Dressing Asian to Look European: Chilean Writers Facing World Literature[1]

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Abstract

The article reviews two episodes from the Chilean literary circuit of the early twentieth century: the 1921 publication of the book of poems *Fragments* by the Afghan poet Karez-i-Roshan and the accusation against Pablo Neruda of plagiarism in 1934. Both events describe an unusual situation: twice and in different ways, a Chilean poet was transfigured into an Asian poet. The proposed analysis of these events allows us to assess two levels at which the cultural and literary exchanges between Chile and Asia were hindered by European mediation: first, in the understanding of a system of production and dissemination of works, and second, in local writers' sense of belonging to a Western tradition.

Keywords: "Oriental" literature in Latin America, Chilean poetry, World Literature, Transpacific studies, modern parody.

Karez-I-Roshan, Afghan Poet

On November 20, 1921, the literary critic Hernán Díaz Arrieta reviewed a unique text for *La Nación,* a Santiago-based newspaper. Entitled *Fragments* (fig. 1), its author was a poet from Afghanistan named Karez-I-Roshan. It was a translation from Persian to Spanish by the Uruguayan professor Paulina Orth and, as reported on the first page, it had been edited and printed in Montevideo by the Nueva Imprenta Tabaré publishing house as part of the "Ormuz Library" collection. According to the paratextual information contained in the book, the "Ormuz Library" consisted exclusively of Asian or Asia-related literature. It was presented with an epigraph by Lao Tse, "The greatest treasure is found in the unknown." Its catalog announced future editions of books by Rabindranath Tagore and Khalil Gibran, the "Buddhist Catechism for Western Usage" by Soubhadra Bhikshou, as well as essays by Western authors such as Romain Rolland or William Blake, dedicated to spiritualists or "oriental" themes. Finally, the back cover indicated that the collection was represented in New York City by Miss Harriet Wishnieff. Even though the poetry anthology consisted of only forty-six pages, it was a carefully prepared edition: it included a photograph of the old poet, as well as an introduction by his translator, which summarized his biography and intellectual career and placed him within the broader framework of a poetic tradition:

> Roshan must be placed between Rabindranath Tagore and Kahlil Gibran; his thinking is braver and bolder than that of the Bengali poet and much more varied

> and multiform than that of the young Arab poet. The Nobel Prize – which some orientalists are *unjustifiably* demanding for Kahlil Gibran – belongs, without a doubt, to the great Afghan master.[2] (Prado, *Karez*, 7)

Fig. 1. Image of the first and only edition of *Fragmentos*. Courtesy of the National Library of Chile.

As if the enthusiasm of this paragraph were not enough to arouse readers' interest, the Uruguayan edition of *Fragmentos* included Gibran's own opinion about Roshan, together with that of another renowned international writer. In a conference held in New York, the Lebanese poet had pointed out, "This unknown man is the sweetest song of the dawn, and the most resounding trumpet of the Orient," while none other than George Bernard Shaw – who would win the Nobel Prize for Literature four years later – confessed his admiration for the Afghan poet in the following terms: "His originality and power is as obvious as Tagore's but like myself Karez-I-Roshan emphasizes incendiary possibilities" (7)

The abovementioned periodical, through which the critic Díaz Arrieta presented the text to local readers, would echo this praise and would ultimately pave the way to consolidating the Karez-I-Roshan phenomenon, brief but significant in Chile's modern literary scene, which quickly bought out its copies and devoted press reports and epistolary exchanges to it. It is not an exaggeration to speak of a "phenomenon" since the positive reception of this collection of poems was not limited to public approval and literary praise. As detailed in the April 1922 edition of the popular magazine *Zig-Zag*, the book also enjoyed an excellent reception among literature professors at the University of Chile; it was read in theosophical groups of the city of Santiago and was even included in schoolbooks as an example of "oriental" literature.

This brief history of the positive and favorable reception in Chile of an Afghan author's poetry in the early twentieth century would suffer an unexpected turnaround a few months later, when on April 16, 1922, the intellectual plot under which the small collection of poems had been

conceived would be revealed. In his weekly column, the same critic, Díaz Arrieta, would make public the letter he had received just a few days earlier from Antonio Castro Leal, a Mexican intellectual posted at his country's Embassy in Chile. In it, we read: "Since you welcomed so benevolently the *Fragments* of Karez-I-Roshan and as he owes a considerable part of his popularity to the news published by you, it is only fair to confess the truth: Karez-I-Roshan does not exist" (Prado, *El llamado* 170.) This categorical statement is followed by unveiling what was, in essence, a hoax. Its lead agent was not the letter's author, Antonio Castro Leal, but his friend, the well-known Chilean writer Pedro Prado. The facts are as follows: first, the person named Karez-I-Roshan did not exist, and the man in the photo was actually a chicken seller from the streets of Santiago de Chile, a Mr. Naranjo (fig. 2); the Uruguayan translator Paulina Orth did not exist either, and her name was in fact that of the niece of the Hungarian composer Franz Liszt; the whole "orientalist" catalog of the "Ormuz Library" was merely a list conceived spontaneously by the authors; Khalil Gibran and George Bernard Shaw did not attend a conference in New York and never uttered the admirative phrases featured in the first pages of the book; *Fragments* had not been printed in Uruguay, but rather in a printing house in downtown Santiago whose editorial information had been simply falsified;[3] the poems were old compositions that Pedro Prado *had not wanted to include in his previous books*, *considering them minor,* along with some contributions from Antonio Castro Leal; finally, and oddly enough, only Harriet Wishnieff, the collection's U.S. agent, corresponded to a real person and I have no documentation to indicate whether she knew about this whole operation or if her name was simply used without her consent.[4]

This revelation in April 1922 was followed by press releases and interviews in which the scheme's masterminds made their motivations known. The hoax was intended to present the public with a situation that combined the authors' frustration and mockery. They wanted to show and prove that their local and international success as Latin American writers was not solely contingent upon the quality and content of their books, as one would expect it to be. There were other reasons, and they were perfectly aware of them. In the words of Pedro Prado,

> I had noticed that much of what was published by Tagore *was something within our reach*. Without any pride, I thought that much of my work could withstand any comparison; however, if it came from me, it would be trivial, while Tagore or another of his ilk would be surprising. *And to prove to everyone what the suggestion of a name can do*, I selected not the best of my unpublished work but precisely that with which I was most dissatisfied and had it published in a small volume as the work of a brilliant poet from Afghanistan, Karez-I-Roshan. (*El llamado* 147-48)

The mismatch between a poem's low quality and its reception success is the core of Prado's reflection. The name of the Orientalist poet, famous like Tagore or unknown like Karez, is enough to assure him of the public's preferences; at the same time, for that same public, the Chilean poet in Chile could be writing the finest and most powerful verses without receiving the recognition deserved for them.

