being brought into existence by Native American powers: "They will lay the final pattern with these rocks/ they will lay it across the world/ and explode everything" (137) and "It's already turned loose./ It's already coming./ It can't be called back" (138). The mining of uranium on Laguna Pueblo land and the use of the atomic bomb are part of "a monstrous design" (246) that Tayo comes to understand through his observations of the land: "the pattern of the ceremony was

completed there” (246). With the help of the medicine man Betonie, Tayo is able to see both the pattern of human destruction and the larger natural pattern beyond. He sees messages of hope rather than apocalypse in “a light yellow snake, covered with bright copper spots, like the wild flowers pulled loose and traveling [...] the world was alive [...] the yellow spotted snake [...] carrying this message on his back to the people” (221).

Ts’eh, the vision of the mountain woman that appears to Tayo in the wilderness, (223) warns him not to let himself be locked up in a white mental hospital because such an interment “is the only ending they understand” (232). Through Ts’eh and Betanie, Tayo begins to regain hope and to see his uncle Josaiiah’s vision taking “form in bone and muscle” (226) after “finally seeing the pattern, the way all the stories fit together” (246). This “convergence of patterns” (254) is not a revelation to his grandmother, who concludes, “It seems like I already heard these stories before...only thing is, the names sound different” (260). The novel ends with verses proclaiming the collapse of witchery upon itself, and with an offering to the sunrise.

Arguedas’ Foxes

El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo, written in 1968 and 1969, published posthumously in 1971, and translated into English as *The Fox from up above and the Fox from Down Below* (*The Foxes*), is the final, unfinished novel by the Peruvian author José María Arguedas (1911-1969). The text revisits Arguedas’ previous interests in indigenism, the environment, and liberationist philosophies while bringing a new focus on the hybridized urban setting of coastal Peru. In its posthumously published form, *The Foxes* also includes Arguedas’ meditations on

life, writing, and his decision to commit suicide in a number of diary entries interspersed with the unfinished novelistic story of the coastal port town of Chimbote.

An anthropologist and native Quechua speaker, Arguedas was also the author of, among other works, the novel *Los ríos profundos* (*Deep Rivers*) (1958) and the Spanish translation of the popular Quechua work transcribed by the Spaniard Francisco de Ávila in the late sixteenth century, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí* (*Gods and Men of Huarochirí*). Arguedas referred to *Dioses* as “una pequeña biblia regional que ilumina todo el campo de la historia prehispánica de los pueblos que luego formaron el inmenso imperio colonial organizado en el virreinato del Perú” (9; “a small regional bible that illustrates the whole field of prehispanic history of the people that later formed the immense colonial empire organized in the viceroyalty of Peru”). In this compendium of myth and ritual the Fox from Up Above and the Fox from Down Below engage in a short dialogue while the main character is sleeping. Porfirio Mamani Macedo reads this dialogue between the Foxes in Ávila’s text as prophetic of the exchange and fusion of cultures in colonial Peru and the subsequent construction of Peruvian identity: “es como un sueño anunciador [...] el diálogo *profético* de los zorros constituye la esencia, no sólo del mito, sino también la génesis interpretativa de la identidad peruana” (Mamani Macedo 19; “it is like a messenger dream [...] the prophetic dialogue of the foxes constitutes the essence, not only of the myth but also of the interpretive genesis of Peruvian identity”). *The Foxes*, set on the Peruvian coast where the fusion of European, Quechua, and African cultures is greatest, can be read as a twentieth-century extension of the Foxes’ exchange in *Dioses* and of its implications for understanding Peruvian identity construction.

In Arguedas' novel, the port town of Chimbote becomes the hub of the fish meal industry which initially creates an economic boom and entices many people to come down from the hills to work in the port. The violent modernization process and dramatic shifts in migration transform Chimbote into the world's largest fishing port in the 1960s (Ortega xi). The wealth created by the industry is extracted from the sea leaving little besides the stink of dead fish and the economic injustice produced by the exploitative management for the majority of the workers and numerous inhabitants who live in nearby shantytowns. Despite its unfinished state, the novel, according to Julio Ortega, functions as "the most serious attempt in all Peruvian culture to sum up a version of humanized otherness, that is, a utopia of the discourse of totalities of plentitude, where death is no longer the cancellation of life but an integral part of its creative potential"(xxx). Ortega sees Arguedas' project as "a utopia under construction like the dialogue itself, open and undetermined" (xxx).

Moncada, the itinerant Black preacher disregarded as a lunatic by all but the disenfranchised, proclaims that the fish meal industrialist is a disobedient Cain figure: "Oigan: Braschi ha hecho crecer este Puerto; lo ha empreñado a la mar, ustedes son hijos de Braschi, ese Caín al revés, hermanos..." (67; "Hear ye—Braschi has made this port grow; he got the sea pregnant; you people are the sons of Braschi, that Cain in reverse, brothers..." 58). Moncada's warnings which he preaches furiously "from corner to corner" (152) like a prophet, go unheeded. In his final diary entry, Arguedas clarifies that the character of Moncada "is the only one who sees nature and destinies both as a whole and in particular" (257). Moncada warns the inhabitants of the bustling port city of Chimbote that devastation of individual lives and that of Chimbote as a whole are linked: they are both products of Braschi's greed and the destructive actions of the fish meal industry.

While Moncada's apocalyptic vision of the future is disregarded in *The Foxes*, in Arguedas's short story "La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti" (The Agony of Rasu-Ñiti) the protagonist's vision is heeded and incorporated into a ceremony of death and rebirth. The scissor dancer Rasu-Ñiti prepares for physical death after "[e]l mundo avisa" (153; "the world informs [him]"), that it is time. When his wife asks him if he is saying goodbye, he does not respond to her question directly but says that "el corazón avisa" (154; "his heart tells him"). He explains to his wife and two daughters that although they cannot hear it, the Wamani (mountain god) is speaking directly to his chest (154). After the harp player, violinist, and dancer's apprentice are gathered, the family watches the ceremony in which the old dancer's body dies and the dancer is reborn in the body of his apprentice. The dancer's youngest daughter recognizes the event as a rebirth rather than a death: "No muerto. ¡El mismo! ¡Bailando!" (162; "Not dead. The same man! Dancing!"). Here the apocalyptic moment of an individual community member's death becomes part of the larger millenarian fabric of return and continuity in the relationship between the Wamani (mountain god), the scissor-dancer, and the broader human community.

Don Angel, the factory manager, is visited by one of the two foxes who are derived from Arguedas study and translation of indigenous Peruvian folklore. Don Angel explains Braschi's plan to trap workers into spending their earnings on alcohol and prostitution and tells him "here in Chimbote is the bay that's bigger than God's own mind, because it's the reflection of the face of our Lord Jesus Christ" (97). When Don Diego, the fox, asks Don Angel "¿Y el reflejo de la cara de Dios, don Angel?" (110; "And what about the reflection of the face of God, Don Angel?") (97), Don Angel responds, "Ahí lo ve. Turbio. Los alcatraces volando en tristeza. Pero el Perú es ahora el primer país del mundo en pesca. Sigue Dios aquí" (110; "Out yonder you see it. It's murky. The pelicans are flying mournfully. But Peru now has the biggest deep-sea fishin'").

catch of any country in the world. God is still here” 97). Don Angel’s response is both ironic and hopeful. The ecological and human disaster caused by the fishing industry has obscured God’s reflection, but the sacred in nature is not lost only veiled by the greed and destruction of human beings.

Arguedas directs part of this final diary, in which he also expresses his final wishes, to the father of Liberation Theology, Gustavo Gutierrez: “¿Es mucho menos lo que sabemos que la gran esperanza que sentimos, Gustavo? ¿Puedes decirlo tú, el teólogo del Dios Liberador [...] Te parecías a los dos Zorros, Gustavo” (281; “Does what we know amount to much less than the great hope we feel, Gustavo? Can you say that—you, the theologian of the Liberator God [...] You used to look like the Foxes, Gustavo” 258). In his final diary entry included in the novel, Arguedas clarifies that the characters are engaged in “una pugna que viene desde que la civilización existe” (279; “a struggle that has been going on as long as civilization has existed” 256).

In the presence of the messenger, the fox from down below or Diego, Father Michael Cardozo professes his belief in liberation theology:

Chaucato-Braschi ha sido parición chiquito para costa anchoveta negocio explosivo, una partecita pequeñito [sic] América. El Señor hizo al Che y el Che repercute sobre el Señor para redención del católico y mediante ese redención, librar al humano [...] Yo acepto que la Iglesia ha aprendido, se ha transfusionado con la sangre del Che” (273).

[Chaucato-Braschi has been one tiny little birth for the explosive anchovy business, a tiny little part of America. The Lord made Che and Che has repercussions on the Lord for the Catholic’s redemption, and through that redemption, for the liberation of humanity [...] I accept that the Church has learned—it has been transfusionated [sic] with the blood of Che (251).]

This unexpected outburst is incomprehensible to Father Donald Hutchinson and leaves him irate.

