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1979

## The Golden Age in El siglo de las luces

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### Recommended Citation

Jones, Julie. "The Golden Age in El siglo de las luces." *Comparative Literature* 31.4 (1979): 392-402.

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## The Golden Age in *El siglo de las luces*

IN *LOS PASOS PERDIDOS*, Alejo Carpentier relates the experience of a world-weary sophisticate who undertakes a journey up the Orinoco, where in a primitive settlement he finds what he feels to be an approximation of Arcadia, an atemporal world, free of the moral and physical clutter of more advanced societies. The novel may be considered a "version of pastoral," disciplined by what Sidney called "intermittent historiologie." In his next novel, *El siglo de las luces*, Carpentier concentrated on the "historiologie," yet this consideration of the French Revolution's effect on the Caribbean is interspersed with pastoral allusions, echoes not only of the earlier novel but also of the classical bucolic tradition, which appear in the strangest contexts. In the list of items captured by a French privateer, for example, is "una muñeca de pastora que bajo las faldas ocultaba una sedosa y bien guarnida natura, tan perfectamente ejecutada en diminutas proporciones que era maravilla verla."<sup>1</sup> This image of the shepherdess, which occurs repeatedly in the novel, brings to mind not only the myth of the Golden Age but also the role playing of an irresponsible queen and the Utopian dreams of the French revolutionaries, in whom nostalgia for a happier past became the quest for justice in the future. The pastoral impulse lends itself to parody, but it has serious political repercussions as well. Working in Bayonne to further the Revolution, Esteban is led by the landscape, with its "valientes y atropellados rebaños," to believe in the possibility of "una bucólica dicha, devuelta a todos los hombres por los principios revolucionarios" (p. 127). By romanticizing the landscape, Esteban attempts to divert his mind from a troublesome actuality, but more serious revolutionaries used the same language of bucolic tradition to describe

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<sup>1</sup> *El siglo de las luces* (1962; rpt. Buenos Aires, 1967), p. 218. All citations are to this edition; future citations will be given in the text.

the better world they were determined to realize in Europe and America. In *The Oaten Flute* Renato Poggioli writes that "the men of the XVIIIth century had been unready as well as unwilling to renounce that dream of justice the bucolic ideal seemed to carry within itself. Thus the literature and the thought of the Enlightenment went back to the pastoral of innocence, only changing the old dream of justice into a new one."<sup>2</sup> Poggioli, however, stresses that revolutionary ideology, with its call to action, finally subverts the pastoral dispensation: "The bucolic vision is after all fundamentally static, and as such alien to the notion of political and social change" (p. 216). Yet Utopia, too, is a static world; it simply represents an achieved stasis, so to speak, following what may be a violent trajectory. The language used to describe it remains the language of the Golden Age.

Carpentier's attitude toward revolution in *El siglo* has puzzled critics. Roberto González-Echevarría argues that Carpentier views the French Revolution as a definite advance, leading to the liberation of the American colonies,<sup>3</sup> but the text does not bear out this interpretation, and, in any event, as Julio Ortega points out, "La Independencia Americana iría a ser otra revolución a medias que sólo cambia los grupos dominantes, el estilo de poder."<sup>4</sup> Emir Rodríguez-Monegal sees the novel as neither Marxist nor anti-revolutionary: "Carpentier cree en la Revolución; Carpentier sabe que las revoluciones no están libres de la corrupción."<sup>5</sup> Ortega contends that Carpentier's attitude remains ambiguous. He sees the novel as informed by a tension between History and Utopia: "El sueño de ese Mundo Mejor . . . está al fondo de los actos que en la Historia persiguen ese espacio original y extraviado; añoranza que hace de esos actos un impulso desasosegado y agónico, parcial y siempre incumplido. Por eso, el sueño utópico se convierte en la pesadilla trágica."<sup>6</sup> The attempt to realize any ideal, then, will fall short; the actuality will always be a caricature of the dream. As a generalization this is no doubt true, but I would suggest that in *El siglo* Carpentier shows specifically how the sentimental concept of the Golden Age as it was held during the Enlightenment lent itself to self-deception and conscious imposture on a very broad scale.