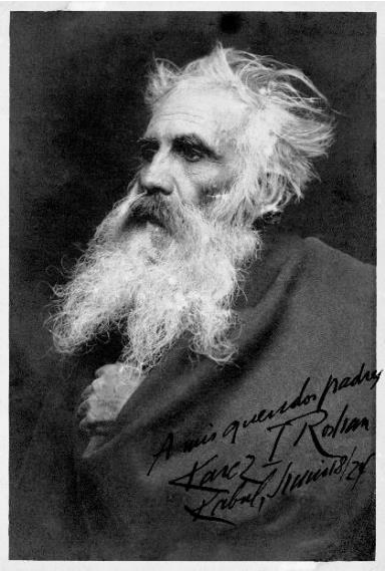


Fig. 2. The poet Karez-I-Roshan / The chicken seller Mr. Naranjo. Courtesy of Pedro Maino.

The Neruda–Tagore affair

Three years later, the city of Santiago would welcome in its bookstores the second publication of a young poet from the southern part of the country: *Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair* by Pablo Neruda. With varying levels of enthusiasm, the reception of the collection of poems was marked by great empathy towards his style, which was celebrated as simple and direct or, in the worst case, judged as incomplete but promising.[5] These impressions would be confirmed by its reception among the public, who would buy out its copies and who, by word of mouth and year after year, would tirelessly repeat the verses, "Tonight I can write the saddest lines..." or "I like you to be still: it is as though you were absent..." It would not be until ten years later that, perhaps due to so much repetition, the famous verses would resonate suspiciously in other pages and poems. Volodia Teitelboim was a young Chilean poet who encountered an uncanny resemblance during a reading day at the National Library in Santiago in 1934. Volodia recalls,

> In the afternoons, I became a bookworm in the *Fondo General* section of the National Library. I devoured everything that came from France… I kept reading any poetry that fell into my hands. One day, in *The Gardener* by Rabindranath

> Tagore, number 16 of *Twenty Love Poems* rang in my ears. I compared the texts. They were almost identical. (189)

Years later, when he recounted the episode (Teitelboim 188-91), Teitelboim would need to clarify to whom he had revealed his discovery and who had decided to make it public. The fact is that in November 1934, the literary magazine *Pro* presented the poems of Tagore and Neruda side by side on its front page, exposing what appeared to be plagiarism: Neruda's "Poem 16" was from 1924, while the translation by Zenobia Camprubí of Tagore's "Poem 30" had been published in Madrid in 1917. Even when comparing the original written by Tagore in English against the English translation of Neruda's poem, both of which are provided below, the suspicious likeness between the two poems can be clearly seen:[6]

The Gardener: 30

You are the evening cloud floating in the sky of my dreams.
I paint you and fashion you ever with my longings.
You are my own, my own, Dweller in my endless dreams!

With the shadow of my passion have I darkened your eyes, Haunter of the depth of my gaze!
I have caught and wrapt you, my love, in the net of my music. You are my own, my own, Dweller in my deathless dreams!

Poem 16

In my sky at twilight you are like a cloud
and your form and colour are the way I love them.
You are mine, mine, mine, woman with sweet lips
and in your life my infinite dreams live.

You are mine, mine, I go shouting it to the afternoon's
wind, and the wind hauls on my widowed voice.
Huntress of the depth of my eyes, your plunder stills your nocturnal regard as though it were water.

You are taken in the net of my music, my love, and my nets of music are wide as the sky.

The reactions in Chile to this striking similarity were swift, and the most tenacious of the accusers would be the poet Vicente Huidobro. In January 1935, the literary magazine *Vital*, which he ran, published an extensive eight pages on what it labeled the "Neruda–Tagore affair" (fig. 3). Below are selected extracts:

> Once this plagiarism is published, a curious phenomenon occurs among the Buddies: Great indignation, fury (uterine)… Against whom? Against Neruda for having plagiarized? *Against Tagore for having written a rather silly poem ten years earlier* with the same ideas Neruda would have ten years later? No. The indignation is against the person who discovered the plagiarism … Where does Neruda's hatred of Huidobro come from? Perhaps because some critics said that Neruda would

> not exist without Huidobro? But Huidobro would not get angry if they told him he could not have existed without Rimbaud or Apollinaire. (96)


VITAL

Director: Vicente Huidobro

Enero 1935

Contra los cadáveres, los reptiles, los chismosos, los envenenados, los microbios, etc., etc.

REVISTA DE HIGIENE SOCIAL

El Affaire Neruda - Tagore

La Revista "PRO" en su número 2 aparecido en Noviembre de 1934, publicó, sin comentarios, los siguientes poemas:

POEMA 30

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(De "El Jardinero", traducción de Zenobia Camprubí de Jiménez. Madrid 1917).

POEMA 16

PABLO NERUDA

(De 20 poemas de amor y una canción desesperada. Nascimento. Santiago, VI-1924).

Q iieren pelea, ahora van a saber lo que es pele

No 2 PRECIO: 40 Ctvs

Fig. 3. The January 1935 cover of *Vital* magazine, wherein the two poems are compared and the plagiarim is exposed.

The hatred of which Huidobro speaks did not come from Neruda himself – during this time, he was serving as Consul in Madrid – but rather from Chilean poets and writers who had assumed his defense in Chile; Neruda would not make any statements on the subject from Spain. Thus, it is this group of defenders whom Huidobro calls "the Buddies" – possibly the writers Tomás Lago and Diego Muñoz, mentioned below in the diatribe – and whom he blames for receiving direct orders from Neruda to attack him as someone innocent in the whole affair. Two pages further into the text, Huidobro resumes his defense, explaining that *he is not a reader of Tagore*, much less of Neruda, and therefore, there was no way he could have known anything about the matter:

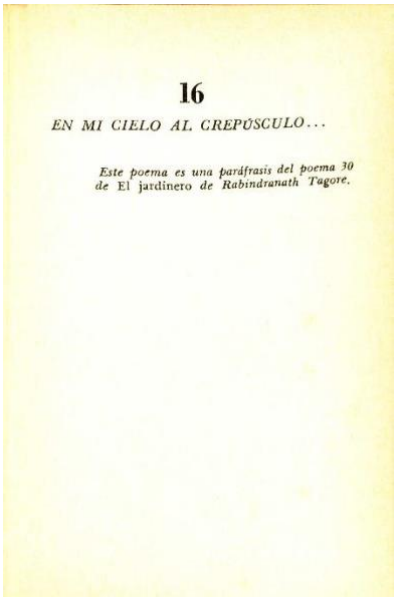
> It is false that I knew about Neruda's plagiarism of Tagore – published in the second issue of *Pro* magazine – before it appeared in that issue… *I don't know more than nine or ten poems by Tagore, whom I have not read for at least twenty years, and I have not read more than nine or ten poems by Mr. Neruda.* (98)