When Cardozo and Hutchinson are alone, they argue and Cardozo angrily asks, “¿Estamos

aprendiendo?” (276; “Are we learning?” 254). Cardozo goes to his bedroom where he reads from First Corinthians Chapter 13. On his reading table he has a picture of Che and a crucifix together under a glass tabletop. In the context of Cardozo’s outburst and his profession of belief, this passage illuminates the typological relationship between the God of the New Testament and The Fox from Down Below who visits the priests as a messenger: “Si doy mensajes recibidos de Dios, y no conozco todas las cosas secretas, y tengo toda clase de conocimientos, y tengo toda la fe necesaria para quitar los cerros de su lugar, pero no tengo amor, no soy nada” (277; “And if I give messages received from God and do not know all mysteries, and if I have all knowledge and have all faith, so that I could move mountains from their place, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing” 255). In Arguedas’ paraphrase of 1 Corinthians 13, Cardozo reads the concluding verses of the chapter:

ahora vemos las cosas en forma confusa, como reflejos borrosos en un espejo; pero entonces las veremos con toda claridad. Ahora sólo conozco en parte, pero entonces voy a conocer completamente, como Dios me conoce a mí. Así pues, la fe, la esperanza y el amor duran para siempre; pero el mayor de estos tres es el amor... (277).

[now we see things in a confused manner, through a glass darkly; but then we shall see them with complete clarity. Now I know only in part; but then I shall know completely, as God knows me. So now faith, hope, and love endure forever, but the greatest of these is love... (255).]

At this point in the narrative Cardozo is literally positioned to see “through a glass darkly” on his reading table the images of Che and the crucifix while Hutchinson has learning but neither love nor understanding. Cardozo questions the central role of love and states that the tearful anger caused by the visions of injustice and suffering around him is what keeps him going.

Intercultural Texts, Patterns, and the Typological Function of the Melting Pot

In these works the patterns of exploitation, commercialism, and environmental degradation are set in motion and violently change the physical and spiritual landscape. However, the narratives offer the possibility of another design, a ceremony that is honest and vibrant, not preordained revelations made visible and intelligible through types. For Vizenor, Silko and Arguedas incorporate Anishinaabe, Laguna Pueblo and Quechua mythological elements and Christian-influenced biblical typologies into their novels not to invoke an idyllic pre- or post-European America, but rather to challenge readers to confront the intercultural realities of their respective societies.

Arguedas saw his imminent death as the symbol of a new beginning for Peru: “se abre el de la luz [...] del dios liberador. Aquel que se reintegra” (282) “the cycle of light [...] of the Liberator God [opens]. The one who is coming back into action” 259). Peru, which he affirms “sentía en quechua y en castellano” (“I felt in Quechua and Castilian”), contains “todas las naturalezas del mundo en su territorio, casi todas las clases de hombres” (282; “all the nature of the world in its territory, almost all kinds of men”). The barbed-wire barriers, “fronteras de alambres de púas” (282), and those who serve the gods of shadows, threats and terror corrode and recede. Like Vizenor’s mixed-blood stories, Arguedas’ novel presents a vision of intercultural realities where the legacies of violence and colonization are ever-present but never overdetermining.

In *Ceremony*, the medicine man Betanie warns Tayo that to heal himself he must learn creative rather than destructive patterns, stories, and ceremonies to counter the apocalyptic narratives of self-destruction, atomic bomb development, and warfare. He urges Tayo to make

use of his own community's visions of hope rather than succumbing to the dominant white narrative of warfare and destruction: "Don't let them finish off this world" (152). Tayo comes to understand that "This night is a single night; and there has never been any other." (192). Patterns and signs here are not used to promote a providential typological supersession of old traditions with new revelations, but to acknowledge the dynamic relationships of the present through which our understandings of past and future are always connected.

In reference to an early twentieth-century novel written by an immigrant to the U.S., Werner Sollors reads a typological function in the figure of the American melting pot: "fulfillment was to take place through the melting pot as process and antitype" (65). In the work of Marmon Silko, Arguedas, and Vizenor the Southwest U.S., Chimbote, Peru and the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota are also sites of mixing, but here the power hierarchies are never elided and the violence of dislocation and exploitation are evident. There is no antitypical climax of the melting pot as social fulfillment in these works, but rather continuing processes of intercultural dialogue and a call for resistance to environmental degradation, cultural chauvinism, and oppressive power structures. The concluding chapter of this study turns from these rejections of the concept of an American melting pot as an antitype of hemispheric or national fulfillment towards a consideration of films that posit America and American bodies as messianic sites of transformation.

Chapter 5—Visceral Types and Posthuman Futures: Alchemies of the New Flesh

Typology has been used in visual arts for millennia, in everything from stained glass windows to sculpture and painting, most frequently to illustrate typological correspondences between stories from the Old Testament and lessons from the New Testament. In the twentieth century, visual typology flourished in popular media such as comic art and the graphic novel, album cover art, and film and video. Film and video as media are particularly amenable to typological significance because visual references, narrative techniques, and rhetorical strategies can all be employed simultaneously. Chapter three briefly describes the use of typology in Glauber Rocha's film *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* to visually fulfill the New Earth prophecy of the land becoming sea and the sea becoming land through the juxtaposition of images. This chapter explores the use of typology in the films *Videodrome* (1983) and *Cronos* (1993) as an instrument for questioning frontiers of the human body, time, and physical space. By projecting temporal and physical frontiers that can be pushed or transcended through bodily modifications, the films analyzed in this chapter challenge definitions of the human and posit other, posthuman possibilities not as the products of evolution but as other-worldly antitypes to the human. Unlike Glauber Rocha's *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol*, which employs supersessionary types as signs pointing towards Marxist social development, these films present the typological fulfillment of the self and the human as part of the logic of capitalist societies.

The idea of America as a promised land and the subsequent troubling of utopian formulations of an American Eden in these films take shape through their exploration of space and time beyond the limits imposed by physical geography and human biology. These films project a desire for virtual promised lands that can only be accessed through physical

transformation by beings that have superseded the human as traditionally defined. These and other promised lands of virtual reality and life beyond death may represent what Thomas Foster has described in reference to cyberspace as “a fantasy of escape from the limits of embodiment that extends and literalizes the historical demand that citizens transcend their particular points of view in order to participate in the general public life of the nation” (Foster xxii). However in both films the life of the nation itself is transformed along with that of its protagonists as the films narrate two distinct journeys toward acquiring a posthuman identity in late twentieth-century North America. The significance of the quest for an antitypical fulfillment of the human and the nation is revealed not through the ultimate attainment of a virtual Paradise, but through another revelation, an uncovering or apocalypse of the concept of self and nation. While employing a quintessentially twentieth-century medium, film, to further conversations rooted in discourses on cyberpunk and virtual realities as well as posthumanism and globalization, these works also utilize the supersessionary logic of typological fulfillment and parody the rhetoric of religious typology in twentieth-century Canadian and Mexican contexts to explore shifting definitions of self and nation in the Americas.

The films *Videodrome* (1983), by Canadian director David Cronenberg, and *Cronos* (1993), by Mexican director Guillermo del Toro, consider the violent ramifications of reading the human body as an imperfect type that can only reach its antitypical state through physical transformations. The concept of bodily transformation as the fulfillment of a typological promise of perfection permeates these filmic narratives on the ultimate meaning of the human. Biblical accounts of spiritual redemption, stories of vampires and the undead, alchemical formulas for refining matter, and research in biotechnologies as well as virtual realities all contribute to the theories of the posthuman and the supersession of the physical body employed in these films.

While in biblical accounts, as Tuveson summarizes, “[f]lesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom; a transformation in human nature is urgently necessary” (4), physical transformation is often the key to the supersession of human nature described in typological narratives of the posthuman. While the films’ protagonists seek to achieve immortality by becoming more than human, their transformations result in violent dislocations of the self that mirror rather than oppose the epistemological shifts in social and economic relations around them. Thus the protagonists’ transformations are significant not primarily as physical or spiritual antitypes that may or may not transport the transformed being to another virtual or physical space, but as antitypical fulfillments of the social and economic landscapes in which these very transformations are taking place. As the following discussion will show, these films employ the genre of the horror film to posit the possibility of a new posthuman existence that transcends the traditional constraints of the human body. The horror invoked by these portrayals of typological relationships between the human and the posthuman, however, lies not in the transformations themselves or in the technologies that enable them, but in the persistence of the all too human social and economic relations of greed and exploitation.

Long Live the New Flesh: Visceral Transformations and Body Horror

Both Cronenberg and del Toro use cues familiar to the horror genre to explore the concept of the posthuman. However, they do not portray human interactions virtual realities and alchemical biotechnologies in order to suggest that these technologies threaten the stability of human identity but rather to underscore the idea that identity is inherently mutable.

Cronenberg’s film, set and shot in the streets of Toronto in the early 1980s, draws on the cyberpunk genre to investigate the boundaries between the human and the machine as well as

physical and virtual realities in the context of late twentieth-century Canada. Guillermo del Toro adapts traditional vampire tales, alchemical practices, and entomological science fiction in his film set in a near-future Mexico City of the late twentieth-century.