Although Esteban's meditation about a better world, in the passage quoted above, is projected onto a European landscape, Carpentier is

<sup>2</sup> *The Oaten Flute: Essays on Pastoral Poetry and the Pastoral Ideal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Alejo Carpentier: The Pilgrim at Home* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), pp. 231-33.

<sup>4</sup> "Sobre *El siglo de las luces*," in *Asedios a Carpentier*, ed. Klaus Müller-Bergh (Santiago, 1972), p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Klaus Müller-Bergh in *Alejo Carpentier: Estudio biográfico-crítico* (New York, 1972), p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Müller-Bergh, *Asedios a Carpentier*, p. 205.

primarily interested in the revolutionaries' Utopian aspirations as expressed against the backdrop of America. The choice is a natural one. Early European explorers described the New World as a kind of geographical Golden Age, a land of milk and honey which lay not in man's distant past, but simply across the ocean. The Italian chronicler of Columbus' expeditions, for example, wrote that the natives of Hispaniola "lyve without any certayne dwelling places, and without tyllage or culturying of the grounde as wee reade of them whiche in olde tyme lyved in the golden age."<sup>7</sup> Montaigne saw in Brazil an ideal *polis* which far surpassed Lycurgus' Sparta and Plato's Republic:

It is a nation, would I answer *Plato*, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superiortie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie, no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words which import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginarie commonwealth from this perfection!<sup>8</sup>

Both More and Campanella situated their imaginary commonwealths in South America, and Vasco de Quiroga, the Bishop of Michoacán, who translated *Utopia*, actually tried to use it as a guidebook for governing his Indian colonies. As Harry Levin notes wryly in *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance*, Quiroga's "*pueblos* were expected to live 'in the manner of the apostles'—and concurrently in the manner of the golden age" (p. 93)—a difficult precept to follow. Those Europeans who were not determined to improve upon Arcadia through the introduction of the Church were determined to take advantage of it through the institution of slavery, private ownership, and trade. By the time of the French Revolution this golden world was badly tarnished. The French proposed to redeem those depredations through exportation of a secular gospel: the principles of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*.

Carpentier's image of the newly liberated savages stuffing tricolor cockades into their loincloths suggests that good intentions can sometimes have silly results, but that is not quite the case. In a perceptive essay on *El recurso del método*, Frances Wyers Weber argues that in that novel Carpentier takes pains to demonstrate how myth can degenerate into mystification.<sup>9</sup> The same process is at work in *El siglo*. The extension of the Revolution to the theater of the Caribbean was really

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by Harry Levin in *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (Bloomington, Ind., 1969), p. 60.

<sup>8</sup> "Of the Cannibals," in *The Essays of Michael, Lord of Montaigne*, trans. John Florio (1603; rpt. London, 1893), I, 222.

<sup>9</sup> "The Contexts of Carpentier's *El recurso del método*," forthcoming.

a continuation of the colonial wars, a renewed effort to claim territory. In his victory address to the people of Guadeloupe, Victor capitalizes on the notion of the noble savage. The language of Arcadia, then, Carpentier suggests, lends itself to political abuse, to mystification in order to conceal unacceptable designs.

If over a period of centuries the Europeans' plans for the New World were less than noble, Carpentier makes clear that neither had the New World ever been an Arcadia. In Chapter xxxiv he chronicles the bloody progress of the Caribs, who believed that the Promised Land lay elsewhere, in the country of the Mayas to be exact, and carved a swath through intervening tribes on their way to appropriate that land of bliss, only to find that the Spaniards had beaten them to it.