It was not until April 1935 that Neruda would issue a response: the poem "Here I Am" was published in Spain and circulated in Chile:[7]

Here I am

Bastards!
Sons of bitches!
Neither today nor tomorrow
Nor ever
will you finish with me!... and I shit on the whore
who gave birth to you,
derrokas, patibulums,
vidobras,
and although you write in French with the portrait
of Picasso on your groin,
and although you often steal mirrors and offer up
for sale
the portraits of your brothers

The term "*vidobras*" transforms Huidobro's surname by combining it with the word viper ("víbora"). In contrast, the word "*derrokas*" alludes to the poet Pablo de Rokha, who joined the accusations of plagiarism against Neruda. The poem is thus an apparent response to the attacks that had been waged against him in Chile, but it does not reference plagiarism, nor does it provide excuses or explanations. On the side of Tagore, who died in 1941, there would be no reaction either: in my research before writing this article, I did not find records of any statements on the subject, much less of any judicial action alleging copyright infringement. The editions, however, would speak in a final note to the fifth edition of the *Twenty Love Poems* printed in Chile in 1938. Neruda would clarify that "Poem 16 is, in large part, a paraphrase of one of Rabindranath Tagore's, from *The Gardener*." From that edition onward, all reprints of the book of poems would include a note next to "Poem 16": "This poem is a paraphrase of the 30th poem in Rabindranath Tagore's *The Gardener*." (fig. 4)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EN MI CIELO AL CREPÚSCULO...

Este poema es una paráfrasis del poema 30 de El jardinero *de Rabindranath Tagore.*

Fig. 4. Note included from 1938 onward that explains the paraphrase.

The Superimposition of Bodies

Thus, between 1921 and 1935, the public platforms of literary discussion in Chile hosted two incidents where the same encounter was arranged: *that of Chilean poetry with Asian poetry* – reduced here in its diversity of peoples, regions, and languages to equally reduced versions of Tagore's India and Karez's Afghanistan. This meeting took place in an imagined, and always textual, setting involving a universal confluence of writers, where English- and French-speaking Europeans, such as Shaw from Ireland and Rimbaud and Artaud from France, would also converge. However, this gathering of poets unfolded as a problematic coexistence, with a curious and manifest inability to distribute its characters' bodies separately and individually within the space they shared; instead, they had to arrange themselves in what I recognize as a *superimposition of their bodies*. In their circulation from one discussion to another, in the exchange of comments and opinions outlined here, the Asian poets were stubbornly displaced to a secondary level behind their Chilean peers. Their specific attributes, such as their intellectual biographies or the distinctive features of their works and styles, were diluted and undifferentiated following their contact with the Chilean poets: Pedro Prado and Antonio Castro Leal *invented* the man Karez-I-Roshan, invented his image, his verse, and all of the feeling that nourishes his poetry; Neruda, for his part, *paraphrased* or *plagiarized* Tagore, taking away his voice and leaving him mute. Thus, a discursive space is generated wherein the Asian poets circulate without a recognizable will, without their own ideas, and at the mercy of the Chilean poets' quarrels and burlesque spirit. Whatever is said about them – positive or negative –is always stated by someone who takes their voice and speaks in their name. In this way, in the mouths of Chilean poets operates a message about art, as described by Jacques Rancière when referring to the political potential of art:

> It is not the value of the message conveyed by the mimetic dispositive that is at stake here *but the dispositive itself*. The efficacy of art resides not in the model (or counter-model) of behavior that it provides but, *first and foremost, in partitions of space and time that it produces to define ways of being together or separate, being in front or in the middle of, being inside or outside, etc.* (136-37)

What I refer to as the "superimposition of bodies" is thus the game of positioning implicit in the textual transactions presented here. The Asian poets are initially placed at the forefront, only to be later displaced and replaced by the Chilean poets, who, in that new declarative space, challenge the definition standards of universal literary legitimacy, proclaiming the value of their literature to the world. Described in this way based on Rancière's ideas, this impersonation impulse reproduces an autonomous logic that is characteristic of modernity insofar as it dismisses the mimetic process of *discussing* the represented object, preferring to *become* the represented object

itself, a principle of *imitating life* is thus integrated and applied here to the representation of bodies. Making this explicit from the proposal of a "superimposition of bodies" thus establishes the body as a metaphor for an eminently ethnographic authorial construction, defined based on physical features and geographic origins. This consideration allows us to integrate a phenomenological dimension into the perception of others' bodies and the collective space, in which the Chilean poets' process of recognition and differentiation is founded on a logic of *racialization.* As Sara Ahmed explains, this process is a condition of any conception of race and determines "how the invention of race as if it were 'in' bodies shapes what bodies 'can do'" (112). Within this framework, the ancient history of the East, as seen from the West, is that of a discursive space that has served in an exemplary way to position bodies and define hierarchies among them based on relationships of proximity and distance. Here, vital to us: "toward" and "around." By orienting ourselves *toward something,* we define its externality relative to ourselves while defining our own position with respect to that something; orienting ourselves *around something* is thus to define that object or person – or body – as the center of the space that we occupy thereby determining a point that defines all distances. "Toward" then provides the direction and "around" the dimensions. Returning to a historical consideration of the definition of places in the world and those who occupy them, as determined by Europe, Ahmed concludes: "*The Occident coheres as that which we are organized around through the very direction of our gaze toward the Orient*" (116). Those who look toward the "Orient" and define this direction as the horizon are, in the end, organizing everything that separates them from that horizon. In this way, they assign identities to bodies and objects, further or nearer to themselves or the "Orient."

This brief theoretical detour allows us to now define our interests and objectives. *The Chilean poets looked toward the East to define and assert their position in the West*; in recognizing how the places occupied by different bodies unloaded specific meanings and characteristics onto each body, they decided to intervene in their shared space through simulations that confounded and readjusted their own positions. The result of this is a discursive process wherein *Chilean poets dress as Asians in order to look European*. Chile's reception and reading of novels and poems that were written in India or Lebanon, translated in Madrid or Paris, celebrated in London and New York and finally consecrated in Stockholm for literary eternity nourished the awareness of belonging to an international system of legitimization and dissemination of literary works. Talking about those authors, so far away in geography and subject to so many mediations before they reached Chilean readers, presented itself as the opportunity to reflect on that system and criticize its preferences.