Cronenberg's *Videodrome* is an exploration of the possibility of virtual, video identities supplanting bodily, physical identity. The film addresses the topics of virtual technologies and bodily transformations both on and "in" screen as the human and the virtual meld. *Videodrome* is both the title of the film and of the mysterious television program at the center of the film's plot. This neologism, formed on the model of words such as hippodrome (a racetrack for horses and chariots) and aerodrome (a space for the operation of aircraft) joins video (from the Latin *vidēre*, to see) with drome (from the Greek *dromos*, running, race, path) to suggest a runway or racetrack dedicated to the visual and the visionary. This titular combination of the visual and the visionary with the racetrack foregrounds Cronenberg's narrative focus on the hurried transformation of the physical to the virtual within the film and hints at a possible reference to the medium of film itself as a track where images are transformed through movement.

The premise of the film is the protagonist's search for new and titillating programming for his cable TV station.⁴⁸ The station owner, Max Renn, (played by actor James Woods) picks up a mysterious program from an unknown location that appears to transmit snuff films of people being tortured and murdered. Renn, which means "racing" in German, rushes to find the source of the program and ultimately finds himself caught in a conspiracy that results in his transformation into a posthuman messiah of "the New Flesh." Renn's transformation and

⁴⁸ Civic TV was inspired by the Toronto-based City TV, a cable station that showed "Baby Blue Movies" or soft porn that was very popular in Toronto. The economic and prurient motivations

accompanying mantra “Long live the New Flesh,” along with the physical sacrifice of his human life at the end of the film, suggest that his conversion into a herald of the posthuman is only part of a more widespread, though veiled plan of total social transformation from the human to the posthuman and from the physical to the virtual experience of reality. While the social and economic landscape provide fertile ground for Renn’s transformation, it is nevertheless completed through the individual’s voracious search to transcend barriers. As William Beard notes in the case of *Videodrome*, “the appetites and anxieties, with their bodily mutations and diseases, finally unfold in and enact themselves on the self, and the self’s body. The self is the monster” (121). The monstrous self, no longer recognizably human, is after all a product of the human which only serves to intensify the horror and excitement of Renn’s transformation even as the viewer’s concept of what constitutes the human is challenged. The human as type is revealed to already contain the seed of the virtual posthuman.

Just as the film’s protagonist serves as the type of the future posthuman antitype, on the level of the film’s narrative structure, the opening scene humorously mirrors the ultimate transformation of the human to the posthuman. The film opens with a full screen shot of the Civic TV cable station identification: a grainy video with a cascading title that reads Civic TV in seven iterations of various colors. This presentation of the channel’s location is followed by the station logo: A cartoon drawing of a large man in a small bed clutching a teddy bear and gazing happily at the television set playing the same station identification screen previously presented. A voice-over narration states: “Civic TV- The One You Take to Bed with You.” This motto, accompanied by the drawing of a man in bed with the television watching Civic TV, not only

of the cable station are exposed when Renn reviews erotic films including “Samurai Dreams” from a company that calls itself Hiroshima Video.

establish the cable channel's centrality to the film, but also hint humoristically at what later in the film becomes a grotesque drawing together of human and machine in a *mise-en-abîme* gesture. The suggestion of intimate involvement between human and machine is a motif that is played out in various modes throughout the film from the comical cartoon drawing here to the violent Videodrome sequences and physical transformation of Renn into a programmable killing machine in later scenes.

Whereas the establishing shot was of a full screen, placing the viewer of *Videodrome* in the position of a Civic TV viewer, the subsequent shot in the opening sequence shows the frame of a television set suggesting that a diegetic presence in the film is also watching the screen. The woman on the screen addresses herself to Renn, whom the viewer has yet to meet, reminding him to wake up and remember the time and location of his first appointment for the day. The camera zooms out and pans around Renn's cluttered apartment pausing at the wristwatch on his arm. Both the appearance of the television screen and its virtual wake-up call before the appearance of the protagonist and the screen's active role in directing the protagonist's daily life suggest that the passive partner in the relationship is Renn rather than the television. Thus, Renn's ultimate release of physical control over his body and his acceptance of the virtual world of video are consistent with rather than opposed to his human habits.

The physical location of Civic TV in Toronto is introduced via a shot of the city's skyline that pans down towards the channel's satellite dish. Inside the building, Civic TV's technology expert, Harlan (Peter Dvorsky), brings Renn's attention to the illegally intercepted snuff program named Videodrome. Renn is immediately taken with the extreme violence and voyeurism as well as their potential to transfix an audience and Harlan suggests to him that the Videodrome signal may be transmitted from Malaysia based on the delay time in the signal. When Renn expresses

interest and asks Harlan to work on further decoding the signal, Harlan answers in Spanish “*Sí patrón,*” suggesting that he sees himself as a lackey to Renn’s caudillo style management.

Harlan’s repeated references to Renn as the “*patrón*” and Renn’s own later reference to the use of torture and execution in Latin American countries ostensibly highlight the absurdity of comparing Renn’s actions in democratic Canada with those of Latin American dictatorships of the 1980s.

However, as the truth about Videodrome is revealed, the resonances between the television program and actual uses of torture as well as between the Anglophone and Hispanic American contexts become more apparent. While the film’s white Anglophone characters humorously use Spanish and off-hand references to Latin America and Asia as possible loci of the Videodrome torture program, the geographical location of the program is revealed to be neither Latin America nor Asia but the United States, specifically Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The association of the United States with a clandestine torture ring, like the aptly named Professor O’Blivion’s reliance on Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan’s theories of media, serves to draw a connection between Anglophone North American appropriations of technology and human rights abuses.⁴⁹

In addition to Renn’s local access television station, a variety of other programs show the limited range of debate over the social impact of film and video. On the set of a talk-show program in which Renn is a panelist, he meets the radio personality Nicki Brand (Deborah Harry

⁴⁹ Similarly, Donna Haraway reads the significance of “stories in Latin America about white North Americans stealing body parts, sucking blood, and kidnapping children to be organ donors” in the connections that these stories draw between technoscience and human trafficking: “[w]hat matters [...] is the stories themselves, that is, the ready association of technoscience with realms of the undead, tales of vampires, and transgressive traffic in the bloody tissues of life” (253).

of the band Blondie from New York City) and, via television screen, Professor Brian O'Blivion (based on Marshall McLuhan who taught at the University of Toronto and became internationally famous for his work on media studies which is often encapsulated in simplified form in his statement that "The Medium is the Message"). The talk-show host, Rena King, attempts to address the topic of television and social responsibility, but Renn and Brand begin to flirt with each other and King turns her attention to Professor O'Blivion who, via a television screen, pronounces that "the television screen has become the retina of the mind's eye." He clarifies that O'Blivion is his "television name" and prophesies that "soon all of us will have special names, names designed to cause the cathode ray tube to resonate." O'Blivion as a prophet of the television suggests that humans will adapt to technology rather than technology adapting to humanity. The human in form as well as name will be superseded by the virtual.

Back in the Civic TV station, Renn attempts to find a plot in the Videodrome program that Harlan has made available to him. Regardless of the lack of plot, he is impressed by the apparently low overhead and titillating nature of the violent torture. The absence of any coherent narrative in the "program" highlights the violent self-sufficiency of the logic of capital in Renn's motivations for acquiring Videodrome. Renn subsequently drops in on Brand at the C-RAM radio station as she records her program, "The Emotional Rescue Show." The film cuts to the couple at Renn's apartment, where Brand comes across a tape of the Videodrome footage. Brand declares that the images turn her on and asks Renn to cut or nick her with a swiss army knife suggesting that her name, Nicki Brand, refers to her penchant for masochistic behavior. She wonders aloud how she could become a "contestant" on the show. Renn's ominous disclosure that "contestants" only appear on the "program" once suggests that those who are tortured may die as a result. Brand's insistence on becoming a "contestant" suggests that she sees Videodrome

as a game show. In fact, she is not just performing in the show, but she has already become the show in which the transformation of Renn is the ultimate goal.

With the violent Videodrome footage playing in the background Renn pierces Brand's ear with a large needle drawing blood as a prelude to a sexual encounter. As Donna Haraway notes in her work on feminism and technoscience, "[s]ampling blood is never an innocent symbolic act [...] Blood's translations into the sticky threads of DNA, even in the most aseptic databases of cyberspace, have inherited the precious fluid's double-edged power [...] The stories get at structures of power and fantasy that must be faced in all their displaced, uncanny truth" (253). The letting of Brand's blood facilitates the spatial transport from the mundane reality of Renn's apartment to the Videodrome set. During the sexual experience, a match-on-action cut is employed to maintain temporal continuity while introducing spatial disjunction into the scene: the editing suggests that through their sado-masochistic sexual encounter they have been seamlessly transported from Renn's apartment to the set of Videodrome.