Early commentators emphasized the natural abundance of the tropics which made cultivation unnecessary; food and clothing came readily to hand. The notion of mutual interdependence between man and nature is essential to the pastoral vision, at least in its traditional manifestations; Carpentier, however, stresses that no matter how beautiful it may be, tropical nature is alien to man. It is a "mundo desconfiado, listo a lastimar, . . . una imagen tangible, una figuración cercana—y tan inaccesible, sin embargo—del Paraíso Perdido" (pp. 210-11), where the law is "Universal Devoración." Esteban may find in deserted islands necessary relief from the squalid situation of Guadeloupe, and he sometimes envisages himself as a lord of nature, but he is always fundamentally aware of its otherness and does not attempt to linger there. In *The Machine in the Garden* Leo Marx contends that the domain of the pastoral is a middle ground, existing between the extremes of the city and the wilderness; it is nature cultivated and controlled by man.<sup>10</sup> In *El siglo* this middle ground exists in the imaginations of some characters, but not in reality. Victor's attempts to wrest a formal garden out of the wilderness of Guiana are ludicrous. "Venceré la naturaleza de esta tierra," he insists, throwing up statues and colonnades (p. 388). But nature promises to destroy his garden and renders futile his effort to recapture the Blacks who have fled: "Se puede pelear con los hombres. No se puede pelear con los árboles" (p. 394).

The first configuration of Arcadia that Carpentier develops in the novel is utterly divorced from nature, for it takes place within a closed house. It is what Empson calls a "pastoral of childhood," covering a little less than a year and a half in the adolescence of Carlos, Sofía, and Esteban, following the deaths of their father and uncle. After his long involvement with the French Revolution, Esteban recalls this period as "un Paraíso Perdido—tan perdido como inadvertido le fuera" (p. 327).

<sup>10</sup> *The Machine in the Garden* (1964; rpt. New York, 1967), pp. 85-87.

The qualification is almost redundant; a readily accessible paradise, so experience suggests, is no paradise at all. In fact, during this time the young trio is constantly planning expeditions to more exciting places—Paris, London, and New York—or speculating about “planetas habitables—y seguramente habitados—donde la vida sería acaso mejor que la de esta Tierra” (p. 30).

It is significant that, while dreaming of distant lands, the adolescents keep their doors closed to Havana, the city which lies without. Indeed, the freedom they enjoy is a product of their isolation, an isolation underlined by the facts that the three are near relations and that their house, a metaphorical island, is located in Cuba, a real island. This enclosed world soon develops a landscape of its own. Transformed by the imagination, “todo respondía a la nomenclatura de un código secreto. Tal montón de cajas en trance de derrumbarse era ‘La Torre Inclinada’; el cofre que hacía de puente, puesto sobre dos armarios, era ‘El Paso de los Druidas’ . . . Todo era transfigurado por un juego perpetuo que establecía nuevas distancias con el mundo exterior” (pp. 34-35). In this pastoral oasis the young people enjoy the *otium* of the shepherds, spending long hours reading and listening to Carlos play country dances on his fife. Liberated from the rules of polite society, they refuse to make or to receive social calls and descend to a level near primitivism at the dinner table.

Their freedom, of course, is less than absolute. Even this miniscule commonwealth has its rules. Codes and games depend on shared conventions, and, although their hours are topsy-turvy, they do keep hours. The sundial merely becomes a moondial. One might argue that this spontaneous generation of family norms adumbrates the series of decrees which the revolutionaries will institute in the societies they “free.” A more important point is that the young people’s freedom is undermined far more seriously by their total dependence on the world they snub. The servants and the executor form a lifeline to the city outside, bringing in supplies and attending to the family business. In *The Country and the City* Raymond Williams argues that English poets of the seventeenth century who wrote in praise of country houses got around the curse of labor, a distinctly antipastoral concern since it is a result of the Fall, by simply removing the laborer from the scene; thus, fruit offers itself to be plucked, and the laborer only appears as the grateful recipient of his master’s bounty.<sup>11</sup> A similar process takes place in Carpentier’s idyll of childhood, with the important difference that he makes the reader aware of the missing element. The adolescents’ refusal to know anything about the family business enables the executor to em-

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<sup>11</sup> *The Country and the City* (1973; rpt. New York, 1975), pp. 31-32.

bezzle substantial sums. Bivouacking in the midst of packing cases filled with luxury wares, they find it easy to indulge in the poor shepherd's indifference to ambition. All their needs are met.