The presence of the Orientalist motif in the literature of Latin American modernity is certainly diverse and rarely obeys a mere uncritical adoption of the themes and symbols celebrated

in Europe, at least, not with good writers. In a remarkable 1999 article, Sylvia Molloy argues how, for example, the Arab, kitsch and exotic Seville of Chilean Augusto D'Halmar's novel *Pasión y muerte del cura Deusto* – a contemporary of Neruda and Prado – generates a space in which to represent something that had no place in the models of Latin American fiction of the period, namely, homosexuality – offering, in this process, new issues regarding the body in relation to Orientalist motifs. Likewise, recent research on Mexican and Brazilian "orientalisms" has identified deep imprints of direct economic and cultural exchanges in them, generating projects and aesthetic imaginaries alien to European opinion. Within this perspective, this essay seeks to expand our references on the use of the oriental motif in Latin American modernity, from the report of its critical and self-conscious recognition as the result of a cultural mediation. The study of the realization of a parody of Orientalist language and the rebellion of Chilean poets before the mandate that decreed Tagore as a poet of greater stature will allow us to reconstruct a remote cultural dialogue displayed in a strictly textual experience, never personal nor material.

Karez: the Disguise

The invention of Karez-I-Roshan is the result of the brilliant and successful use of a repertoire of images and literary content, as well as the media available for their transmission: the life of the fake Afghan poet, who was born and died in Chile between the years 1921 and 1922, *was lived within the pages of books and magazines*. The printed copy of *Fragments* in the storefronts of Santiago's bookstores, which included editorial information and the author's photograph, its reception in literary critiques, the repetition of the name Karez-I-Roshan in the letters sent between critics and writers; in short, the ability of the written word to decree an attribute of reality to an individual *author* – all of this *created* Karez-I-Roshan: there is a book before it an author before it a body. The specific nature of this body, its appearance, and its origin would condition the content that would later be attributed to it. And this content was what Prado and Castro Leal knew how to recreate so well. In order for the invented character to be credible, there had to be available elements that made this credibility possible; in fact, as Antonio Castro Leal would later reveal, the whole idea was born out of the evocative power of the photograph of Mr. Naranjo, the chicken seller. What was it, then, that this image evoked? Three things are presented here: a body, poetry, and a message.

The Body

Ever since he won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913, Rabindranath Tagore's face (fig. 5) became part of the vast repertoire of images accompanying the printed publications that circulated in Chilean cities every week since the early twentieth century it constituted the main vehicle for

the modernization of its public sphere and the growing autonomy of its literary field.[8] This face, and those of so many Indian men of the time, used to be accompanied by the epithet "Hindu" or "Oriental," which in turn sparked a series of associations. If we stop to compare Tagore's photograph with that of Mr. Naranjo, a few differences come to light that question the possibility of simply replicating one body's features in the other. Tagore certainly looks tidier than Mr. Naranjo. He is well-groomed, his hair gathered at the back of his head and separated above by a clear part; though dense, his beard appears to be shaped to gather at a point, which refines his features by aligning them with the curve of his nose. On the other hand, his suit transmits cleanliness with its white color, a sense of order through the button that closes the perfect circle of his collar, and stability in the tunic gathered at his shoulders. Finally, his gaze is focused but calm, directed toward a point beyond our line of sight. Mr. Naranjo's photo differs from this harmony. His messy hair seems to have been cut without the idea of a hairstyle, and it looks stiff and greasy. His beard, as thick as Tagore's, falls in several directions without any discernible symmetry with his face, increasing the feeling of unkemptness and lack of hygiene. The greatest element of dissonance is the cloak covering him: dark in color and held by the clenched hands of its bearer, it appears to be protecting a frail body from the cold rather than elegantly and dignifiedly dressing a wise and healthy man. Finally, the slightly open mouth conveys a certain helplessness and defenselessness to the look.

Fig. 5. Rabindranath Tagore. Courtesy of the Nobel Foundation Archive.

Despite these notable differences, why was it possible to transfer onto Mr. Naranjo's image a series of attributes that likened him to the powerful image of the Nobel-winning poet? The answer is strictly textual: the similarity was declared not based on reality or a factual account by someone who had actually seen Tagore but because of the neutralizing power of the characteristics attributed to both characters. *In other words: not because of the shape of the bodies, but because of the way they are spoken about.* When Castro Leal explained in his letter of April 16, 1922, to the critic Díaz Arrieta

what it was about Mr. Naranjo that enabled him to *be* Karez-I-Roshan, he spoke of an "apostle's forehead," of a "riverlike beard," of a "lost and serene gaze," of a "venerable and anonymous shadow" – characteristics that are barely physical and deliberately poetic. Notably, nothing is said about Mr. Naranjo's tattered clothes, which as well as reflecting an exotic and "oriental" way of dressing specifically for this purpose, also suggest a life of poverty. However, regardless of who Mr. Naranjo truly was, what is interesting to note here is that the construction of Karez-I-Roshan's body from his photograph was based on the allocation of attributes of a literary version of "oriental" bodies, rather than a real encounter with them.[9]

The Poetry

To this first level of the poet's body, his physical image corresponds to a semantic one, elaborated from proper nouns and symbols. The poems included in *Fragments*, written by a Chilean poet and a Mexican intellectual and not by any Afghan poet, construct their Asian attributes through words and images that are chosen for that purpose. These images permeate the anthology of Karez's verses and are arranged in such a way as to be able to account for the evolution of his work and poetic mood. The book consists of a selection of four previous collections of poems whose date of publication is not indicated but which, given the longevity of the poet – born in 1848, according to the prologue – are considered to be representative of different periods; these are: "The Red Flower," "The Ballads of Kabul," "From Night to Dawn" and "The Eternal Key." The first phase corresponds to his youthful years, dominated by sensuality and coquetry. From this period, for instance, are the following lines:

> In the *baharak* festivities the dancing was lit like a crackling bonfire. / Fiery blood ignited the rejoicing, and in mournful eyes shone a longing for infinity. / Women wore plumes of fire on their foreheads, and their bodies were like flames in the arms of the wind. / We stoked that fire with our flesh, to vanish, like the flame, into the mystery of the eternal night. / But afterwards, as yesterday and as always, our life was only a warm glow. (*Karez* 21)

His later works would leave this sensory phase behind and would be devoted to a spiritual quest that is gradually resolved through ritual and religiosity. Thus, in the compositions of "Ballads of Kabul," the poet abandons the festivities and the pleasure of the senses to give himself up to meditation and the mysteries of the soul:

> Flooded with light, *meditation is beautiful*. Solitude is immense in the midday brightness; shadow dwarfs everything. / As the breeze carries the *lotus pad*, golden ether drives away the conscience. And the soul trembles amid the overflowing bliss.