While Renn tries to track the program through the elderly pornography producer Masha, Brand announces her intent to go to Pittsburgh to "audition" for Videodrome. Renn warns her not to go, arguing that "You know in Brazil, Central America, those kinds of places, making underground video is considered a subversive act. They execute people for it. In Pittsburgh, who knows?" Brand proceeds to "brand" herself with a cigarette burn on her chest, reinforcing the masochistic tendencies already signaled in her name. While Renn cannot persuade Brand not to chase Videodrome to Pittsburgh, Masha cannot persuade Renn not to attempt to get the rights to the program and suggests that he talk with Professor Brian O'Blivion to learn more about Videodrome.

Renn visits the “Cathode Ray Mission” in search of O’Blivion and finds a homeless shelter that provides television rather than food or clothing for people. O’Blivion’s daughter Bianca takes Renn into her father’s library adorned with the “high” culture artifacts of medieval tapestry, Asian rugs, and sculpture. She explains to Renn that the mission will cure those who suffer from the disease caused by lack of access to television: “watching TV will help patch them back into the world’s mixing-board.” She reveals that she is “her father’s screen” and that he hasn’t held a conversation in twenty years because “the monologue is his preferred mode of discourse.” She denies any knowledge of Videodrome and asks if it is a “Japanese configuration,” again reinforcing the Canadian characters’ associations of Videodrome and torture with Asia and Latin America, rather than Pittsburgh.

Renn’s assistant Bridey stops by his apartment and Renn to bring a video cassette from Professor O’Blivion. In a fit of rage Renn hits Bridey, who through a series of match-on-action cuts turns into Brand and then back into Bridey, suggesting that he is hallucinating and we, as spectators, are hallucinating with him. The cassette becomes animated in his hands and he drops it with a gasp. Upon retrieving it, it again appears normal and he places it in a video player. The video presents O’Blivion saying “[t]he battle for the mind of North America will be played in the video arena, the videodrome” he repeats his mantra that the “television screen is the retina of the mind’s eye” and elaborates “therefore the television screen is part of the physical structure of the brain [...] therefore television is reality and reality is less than television.” He then addresses Renn’s hallucinatory experiences and tells him that he’ll “have to learn to live in a very strange new world” of hallucinatory video reality. A hooded executioner appears behind O’Blivion on the screen as he explains that he has already gone through this experience as he felt his video “visions coalesce and become flesh. Uncontrollable flesh. But when they removed the tumor, it

was called Videodrome.” As O’Blivion chokes out the words “I was Videodrome’s first victim,” the executioner strangles him. Renn, interacting with the television as if it were listening to him, asks the screen what Videodrome wants. The executioner removes the hood to reveal Brand who replies “I want you Renn. Come to me. Come to Brand. Don’t make me wait.” A close-up shot of Brand’s red lips on video fill the screen and the television set begins to pulsate. We share Renn’s hallucination as the screen showing Brand’s lips protrudes toward Renn who presses his head into the screen. Cronenberg’s concept of a virtual or informational transcendence of flesh reverberates in William Gibson’s cyperpunk classic *Neuromancer* (1984). As N. Katherine Hayles reminds us, the posthuman shares with liberal humanism “an emphasis on cognition rather than embodiment. William Gibson makes the point vividly in *Neuromancer* when the narrator characterizes the posthuman body as ‘data made flesh’” (5).

The idea that information can supplant the body presents a relationship between the human and the posthuman that can be productively read as typological. The human body here is a preliminary type or prefiguration that hints at but does not reveal the full promise of the virtual reality that can be achieved through Videodrome. Renn returns to the Cathode Ray mission and Bianca O’Blivion leads him to the conclusion that his hallucinations are caused by the Videodrome signal which triggers brain tumors that cause hallucinations. When Renn insists on seeing Professor O’Blivion, he learns that O’Blivion’s physical body died months ago and only his virtual presence remains: “My father helped to create Videodrome [...] At the end he was convinced that public life on television was more real than private life in the flesh. He wasn’t afraid to let his body die.” She offers Renn tapes of her father to help him understand Videodrome. Renn returns to his apartment to watch the videos in which Professor O’Blivion states that he believes it is a new organ rather than a tumor that has grown inside his head: “I

think that it is not really a tumor, not an uncontrolled little bubbling part of flesh but that it is in fact a new organ, a new part of the brain.” He explains, “I think that massive doses of Videodrome signal will ultimately create a new outgrowth of the human brain which will produce and control hallucination to the point that it will change human reality. After all there is nothing real outside our perception of reality, is there. You can see that can’t you?” The tape clicks off as Renn becomes aware of a gaping gash in his abdomen. He reaches his hand which is holding a gun into the hole. When he pulls his hand out of the hole, the gun is gone and the wound closes.

The typological relationship between the visual and the visionary in the film becomes apparent when Renn discovers the source of Videodrome. Renn is introduced via video to Spectacular Optical and its director Barry Convex. The names of both the company and its director highlight what can be read as a typological connection between physical sight and prophetic sight. Spectacles, lens, and optics are tools for enhancing physical sight that serve as figures or types of the company’s larger plan to transform physical into virtual sight. Convex explains that Spectacular Optical is “an enthusiastic global corporate citizen” and that the company makes “inexpensive glasses for the third world and missile guidance systems for NATO. We also make Videodrome, Renn.” The company’s products, eyeglasses and missile systems, while at first glance an odd pair seemingly at ideological odds, when read typologically, both serve as prefigurations on the physical plane of the kind of guided vision of virtual reality that the company plans to create and disseminate by transformning the physical into the virtual. Videodrome’s existence as both a response to and a product of the logic of global capital is here emphasized not only in the corporate identity of Videdrome’s maker, but in the nature of the enterprises undertaken by the parent company.

At the Spectacular Optical storefront, Renn begins trying on glasses until Convex appears. He presents a headset to Renn and calls it a prototype for recording hallucinations. The storefront containing technology used to enhance physical eyesight, thus hides a potentially more lucrative product that will make physical sight obsolete, headsets with which to record brain activity. Renn jokes that he would like to keep the copyright on his hallucinations to prevent him from losing the proceeds it would generate if it were to become the movie of the week. Just as the eyeglasses and missile guidance systems manufactured by Spectacular Optical prefigure the guided vision that Videodrome will bring to the world through virtual reality, Renn's use of the Spectacular Optical headset to record his visions for potential mass consumption suggest that his physical sight will be replaced with a virtual product of global capitalism.

For Spectacular Optical, the violence of global capitalism, like the violence of the Videodrome program, enables this typological transformation from the physical to the virtual: Convex explains that the violence of the Videodrome show "opens up receptors in the brain and the spine" that allow the signal to sink into the mind. With the glowing headset on, Renn sees everything in front of him in a pixilated manner. Brand appears to enter the room telling him they are on Videodrome. Renn feels his face and no longer seems to have the headset on. He is on the Videodrome set with a whip that he uses to lash a television set that shows an image of first Brand and then Masha responding to the torture. Renn awakens in his apartment and finds Masha bound, gagged, and tortured to death in his bed. He calls Harlan and instructs him to come over and photograph what he finds in his bed, but Harlan doesn't see anything in the bed. Renn accords greater authority to the absence of recorded proof than to his own physical eyesight suggesting that the transformation from his reliance on the physical to the virtual has

begun. This process is typological in that the value once placed on physical sight has been superseded by the dependence on the virtual vision offered by Videodrome.

Renn asks Harlan to meet him in the Civic TV basement laboratory to review the latest Videodrome footage. Upon arriving, Renn is told that there were never any transmissions of Videodrome and that Harlan had been playing recorded tapes provided by Barry Convex.

Convex and Renn confront each other while Harlan tells Renn:

North America is getting soft, patrón and the rest of the world is getting tough. Very, very tough. We're entering savage new times and we're going to have to be pure and direct and strong if we're going to survive them. Now you and this cesspool you call a television station an uh your people who wallow around in it and your viewers who watch you do it are rotting us away from the inside. We intend to stop that rot.

Convex confirms that they will use Renn's station to transmit Videodrome for this purpose. He tells Renn that he is ready for something new and holds out a pulsating video cassette and pushes it into Renn's once again gaping abdominal wound. Renn reaches into the wound and finds not the tape but the gun that he had previously placed inside himself. The gun fuses with his hand as metal and flesh intertwine. Renn watches in horror as he hears Convex's voice in his head telling him to kill his own partners so that he can give Videodrome full control of the television station.