The world encompassed by the big house in Havana is highly artificial, then, and ultimately sterile. The three young people are cut off not only from a sense of larger community, but also from intellectual and physical development. Their studies are desultory (they have never succeeded in assembling Esteban's physics equipment; Sophía undertakes the translation of a work which has already been translated) so that their leisure is wasteful rather than productive. Esteban is incapacitated by severe attacks of asthma. And the nature of the bond between them admits of no sexual or emotional development: "Un 'marido,' traído a aquella casa, era considerado de antemano como una abominación—un atentado a la carne tenida por una propiedad sagrada, común a todos, y que debía permanecer intacta" (p. 33). In 1799 Esteban, a virtual prisoner of the expiring forces of the Revolution, may recall this period as a Golden Age, but in his nostalgia he forgets that a somewhat similar, albeit far less innocent, idyll contributed to the widespread dismay which generated that revolution.

The advent of Victor Hugues, "*négociant*," spells the end of the pastoral of childhood. A merchant like Carlos' and Sofía's father, but also an emissary of the New Ideas (*las luces*), he emanates an air of enterprise and progress. In short order, Victor unpacks the crates of furniture which formed "una escenografía de sueños" (p. 48), brings in a doctor to cure Esteban, uncovers the executor's depredations, and makes sexual advances to Sofía, "abriéndole las puertas de un mundo ignorado. Aquella noche habían terminado los juegos de la adolescencia" (p. 70).

Victor's energy is clearly opposed to the leisure the youngsters had previously known. Although he takes pride in his familiarity with the classics, Victor is first of all a pragmatist, an advocate of the mechanical rather than the liberal arts. Speaking of the business his young friends shun, he comments drily, "No sería trabajo fácil ni *descansado*" (p. 42). When he arranges the furniture, Sofía is shocked to see him, "despechugado, con la camisa rota, suboroso como un negro de estiba" (p. 48). Victor is at this point allied with the Industrial Revolution rather than with the incipient agitation in France. It is the destruction of his business in Port-au-Prince during a revolt that gives him the impetus to join the forces of political rebellion.

In a note on the Victor Hugues of history, Carpentier remarks that his action was "firme, sincera, heroica, en su primera fase" (p. 423). Yet the fictional Victor's relation to the Revolution seems to be problematic

in every phase. Shortly after his entry into the Havana household, we are given a glimpse of the tensions which will mark his entire career :

"Soy un plebeyo," decía, como quien exhibe un blasón. Sin embargo, cuando se jugaba a las charadas vivas, Sofía había observado que gustaba de representar papeles de legisladores y de tribunos antiguos, tomándose tremendamente en serio —presumiendo, acaso, de buen actor. Varias veces había insistido en animar episodios de la vida de Licurgo, personaje por el cual parecía tener una especial admiración. Inteligente para el comercio, conocedor de los mecanismos de la Banca y de los Seguros, negociante por oficio, Víctor estaba, sin embargo, por el reparto de tierras y pertenencias, la entrega de los hijos al Estado, la abolición de las fortunas, y la acuñación de una moneda de hierro que, como la espartana, no pudiese atesorarse. (pp. 63-64)

Victor's desire for power and his bourgeois virtues, thinly veiled by sentimental populism, are shared by many of his cohorts (Billaud-Varenne, for one). Both characteristics may, for a time, be reconciled with the *process* of revolution, but neither is compatible with its professed goals.

The problem of power is clear in *The Social Contract*, a document which had some influence on the Revolution. While ostensibly advocating democracy, and primary democracy at that, Rousseau's insistence that nothing must stand in the way of the sovereign people may equally be interpreted as a justification of totalitarianism. Just a few pages after the cry, "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains,"<sup>12</sup> we read that "whoever shall refuse to obey the general will must be constrained by the whole body of his fellow citizens to do so : which is no more than to say that it may be necessary to compel a man to be free" (p. 18). And so, Victor Hugues arrives in Guadeloupe with a decree which abolishes slavery (contradictory in itself, as Ortega remarks<sup>13</sup>) and a guillotine. When the Negroes refuse to work, "alegando que eran hombres libres," he simply has them executed : "Bastante tienen con que los consideremos como ciudadanos franceses" (p. 182). On one of Esteban's privateering voyages, a ship of slaves who have mutinied seeks protection from *L'Ami du Peuple*. The captain seizes them and sells them to the Dutch, citing, in an attempt at justification, the odd fact that a *philosophe* and friend of Rousseau had once owned a slaving vessel which he named, sentimentally, *The Social Contract*. Rousseau condemned slavery, but he also averred repeatedly that although men always wish their own good, they often do not know where that good lies. To guide them, Rousseau hypothesized the "legislator," a man wise, benevolent, and disinterested. The practical implications of this feat of legerdemain and the thinking which made it necessary need no comment.