> / Music of the sun, ineffable vertigo, eternity! The light pierces through my body like a clear crystal and cleanses it of all shadows. / May I be pulverized into infinite brilliance until I am eternally *the source of light and the path of radiance.* (*Karez* 28)

Proper nouns such as "Kabul river" and the "*baharak* festivities," and the presence of the lotus flower are all elements that suggest a geographical root, which is combined with motives of inner enlightenment and spiritual exploration, which in turn provide an emotional and spiritual counterpart, *thus completing the "oriental" whole*. In terms of style, these are fairly rudimentary compositions based on comparisons deployed in a unilateral, scarcely polysemic line of interpretation: the motifs of light and warmth nourish the feeling expressed by the lyrical voice, which thereby defines its willingness to speak of love and inner peace.

As in the "oriental" construction of the poets' bodies, understanding this category as a literary one was possible thanks to a pre-existing collective imaginary displayed in the records of a lettered and image-based culture. Pedro Prado and Antonio Castro Leal thus perform a metaliterary exercise insofar as they produce literature from a series of elements recognized as characteristic of Asian literature. This intertextual exercise was not new in the Latin American modernity scene, which, from its founder, Rubén Darío, was already familiar with critical and creative confrontations with the European canon, particularly with the French tradition. However, the authorial distance from which Prado and Castro Leal operate by interposing the body of an Afghan poet between them and their own work defines the execution of a *parody in a modern sense* and aligns them with great innovators of Latin American and Lusophone literature, such as Borges, Pessoa or Eça de Queirós, whose *Fradique Mendes* enjoyed widespread dissemination in the Spanish-speaking world. Like them, the use of heteronomy and the imitation of languages and motifs is part of an exercise in subverting literary hierarchies imposed by Europe and in redefining authorial positions concerning the work itself. Thus, a piece of writing is executed from the ironic distance that Linda Hutcheon recognizes as the basis of modern parody:

> A critical distance is implied between the backgrounded text being parodied and the new incorporating work, a distance usually signaled by irony. But this irony can be playful as well as belittling; it can be critically constructive as well as destructive. The pleasure of parody's irony comes not from humor in particular but from the degree of engagement of the reader in the intertextual 'bouncing' between complicity and distance. (32)

At first, *Fragments* is presented as just another "oriental" book and is recognized as such thanks to the author's origin and image and its spiritual and exotic content. It imitates, therefore, something that already existed. However, its existence is a facade behind which the real authors

wish to compare themselves to writers like "Tagore or another of his ilk," as stated by Pedro Prado. To do so, they deliberately choose poetry that they consider of poor quality to demonstrate in a direct comparison that they could write better. Therefore, the imitation is carried out as a gesture to highlight the differences between one poem and another *based on a simulation of their similarities*. Ultimately, all of this serves to draw the attention of the reading public, as it projects the bad poetry of *Fragments* onto Asian poetry and onto the remaining work of Pedro Prado and local poets, forcing a comparison in order to discover and understand which one was better.

The Message

This unfolding of images and motifs would further advance to a third level, in which Karez postulates the existence of a deep but obstructed bond between the spirituality he depicted, which nourished his work, and that of a universe of readers in the Americas. The last part of the *Fragments* consists of a five-page epistle addressed "To the peoples of America." In it, the author calls for a conscious awakening to the surreptitious and pernicious cultural mediation carried out by Europe. Tracing a kind of geological genealogy of the world, Karez explains that in ancient times the earth was not separated into continents and that people were harmonized in a vast shared space where "temples were built for all" (Prado, *Karez* 42). One day, a natural disaster occurred, and the sea separated the land and the people, leaving America not only isolated but blocked by Europe from any direct contact with Asia. This would mark a grim destiny, the loss of "a tradition of truth and justice," and the triumph of "the materialistic peoples of Europe." In his dualism, Karez's message is quite simple: Europe emerges as a cultural matrix capable of imposing negative values (malice, profit, materialism), which are arranged in the opposition between spiritualism and materialism. Faced with this scenario, he concludes his letter with an appeal:

> Honest men of America, study the doctrine of Gautama and compare it with your gospels; behold that you are closer to us than you imagine, and that together we can move toward salvation. For centuries, the Enlightened One of Benares and the Ascetic of Galilee have watched from their peaceful summit as their followers, who consider themselves as so distant, walk side by side, *separated only by a narrow wall*. (Prado, *Karez* 45-46)

This paragraph, followed by the brief exhortation, "Have faith that one day the trumpets of rejoicing will resound throughout the world," closes the letter. While its tone and message echo the "comparative framework" identified by Said to portray the Orient – a framework that was "most often… both evaluative and expository" (Said 149) rather than descriptive – the characteristics of its wording must be appreciated in light of the full text. Indeed, this phrasing displaces it from its status as a mere innocent collection of poems and elevates it to a conscious

reflection on the colonial nature of the knowledge and culture *it was supposed to represent*. The conception of the cultural encounter offered by Karez is thus executed from a perfectly orientalist angle. As Said explains,

> Orientalists … conceive of humanity either in large collective terms or in abstract generalities. Orientalists are neither interested in nor capable of discussing individuals... There are Orientals, Asiatics, Semites, Muslims, Arabs, Jews, races, mentalities, nations, and the like... Similarly, the age-old distinction between 'Europe' and 'Asia' or 'Occident' and 'Orient' herds beneath very wide labels every possible variety of human plurality, reducing it in the process to one or two terminal collective abstractions. (154-55)

However, one should not forget that this message represents a formerly available language, staged in the context of a mockery: it is thus the same orientalist language in the mouth of an "oriental" subject that is being parodied and deactivated. In this sense, Karez-I-Roshan's *Fragments* is a tremendously subtle exercise since it does not turn to a militant explanation of this orientalist consciousness but rather to the recreation of the enabling conditions needed to create literary works as a way of demonstrating the influence that these conditions exercised over them. To this end, it is critical that the apocryphal translator Paulina Orth does not mention the letter in the introductory pages, thus relegating her role as a cultural mediator and interventionist to that of a mere disseminator; in her own words: "I have gathered here fragments of each of Roshan's books, choosing the sentences or paragraphs that I had written down in my copies while reading" (Prado, *Karez* 13). In this way, the letter reaches its addressee(s) wrapped in an accidental halo, like another section of the book of poetry. This implies that the objective it harbored, namely, to present a reflection on European mediation in the cultural dialogue between Asia and Latin America, is achieved not by making explicit what it denounced but rather by deceiving the reader – thereby executing the ironic parody. In his missive, "To the peoples of America," Karez does not call for revolution, but rather he reiterates language and content that seem to have lost their capacity to express the political and transcendental matters that he is communicating, and only seem to be able to connote exotic and superficial images. When all of this is considered in its artificiality as a product of the confession of the Afghan poet's non-existence, what remains is *a scale model of the construction of the legitimacy and value of Asian poetry*. Finally, the "narrow wall" that separates those faithful to the "Enlightened One of Benares" (Buddha and the Buddhists) from those who follow the "Ascetic of Galilee" (Jesus and the Christians) is lettered culture itself and its device of literary production, diffusion, and reception that Pedro Prado and Antonio Castro Leal masterfully replicated.