Renn enters the Civic TV board room and murders his business associates against a painted cityscape on the wall. Bridey, assuming that Renn is a victim, rather than the shooter, helps him escape the building pausing in front of a Canada Dry soda machine. Renn, still hearing Convex's voice, goes to the Cathode Ray Mission to kill Bianca O'Blivion. He breaks in and she assumes that he has come to kill her. He denies this, but she says, "[t]hey can program you they can play you like a videotape recorder. They can make you do what they want [...] They want you to destroy me." He chases her through the mission where he sees Niki on screen on Videodrome being murdered. Bianca tells him that Brand was already dead before he met her

and that Videodrome had used her image to seduce Renn. She tells him “Videodrome is death” as he points his pistol at the television and witnesses a flesh pistol emerge from the screen and shoot him in the abdomen. Bianca tells him “it’s always painful to remove the cassette, to change the program but now that we have you’ll see that you’ve become something quite different from what you were. You’ve become the video word made flesh.” The biblical resonance of the word made flesh is transferred to the technological realm. Renn’s transformation here is not a change in appearance but rather a process of transubstantiation. The presence of the virtual within the physical represents a typological fulfillment of Christian narratives of the transubstantiation of Christ’s body. Renn’s transformation is a type of the transubstantiation of wine and bread into the blood and body of Christ. The underlying reality or substance of Renn’s physical body is now virtual despite the fact that the characteristics perceptible to the physical senses have not been altered. Renn is not Christ, nor a pale approximation of Christ, but a posthuman messiah, the video word made flesh. Renn repeats the proclamation, “I am the video word made flesh,” thereby accepting his fate as destiny. His hand again appears normal and Bianca tells him to turn against Videodrome and to use their own weapons against them “Death to Videodrome. Long live the new flesh.” Renn repeats the mantra “Death to Videodrome. Long live the new flesh” as if he has received a new identity and a divine mission in the Cathode Ray Mission.

Renn returns to the streets of Toronto where he sees his face on television because he is now wanted for the murders at Civic TV. He returns to Spectacular Optical where he finds Harlan who inserts a flesh cassette into Renn’s abdominal wound but when Harlan removes his hand from the wound it has been replaced with a grenade. Renn tells Harlan “See you in Pittsburgh,” suggesting that the provenance of Videodrome is really something more akin to the idea of death or hell rather than a specific physical location, as the grenade explodes and blows

Harlan to pieces. Renn then proceeds to the Spectacular Optical trade show to find Convex. The gaudy variety show style entertainment at the trade show features dancers in faux medieval costumes performing in front of an enormous pair of brightly colored fake glasses with an imitation of Michelangelo's "Creation of Adam" from the Sistine Chapel in the background. The stage is framed on both sides by the company's new theme: two quotations from Lorenzo de Medici, "the eye is the window of the soul" and "love comes in at the eye." Convex appears on stage to introduce this new advertisement campaign for the Medici line of spectacles and Renn jumps up and shoots him with his flesh pistol hand. After he has been fatally shot, it becomes apparent that Convex was nothing but a collection of writhing tumors that wriggle out of his head and stomach as he gasps for breath in his irreparably destroyed body.

Renn retreats to a shipyard where he breaks into a ship that has been condemned by the Toronto Harbour Commissioners. The interior of the vessel is in ruins and a mattress and empty wine bottles are evidence that someone may have been squatting there. Renn, sitting on the mattress, begins talking to the television set he now sees on the floor. The image of Brand appears telling Renn that she is here to guide him. She tells him "I've learned that death is not the end. I can help you." Renn admits he is having trouble and Brand tells him that while he has hurt Videodrome, he has not been successful in destroying it. "To do that" she tells him, "you have to go on to the next phase." She explains, "Your body has already done a lot of changing, but that's only the beginning. The beginning of the new flesh. You have to go all the way now. A total transformation." Renn tells the screen that he is ready and requests further instruction. The image of Brand tells him "To become the new flesh you first have to kill the old flesh, but don't be afraid. Don't be afraid to let your body die. Just come to me Renn. Come to Brand. Watch. I'll show you how. It's easy." The need to kill the old to become the new reinforces the

supersessionary logic of the transformation from human to posthuman where the physical body is supplanted by the virtual image. Within the logic of Videodrome, the physical body is a type or prefiguration of the new flesh, which is the antitype of the human body. The physical body is thus significant primarily in its function as a partial revelation of the desired virtual future.

The image of Brand is replaced with an image of Renn in the ship standing before a fire pointing his flesh pistol hand at his own head and repeating the mantra “Long live the new flesh.” As the image of Renn pulls the trigger the screen explodes towards Renn the spectator in a flash of smoke and bloody intestines. Renn watches stoically and unzips his jacket. We then see Renn before a fire, exactly as in the television screen image although now we see that the fire seems to have been caused by the explosion of the television set which in turn was caused by the image of Renn committing suicide. Here the type or image precedes the more significant antitype. Renn proceeds to place the flesh pistol against his temple exactly as in the television image. He repeats “Long live the new flesh,” smiles and closes his eyes. As he closes his eyes, the screen goes black and we hear a gunshot. The ending credits play and the film ends suggesting that Renn has played his part to perfection ending his physical existence in a bid for virtual transcendence. He has transcended the human, but the contours of the virtual territory of the posthuman are dubious at best.

The film remains silent as to whether Renn’s sacrifice has allowed his image to live on as the new, virtual flesh beyond the confines of a sadistic Videodrome conspiracy to annihilate humanity. The mind-control exercised through the biotechnology of video programming and global corporate capital in the process of Renn’s transformation suggests that the posthuman iteration of Renn will continue to be conscribed by those who wield the very technologies that he has melded with and that made his transformation possible. Unlike O’Blivion, the prophet of the

television, who becomes the master of the monologue spouting pithy catch phrases about the reality of television after death, Renn appears to have become a silent messenger of a violent age in which the self-fulfilling prophecy of television induced behavior becomes a fact rather than a fantasy through the advent of a posthuman age. Renn's suicide in an attempt to complete his transformation to the New Flesh suggests that the scripted virtual reality of Videodrome had become more convincing than the unscripted reality of life. Cronenberg's Max Renn is the hasty messiah of the virtual New Flesh who is both a willing victim chosen by Videodrome as a sacrifice and a messenger for the larger society who announces the coming of a violent new age. In contrast to works that use typological imagery to offer hopeful visions for change and liberation from oppression, the construction of a new typology between the human as type and the posthuman as antitype in *Videodrome* presents a vision of the future predicated on individual alienation and the expansion of global corporate capitalism.

Technologies of Time and Alchemical Free Trade Agreements in Cronos

Cronos (1993), like *Videodrome*, draws figural correspondences that can be read as typological to posit a transformation from the human to the posthuman in part as an extension of the consequences of global capitalism and the human desire for power and immortality. However, *Cronos* presents a story of redemption and cyclical time that draws on Mesoamerican as well as Judeo-Christian figures and concepts. *Cronos* is the story of an unsuspecting Argentine antique dealer named Jesús Gris (literally "Grey Jesus," but also a pun on the name Jesus Christ) locked in a power struggle for eternal life against an evil pair of American capitalists based in Mexico City. The characters' obsession with time, aging, and maintaining control over the body are reflected in the film's title for in Greek mythology Cronos, the father of

Zeus, represents time but also the father against whom Zeus rebelled in order to establish himself at the head of the Greek pantheon. In addition to a meditation on time and aging, the film *Cronos* is also a chronicle of greed and addiction to power. The vampiric transformation of the protagonist, Jesús, and the human cost of eternal life display a concern not only with the body and physical transformation but with the social costs of these transformations toward posthumanity.

The writer and director of the film, Guillermo del Toro, a filmmaker originally from Guadalajara, Mexico, is an admirer and practitioner of the horror genre in film, which he calls “a very brave genre perhaps the last brave genre” (“Director’s Perspective”).⁵⁰ However, *Cronos* is anything but a typical genre film. While del Toro describes the film as “a love story between a child and a grandparent” (“Director’s Perspective”), he also explicitly includes “layer upon layer of vampirism [...] political, with the NAFTA, religious with the Catholic metaphors of Jesus and communion and you know resurrecting on the third day and so forth” (“Director’s commentary”). The alchemical dream of transforming and purifying matter, whether inanimate or living, is at the heart of the film. The opening sequence of the film shows the invention of the *cronos* device and its alchemical inspiration. Del Toro explains that the goal of alchemy “was the fifth essence. A lot of the people think that alchemy was just a process by which some mad inventors were trying to obtain gold, but in reality alchemy was searching for the ultimate depuration of bio-matter [...] to take biomatter be it lead or flesh and turn it into the ultimate expression of itself be it in terms of the metals, gold, and in terms of the flesh eternal life or

⁵⁰ When Guillermo del Toro completed *Cronos*, his first feature film, at age 28 in 1993 it was the most expensive Mexican movie ever made and was well received by film critics who awarded the film nine Mexican Academy awards as well as the international critics’ week best picture

eternal flesh” (“Director’s commentary”). This supposed process of purification leads, in the case of the film’s characters, to a sort of vampiric life-in-death. Those who come in contact with the device become addicted to its life-extending power, but are also transformed into something less than—or perhaps more than—human. Even at the level of the film’s color scheme, del Toro attempted to code the color palette of the film in the alchemical colors red, gold, black, white “to give the stages of corruption, decay, rebirth” (“Director’s commentary”). To demonstrate the interplay of alchemical and typological discourses in the film, I will present a brief analysis of the opening sequence.