<sup>12</sup> Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, trans. G. D. H. Cole (New York, 1950), p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Müller-Bergh, *Asedios a Carpentier*, p. 197.



Rousseau's ideal state shares at least one unpastoral characteristic with other Utopias—More's, Campanella's, Plutarch's, and Plato's: all these blueprints for better worlds are highly regimented. Yet Arcadia, as well as Utopia, rests on a paternalistic order—a spontaneous and happy state of interdependence not between citizen and guide, but between master and man; the structure is not insisted on. This is why Marx ironically used the term “idyllic” to describe social relationships under feudalism. Williams notes that celebrations of a feudal order have been used as a criticism of capitalism. Still, he warns, the danger of this kind of “retrospective radicalism” is that it “enfolds social values which, if they do become active, at once spring to the defense of certain hierarchies and moral stabilities, which have a feudal ring but a more relevant and more dangerous contemporary application.”<sup>14</sup> In other words, the shepherd who does not fall readily into the proper idyllic attitude may have to be coerced.

In the preface to his pastoral eclogues, Pope warns the reader that he is dealing not with “shepherds as shepherds at this day really are, but as they may be conceiv'd [during the Golden Age] to have been.”<sup>15</sup> Utopian planners are faced with more recalcitrant material. In the passage in *El siglo* which is perhaps closest to the traditional pastoral situation, but is parodic in intent, Esteban has been sent from Paris to Bayonne, where he is to translate revolutionary documents for transmission to Spain. At first he is charmed by the lovely countryside, inspired, as we have seen, to imagine “la posibilidad de una bucólica dicha, devuelta a todos los hombres” (p. 127). Unfortunately, the local peasants are unenthusiastic about this notion of restored rural bliss. The fact that they are real shepherds prevents them from accepting newfangled ideas about Arcadia brought in from the city, and Esteban, cut off from the excitement of Paris, begins to feel suffocated and disillusioned in his rural retreat. Even more problems are presented to the planner by enthusiasts. The bitter argument which develops over a period of three days when Sofía, Esteban, Victor, and Ogé attempt to construct a purely hypothetical City of the Future is indicative. This problem is echoed on board the ship which carries the Revolution to the Antilles; each crew member has different hopes for the future: “Menos irreligioso sería el inmediato porvenir, pensaba el vasco embarcado con sus escapularios; menos antimasónico, pensaba el añorante de las Logias; más igualitario, más comunitario, lo presentía quien soñaba con la barrida final de embozados que acabaría con los últimos privilegios” (p. 141). The problem

<sup>14</sup> *The Country and the City*, p. 36.

<sup>15</sup> *Poetry and Prose of Alexander Pope*, ed. Aubrey Williams (Boston, 1969), p. 4.

of "organizing anarchy," to use Harry Levin's phrase, which so preoccupies Utopian socialists, is generally "solved" by bringing in a strong but just leader, a "legislator," or a Lycurgus. In the fallen world of Carpentier's Antilles, the leader need only be strong and wily—a Victor Hugues.

In *El siglo* the vision of Utopia promulgated by the Revolution finds its final and grotesque realization in the prison colony of Guiana, where revolutionaries who have fallen out of favor are subjected to the dry guillotine of hunger and disease. Here the *émigrés* form themselves into "comunidades rousseauianas, repartiéndose tareas, imponiéndose horarios y disciplinas—citando las *Geórgicas*, para infundirse valor" (p. 271) until they become sick, lose hope, and die. The Church, the government, the military, and the arts are all represented in this bizarre *polis*—reminiscent of the madhouse in *A Tale of a Tub*—whose citizens live out a caricature of their former functions, under the surveillance of their "legislator," the notorious Billaud-Varenne. In this dystopia there is no harmonious interchange between man and nature, urban sophisticate and simple shepherd. Instead, the *émigrés* must constantly fend off the advances of a voracious nature and the malice of the local Blacks, Helots who for once have gotten the upper hand. "Aquello era como un Estado Antiguo," Carpentier comments drily. His vision is a terrible, but not illogical, outcome of taking to heart Lycurgus' Sparta and Rousseau's *Social Contract*.