Neruda and Tagore: A Disciple without a Master

In November 1934, Neruda was accused – with compelling evidence – of having plagiarized Rabindranath Tagore. As previously explained, he did not rise to his own defense; instead, this was undertaken by his friends, and a few years later, everything was settled with the clarification that it was a well-intentioned paraphrase, which was printed as a note in all future editions of the *Twenty Love Poems*. A comparative reading of both poems reveals their similarity and gives reason to those who support the argument of plagiarism and/or paraphrasing. Each of these terms points to a different type of intertextual relationship: plagiarism is defined categorically as a copy and, thereby, a usurpation of authorship (Platas Tasende, 542); a paraphrase, however, consists of explicit modifications to a text, which is directed at its clarification or restatement (Platas Tasende, 516). Both modalities have a prestigious background, deeply rooted in the Western literary tradition of *imitatio*, a doctrine in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance that described a complete understanding of literary creation based on the acceptance and reworking of a rule inherited from the great masters of classical antiquity; in this way, Petrarch had read Virgil and Horace, and Garcilaso de la Vega had read Petrarch.[10] Considering this background, one might wonder *how Neruda had read Tagore*. To say that the Chilean poet plagiarized the Indian poet would be equivalent to saying that he *copied* his verses and presented them to the public as his own with no warning or recognition – which was, in fact, what happened. To say, then, that Neruda paraphrased Tagore would be to say that based on the Indian poet's original verses, he proposed some variations, recognizing the source and using it to feed his own work – which was, finally, the explanation that exculpated him. However, if one considers the abovementioned *imitatio*, the controversy around the intertextual link that Neruda established with Tagore was characterized by an obstinate disregard for a specific literary dimension, that is, a consideration of how Tagore was reworked by Neruda, how Neruda received and transformed his verses if one enriched the other's poetry, etc.

On the contrary, the crux of the discussion was a quasi-legal issue, as it concentrated on the sole authorship of the verses and deciphering the degree of guilt attributable to Neruda. If one then considers Tagore and how his perception and image of him and his poetry unfolded, the result is that the controversy resisted granting his work the status of model and Neruda that of his disciple. To illustrate this, the content and logic of the ideas with which Huidobro castigated Neruda in 1935 can be considered. About the Indian poet, Huidobro had only disqualifying words: Tagore is the author of "a rather silly poem," of whom he had read only "nine or ten poems" a remote "twenty years ago." Although the malice evident in Huidobro's statements makes it difficult to read them as critical reflections, what is interesting to highlight here is this contempt,

with which he insists on referring to an author who, since 1913, had among his laurels nothing less than the Nobel, negates the possibility of approaching Neruda and Tagore's relationship as a creative dialogue between artists. Immediately after, Huidobro concludes his destructive work by making explicit the dimension of influence, from which the Indian poet is completely excluded, and he does so in an almost theatrical display of positions that once again reproduce the logic of superimposed bodies. Indeed, as he explained, everyone was angry with him instead of being angry with the author who plagiarized. To which he speculates, were they perhaps Neruda's orders? However, why would Neruda be angry? Perhaps because some critic somewhere had said that without Huidobro, there would be no Neruda, a reflection that he illustrates by talking about himself, claiming that he would not mind being told that without Apollinaire or Rimbaud, there would be no Huidobro, thus advancing the argument. Where did this leave Tagore? Where was the poem's author from which all of this controversy arises? His name, persona, poetry, and *body* are blurred and lost behind a crowd: first, behind Neruda, who in turn is behind Huidobro, who, finally, is behind Apollinaire and Rimbaud.

This behavior would not be exclusive to Huidobro, whose fury towards the author of the *Twenty Love Poems* was evident; curiously, Neruda's own attitude would reproduce a similar pattern. When he referred to the episode years later, he would not dedicate a single word of thanks, apology or recognition to the person who had inspired his verses. First, he would say that it was all an intimate gesture toward "a girl who was an avid reader of this poet," who, upon reading Neruda's "Poem 16" would know that it was a flirtatious, romantic wink from its author, who was rewriting – paraphrasing – Tagore's verses for her. Then, in December 1937, in a final note to the fifth edition of the *Twenty Love Poems,* he would explain:

> With my heart focused on the Spanish war, I am surprised that this book has been published for the fifth time without even having time to review it. One final word: Poem 16 is, for the most part, a paraphrase of one by Rabindranath Tagore from *The Gardener*. This has always been publicly known. To the resentful ones who tried to take advantage of this situation in my absence, the oblivion they deserve has fallen on them, given the tough vitality of this adolescent book. (Neruda, *Twenty* 189-90)

Unfortunate, then, for his accusers, who by 1937 have to contend with the fact that their attacks were unsuccessful and that the book enjoys a "tough vitality." Worse, however, for Tagore: Neruda does not waste a single word on him, does not devote a single kind thought to him, and shamelessly refuses to share with him even a small part of the glory attributed to his work. Ultimately, these statements are reunited with those of Huidobro. The result is a scenario in which

the Indian poet is excluded when it comes to tracing the genealogy of Neruda's poetry – despite how concrete the gesture of plagiarism or paraphrasing in capturing and reproducing someone else's words and language, that is, despite the undeniable evidence that Neruda read Tagore and wrote like Tagore. Multiple interviews and statements in the following years would only confirm this diagnosis. In 1970, for example, when asked about his literary influences, Neruda would reflect at length about reading and dialoguing with other authors, mentioning Walt Whitman and Rimbaud, anchoring himself in French symbolism, always keeping within a Western genealogy (*Obras* 1154).