The Alchemist: Cronos’ Opening Sequence

The sound of clock bells and faintly ticking watch hands, which signal both the measurement and the passing of time, precede the opening of the film with the story of the colonial alchemist. As the camera pans over a strange assortment of first horological and then entomologically inspired metal instruments, we learn that in 1536 the alchemist Uberto Fulcanelli, fleeing the Inquisition, arrived in Veracruz, Mexico where he became watchmaker to the Viceroy of New Spain. Fulcanelli’s right hand is scarred with the mark of a red cross, indicating that his body has been marked by the Inquisition as a site as well as a symbol of censure. The voice-over narration explains that Fulcanelli invented a device he called the cronos device in an attempt to reach eternal life. Fulcanelli completes the cronos device with the light of a raging furnace fire in the background and the presence of a guardian angel statuary in the foreground symbolically placing Fulcanelli squarely between heaven and hell.

prize at Cannes. Del Toro’s other films include *El espinazo del diablo*, *Mimic*, *Blade II*, *Hellboy*, *El laberinto del fauno*, and most recently *Hellboy II*.

Here, the angel, as messenger of god, represents the Christian key to eternal life that is right in front of Fulcanelli. As the narrator states that the goal of the invention was to “provide him with the key to eternal life,” the camera lens focuses on the image of the statuary. However, the alchemist appears to ignore the angel’s presence as he focuses his attention on his book. After cutting to the final act of invention, the lens’ focus returns to Fulcanelli’s hands as he retrieves the golden device from within a slab of stone, perhaps suggesting that the device itself was “unearthed,” “uncovered,” or even “revealed” rather than strictly invented. The egg shaped golden device retrieved from the grey stone indicates that Fulcanelli has been successful in both the alchemical and horological arts.

The image of Fulcanelli breaking the stone apart to retrieve the device with his hands in sixteenth century New Spain fades and the image of the cement ruins of an apartment building take its place. From the voice-over narration we learn that 400 years have passed. We are now in 1937 amid the rubble at the site of a partial building collapse. As the camera pans over the wreckage, a rescue worker removes a fallen block of heavy cement that had been partially obstructing our view of a wounded person. The camera zooms to a close-up image of the mortally wounded alchemist, whose flesh is now translucent, lying like a ghostly version of the golden egg seconds before, amid the rubble. Before expiring, he exclaims “suo tempore” (everything in its own time) reminding us of Augustine’s explanation for the gradual revelation of God’s divine plan through signs and types.

Fulcanelli’s transformed body is revealed in 1937 as the prelude to World War II begins with Francisco Franco and the Spanish Civil War. In this same year, Leon Trotsky arrives in Mexico as an exile from the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin and Anastasio Somoza takes control of Nicaragua. Thus, while it is not recent technology that facilitates the transformation

from human to posthuman as in Cronenberg's *Videodrome*, the twentieth century is the historical setting for the discovery of a transformation that has its source in the technologies of the Spanish Inquisition and the European conquest and colonization of the New World. The posthuman vampire as represented by Fulcanelli's transformed body mirrors the bloody events on the contemporary world stage. If there is any doubt about the practices that have enabled the vampire Fulcanelli to extend his life supernaturally, the film then cuts from the ruins to the alchemists' mansion where a human body hangs upside down and bowls are filling with blood.

Jesus is a Vampire: The Horror of Bodily Transformation and Resurrection

While the film opens with the story of Fulcanelli in sixteenth-century Veracruz, Mexico, the principal action takes place four hundred years later between Christmas 1996 and New Year's 1997. These epochs are typologically connected in the film's narrative through del Toro's vision, when the film was released in 1993, that NAFTA would usher in an age of renewed economic imperialism. Thus, late twentieth-century Mexico City under NAFTA is the antitypical fulfillment of the sixteenth-century Spanish colonial project in Veracruz (True Cross). *Cronos* is the story of the afterlife of the eponymous device designed and employed by Fulcanelli. The cronos device appears to give its users eternal life by altering the users. The device transforms its users' appearance and gives them a vampiric thirst for human blood. As the title credits play, the baroque music of the opening sequence is quickly replaced with a lively tango and the image of the cronos device is replaced by a shot of feet walking through a puddle in which yellow Christmas lights spelling "Feliz Navidad" can be read upside down and backwards. The image cuts to a shot of Mexico City and the mountains on the horizon after sundown followed by shots of Mexico city's streets strewn with the remains of seasonal celebrations. A no parking sign in

five languages is the only indication that this version of Mexico City may be a more visually and linguistically composite result of global trade flows.

The film's protagonist Jesús Gris, played by the Argentine actor Federico Luppi, becomes addicted to the power of the *cronos* device. The Argentine Jesús living in Mexico City with his wife Mercedes (Margarita Isabel) and granddaughter Aurora (Tamara Shanath) must confront the greed of international capitalism in the form of the De la Guardia family (Claudio Brook and Ron Perlman) who are also after the secret of eternal life. Jesús, a white-haired, bespectacled grandfather, has an antique shop whose walls are lined with clocks. Among his wares he finds the *cronos* device hidden inside the archangel statue after a lackey of the de la Guardia family comes snooping around the shop.

The main villains of the film, Mr. de la Guardia and his nephew Angel, are addicted to economic power.⁵¹ The family represents the cancerous, vampiric element of international capitalism as well as the director's pre-NAFTA vision of the future relationship between Mexico and the United States under NAFTA. In an interview in 2003, del Toro explains, "I wanted to show the vampiric relationship between the nephew and the uncle and of course the vampiric relationship between Mexico and the United States. That is why the date in the movie—which we see on a newspaper—is 1997, even though the film was made in 1993. I wanted it to be set in a post-NAFTA [North American Free Trade Area] Mexico" (Wood 34). Several scenes in the film take place at the de la Guardia factory. Significantly, however, the film never reveals what

⁵¹ While their nationality is left ambiguous in the film, del Toro labels his villains as American, meaning from the U.S., and goes on to explain his characterization of the quintessentially capitalist de la Guardia family: "it was sort of the Mexican revenge to all those Mexican characters that appear in American movies as cartoony Mexicans [...] that are greedy, kind of silly, and over the top so I said well I'll do this to the American characters." ("Director's commentary").

product the factory might be manufacturing. The conspicuous absence of any physical product coming from the nevertheless operational factory underscores the director's implication that the factory's main product is a vampiric economic relationship. In del Toro's words, the de la Guardia plant is "a factory that has no purpose. [...] it's been going for so long and the employees have been going at it for so long that they just do their job and no one knows what they're fabricating. They have forgotten. They just make the pieces and no one really knows what they're making" ("Director's commentary").

Both the film's villains and the protagonist are obsessed with the physical aspects of life and the body. The ailing Mr. de la Guardia, who has been searching for the *cronos* device for forty years, lives in a sterilized, hospital-like room inside his factory. Lining the walls of his room are archangel statues hanging from the ceiling and covered in clear plastic. He keeps glass jars of his preserved diseased body parts, keeping even these surgically removed parts of himself nearby and under his control. While he is obsessed with extending his life, his nephew Angel is concerned with his physical appearance. Mr. de la Guardia repeatedly breaks Angel's nose when he fails to perform his duties as his uncle's lackey. Angel, his uncle's messenger and thug, is intent on reconstructing his own face beginning with his nose. Played by the American actor Ron Perlman, Angel speaks a mix of American English and non-native Spanish. He listens to audiotapes in English on the zen of plastic surgery as a matter of both flesh and mind adding to the film's humor as well as its commentary on human obsessions with the body.

Mr. de la Guardia, seemingly taking a cue from Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana*, which was discussed in the introduction to this study, uses an example from the animal kingdom to explain the phenomenon of resurrection: "¿Quién dice que los insectos no sean las criaturas favoritas de Dios? Cristo caminó sobre el agua igual que un mosquito. El asunto de la

resurrección no les es ajeno a las hormigas, a las arañas. Pueden estar en el centro de una piedra cientos de años hasta que alguien viene y las libera” (“Who says that insects aren’t God’s favorite creatures? Christ walked on water like a mosquito. The business of resurrection is not foreign to ants, to spiders. They can remain in the center of a rock for hundreds of years until someone comes and frees them”). However, unlike Torquemada who sees a didactic tool for evangelization in the bird’s apparent resurrection, de la Guardia sees the similarities between the insect world and the mysteries of Christ as a sign that insects, rather than people are God’s chosen creatures. De la Guardia’s search for immortality is a quest to become more God-like by simultaneously becoming more like the insect trapped inside the cronos device he admires so greatly.

The character of Jesús Gris is an antitype of Christ because he is both human and eternal while at the same time he ultimately chooses to die to save his granddaughter, Aurora. The silent Aurora is the only witness to the workings of the cronos device. When Aurora worries that her grandfather is hurting himself with the device, she hides it in a teddy bear. He tells her the story of his son, her father, who destroyed a packet of his cigarettes when he heard that people died of lung cancer. At a Tiger’s club New Year’s party Jesús is overcome with thirst when he sees a partygoer with a bloody nose. After following the man to the bathroom he proceeds to lick the spilled blood off the bathroom floor until he is knocked unconscious by a man who we later realize is Angel. Aurora and her grandmother are left waiting for Jesús as the party culminates with the beginning of the New Year.