Most people affected by the Revolution, of course, were indifferent to political and social theory. The Revolution is welcomed in Guadeloupe for one solid reason: it is good for business. Because of the tremendously profitable privateering operations, "la Revolución estaba haciendo—y muy realmente—la felicidad de muchos" (p. 236). The ironic emphasis on "realmente" suggests where the values lie in this new Golden Age. Fortunes are made, and a class of *nouveaux riches* springs up, whose members vie with one another in displays of opulence and power. Taking advantage of his position, Victor forms an agency to ensure his own control of the property of the *émigrés*, the public finances, the equipping of the privateers, and a monopoly of the customs dues: "Behemot se hacía comerciante" (p. 245). Surrounded by balances, weights, and measures, he seems not far removed from the Victor who arrived in Havana in 1789 to do business with Sofía's and Carlos' father. Esteban, who idealistically rejected that business, rides out a large part of the Revolution as an accountant on a privateer. Even the guillotine "se había aburguesado, trabajando blandamente, un día sí y cuatro no" (p. 228).

Poggioli argues that "the bucolic ideal was denied and destroyed by

the bourgeois spirit even before it was denied by the revolutionary."<sup>16</sup> Clearly, the ambition and greed necessary to mercantile advancement are as opposed to the pastoral ideals of *otium* and humility as they are to the principles of the Revolution. Yet Carpentier perceives a curious process at work here. Once the revolutionaries get the upper hand, they are, not surprisingly, eager to consolidate their positions. In doing so, they attempt to turn time back to an earlier age. Far from wanting to destroy the pastoral dispensation, they would like to reactivate it, with a significant shift: once possessed of lands and slaves, *they* will play the role of Marie Antoinette in this new Arcadia. So we find Victor, in Guiana, throwing up a formal garden along the lines of Versailles. In his rural retreat he is frequently visited by Billaud-Varenne and his mistress. Together with their dog Patience, the "Billauds" enact a parody of domestic innocence; the ex-Terrorist refers to them as Philemon and Baucis. This grotesque scene represents the final development of the French Revolution in the New World, an "*inversion*" of pastoral as bleak as the earlier vision of the prison colony, which was a parody of Utopia.

Most shocking of all, in Esteban's view, is the knowledge that "el Gran Vértigo" had broken out "precisamente donde pareciera que la civilización hubiese hallado su equilibrio supremo; en el país de las serenas arquitecturas, de la naturaleza amansada, de las artesanías incomparables; donde el idioma mismo parecía hecho para ajustarse a la medida del verso clásico" (p. 311). France, as a country, was closest to the pastoral middle ground, and even it had failed. Utterly disillusioned after his experiences, Esteban concludes that the only Promised Land lies within the self: "Esta vez la revolución ha fracasado. Acaso la próxima sea la buena. Pero, para agarrarme cuando estalle, tendrán que buscarme con linternas a mediodía. Cuidémonos de las palabras hermosas; de los Mundos Mejores creados por las palabras. No hay más Tierra Prometida que la que el hombre puede encontrar en sí mismo" (p. 312). The villain here is language, the corrupted language of the Golden Age, the myth which has become a means of mystifying whole populations.

At the end of the novel, after Sofía has rejected Victor, the two cousins retire to Madrid, living in total isolation in a large house which recalls their Havana home. Exiled in Europe, Esteban reads *René*, whose eponymous hero, exiled in America, sighed wistfully for his beloved sister and his lost childhood in Europe, and whose death in a massacre foreshadows the cousins' own. Their reasons for joining the popular revolt against the French are unclear as, finally, is Carpentier's attitude toward revolution. What does seem clear is his insistence that the pas-

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<sup>16</sup> *The Oaten Flute*, p. 218.

## COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

toral dream has been corrupted, that any attempt to activate it as a standard of justice will be at best delusory, at worst an imposture, and that it should be dreamed no more.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> I wish to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for a fellowship in the summer of 1977 which enabled me to complete work on this study.