Moreover, that is the core of our argument. The importance of India and Southeast Asia in his diplomatic career and his poetry is well known – as witnessed in the pages of his memoirs *I Confess That I Have Lived*, and also in some poems of *Residence on Earth* – but even within Neruda's vast body of work at no point is the figure of Tagore considered as a literary or cultural reference. In his memoirs, he mentions Tagore only once and, oddly enough, in a way that maximizes the spatial arrangements of the "superimposition of the bodies." Neruda describes being in India, dressed in a typical Bengali suit when someone – we do not know who – confuses him with Tagore: "There are portraits of me out there wearing Bengali clothes (and as I was silent in a cigarette shop in Calcutta, they believed I was from Tagore's family)…" (fig. 6) (*Obras* 479) Those who choose to read these lines as a factual report of something that actually happened are, of course, within their right to do so, but they should be aware of serious authenticity concerns. Anonymous individuals in a tobacco shop in a city of millions of people see Neruda in clothes they recognize as their own, and his silence defines a family connection that, by coincidence, relates him to the most critical poet in that country. If, however, we read this episode within the framework of the discussion in this essay, we are confronted with the obvious ease with which Neruda transmuted into Tagore, *of his possibility to be Tagore simply by dressing like him*. A similarity between the Indian and Chilean poets is pointed out and recognized. However, it is done in a joking tone, in the name of silence and not the word, and Tagore disappears again into the background behind a jocular and satisfied Neruda.

Fig. 6. Neruda in Sri Lanka, 1929, wearing Bengali clothes. Courtesy of Fundación Neruda.

It would be a mistake to look for a type of post-colonial justice and brotherhood where there is none and, based on it, to try to reveal a deep bond that does not seem to exist between Tagore and Neruda. The existential strength and political commitment that would characterize his poetry from the 1930s onwards – that is, after the *Twenty poems* and in the midst of his stay in Ceylon, India, Java, and Singapore – would radically differ from what Neruda was doing before. Tagore's influence would be lost, hardly leaving a trace, while Whitman's or the French symbolists would remain notorious and a habitual key to reading and interpreting Neruda's poetry. However, one concern remains unresolved even if we discard this possibility of a purely creative bond. The disdain towards Tagore is too pronounced and contradicts Neruda's and Huidobro's attitude in those years of frank international solidarity. Both participated in the 1937 International Congress of Writers for the Defense of Culture, which, although focused on forming a large intellectual bloc to oppose fascism in Europe, was governed by a universal principle of brotherhood and comradeship among artists. Why, then, so much animosity and slander before a potential brother-poet, a companion in the fate of colonized nations? The answer is simple and concise: despite its negligible literary content, the discussion unleashed by the Neruda–Tagore affair was conducted in a space of superimposed bodies, where writers competed for the rightful belonging to a circuit and a genealogy of *Western literary quality*, in which Tagore – as well as Karez-I-Roshan – did not deserve to be considered.

Final words

In 1930, another Chilean poet would write about Tagore. This time, contrary to the two episodes presented and discussed here, the reportage would reach the public spotlight far from Chile, in Argentina and Central America newspapers. In contrast to our cases, this account would also abstain from comparing Tagore's poetry with anyone else's, without making it compete with the

work of other world poets and without any interest in concluding its quality. Instead, the author of this third report would have kind words for a sick elderly man, and the whole account would be based on a personal encounter, face-to-face with the Indian poet. Moreover, this time, unlike the previous cases, the person writing about Tagore would be a woman, Gabriela Mistral, who met him in December 1930 in New York City.[11] She had been invited to the United States to give lectures and courses on Hispanic American literature at several institutions in the Northeast; Tagore, now aged sixty-nine, had traveled to New York to participate in an exhibition of his drawings and sketches. As Mistral explains in the article, these pictorial works were sold for large sums to Santiniketán, the experimental school founded by Tagore in India. One of the exhibition's organizers was a good friend of Mistral's and invited her one day to meet the great Indian poet.

During that single meeting, she could see in Tagore everything that his poetry and photographs did not show her male counterparts – or perhaps that they did not want to see. Her eloquent statements express the opposite of the rankings made by Prado, Castro Leal, Neruda, and Huidobro when they received and commented on a work that came from afar and was subjected to many mediations. I want to conclude this essay by briefly reviewing a few paragraphs in Mistral's note to shift the angle of our approach to the subject and then use this new perspective to verify and strengthen the findings contained in our analysis.

An initial aspect is the translation. As we have seen extensively, the poetry by Tagore that arrived in Chile was mediated through translations and associated with specific people and places. Zenobia Camprubí de Jiménez translated it from Madrid, while its translator into French was none other than André Gide in Paris. In the discussion that we have reconstructed, this was never seen as a factor to be considered when reading verses written originally in another language, and it appeared instead as an unfounded transmission of European legitimacy to a mediocre work. *There was no speculation that perhaps the translations were mediocre; Tagore was never given that opportunity*. In this regard, Mistral writes:

> The Spanish ones by Mrs. Jimenez (sic) give too much of a Tagorean sweetness and smother the burning force in a kind of molasses; the French translations offer both things, a grape juice that intoxicates a little with its sweetness; of the English translation, they say that it is the whole poet. *They translate him as they portray him*, with the aim of making him Buddha and Christ because people want him to be this and nothing else. What a shame these falsifications! (2)

It is worth noting how her criticism of the translations is projected onto that of their representations and how these are brought into line to denounce an interventionist principle. What she is criticizing so harshly is precisely what has been recognized here as the superimposition of

bodies. The issue of how Tagore was depicted, which oriented discussions about his image and his work towards constructing a mystical and dreamlike character, is recognized by Mistral as a malicious filter that falsifies his poetry. Demonstrating a concern engendered by the universalization of new imaging technology, which Walter Benjamin would crystallize in the notion of aura only six years later, the experience of discovering the real Tagore after having seen and known him through hundreds of photographs leads Mistral to conclude that such images are incapable of communicating who a person is and that they have a corrupting effect on literary works. The Indian poet is an exemplary victim of such corruption:

> Like someone trying on masks, I take the photographs and drawings I know of him – from those of his youth as a physical and political prince up to the old age that I am witnessing – I hold them up to him and take them off again. Moreover, they all suit him… and yet they do not…// What no portrait had given me, and what I came to know by looking at him, was the constant irony of his face… After all, why shouldn't he have his irony, despite his pedagogical sermons or as a result of them? He has seen many grotesque and scattered things in his Hindu-British world in Asia and many others in the West, where he treads reluctantly. (3)