After beating up Jesús, Angel places him in the driver’s seat of his car and pushes him over a cliff. The camera turns 180 degrees in a close-up shot of his mangled body as Jesús asks for more life in his thoughts. In the next sequence, we see that his request has been granted;

although his body suffers a physical transformation, his life has been extended as a result of the blood sacrifice he has paid to the golden cronos device. Jesús' efforts to prolong his life through tribute to the cronos device in late twentieth-century NAFTA-era Mexico City mirror the larger Aztec project to extend the fifth Sun in Tenochtitlán (the pre-Columbian city over which Mexico City was constructed in the sixteenth century):

With a dialectic rhythm which attempted in vain to harmonize the dynamism of opposing forces, the various Suns appeared and vanished. The Aztecs moved to stop this process: they conceived the ambitious project of impeding or at least postponing the cataclysm which was to put an end to their Sun, the fifth of the series. This idea became an obsession which stimulated and made powerful the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan” (León-Portilla, *Aztec* 36).

Just as the character Jesús initially regains lost potency and acquires additional power through the life-enhancing use of both his own blood and that of others, the Aztec project to prolong imperial ascendance, according to Miguel León-Portilla, depended on the ritual use of blood offerings: “As if hypnotized by 'the mystery of blood,' they expended all of their efforts and energy to provide the gods with *chalchi'huatl*, the precious liquid drawn from the sacrificed victims, the only suitable nourishment for the Sun” (*Aztec* 37).

After his funeral, Jesús narrowly escapes being cremated. He finds his obituary in the newspaper which reads: “No es que haya muerto partió antes. Los familiares del Señor Jesús Gris (1940-1997) expresamos nuestro sincero agradecimiento a quienes nos acompañaron en este momento de dolor.” The euphemistic language of the obituary is ironically suggestive. Jesús is not dead, he left before the rest. In fact, Jesús is alive and has returned. When he calls his wife Mercedes and pronounces her name, she hangs up in disbelief. Aurora hears her grandfather's voice as she silently listens in on another phone. When he appears at the door draped in a red blanket with pale white skin and the backward black suit from the undertaker she takes him to

the attic. He has acquired a sensitivity to light and therefore Aurora prepares a bed for him in her toy chest with a playful wink towards the traditional coffins where vampires often sleep.

While Jesús has acquired certain characteristics distinctive to the figure of the vampire through his transformation, his new physicality is also reminiscent of representations of the Aztec god Xipe Totec (the flayed god) and his ritual, Tlacaxipehualiztli (the flaying of men). Jesús' resemblance to Xipe Totec becomes apparent after his rebirth and through the discovery of his second skin during his visit to the de la Guardia factory. Jesús and Aurora (who follows him despite his protests) sneak into de la Guardia's sterile bed chamber while Mercedes, at home in the salon, plays the piano with a metronome marking time. Just as the "Aztec ritual of Tlacaxipehualiztli, the flaying of men, [is] one of the cycle of *veintena* festivals that marked the end of each of the 'months' of the solar year" (Markman 176), the film *Cronos* marks time both literally and thematically while drawing the viewers' attention to the cycles of nature. Although film itself is, of course, a time-dependent medium, the presence of the metronome marking time within the film reminds us of the characters' anxieties about mortality and their quest to prolong life. After Aurora finds an ancient instruction manual for the *cronos* device, de la Guardia awakes and tells Jesús "Yo sabía que usted iba a volver" (I knew you would return). He tells Jesús to peel off his skin and look in a mirror. Jesús sees a white, translucent new flesh under his old, decomposing skin. When he asks what is happening to him, de la Guardia answers: "Ha vuelto a nacer" ("You have been born again").

This new translucent flesh under the dead human flesh is reminiscent of the ritual of Tlacaxipehualiztli in which the skin of the sacrificial victims "was flayed from their bodies and donned by priests so that those priests might in this way impersonate the god Xipe Totec, the skins becoming his 'golden cloak'" (Markman 176). Jesús' dead skin is of course his own from

his previous life. He is both the sacrificial victim and the divine wearer of the golden cloak. He can thus be read to function in the film as a type of the flayed human sacrifice, the priests of Xipe Totec, and the god himself. This identification is also present in the Aztec ritual, according to Roberta and Peter Markman: “the captive is simultaneously the god whom he impersonates and the alter ego of the all-too-human captor” (178). The ritual of Xipe Totec, like the workings of the *cronos* device, draws a correspondence between sacrifice and the natural cycles of birth, death, and rebirth. In the case of the Aztec ritual: “[a]t the heart of its meaning lies the key Mesoamerican idea of the necessary complementarity of inner and outer. As the Mesoamerican mythological tradition demonstrates at every turn, outer reality—the world of man and nature—is finally nothing more than a manifestation of inner reality—the realm of the spirit, the world of the god” (Markman 176). Similarly to the manner in which the relationship between the human and the divine, the outer and the inner is maintained through sacrifice in the ritual of Xipe Totec, in *Cronos* both the insect inside the golden *cronos* device and Jesús wearing the dead human skin over his transcendent new skin require a blood sacrifice to maintain the balance in the relationship between inner and outer realities.

De la Guardia explains to Jesús that he needs to drink human blood because “you can’t gain eternity with a cow or a pig.” Jesús angrily states “no quiero ser eterno, solo quiero salirme de esto” (“I don’t want to be eternal, I just want to get out of this”). De la Guardia offers him a way out if he hands over the device. Jesús offers the device to de la Guardia who attacks Jesús and attempts to pierce his heart. Aurora hits de la Guardia over the head with his own cane and saves her grandfather. Jesús attracted by the sight of the blood pouring from Guardia’s head stops to drink his blood. When they hear Angel ascending in the factory elevator, they run. Angel is delighted at the prospect of inheriting his uncle’s wealth when he sees him on the ground in a

pool of blood. When the older de la Guardia requests help Angel finishes him off and a fight between Jesús and Angel ensues. Angel follows Jesús to the roof of the factory where they fight beneath the neon glow of the de la Guardia factory sign. The struggle to the death culminates when Jesús rushes Angel and pulls them both off the roof with the crucifix shaped frame of a neon light in the form of a window placed between the letters DE LA and GUARDIA behind them. Aurora, silent witness to the struggle and the fall, retrieves the device and places it on her grandfather's body.

The inside of the device is shown along with the insect trapped within the device. Jesús awakes and Aurora watches as he stands, places his right hand into the skin on his stomach and peels off the old decomposing flesh to reveal the new, translucent white flesh. Aurora pronounces the first word she has spoken in the film when he focuses his attention on her bleeding hand. She says "abuelo" (grandfather) and holds out her hand in an apparent gesture of willing sacrifice. Jesús screams "no" and tears the device from his chest smashing it with a rock or piece of cement block. The destruction of the device effectively ends Jesus' new life. After he exclaims "Soy Jesús...Gris. Jesús Gris. Jesús Gris," the film cuts to the final scene in which Jesús' now fully-transformed translucent white body is on its death bed with his granddaughter, Aurora, and wife, Mercedes (Mercy), at his side.

Both Jesús and Aurora can be productively read as types of Aztec deities. Instead of fulfilling the promise of eternal life through the exploitation of others, Jesús relinquishes his bid for physical transcendence in favor of personal sacrifice. Through his death he embraces the cyclical nature of life by consciously deciding not to extend his life any longer at the expense of future generations. In the Aztec ritual to Xipe Totec,

[t]he rhythms of life on earth [...] were intimately parallel to those of the heavens, a parallelism that gave a divine aura to human processes. In his mythic emergence from the dead skin of that sacrificed prisoner, Xipe demonstrated, as graphically as can be imagined, that life inevitably emerged from death in the cyclic round of cosmic time, an emergence that suggests in yet another way the centrality of sacrifice to Mesoamerican mythic thought and ritual practice (Markman 178-179).

In *Cronos*, Jesús' grotesque emergence from his own dead skin, like that of the priests in the ritual of Xipe Totec, is a ritualized representation of cyclical time. Aurora represents the dawn and the beginning of a new life cycle. However, the character of Aurora in *Cronos* can also be read more specifically as a type of the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl. In Aztec mythology, the plumed serpent god Quetzacoatl is associated with the morning star and with Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli "Lord of the Dawn." Aurora, as a late twentieth-century NAFTA-era representation of Quetzalcoatl, suggestively revisits and modifies the sixteenth-century myth of Hernán Cortés' reception in Mexico as the returned Quetzalcoatl. Aurora, unlike the Spanish conquistador Cortés who arrived as an outsider, rises from within a community to represent its hope for the future. While colonial accounts of Cortés' arrival in Mexico state that the event was hailed by Moctezuma as the prophesied return of the god Quetzacoatl, these accounts were undoubtedly influenced by the ensuing events of the Spanish conquest. In *Cronos*, Aurora's prophetic role as a Quetzalcoatl figure presents a vision of renewal for the future rather than a rewriting of the past most likely to justify or explicate the violence of the Conquest as in the case of accounts of Cortés as Quetzalcoatl. Thus the film employs a series of parallels that can be read as typological between the human and the divine to demonstrate the importance of cyclical time and the possibility for a balanced relationship with the world.

The cronos device as a technological innovation for surpassing the human also exists as a human by-product of flawed social institutions and human greed. In a return to a religiously-

inflected narrative of spiritual rebirth through physical sacrifice, Jesús' death enables his granddaughter Aurora's future. The protagonist's initial exaltation of the violent physical transformation that enables a supersessionary relationship between the human as type and the posthuman as its more perfect antitype is tempered and finally rejected through a return to the body and the family. The posthuman as antitype is rejected in favor of a return to a cyclical relation to birth, death, and rebirth. Thus *Cronos* can be read as a hybrid typological account of both Christian narratives of Jesus as well as of Aztec portrayals of Xipe Totec and the ritual of Tlacaxipehualiztli.

Both Jesús Gris and Max Renn are late twentieth-century messiahs of the posthuman. Both characters take on the condition of martyr as well as messenger as a consequence of their quests for physical transcendence. However, while Jesús Gris, like the Jesus of the New Testament, sacrifices his own life for that of humanity, synecdochically represented by the granddaughter Aurora (or the light of the new day) in *Cronos*, Max Renn sacrifices himself in the hope of spreading a gospel of video violence in which the virtual realm is the only arena of significance in *Videodrome*. Del Toro's vampire Jesús eventually chooses his family and their future over his own desire for youth and personal immortality, whereas Cronenberg's Renn races toward the maximum expression of his own posthuman condition in a bid for transcendence through self-annihilation.

Conclusion—Aesthetic and Ethical Implications of Typology in the Twentieth Century

An attention to typology as an interpretive method and a theory of correspondence between types and antitypes can help us understand the ways America has been and continues to be performed. While typology is often read as a strictly religious method of interpretation, this study has shown that overtly religious and ostensibly secular expression overlap, sharing common characteristics when typology is employed to cast the Western Hemisphere or America as the New World. My analysis of literature and film of the Americas has shown that twentieth-century narratives using typological rhetoric, structures, and imagery both incorporate previous narratives of the meaning of America even as they seek to surpass them.

If there is something seductive about the logic of typology, along with its incorporative, assimilative power, it is its ability to both draw on and supersede the authority of previous traditions as a means of conferring authority on a latecomer, which then becomes more significant than any forerunner. Through this asymmetrical correlation of the incomplete type that is fulfilled or revealed in the more comprehensive or complete antitype, the late arrival is always the original and the predecessor is relegated to the status of a mere shadow, significant mainly as a sign of the antitype's future appearance. The motives for such an expedient conferral of retroactive authority are highly suspect, particularly when this authority is upheld through a corresponding move to render a previous narrative a prefiguration. This logic allows for dangerously ahistorical appropriations of earlier narratives as being relevant primarily for their later interpretation as prophetic signposts. However, as we have seen, representations of this logic in literature and film can also be successfully used to demonstrate the hazards of typological identification.

While most book-length studies of typology have been undertaken by scholars who are practitioners rather than critics of this interpretive mode, this study is intended to shed light on the explanatory power of typology, and its surprisingly rich presence in twentieth-century American literature and film, without participating in its ahistorical logic of retroactively assigning meaning based on the assumption of a divine plan. Thus, while I do not wish to privilege typology as a *method* for gaining valuable insight into the meaning of the past or the future, there is certainly much to be learned from the rich intellectual history of this interpretive strategy and the various ways it has been employed. I agree with Hebrew Bible scholar Barry Olshen that it is not mandatory to subscribe to a typological interpretive system in order to study it. In fact, it is crucial that this and other related explanatory systems be studied in order to understand the historical development and recent iterations of the concept of America as the New World.

As we have seen throughout the pages of this study, the persistence of typology goes beyond the application of biblical types and antitypes. A typological interpretation of history is also evident in philosophical and socio-political postures that read a teleology in the events, places, and people being studied. The imaginative uses of typology in literary and filmic narratives inherently challenge the assumption of a “natural” occurrence of these teleologies by highlighting the constructed nature of the typologists’ objects of study. Imaginative uses of typology, unlike uses of typology in many historiographical or sociological discourses, unavoidably establish a metadiscourse that draws the reader or viewer’s attention to the artifice of these typologies. However, such narratives can also reinforce the power of typological logic by suggesting that earthly constructions, including creative works of literature and film, mirror or

shadow heavenly structures. Thus, artistic engagements with typology both challenge and at times reinforce the power of this interpretive mode.

Whether the literary and filmic engagements with the meaning of America as the New World are utopian or dystopian, earnest or satiric, didactic or mischievously playful, they inevitably demonstrate the currency of typology as a method for making sense of America through their relations to previous such narratives of American history. In “American Edens: Prophesying Paradise and the Politics of Performativity,” the typological implications of the quest for an earthly paradise are analyzed in texts that present the construction of America as a new heaven on earth. I concluded that these texts are performances of a typological idea of America that employs types to both enact America and simultaneously question the ethical implications of these performances. Unexpectedly utopian narratives of the typological construction of America are discussed in the apparition narratives concerning the Virgin of Guadalupe in Rodolfo Usigli’s *Corona de luz*, and concerning the angel, with striking affinities to the Mormon angel Moroni, representing the continental principality of America, in Tony Kushner’s *Angels in America*. Dystopian configurations of American Edens gone wrong and the corresponding use of typology as a jeremiad are identified in Reinaldo Arenas’ *El mundo alucinante*, Margaret Atwood’s *The Handmaid’s Tale*, and Toni Morrison’s *Paradise*.

While the literary works examined in “American Edens” either affirm the value of strategic uses of typology in identity formation and consolidation or warn against the power of typology to foster violently exclusionary group identifications, “Redemption in the Backlands: Typology and the Promise of History” argues that representations of the Canudos campaign in Brazil in the narratives of Euclides da Cunha and Mario Vargas Llosa, as well as in the film of Glauber Rocha, simultaneously critique and employ typological philosophies of history. By

identifying and comparing the secular uses of typological concepts in works that critique religious typologies, my analysis indicates that the presence of typology, even within individual works of literature and film, is representative of the contested intersections between religious and secular concepts of America in the twentieth century.

In contrast to the deployment of secular typologies examined in “Redemption in the Backlands,” the texts analyzed in “Through a Glass Darkly: Rewriting Biblical Types in Fourth-World Typologies,” reject supersessionary typology and covenantal identity formation. These literary representations of indigenous and mixed-ethnicity communities in the works of Gerald Vizenor, José María Arguedas, and Leslie Marmon Silko focus on Anishinaabe, Quechua, and Laguna-Puebla contexts and cosmologies. My analysis of these works demonstrates that typology and related concepts are sometimes invoked in twentieth-century works to highlight the ways that these concepts can be marshaled as justification for exploitation and environmental degradation while alternatively proposing what can be read as hybrid, intercultural typologies that could be employed as tools to resist oppression.

The concept of America as a Promised Land is strengthened in many regional and national traditions by the presence of messianic hero figures. While a majority of the messianic figures in twentieth-century American literature and film are Christ-figures, such figures, common not only in the Americas but elsewhere as well, are not necessarily typological. The Christological is also typological only when the Christ-figure is presented as a more significant or more complete antitype that fulfills the promise of the type. In “From Papa Toussaint to Palma Sola: Messianism and Revolutionary Typology in Hispaniola,” I have explicated the use of typological prophecy and christological figures in poetry and fiction concerning Haiti and the Dominican Republic. My examination of literary representations of Toussaint Louverture and

Dios Oliborio as New World messiahs indicates that typology can be used in literature to renew and extend the significance of popular historical and political figures by drawing connections to earlier narratives.

While the connection between a modern messiah and the physical and political emancipation of oppressed people is strong in Dominican and Haitian literary traditions, the trope of the messianic antitype of Christ appears in the Mexican and Canadian films I have analyzed not as liberatory but as a harbinger of biotechnologies and the posthuman. My analysis in “Visceral Types and Posthuman Futures: Alchemies of the New Flesh” demonstrates that Canadian director David Cronenberg’s *Videodrome* and Mexican director Guillermo del Toro’s *Cronos* present the posthuman as a late twentieth-century antitype that fulfills the potential for both growth and destruction inherent in previous concepts of what it can mean to be human.

This study has shown that the use of types, crucial in the historical development of the concept of America as the New World, is equally relevant in twentieth-century literary and filmic dialogues on the contested meaning of America. Whether these types are drawn from the vocabularies of religious narratives and iconography or secular histories and images, the continued presence of typology in the twentieth century demonstrates that the logic of supersession and chosenness remains central to discussions of the past, present, and future of the Americas.

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