As a first step, Mistral takes away from Tagore's photographs and drawings any possibility of transmitting versions of his body and character that are not partial, fragmentary or incomplete: they are all Tagore, yet none of them is Tagore. She thus notes the exact fragmentary nature of the poet's depiction and, by extension, of his Asian origins, which Castro Leal and Pedro Prado had used nine years earlier to simulate the existence of the Afghan poet Karez-I-Roshan. To address this, and thanks to her encounter with the real Tagore, she claims to have found an attribute that no image could convey: the irony in his gaze. A powerful feature that destabilizes the univocality of the poet's work and instils in him an exceptional intelligence. As Mistral structures her argument, irony is placed at the service of interpreting Tagore's work, which is understood from a historical and material perspective. He ceases to be a stereotype resulting from the sum of attributes transferred to him by a lettered and image-based culture. He becomes an author of ambiguous positions about his work, rooted in the experience of "his Hindu-British world" and of "the West where he treads reluctantly." A few lines later, she pauses to consider the poet's smile, which was similarly overlooked by his hundreds of portraits. Mistral insists on manipulating his image and constructing a desired version of the poet based on this image, one that wants to see him as someone mystic and religious and that projects onto him his desires.

> It is such a pity that his smile, which forms a double, very expression, will not remain fixed anywhere because of photographers and painters. They think only of

> bringing out evangelical attitudes and flavors, and they adjust things accordingly to adapt his face as much as possible to the messianic aura cast by Sankenitán (sic) and the Nobel Prize. (4)

One might then wonder about the resulting odd simultaneity. Why is it that right between the publication of Karez-I-Roshan's *Fragments* and the Neruda–Tagore affair, a compatriot of Prado, Neruda, and Huidobro could express such sharply divergent opinions? Essentially, it is done from a different declarative space *beyond the space of the superimposition of bodies*. Outside, therefore, a space strategically designed to establish and claim a connection of belonging to the greatest Western literature. Outside of an eminently European discursive matrix that had installed itself to define world literature, which was firmly based on the mass reproduction of images and content, and which allowed the unfolding of a literary map of the world in which writers reproduced the presumed characteristics of their respective places of origin in their work and even in their own images. And, finally, outside of the imaginary space where Chilean writers could dress in the clothes of Asian authors, only to find that they did not fit since, deep down, their bodies were the same size as Europeans.

Notes

[1] I would like to thank Julie Masse for her help editing and translating this article. She also translated the poems of Karez-I-Roshan, as well as Gabriela Mistral's words about Tagore at the end of this paper.

[2] The use of italicized text in this and all subsequent quotes is my own.

[3] The cataloging of the book at the National Library in Santiago de Chile indicates Pedro Prado as its author. The name of the fake author Karez-I-Roshan appears only in the title: *Karez-I-Roshan: fragments*. Curiously, although the catalog's mention of the real writer Pedro Prado brings to an end the book's fictional existence, the editorial information replicates everything that had been fabricated: Montevideo, Tabaré publishing house, Ormuz Library, and translation by Paulina Orth.
See: http://v22.bncatalogo.cl/F?func=direct&local_base=BNC01&doc_number=000437906, accessed June 17, 2020.

[4] The story of this episode, from its origin to its outcome, has been recorded primarily in biographies and anthologies of the work of Pedro Prado. It can be reviewed in the following publications, the latter of which includes a copy of the letter sent by Castro Leal to the critic Díaz Arrieta in April 1922:
Raúl Silva Castro, *Pedro Prado (1886-1952)* (Editorial Andrés Bello, 1965), 71–77.
Prado, "Karez-I-Roshan," 117–30; 170–75.

[5] Regarding the critical, popular and artistic reception of the *Twenty Love Poems,* see: Hernán Loyola, *Neruda: La formación de un poeta (1904-1932)* (Editorial Planeta Chilena, 2006), 159–71.

[6] Rabindranath Tagore, "The Gardener: 30," accessed January 28, 2020, http://www.poeticous.com/rabindranath-tagore/the-gardener-30; Pablo Neruda, *Twenty Love Poems and a Song of Despair*, trans. W.S. Merwin (Chronicle Books, 1993), 68.

[7] Hernán Loyola, *El joven Neruda: 1904-1935* (Lumen, 2014), 520. For more information on the episode, see Loyola, *El joven Neruda*, 517–23.

[8] In their book *El estallido de las formas: Chile en los albores de la "cultura de masas,"* Carlos Ossandón and Eduardo Santa Cruz report on the consolidation of a matrix of regular and large-scale production of written media in the country's urban centers between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The introduction of new printing and reproduction technologies inaugurated what the authors call a mass culture, within which the image, in photographs of landscapes and human beings, would have a relevant and increasingly autonomous presence as a carrier and transmitter of values and content (Carlos Ossandón and Eduardo Santa Cruz, *El estallido de las formas: Chile en los albores de la "cultura de masas"* (Lom, 2005).

[9] Another dimension of the modern manifestations of literary autonomy is expressed in this point: the boundary between fiction and reality. The literary substrate out of which Karez-I-Roshan is born offers examples to understand its own nature. Castro Leal writes in his letter to the critic Díaz Arrieta: "Through his photograph, the stranger had ceased to be a presence and had become an obsession. Like the ghost of King Hamlet, he wanted to communicate with reality, and for him, Pedro Prado and I were nothing more than Shakespearean sentinels" (Prado, *Karez* 171).

[10] *Imitatio* is mainly studied by those who are concerned with classical rhetoric and the way in which medieval poets and thinkers employed the classical Greek and Roman tradition. Within this discipline, the notions of plagiarism and paraphrase, along with others such as translation and parody, are subordinated to that of *imitatio*, a Latin term that inherits, regulates and discusses Greek *mimesis*. In this way, *imitatio* was the subject of philosophers and treatise writers (Horace, Cicero, Seneca, and later Dante and Petrarch), who saw a constitutive and necessary principle of creation in the reading and more or less faithful adaptation of the great figures of the literary tradition who preceded them. It was only towards the end of the Enlightenment and the beginning of Romanticism that, with the introduction of the idea of the creative genius, originality and authenticity came to inform the value and quality of a work (Rainer Hess, Gustav Siebenmann, and Tillbert Stegmann, eds., *Literaturwissenschaftliches Wörterbuch für Romanisten* (UTB, 2003), 209–12).

[11] This refers to the article "Un Tagore de Nueva York" published in *La Nación* of Argentina in early 1931 and republished in *Repertorio Americano* on September 12, 1931. For this research we worked with a copy of the original, preserved in the virtual archive of the National Library of Chile, accessed on October 9, 2020 at http://www.bibliotecanacionaldigital.gob.cl/bnd/623/w3-article-138456.html.

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